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PAPERS

RELATIVE TO

THE REDUCTION OF LAGOS

BY

HER MAJESTY'S FORCES ON THE WEST
COAST OF AFRICA.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1852.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SON.

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Papers relative to the Reduction of Lagos by Her Majesty's Forces on the West Coast of Africa.

No. 1.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, June 30, 1849.

REPRESENTATIONS having been made to Her Majesty's Government from time to time by persons engaged in legal trade in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, stating that it would be desirable that a person should be appointed to reside in that part of Africa as agent on the part of Her Majesty's Government, for the purpose of regulating the legal trade between British merchants and the ports of Benin, Brass, New and Old Calabar, Bonny, Bimbia, the Cameroons, and the ports in the territories of the King of Dahomey, Her Majesty's Government have determined to make such an appointment; and being informed by the Commodore commanding on the west coast of Africa, that it will be agreeable to you to hold it, I have to inform you that the Queen has been graciously pleased to confer that appointment upon you, and that a commission under the sign manual will be prepared accordingly, and will be transmitted to you at the same time with this despatch.

You have been selected for this appointment in consideration of your general knowledge of African affairs and of the habits of the Blacks, and because of the influence which you appear to have acquired over the native chiefs of the places to which your Consular jurisdiction will extend. That influence, it is hoped, may enable you to prevent quarrels and misunderstandings between those chiefs and the crews of British ships resorting to those parts for the purposes of trade; and thereby, on the one hand, legal commerce will be promoted, while, on the other hand, the Slave Trade, which can scarcely co-exist with legal commerce, will be much discouraged.

With a view to these results, you will endeavour to encourage the chiefs and people to till the soil and to produce available exports, so that they may obtain by barter the European commodities of which they may stand in need.

You will take every possible opportunity to impress upon the minds of the chiefs and their principal councillors, the great advantages which they will derive from the extension of legal commerce with the nations of Europe and America; and you will assure them that Her Majesty's Government earnestly desire to contribute to their welfare and improvement.

You will transmit to me, from time to time, the best information which you can procure as to the means by which commercial intercourse with the chiefs on the coast and in the interior can be extended, and as to the points of the coast which may appear to afford the greatest facilities for commerce; and you will also state what kinds of European commodities are most sought after by the natives.

It will be your duty at all times to keep up a cordial intercourse and good understanding with Her Majesty's naval officers on the West African station, and to communicate to them any information which may come to your knowledge from time to time respecting the Slave Trade; and Her Majesty's naval commanders will be instructed to afford you every facility and assistance in their power to aid you in the performance of your duties.

You will receive in other despatches general instructions for your guidance in your Consular functions, and also in matters relating to the Slave Trade.

No. 2.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 30, 1849.

I TRANSMIT to you letters which I have addressed to the several chief on the western coast of Africa, within the district of your Consularship.

You will take a convenient opportunity to present these letters to the chiefs on the coast, when you will explain to them the nature and object of your appointment. I inclose a copy of the said letter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Letter to be delivered to African Chiefs.

THE Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, my Sovereign, has commanded me to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant a commission appointing Mr. John Beecroft, the Governor of the Island of Fernando Po, to be Her Majesty's Consul to the several chiefs on the western coast of Africa.

It will be a principal duty of Mr. Beecroft to endeavour to prevent the frequent misunderstandings which have arisen between the chiefs on that coast and the British merchants, and the crews of British vessels resorting to those parts for the purposes of trade; and he will also be instructed to encourage and promote legitimate and peaceful commerce, whereby the chiefs and people may obtain in exchange for the products of their own country, those European commodities which they may want for their use and enjoyment.

In this manner the great natural resources of your country will be developed; your wealth and your comforts will be increased; and the detestable practice of stealing, buying, and selling men, women, and children, which is now the bane and disgrace of Africa, will be put an end to.

The Queen's Consul is instructed to take every suitable opportunity to explain to you the great advantages which you will derive from the increase of a legitimate commerce; and he is instructed to assure you of the earnest desire of the Queen's Government to contribute in every way to your welfare and prosperity.

The Queen trusts you will receive Her Majesty's Consul with the respect due to his character and rank, and that you will put entire faith in what he shall state to you in Her Majesty's name.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 23, 1850.

LIEUTENANT FORBES, of Her Majesty's Navy, and the late Mr. Duncan, who had been appointed Vice-Consul in Dahomey, went up in October last from Whydah upon a mission from Her Majesty's Government to the King of Dahomey. The object of their mission was to induce that African chief to put an end to the Slave Trade in and through his dominions, and Mr. Duncan delivered to him two letters, of which the inclosed are copies, urging him to do so, and setting forth arguments to show that by so doing he would promote, instead of injuring, his own interests and those of his subjects.

You will be furnished with copies of the despatches from Lieutenant Forbes and from Mr. Duncan, giving an account of their proceedings while employed on this service, and of what passed between them and the King of Dahomey; and I have to request that you will make yourself acquainted with their contents.

You will see by those despatches that Lieutenant Forbes and Mr. Duncan were most kindly and hospitably received by the Dahomey Chief, and that they were assured by him of his sincere and anxious desire to secure for himself the friendship and good-will of the Queen of England, by following, as far as it is possible for him to do so, any advice which Her Majesty's Government might give him; but he said that the profits which he derived from the Slave Trade constituted a considerable part of his revenue, and to put an end to that Traffic would be to sacrifice a material portion of his income. He said that, therefore, he must have time for full consideration and mature deliberation before he could answer the letter which Mr. Duncan had delivered to him; but that if Lieutenant Forbes and Mr. Duncan would come back to him, as he requested they would, at his next annual Custom in March of this year, he would then be prepared to give his answer to Her Majesty's Government.

As Mr. Duncan has been unfortunately lost to Her Majesty's service, I have to instruct you to accompany Lieutenant Forbes on his return to Dahomey, being satisfied that your judgment and discretion, together with your practical knowledge of the character and habits of the African races, peculiarly fit you for the performance of this duty. You will therefore proceed in Her Majesty's ship "Sphinx," which will convey you direct to Whydah, where it is probable that you will find Lieutenant Forbes; but if he should not be there he will be sent for, and you will await his arrival, which will not be long delayed, and you will in any case, immediately on your landing at Whydah, send up to the King of Dahomey to inform him of your arrival on the coast and of your intended visit to Dahomey.

You will proceed to Dahomey as soon as Lieutenant Forbes and yourself can set out for that place together.

If on your arrival at Dahomey, the King should declare himself ready to enter into the engagement which was proposed to him for the abolition of the Slave Trade in and through his dominions, you will, of course, at once proceed to conclude with him a treaty to that effect, somewhat in the terms of the short and simple form of which I inclose a draft*. But the likelihood is that he will hold to you about the Slave Trade the same sort of language which he held on that subject last October to Lieutenant Forbes and Mr. Duncan; that he will profess his anxious desire to comply with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, but will plead financial considerations as reasons why it is impossible for him to do so.

In that case you will endeavour to explain to the Chief that the profits which he derives from the Slave Trade are precarious in their nature and limited in their extent. That they mainly depend upon the presents which the slave-dealers on the coast may be able to make to him, or upon duties paid to him on the passage of slaves through his territory, or on

* See Inclosure 20, p. 27.

the price which he may obtain for captives taken in those warlike expeditions, the cost of which must in some measure absorb the profit which he may make by selling his prisoners. That the continued measures of various kinds which the British Government are taking with a view to suppress the Slave Trade tend every year more and more to hamper the transactions of the slave-traders established on the coasts of his territory, and thus to diminish progressively the means of those slave-traders to make him presents or to pay duty on the passage of slaves through his dominions, or even to purchase the prisoners of war whom he may wish to sell. That, on the other hand, his territories abound with resources for legitimate trade, and that if he was to employ his great power and authority for the encouragement of legitimate commerce, as a substitute for the Slave Trade, he would very soon find that he would derive from moderate and reasonable customs duties a much greater and far more certain revenue than he at present receives from the Traffic in Slaves. Such legitimate commerce the British Government would use every proper endeavour to encourage and protect, and the interest of the King of Dahomey in regard to such trade would be identical with that of the British Government; and the States of Dahomey and Great Britain, instead of being, as now, kept in some degree on different courses, in regard to their supposed interests, in consequence of their different views and opinions with respect to the Slave Trade, would be drawn together in close bonds of union by their common feelings and mutual interests in regard to the protection, encouragement, and extension of legitimate commerce.

The foreign merchants established at Whydah are already beginning to see the great advantages which are to be derived from legitimate commerce; and whereas some years ago they were almost all of them engaged, chiefly if not entirely, in the Slave Trade, it appears that now they almost all of them have dealings in the palm-oil trade nearly as extensive as the dealings which they have in the Slave Trade.

But palm-oil, though a commodity much valued and wanted in Europe, and the exportation of which from Africa to Europe has been yearly increasing, is not the only produce of that part of Africa which could be the subject matter of extensive and profitable commerce between Dahomey and Great Britain. Cotton of excellent quality might be produced in almost any quantity within the territories of Dahomey, and any quantity of cotton there produced would find a ready and profitable market in the manufacturing districts of the United Kingdom. The cotton so sent to Europe would of course be paid for by such European commodities as might suit the wants and tastes of the people of Dahomey, and moderate customs duties levied upon the importation of such commodities would soon afford a considerable and an increasing revenue to the King.

But the King of Dahomey might probably object that the loss which he would sustain by the suppression of the Slave Trade would be certain and immediate, while the profit which might accrue to him from import duties on legitimate trade would be uncertain, and at all events not arising until after some lapse of time.

To obviate this objection, if made, you are authorized to say that if the King Dahomey would immediately and entirely put an end to Slave Trade in and through his dominions, the British Government would engage to make him for a limited time, say three years, an annual present as a compensation for the loss which he would during that period sustain, it being reasonably to be expected that by the end of such a time legitimate commerce would have afforded him an income which would fully make up to him for the loss incurred by the cessation of Slave Trade. Her Majesty's Government must leave it to your discretion to make with the Chief the best arrangement which you can on this head, and you are authorized, in case of necessity, to promise an annual present, either in money or goods, at the option of the King, to be continued for three years.

If you can conclude a satisfactory arrangement, on this principle, you will draw up and sign with the King a treaty to that effect.

You will express to the King of Dahomey the deep concern felt by

Her Majesty's Government at the death of the late Mr. Duncan, a concern which they are convinced is fully shared by the King, whose kind and friendly conduct towards Mr. Duncan afforded Her Majesty's Government the highest gratification; and you will say that Her Majesty's Government hope to be able to appoint some fit and proper person to be Vice-Consul in Dahomey in the place of Mr. Duncan.

You will of course transmit to me a full report of all your proceedings in the execution of these instructions, and when this service has been completed, and when proper opportunities offer, you will visit the different chiefs in the neighbouring country to whom you are accredited as Her Majesty's Consul, and you will present to them respectively the letters which I have addressed to them by the Queen's commands, and which are inclosed in my despatch of the 30th of June, 1849, explaining to them at length the nature and object of your appointment, as described in your general instructions.

After these services shall have been performed, and when other and more immediate duties will permit, you will at a suitable season proceed on a mission to Abbeokuta, for which I will furnish you with instructions in another despatch.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

Viscount Palmerston to the King of Dahomey.

Foreign Office, May 29, 1849.

THE Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, my Sovereign, has commanded me to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct Mr. John Duncan, the bearer of this letter, to reside for the present in the territories of Dahomey as the British Vice-Consul.

It will be a principal duty of Mr. Duncan to endeavour to prevent the misunderstandings which may have arisen between the chiefs on the coast of Dahomey and the British merchants and the crews of British vessels resorting thither for the purpose of trade; and he is also instructed to encourage and promote legitimate and peaceful commerce, whereby the chiefs and people may obtain in exchange for the products of their own country, the European commodities which they may want for their use and enjoyment.

In this manner the great natural resources of your country will be developed; your wealth and your comforts will be increased, and the detestable practice of stealing, buying, and selling men, women, and children, which is now the bane and disgrace of Africa, will be put an end to.

The British Vice-Consul is instructed to take every suitable opportunity to explain to you the great advantages which you will derive from the increase of a legitimate commerce; and he is also to assure you of the earnest desire of the Queen's Government to contribute in every way for your welfare and prosperity.

Her Majesty's Government trust you will receive the British Vice-Consul with the respect due to his character and rank, and that you will put entire faith in what he shall state to you in the name of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

Viscount Palmerston to the King of Dahomey.

Foreign Office, May 29, 1849.

THE Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, my Sovereign, commands me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 3rd* of November, which I have laid before Her Majesty, and to thank you for your friendly

* See next Paper.

assurances. The British Government is glad to find that you wish the Slave Trade to be put an end to in all places beyond the limits of your territories, because that wish on your part shows that you are sensible of the bad nature of that Trade.

With regard to your own dominions, you may be quite certain that if you would stop the Slave Trade, and if you were to encourage legal commerce instead of Slave Trade, your revenue and the profits of your people would not be diminished, but would very shortly be much increased; for it is well known that agriculture and commerce are more useful and advantageous than the stealing and selling of men, women, and children.

With respect to the other matters touched upon in your letter, I will write to you on another occasion.

I avail myself of the return of Mr. Duncan, whose appointment as Vice-Consul in your dominions I have notified to you in another letter of this day's date, to send to you a few articles of British manufacture, which Mr. Duncan informed me you had expressed a desire to have, and which Mr. Duncan will deliver to you as a present from Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Letter from the King of Dahomey to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, alluded to in the preceding.

Abomey, November 3, 1848.

THE King of Dahomey presents his best compliments to the Queen of England. The presents which she has sent him are very acceptable, and are good for his face.

When Governor Winniett visited the King, the King told him that he must consult his people before he could give a final answer about the Slave Trade. He cannot see that he and his people can do without it. It is from the Slave Trade that he derives his principal revenue. This he has explained in a long palaver to Mr. Cruickshank. He begs the Queen of England to put a stop to the Slave Trade everywhere else, and allow him to continue it.

The King is anxious that the Queen of England should send a Governor to Whydah Fort, in order that he may have an opportunity of seeing the manner in which the King governs his people.

The King also begs the Queen to make a law that no ships be allowed to trade at any place near his dominions lower down the coast than Whydah, as by means of trading-vessels the people are getting rich, and withstanding his authority. He wishes all factories for palm-oil removed from Badagry, Porto Novo, Agado, and Lagos, as the trade that is now done at these places can be done at Whydah, and the King would then receive his duties, and be able to keep these people in subjection; and also in the event of his attacking these places he would not run the risk of injuring Englishmen or their property.

He hopes the Queen will send him some good Tower guns and blunderbusses, and plenty of them, to enable him to make war. He also uses much cowries, and wishes the Queen's subjects to bring plenty of them to Whydah to make trade. He wishes to see plenty of Englishmen making trade at Whydah.

The King has spoken all his mind to Mr. Cruickshank, who can explain what is fit for the King and his country. He begs the Queen of England to continue his good friend, as he likes Englishmen more than any other people.

Inclosure 3 in No. 3.

Commodore Fanshawe to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

"Centaur," off the Gallinas, November 17, 1849.

I HAVE to request you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that having received, whilst at Loanda, an application through the senior officer of the division in the Bights, from Mr. Duncan, the recently appointed Vice-Consul to Dahomey, dated 10th August, in which he states that since his arrival at Whydah, he had received three messengers from the King of Dahomey, requesting that a British naval officer should accompany him in his mission to his capital, Abomey, and begged that I would accede to His Majesty's wish; I, after due consideration of their Lordships' desire that I should, in compliance with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, afford Mr. Duncan every assistance in my power, and aid him in the performance of the duties

confided to him, decided to accede to the application, and sent instructions to the senior officer to permit Lieutenant Forbes, of Her Majesty's brigantine "Bonetta," to accompany Mr. Duncan, provided he felt equal to undertaking the journey; and I furnished Lieutenant Forbes with a letter to the King of Dahomey, and instructions, of which I inclose copies.

2. I selected Lieutenant Forbes for this duty, as an intelligent young officer, who has now had considerable experience of the trade on the coast of Africa, and who from his inquiring and active habits I considered would be a valuable companion and assistant to the Vice-Consul, and that he might be able possibly to effect a step in advance towards the suppression of the Slave Trade in Dahomey, and to obtain much accurate information on the subject.

3. In pursuance of these directions Lieutenant Forbes accompanied Mr. Duncan to Abomey, and I have now the honour to transmit, for their Lordships' information, the report of his mission received from him on his rejoining my pendant yesterday; and I hope their Lordships will consider that the result has justified the measure I took, and the trifling expense which has been incurred, and that it will be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government.

4. The friendly disposition towards us manifested by the King will be increased and fostered, I hope, by further intercourse, and be the means of neutralizing the powerful influence exercised over him by the Portuguese and Brazilian slave-dealers.

5. There is no doubt that this has been obtained chiefly by large presents which must have materially added to their expenses, and that the King's avarice and thirst for luxuries having been thus fed, he will not be disposed to abandon the Trade without some equivalent; but his strongly expressed wish for Lieutenant Forbes' return to Abomey in March for his definitive answer, I think encourages the hope that a favourable impression has been made upon him, and his feelings and doubts on the subject kept alive; and though I had instructed Lieutenant Forbes to act with regard to a treaty, I did not really anticipate that His Majesty would be prepared to commit himself to the abandonment of a traffic which is his chief source of wealth, and has been the ruling principle of action with himself and his chiefs and people through life.

6. He, the King, is a complete despot, and not easily approached by his Ministers; and Lieutenant Forbes had not the opportunity of ascertaining what the inclinations and feelings of the Caboceers or chiefs were on the subject of the Trade; but I imagine they have all been largely bribed and rewarded by the slave-dealers, and that it will be difficult to lead them to a change of the occupation which has engrossed all their previous thoughts, and by which their habits and modes of life have been formed.

7. No agent, or "Charchar," has yet been appointed in Senhor da Souza's place; his sons do not appear by Lieutenant Forbes' account to be near so wealthy as was expected, and this may be favourable.

8. It is my intention, therefore, if circumstances permit, to comply with the King's wish, and direct Lieutenant Forbes to proceed again to Abomey; guarding him particularly with respect to any treaty or agreement with the King being subject to ratification, and to assure His Majesty that so far from permitting any embarkation of slaves at Whydah, the most uncompromising opposition to the Slave Trade will be maintained by Her Majesty's forces, and that, with the concurrence and co-operation of the Powers allied with us in more restrictive measures, I entertain little doubt of its annihilation.

9. I trust that their Lordships and Her Majesty's Government will not consider that by taking upon myself to do so, I have exceeded the limit of my instructions to do everything in my power towards the suppression of the Traffic in Slaves on the west coast of Africa, or departed unnecessarily from the usual course of service.

12. Should a Consul be permanently established at Whydah, I am of opinion it will be necessary that he should be afforded the means of communicating with men-of-war and ships at the anchorage, and be rendered independent of the English or foreign merchants, or native chiefs; but the

canoes required for that coast are large, and would require ten or more Kroomen.

13. I regret to say the Vice-Consul has been obliged to embark on board the "Kingfisher," very ill with dysentery.

Inclosure 4 in No. 3.

Commodore Fanshawe to Commander Harvey.

(Extract.)

"Centaur," Loanda, September 3, 1849.

MR. DUNCAN, the newly-appointed Vice-Consul to the Kingdom of Dahomey, has applied for an officer of the navy to accompany him on his mission to the King of that country.

I hope he may have been able to defer his visit until this despatch reaches you, in which case you will forthwith acquaint Mr. Duncan, that I have nominated Lieutenant Forbes, of Her Majesty's brigantine "Bonetta," to accompany him, provided Lieutenant Forbes feels he is equal to undertaking the journey; and you will arrange for the "Bonetta's" joining you, and direct Lieutenant Forbes to put himself in communication with Mr. Duncan without delay, giving Lieutenant Forbes the instructions for his guidance which I inclose.

Inclosure 5 in No. 3.

Commodore Fanshawe to Lieutenant Forbes.

(Memorandum.)

"Centaur," Loanda, September 9, 1849.

MR. DUNCAN, recently appointed by Her Majesty's Government to be Her Majesty's Vice-Consul within the dominions of the King of Dahomey, being about to proceed on a special mission from Whydah to the King's capital, has represented to me that His Majesty has sent three times to him, expressing to him a wish that he might be accompanied by a naval officer; and considering that a compliance with the King's wish may give additional importance to Mr. Duncan's mission, and further the views of Her Majesty's Government with reference to the suppression of the Slave Trade, I have decided to permit a naval officer to accompany him, and I have selected you for the purpose, provided you feel equal to undertaking the journey, as an officer who has had now considerable experience on the African station, and acquired some knowledge of the native languages and habits. You will therefore put yourself forthwith in communication with that gentleman at Whydah, and in case of your accompanying him, you will be guided in your conduct and interview with the King of Dahomey, by the following instructions, in as far as, on conference with the Vice-Consul, you find they are in no respect at variance with those he may have received from Her Majesty's Government.

You will deliver the accompanying letter from me to the King, at your first interview.

You will be prepared to appear at his Court in the full-dress uniform of your rank, and in every respect to maintain the character of a British officer.

You will be strictly guarded in all your intercourse with the native chiefs and others, to give no cause of offence, bearing in mind their superstitious character and habits.

You will make it your first object to support the position of Mr. Duncan as the Diplomatic Agent of Her Majesty the Queen.

The Slave Trade without doubt has been long and actively pursued within the Kingdom of Dahomey, and the power and wealth of the King, and the extent of his dominions, has enabled him to supply the dealers on the coast to any amount. Your next great object will be to obtain the most accurate information in everything connected with that question.

The recent death of the wealthy Brazilian slave-dealer, Da Souza, at Whydah, who has been supposed to be an agent of the King of Dahomey,

and to have had some influence with him, appears to afford a favourable opportunity of approaching the King again on the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade within his dominions. You will therefore avail yourself of any opportunity in conference with him or his chief people, to impress them with the greater benefit they must derive from retaining their people in their own country for the cultivation of the soil, and the extension of commerce by the exchange of its products for articles of European manufacture and general legal trade, than by the cruelty of selling them to a slave-merchant, to be carried away to enrich another country; and you will endeavour to explain to the King and chief people, that the great desire of your Sovereign and her people is to see Christianity introduced into every part of Africa, and thereby to increase the civilization, welfare, and happiness of her people; and that knowing that the great benefits of peace and commerce have been the happy results in all those parts where the Slave Trade has been abolished, and general trade for the produce of the country introduced, Her Majesty would receive with much pleasure any intimation from the King of Dahomey, of his desire to do the same, and make a treaty with her for the purpose.

You will also assure the King and his chiefs, that it would be a great satisfaction to me if I could be the instrument of promoting the wishes of my Sovereign, and of effecting such a treaty on the part of Her Majesty with them, and thereby establish a cordial and lasting good understanding between the Sovereigns and people of both countries; and if you succeed in attracting attention to the subject, you will endeavour to ascertain the King's view, and on what terms he would be disposed to execute any such treaty. I hardly expect he is so prepared at present; but I furnish you with blank Forms of treaties such as have been concluded with the African chiefs, for your guidance, and authorize you to act, in case any opening is afforded you, to their extent.

You will thank His Majesty for the countenance and support already afforded to the English and American missionaries who have come to reside within his country, for the sole object of promoting the happiness of his people, by the introduction of the Christian religion, and beg his continued protection of them; and, if opportunity is afforded, you will express to the King how contrary the practice of human sacrifice is to the principle of that religion, and how gratifying it would be to your Sovereign the Queen to know that the King had ordered it to be discontinued within his dominions.

I hope Mr. Duncan may be able to accomplish the object of his mission quickly, and that you may be able to return in three weeks to Whydah; at any rate you must not let your absence be prolonged unnecessarily beyond that time. You will prepare and forward to me a full and detailed report of all your proceedings, and of any expenses incurred; and, on your return to Whydah, you will receive orders from the senior officer of your division for your further guidance.

Before leaving Abomey you will inquire for any reply from the King to my letter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 3.

Commodore Fanshawe to the King of Dahomey.

"Centaur," Loanda, September 10, 1849.

To the most renowned King of Dahomey, the Commander-in-chief of the squadron of Her Majesty the Queen of England on the coast of Africa, wishes health, peace, and the blessing of God.

Sire,

I HAD heard with great satisfaction and pleasure, from Mr. Duncan, of your Majesty's wish to see an officer of my mistress, the Queen of England, at your capital.

I hail your wish as an additional mark of amity towards my Sovereign and the British nation, and I am happy to avail myself of any opportunity that may make your Majesty better acquainted with the officers of the Queen of England, hoping and believing that it will lead to increased friendship and lasting attachment between my Sovereign and yourself and your respective subjects; and in compliance with your Majesty's wish, I do myself the honour to inform your Majesty, that I have deputed one of the good and trusty officers of the squadron of the Queen of England which I command, Lieutenant Frederick Edwin Forbes, commander of the brigantine "Bonetta," to repair, with Mr. Duncan, to your Majesty's Court, and present himself before you with this letter. He, Lieutenant Forbes, is an officer of merit and intelligence, and he is acquainted with my sincere desire to cultivate a good understanding with your Majesty, and with my views and sentiments as to the surest means of increasing the friendly alliance already existing between yourself and the Queen of England, by the extension of legitimate commerce between the two countries, and for this end, the increased cultivation of the soil throughout your Majesty's vast dominions, and the prevention of the Traffic in Slaves on the shores of your kingdom.

I know the great power and influence of your Majesty, spread over a vast extent of territory; I feel certain it is your Majesty's desire to increase the happiness and welfare of your subjects; and I pray and hope you will be brought, through the blessing of that Almighty and great God who directs the hearts and hands of all Kings and Queens, to perceive that your real power and wealth, the happiness and welfare of your subjects, and the general cause of humanity will be best promoted and extended by prohibiting the sale of your Majesty's slaves and subjects to European merchants, to be carried away from their country to enrich and cultivate a foreign land, instead of being retained to labour and develop the immense resource of your own.

Sire, I hope and pray, when your Majesty gives yourself time to consider the subject in your wise mind, you will come to this conclusion and be disposed to make a treaty of amity and commerce with Her Majesty the Queen of England, my illustrious Sovereign, who with her people has so much at heart the desire to see the people of Africa partaking of those benefits which are to be derived from the Christian religion, increased cultivation of the soil, and the promotion of commerce.

In conclusion I thank your Majesty, on the part of my Sovereign, for the protection you have at different times afforded to such of Her Majesty's subjects as have visited Dahomey, and especially to the Christian missionaries at Badagry and Abbeokuta, and beg your further countenance of those good men.

May God grant your Majesty a long life and guide you aright in all things, giving you increased power and wealth to be used for the benefit of your subjects and the dispersion of your enemies.

I am, &c.

(L.S.)

(Signed)

ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 3.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commander Harvey.

Sir,

Whydah, October 4, 1849.

IMMEDIATELY on landing I requested Mr. Duncan to peruse my instructions from Commodore Fanshawe, and received from him the request that I should accompany him to Abomey, in order that all the requests of the King might be attended to, the only one not hitherto arranged being his thrice-repeated request, that an officer might be sent from the fleet to visit. Mr. Duncan is of opinion that such a visit, being in accordance with His Majesty's especial wish, will at least much assist him when he returns at the Customs, and the King has it in his power to give a final answer, being then attended by his Cabooceers (or Superintendents of Trade).

As I am desired in my instructions to state any expenses that may be incurred, I have to report to you that the present to the King has already been made, and that Mr. Duncan has only sufficient to ensure a good reception at the Customs. Understanding that a present is necessary (both from Mr. Duncan and the Cabooceers), I have purchased two pieces of silk for 3*l.* 15*s.*, twenty-five gallons of rum, 4*l.*, which with the subsistence for bearers will form the only expenses.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. E. FORBES.

Inclosure 8 in No. 3.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commander Harvey.

(Extract.)

Whydah, October 6, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to state that yesterday Mr. Duncan and myself had an interview with the Cabooceer (Governor), the French merchant (M. Blancheley) attending, and at the request of the Cabooceer, Mr. Hastie also.

The Cabooceer sent for Mr. Duncan and myself this morning and we were received most politely.

A messenger was instantly sent to the King to acquaint him of my arrival, and it appears to be necessary that we should wait until his return, before leaving this, that being the custom of the country, and any attempt to oppose such custom would at least give great offence.

It would appear that the Customs to the memory of Da Souza are drawing to a close, and that the King has sent to inform the Portuguese merchant Domingo Martinez, now living at Porto Novo, that if he will come to Abomey he shall be received as Charchar, but he is only to come on condition that he settles at Whydah, which it is not expected he will do, as he is carrying on a lucrative trade there.

We cannot now start before Wednesday or Thursday, but as everything will be ready by the return of the messenger, no delay will take place after his arrival. I do not apprehend a lengthened delay at Abomey in consequence of the absence of the Cabooceers, but Mr. Duncan is of opinion that the King will be much pleased with his wishes being so minutely attended to, and be better prepared to conform with the wishes of the Government at the Customs.

Inclosure 9 in No. 3.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commander Harvey.

(Extract.)

Whydah, October 8, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that this day the Cabooceer paid me an official visit, and brought with him forty soldiers to salute, who kept a constant fire during the conference. His visit was of the most friendly order.

He hoped I should explain that the Fort was much out of repair; spoke of the good feeling existing between the King of Dahomey and the Queen of Great Britain; and was in every way complimentary both to Mr. Duncan and myself.

The Fort saluted the King of Dahomey with twenty-one guns, while we drank his health, and afterwards saluted the Cabooceer.

The Portuguese merchants are entirely aloof, and there is some secret agency working against Mr. Duncan. What the intention is, time may show.

The messenger will probably return from the King on Wednesday, and we may start on Thursday. The delay I find to be actually according to the country customs, and although very disagreeable, must be complied with.

Inclosure 10 in No. 3.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commander Harvey.

Sir,

Whydah, October 11, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to state that last evening at 7 o'clock the King's messenger returned, bearing His Majesty's stick, and a request that Mr. Duncan and myself would immediately proceed to Abomey. It was delivered by the Cabooceer's headman, on his knees, and face on the dust.

Every opposition that can be has been made by the Portuguese merchants, luckily without any serious consequence; but the difference of reception to what ought to have been offered to me on landing was yesterday illustrated on the arrival of a Portuguese supercargo (I believe of a slave-vessel), who landed a few days back at Popo, and reaching the King's custom-house at Whydah by a lagoon, was met by all the Cabooceers and some 500 soldiers, who saluted him.

Great excitement prevails among the Portuguese merchants as to the cause of my mission, and several expedients have been tried, without effect, to discover its purport.

The greater part of our goods go to-day, and we proceed to-morrow; when we return is of course uncertain, but I do not expect to be more than twenty days from this date.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. E. FORBES.

Inclosure 11 in No. 3.

*The King of Dahomey to Commodore Fanshawe.**Abomey, October 18, 1849.*

THE King, in answer to the Commander-in-chief's letter, has to state that at this moment he is alone in his capital, and unprepared for a final answer to his letter.

At the Customs, which take place in the early part of March, he will be surrounded by his Cabooceers, and be ready to give a direct answer to the Commander-in-chief's request concerning a Treaty for the abolition of the foreign Slavery.

The King is much pleased with the assurances of the goodwill of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain toward himself and subjects; in return for which His Majesty will at all times afford protection to all British subjects, missionaries, or traders, or others visiting the Kingdom.

The King requests that Lieutenant Forbes may be present at the Customs and receive his final answer.

The King begs to state that originally the French were the first whites in Whydah, but after his grandfather made war with that country, the English were the first who settled there, and became his friends, and since then they have been the first.

That in the meantime he hopes the Commander-in-chief will not allow slave-vessels to be taken in the roads of Whydah, as being under his protection.

Given, &c.

(Signed) GUEZO, *King of Dahomey.*

Drawn up by me at the King's dictation,

(Signed) F. E. FORBES.

Lieutenant, Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Bonetta."

Witness to having heard the above dictation, and to the King's holding the pen while his name was written.

(Signed) JOHN DUNCAN, *Vice-Consul.*

Inclosure 12 in No. 3.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commodore Fanshawe

(Extract.)

"Bonetta," at sea, November 1, 1849.

PURSUANT to your orders dated September 9, 1849*, I have the honour to lay before you a full and detailed report of my proceedings on a journey to Abomey, the capital of the Kingdom of Dahomey, on such matters as are of interest to Her Majesty's Government, written in the form of a journal.

October 3, 1849.—Arrived at Whydah; found at anchor Her Majesty's ship "Kingfisher."

Commander Harvey having explained to me the difficulties (reported to the Commander-in-chief) he had encountered in communicating with Her Majesty's Vice-Consul, I proceeded to the back of the surf, and sent a Kroo canoe with three Kroomen, to ascertain its extent and exact state. The Kroomen effected a landing; but in attempting to return, the canoe was broken in pieces.

October 4.—Having borrowed the Kroo canoe belonging to Commander Harvey, I entered her at the back of the surf, still very high, but had no sooner attempted to land, than the canoe was capsized and broken; after much danger, assisted by the three Kroomen who landed yesterday, I swam on shore.

(For detail of my communication with the Vice-Consul, see letters 1, 2, 3, and 4, addressed to Commander Harvey.)

October 5.—Visited the Viceroy. Having been introduced by Mr. Duncan, and having explained my views, the Vice-Consul took advantage of the opportunity to explain to the Viceroy that the French house of Blancheley had offered him the keys of the French Fort for transmission to the King (they intending to return to France), unless their trade, which had been stopped, was reopened. Mr. Hastie, agent for Hutton and Co., who was present at the Viceroy's request, in a most unwarrantable manner, stated that unless the French trade was reopened, the men-of-war would enforce it. I instantly desired Mr. Hastie to be silent; yet the threat was no sooner made, than the Viceroy rose in a furious passion, saying, "If you wish to break this country, you can do so: go! go!" He then retired; but entering a few minutes after, pointing to me, he asked why I remained. I told him I was waiting until his passion was over, to shake hands with him, and to explain to him that he must be labouring under a false impression, if he imagined either Mr. Duncan or myself had hinted any threat. This cooled him, and shaking hands, I left the house.

October 6.—The Viceroy sent at an early hour to desire an interview with the Vice-Consul and myself. On arriving at his house, we were ushered into a private apartment, and soon explained how much he had been mistaken in Mr. Duncan's intentions. I am of opinion that yesterday the Viceroy was inebriated, and possessed with a false impression of our intentions. I am fully aware that Mr. Hastie had told him that Mr. Duncan was a private individual, formerly a soldier, and now passing himself off as a Consul, without authority. I gleaned from Mr. Hastie's own words that he had hinted to the Viceroy that I had no further claim to a visit to Abomey than that of an officer on leave; and to prove it, he, the Viceroy, should demand to see my papers before he allowed me to proceed. In consequence of the above, I had provided myself with my instructions, which I produced unasked. Mr. Hastie had to pay a fine for his interference; such fines, in the idiom of the Dahomian language, are termed "wiping the mouth."

After much conversation, the Viceroy assuring me that he now understood the Vice-Consular position, begged, in the idiom of the language, that "the palaver might be set," to which I consented, or, in other words,

* See Inclosure 5, page 8.

not to mention again the insult of yesterday. He now received my seal to send to the King, to ask permission for me to proceed to Abomey.

October 7.—I inspected the British Fort, which is in a most disgraceful state of want of repair, and unworthy the name it bears; the guns all dismounted, and the walls in a dilapidated state. By a letter shown me to-day by Mr. Hastie, the firm of Hutton and Company, London, claims the property of the Fort, and in consequence their agent has placed Mr. Duncan and his two countrymen in two apartments totally inadequate to their wants. Their agent retains the key of the Fort, and shows no respect to the Vice-Consular authority; on the contrary, strives in every way in his power to draw down the ridicule, not only of the native authorities, but also of the Portuguese and other merchants, and, as far as he is able, to render Mr. Duncan's residence as uncomfortable as he can to himself, and his official position nugatory. The British Fort has, I am informed, never been repaired at the expense of Messrs. Hutton, but by the King obliging the English Town people to work at a nominal subsistence, paid by Messrs. Hutton as a moderate tax. I am not prepared to state whether Messrs. Hutton support their agent as the aggressor to the interests of the British Government, but from the recent date of the letter above quoted, and ocular demonstration, I am led to believe they do; consequently, I addressed a letter to Mr. T. Hutton, the African partner at Cape Coast, of which the following is a true copy:—

“I have the honour to state that having arrived at Whydah *en route* to Abomey, on a special mission, I suffered so much in the performance of my duty from the unprincipled conduct of your agent, that I feel it my duty to make official report thereof to the Naval Commander-in-chief. I therefore thus acquaint you, in order that should his acts against the interests of the British Government not meet your approbation, or be contrary to his orders from you, you may be prepared to explain the same when called upon. I have further to add that a letter was shown me, stating the British Fort to be the property of Messrs. Hutton, with which assumption I acquainted His Majesty of Dahomey; and that I feel called upon to report the dilapidated condition in which I found the Fort, and the extreme misery of the apartments (2) afforded to Her Majesty's Vice-Consul, Mr. Duncan; and in consequence that I, a British officer, felt it incumbent on me to seek lodgings elsewhere.”

A great assistance in annoyance is rendered by the parties being aware that the Vice-Consul is an unpaid officer; and Mr. Duncan being a poor man, can by no means disburse, as is the custom in Dahomey, where poverty is a crime unpardonable; hence I am not exceeding the plain truth when I assert that far from an unpaid Consul ever adding to the interests of his Government, he must daily be doing harm, and bringing that Government into contempt. I do not think a merchant Consul of any kind can answer,—that office should be paid above the desire to trade.

In Dahomey all preliminaries are settled by presents, and I witnessed a disbursement on the part of Don Domingo José Martins, of goods to the amount of 5000 dollars, most of them given, I understood, to counteract any injury my visit might have caused to the interests of the slave-merchants.

The public square (Whydah) ran with rum from three pipes started for the mob to wallow in. Thirty-five pipes of rum besides silk and cowries (the currency of Dahomey) were sent to the King. The Viceroy and all the Cabooceers were large receivers. These presents are common to all slave-merchants, and the late Senhor da Souza is said to have paid 1000*l.* annually (in goods) besides presents. At this moment, except Domingo Martins, there are none who can afford large gifts.

In Whydah there are a great number of returned slaves (liberated Africans) from Sierra Leone and Bahia. This day (Sunday) all were gaily dressed, the Bahians walking to and from church; but the Sierra Leone people told me with regret that they had no church.

In the whole Kingdom of Dahomey there is but one Christian place of

worship, the Catholic chapel of the Portuguese Fort. The religion of the Dahomian is of the worst order of paganism,—worshipping a snake of the boa constrictor species.

The French Fort is in a most respectable state of repair. The Portuguese one moderately so.

The town of Whydah is divided into five portions, or krooms, each under the superintendence of a Cabooceer or Yavogau. They are as follows :

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1st. French Town. | Dagbah, the Viceroy. |
| 2nd. English Town. | Shechleeler, Cabooceer. |
| 3rd. Portuguese Town. | Borgnen, Cabooceer. |
| 4th. Charchar Town. | Guodeferei, Cabooceer. |
| 5th. Viceroy's Town. | Ahtinderhood, Cabooceer. |

It is thus divided by order of the King, and the people of each town work for the merchants of that people its name represents.

October 8.—The Viceroy visited me officially, attended by a company of soldiers, who kept up a constant independent fire during the interview, as a salute to me. During the conference he begged I would report to the British Government the dilapidated condition of the Fort, and the imperfect state of its batteries. He was very condescending, and particularly civil.

October 9.—Mr. Hastie has raised a report that the Portuguese merchants charged him with having given information to Commander Harvey, whereby Her Majesty's ship "Kingfisher" captured a slave-brig. He having reported the same to Commander Harvey, that officer empowered me to contradict it; but on inquiry all the respectable merchants declared they never hinted such a charge. It was most probably invented to lead me to suppose he (Mr. Hastie) was entirely independent of the slave-merchants.

October 10.—This day, the supercargo of a slaver having landed at Popo, arrived, and was received by the Viceroy in state, under the fire of some hundreds of musketry. After meeting him at the end of the town, the Viceroy paraded the whole of Whydah, attended by the Cabooceers under huge painted umbrellas, and accompanied by band of music and standards.

In the evening the messenger returned from the King, commanding that I should immediately proceed to Abomey, attended by Mr. Duncan. As protection he sent his stick, a gold-headed Malacca cane, which was presented to me by the Viceroy's headman, with his head on the ground, and throwing dirt on his head.

October 11.—Hired bearers, sixteen for hammocks, and twenty men and women to carry cowries, rum, and baggage, and sent the latter on the road.

October 12.—Visited the Viceroy on leaving, who received the King's stick, and having prostrated himself, and placed dirt on his head, returned it to me, adding that with that I wanted no protection, but to supply my wants and assist me as a linguist, he gave me his hand and foot,—his headman, Narwey.

October 13.—Arrived at the royal city of Allahdah, having passed through a fine park country, intersected by corn and ground-bean farms; not a pebble or stone of any kind is to be seen between this and Whydah, twenty-eight miles. At Allahdah one human skull is exposed, that of a man found in the royal harem.

On the 5th day of our journey we arrived at the royal city of Canamina, or Camioh, and thence sent a messenger to inform the King of our arrival. The country passed has been very regular and level, except in the neighbourhood of an extensive swamp, about fifty miles from Whydah, where there is a slight irregularity. In the vicinity of this swamp there is much ironstone, sandstone, and conglomerate. It is surrounded, and has been the bed of a lagoon or river, and bears every appearance of a coal deposit. In the afternoon the messenger returned.

October 17.—Started in full uniform for the capital, distant ten miles. Having entered the gate of the city, which is ornamented with human skulls, and in the vicinity of the principal Fetish-house, we halted, and

taking position in chairs across the road, waited for the ceremony of being met by the Cabooceers. In a short time an immense crowd advanced towards us, with banners flying among them.

At some distance they halted, and the Governor of the city, at the head of a few soldiers, advanced. When arrived in front of our position, he countermarched, and made a circle from left to right three times round our seats, bowing each time he came in front. On the last time he fired off a musket, and danced before us; then having shaken hands, took a seat.

One of the King's brothers next performed the above ceremony; then a band of the royal household, chanting a welcome, followed by other Cabooceers; lastly two regiments of musketeers and one of blunderbussmen; these last having passed, commenced an independent fire, while we were regaled with spirits and water sent by His Majesty. The whole then re-formed in procession, and entering our hammocks, they preceded us to the Palace-yard.

The square in front of the Palace, though extremely large, was densely crowded with armed men and women squatted on their hams, their long Danish muskets standing up like a miniature forest. Scores of banners of all colours and devices added to the scene, those of the King surmounted by a skull.

The Palace wall, of red clay, standing about twenty-five feet high, extending over more than a square mile, was one continued line of human skulls, yet it might be remarked that where decay had destroyed, these ghastly ornaments were not replaced; on the thresholds and sides of the portals of the Palace were also human skulls; but the practice of human sacrifice is fast vanishing from the Kingdom of Dahomey.

The palaces of Dahomey are extensive harems, entered only by the King and eunuchs, except at the Customs, when they are thrown open to the inspection of all visitors.

In the centre of the wall open upon the square is a huge gateway over which a roof is built, under this, on a mat, lay the King. The gates thrown open discovered at least 3000 of the royal wives richly dressed, while immediately around the Monarch stood his Ministers, Cabooceers, and favourite wives, magnificently attired.

Notwithstanding the vast concourse in the square, the ground was well kept, marked out by bamboos; a road was formed round the square through which we were carried three times, still preceded by the Cabooceers, who each time they passed the King prostrated and threw dirt on their heads; etiquette simply required us to bow. After the third round we left our hammocks, and, still preceded by the chiefs, slowly approached the King, who now rose to receive us. When within a few paces the Cabooceers made a lane and again prostrated and kissed the dust; through this lane we advanced and shook hands with the King.

King Guezo is about forty-eight years of age, good-looking, with nothing of the negro cast of countenance, his complexion wanting several shades of being black; his appearance is commanding, his countenance intellectual, though stern. That he is extremely proud there can be no doubt, for he treads the earth as if it were honoured by its burden. Contrasted with the gaudy attire of his Ministers, wives, and Cabooceers (of every hue), laden with ornaments of coral, gold, silver, and brass, the King was plainly dressed in a loose robe of yellow silk slashed with satin stars and half-moons; he wore Mandingo sandals, Spanish hat trimmed with gold lace; the only ornament being a small gold chain of European manufacture.

Having taken seats round the Royal mat we soon entered into a complimentary conversation, the Prime Minister whispering into the Royal ear, the interpreter not being allowed to address the King directly in matters of compliment.

The King now introduced me to his Ministers: Mayo, Prime Minister; Meigau, of Police; Cambodee, Treasurer; Maehaepah, Justice; Toonoonoo, Eunuch-in-chief; then to an elderly lady called the English Mother, named "Yawae," one of the matrons of the harem who

provides food for English visitors. Next all the Cabooceers were introduced.

The King then expressed a wish I should witness a review of female troops, and two regiments were at once paraded, but not before the ground was shifted and marked out for the manœuvring. The officers (female) distinguished by armlets of silver reaching from the wrist to the elbow, and carrying each a small whip. The whole were uniformly dressed in tunics of blue and white, armed with a musket, club, and short sword, carried cartouch-boxes, and went through several evolutions, skirmishing, firing volleys, &c., with much precision. After the review the officers were introduced and complimented.

The King next proposed Her Majesty the Queen of England's health, which he said he knew we preferred to drink in champagne, which we did accordingly; but as the King drank it several screens were held before him, as mortal may not gaze on His Majesty either in the act of eating or drinking.

After drinking His Majesty's health also in champagne, we were permitted to take leave. The King accompanying us across the square, where all now was animation: the thousands of armed men and women rushing round their Monarch, brandishing aloft their clubs and muskets, and yelling and shouting in a most fearful manner.

Our quarters were in the Prime Minister's inclosure, a recently built house for English visitors.

October 18.—At an early hour we were commanded to appear before the King, and I was directed to bring my despatches.

After much delay and ceremony, we were ushered into a small apartment, immediately within the Palace gate; on a bed covered with a mat and satin pillows, reclined the King, who rose to receive us; there were present the Prime Minister, a few of the ladies of the harem, and some five attendants, besides Mr. Duncan and the two interpreters. I immediately proceeded to business.

Having presented the Commander-in-chief's letter, the King desired me to read it to him, which I did in short sentences, explaining their meaning, and causing them to be translated by both interpreters at the same moment, who often appeared to be correcting each other, and thus probably giving the King a true version.

Having finished the letter, I read those portions of my instructions which referred to the Slave Trade, Mr. Duncan's position, human sacrifices, and the introduction of missionaries. Concerning the Slave Trade the King intends answering at the Customs; Mr. Duncan's position the King understands; human sacrifices I felt I could thank him for having so far reduced in numbers; the introduction of missionaries he courts.

Having gone into much detail on the advantage of legal trade, of the probability, in consequence of increased coercion on the part of the Brazilian Government, of his not deriving high profits in future from the sale of slaves, when I had written the King's letter to the Commander-in-chief, the public business was closed.

We conversed for some time on various topics, and among others, the King's wish that the Slave Trade should be stopped in the neighbouring States.

Mr. Duncan having asked the King if he could inform him of the fate of Dr. Dickson, the fellow traveller of Captain Clapperton, he related as follows:

“Mr. Dickson appeared at Abomey, accompanied by the late Charchar, Senhor da Souza. At Da Souza's request, the King furnished Dr. Dickson with a body-guard of sixty men. Arrived at the frontier town of Char, forty of the guard returned, but a man named Amuza, with six soldiers, Asukbah with five, and Bongboo, three headmen, had never been heard of since. That after leaving Char, they passed into the country of Neekie (Neefoo) on the road to Haussa, but from leaving Neefoo, all trace was lost.

“Dr. Dickson had the fever very badly at Abomey, and his head was shaved.”

The King then told me I should see his wealth at the Customs; that he was about to depart for a festival, but could not leave visitors in his city, asked me how long I wished to remain to rest.

I told him three days, but finding out afterwards he really wished to be on the road, I agreed to leave in two.

Understanding we were going to see the market, he sent a slave to accompany us, with 20,000 cowries.

After drinking a great deal of champagne, we took leave, accompanied to the end of the square by the King. At the moment he had stepped out of the Palace, not a soul was to be seen, but before we parted, thousands had surrounded, armed as yesterday, and thousands more were rushing from all sides, shouting, and brandishing aloft their weapons.

The markets are very extensive, in which foreign as well as native goods of all kinds are exposed for sale; there being no shops, these markets, or fairs, are the only places where articles are bought and sold; they take place once in five days, and in the neighbourhood of Abomey there are several, so that each day there is a market.

October 19.—At an early hour assembled outside the Prime Minister's house, to hear a salute of twenty-one guns fired in honour of Her Majesty the Queen of England, nine as a salute to myself, and nine in honour of Mr. Duncan. After drinking Her Majesty's health, the troops hurrahed, and the salute commenced; but before it was half-over, we were all obliged to scamper after the Prime Minister, and hide our faces against the wall, as a portion of the 18,000 royal wives were passing, ringing a small bell, as these sable ladies are all over the town at all times, and no male may gaze on them unpunished.

The salute over, the King's permission was given us to depart when convenient, and as a return for my present, the Prime Minister presented in the King's name a large country cloth for the hammock (so expressed), 20,000 cowries for the road, some flour, palm-oil, peppers and a bullock, which had not arrived when Her Majesty's ship sailed. My present to the King consisted of

	£	s.	d.
One piece of silk	1	10	0
One do. satin stripe	1	13	0
Twenty-five gallons of Rum	3	2	6
One case of Wine	1	4	0
Sword and belt	0	0	0
Cap and band	0	0	0
Bracelet and scissors	0	10	0
	<hr/>		
	£7	19	6

The King was at an expense of no less than 200 dollars in consequence of our visit; food in enormous quantities was sent daily for our consumption.

October 20.—Quitted the capital; the Vice-Consul unwell with dysentery.

October 25.—Arrived at Whydah. Mr. Duncan much worse. Took lodgings in the town.

October 26.—Senhor Domingo José Martins sent to offer his boats for my embarkation. This offer saved me much inconvenience, as Senhor Martins, although a slave-merchant, is in part a legal merchant also. It is absolutely necessary that the Vice-Consul should have the means of communicating with Her Majesty's ships; he should be provided with at least two large canoes and a set of canoe-men (twenty).

October 29.—Her Majesty's ship "Kingfisher" arrived.

October 30.—The surgeon of Her Majesty's ship "Kingfisher" having decided it necessary, embarked the Vice-Consul, Mr. Duncan, very ill with dysentery.

Her Majesty's ship "Kingfisher," at noon, fired a royal salute in honour of the King of Dahomey, and in answer to the salute to Her Majesty the Queen of England, fired at Abomey.

Arrived Her Majesty's ship "Bonetta." Rejoined, and sailed for Liberia.

Inclosure 13 in No. 3.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commodore Fanshawe.

Sir,

"Bonetta," at sea, November 5, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to lay before you the following report on the existing state of the Slave and other trades in the Kingdom of Dahomey.

Guezo, the present King, some years ago, at the wish of his subjects, deposed his brother Adonooza, the latter having fallen into the degrading habit of inebriation.

Guezo no sooner became King than he made it his chief policy either to employ his people in war or amuse them with festivals. In order to insure success in the former (and as it will be seen in both) he established large armies of male and female soldiers, and in the course of time conquered the Kingdoms of Anagoo, Mahee, Bassa, and Kangaroo, thus rendering Dahomey a large monarchy. Instead of being tributary (as formerly) to the Kingdom of Ashantee, he has placed that country nominally at his feet, sent his defiance, and built a palace under the name of Coomasee (that of the capital of Ashantee) to commemorate the declaration.

Besides minor there is one annual festival known as the Customs, which takes place on the appearance of the third moon, March 13, 1850, and lasts six weeks. To this festival the whole of his subjects are invited, also all foreigners, traders, and others, sojourners in his kingdom, and all are assembled at the expense of the King. In order to defray this enormous expense, the King makes war on one or the other neighbouring countries, and performs what is termed a "slave-hunt." These hunts the King always superintends, and in order to excite emulation, gives the female soldiers a different portion to overrun from the male; in the performance of which duty the females almost always excel.

The King having acquired a taste for European articles of merchandize, has a great desire to strengthen his alliance with foreigners. Having no doubt of their national protection, he holds the British and French people in great respect, while, on the contrary, although he admits that the Portuguese, *i. e.* slave-merchants, readily purchase all his slaves, he treats them with much contempt, forcing them to pay many additional duties, &c.

The Kingdom of Dahomey, although of such vast inland extent, has but one seaport, Whydah, or more properly *Greogwei*, the Dahomian name, while the slave-merchants term it *Ajuda*. From the number of slave-merchants residing at Whydah, that port is strictly watched by the cruizers. Of these merchants the late Da Souza, a Brazilian, was the chief, or Charchar, friend and agent to the King. Although Da Souza was at one time said to possess 120,000,000 dollars, at his death he was almost a pauper, the consequence of having been over liberal in his presents, and having met with some severe losses at sea. Besides the enormous expenses of his household, his wives alone amounting to 300, he lived in great magnificence, every article of table or domestic use was of solid silver.

Of the sons of Da Souza there are three wealthy and slave-merchants; the eldest, Isidore, is a resident of Popo, and will become Charchar magistrate of slave-merchants, if Domingo Martins declines that office. The other two are Antonio Cockoo and Ignacio.

Domingo Jozé Martins, the richest merchant in the Bights (Brazilian), is a resident at Porto Novo, where he commands a monopoly of both slave and palm-oil trades, each of which he works to an enormous amount, and he is the only merchant in the Bights that ships a whole slave cargo; the others club their slaves, and ship in proportion to their means all in one or more vessels. Martins has a large consignment of British cotton on palm-oil account at Porto Novo. He has an establishment also at Whydah.

Joaquim Almeida, the richest resident in Whydah, was originally from the Mahee country; sold into slavery, he has returned from Bahia, and is now a slave-merchant on an extensive scale.

Jacinta, a native of Madeira, and Jozé Joaquim, fill up the number of Brazilian and Portuguese merchants; the latter was formerly a private soldier of the Brazils. There are also many petty dealers. The house of Joaquim Antonio (D) is the only Spanish firm.

By means of lagoon the slaves can be shipped at either Porto Novo, &c., to the eastward, or Popo, &c., to the westward, with much greater safety; but as these ports are the property each of a neighbouring chief, the King of Dahomey is jealous of his slaves being shipped without his kingdom, as thereby he loses the head-tax of 20 dollars, a heavy sum; and hence his repeated desire the Slave Trade might be put a stop to in the neighbouring States, and shipments allowed in Whydah.

The price of a slave, from the trade being almost a royal monopoly (or at least a Martins one), is very high, being (in goods) from 80 to 100 dollars. Hence with many captures there is great loss; the consequence is, that each slave-merchant counteracts the chances of the losses in some degree, by embarking also in the palm-oil trade, and at this moment not one slave-merchant in Whydah but works both trades.

The French house of Blancheley is working a large palm-oil trade. There are a few supercargoes of Hamburgh vessels generally residing, who invariably purchase through Portuguese or Brazilian agency.

The Americans have no trade at Whydah.

Hutton and Co., the only British firm, as far as I can judge, are not purchasing.

The resources of the country might be much extended, the soil is capable of producing all tropical plants, sugar corn, fruits, &c., though the curse of the locusts is felt at times. The timber is magnificent at a little distance from Whydah. The animal kingdom is well furnished. The geologist and the botanist would find ample employment and be well repaid for developing the hidden treasures of the Kingdom of Dahomey. The exports at once might be palm-oil, cocoa, and ground-nut oil, timber, Indian and Guinea corn, cotton and yams (to the rivers). The jealousy of the present trade removed, there is no part of Africa where stock and even luxuries can be produced so abundantly and cheap. The manufactures are cloths of various kinds and pottery.

At this moment the King is preparing for a slave-hunt, but *ad interim* he is performing the festival in memory of his mother, at which large numbers of his subjects and all his soldiers are assembled.

The seat of war will be in the country of Anagoos, situated to the westward of Abomey; this country has already been subjugated by the Dahomians.

The King thus states his reasons. That in the reign of his grandfather, the Anagoos invested Abomey, and so closely that the women could not leave the city for water (which is procured from a distance of six miles), without fear of being kidnapped. The consequence was, great suffering on the part of the Dahomians; neither his grandfather nor his father were fighting men, but quietly submitted to the ravages of the inroad. He had, however, conquered the Anagoos, but did not consider them as yet sufficiently punished; that he must have money (slaves for the ensuing Customs), and he thought of all his hereditary enemies, the Anagoos most deserved the chastisement.

The fact is, he has conquered almost all his neighbours, and is at a loss for some new field in which to perform his slave-hunt. Malefactors are mostly punished with death, but may be reprieved and sold into slavery. Domestic slaves are on no account allowed to be sold into foreign slavery. Should a merchant allow a slave to become a parent in Dahomey, he cannot sell either parent or child into foreign slavery. Slaves are never exposed in the market, but all sales are arranged privately in the houses of the dealers.

The shipments of the last six months, independent of those captured, are as follows: from Porto Novo, 3 with 570 slaves; 1 with 200 slaves;

1 with 300; 1 with 70: all schooners, the two former built for the Trade, the latter a French vessel, purchased. Report speaks of two other schooners, but I failed in getting particulars. From Whydah 1 with 200 slaves (a schooner fore and aft), built for the Trade. From Popo 1 with less than 100 slaves, a French schooner purchased. Report states that three others have lately shipped, but again no particulars. From River Volta, 1 with 200 slaves, a schooner built for the Trade. From Lagos and Jaboo I have no information, but in Her Majesty's ship under my command, chased unsuccessfully one schooner laden (reported).

The slaves in hand at this moment are as follows: at Abomey the King has two cargoes, but I have failed in discovering of what amount; at Whydah 50 slaves; Popo, 800; Porto Novo, none; Lagos, unknown.

At Whydah the jealousy of the trade revealed that the Spaniards have established themselves at Formosa, working the Nun and Brass Rivers, and that a felucca had escaped full. Such is the case, and the felucca escaped the "Waterwitch" and "Phoenix" about six weeks since.

The merchants in the Volta and to the westward of Cape St. Paul's are Spaniards.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. E. FORBES.

Inclosure 14 in No. 3.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commodore Fanshawe.

(Extract.)

"Bonetta," at Sea, November 7, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to report that while at Abomey, a Krooman named Toh made the following statement to me:

"Some ten years since I was wrecked in a British merchant-vessel on the coast (I believe near Whydah); the white men remained on the beach whilst I and another Krooman named Nyapong went into the bush to procure food, where we were both kidnapped, marched to Abomey, and sold. I have twice essayed to reach the beach, but each have been brought back and punished. I am unaware of the name and rank of my master, but he is a very rich man.

"I have often tried, but never succeeded in nearing the King's person. Nyapong and myself work on a distant plantation."

He spoke English well. I desired my Kroomen to feed and look after him, but he was soon missing.

I immediately sent to the Prime Minister, Mayo, and related to him the above statement; he promised to lay the matter at once before the King.

On the morning of my departure I was somewhat surprised that the Prime Minister did not arrive to see us from the town, as is the custom. On sending my stick to him, his headman arrived and told me that Mayo had been commanded into the Royal presence, and desired we would not wait for him. That as soon as he had an opportunity he would lay the Krooman's case before the King, and send the Royal decision to Mr. Duncan at Whydah.

It appears from the evidence of my head Kroomen, Tom Walker and Jack Smart, that both of the above-named Kroomen are slaves to Mayo, several of that chief's servants having told them so; hence his disinclination to mention the case to the King. It is my opinion he will forward them to Mr. Duncan, and not dare mention it to His Majesty.

Inclosure 15 in No. 3.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commodore Fanshawe.

(Extract.)

"Bonetta," at Sea, November 9, 1849.

AT this moment the slave-merchants are panic-stricken at the success of the Bights squadron, and the King complains that he cannot ship from his own country, thereby losing twenty dollars a-head.

If it is fully proved by demonstration that you are determined he shall not ship slaves, he will come to terms.

In order to approach the King with becoming dignity, I should recommend that a suitable present be prepared for the visit at the Customs.

His Majesty having requested the following articles, they should, if possible, form items: this present should not be in value less than 100*l.* sterling:

Musketoons.
Muskets.
Sponges and rammers, from 3 to 6-pounders.
Clocks.
Hour-glasses.
Slouched beaver hats, trimmed with gold lace.
Silk "pieces."
Rope "signal haulyards."
Musical boxes.
Chairs.
Wines, sweet.

Inclosure 16 in No. 3.

Vice-Consul Duncan to Commander Harvey.

(Extract.)

Whydah, August 24, 1849.

YOU will be surprised to hear that a slaver took in cargo here on the 18th; about 200 were shipped. The object of those interested is to make it appear that the Slave Trade is not decreasing, although the fact of its decrease may easily be proved from certainty, that the whole of the merchants extensively engaged in the Slave Trade are now extensive traders in oil, a part which did not exist three years ago. It has been stated that eight slave-ships have left Porto Novo with full cargoes, when I find from information that may be relied on, that only four slavers have left that part of the coast, and at least one of them captured.

I shall return from Dahomey in about a fortnight, when I shall avail myself of the first opportunity of communicating to you the result of my mission to the King.

Inclosures 17 in No. 3.

Vice-Consul Duncan to Commander Harvey.

(Extract.)

Whydah, September 18, 1849.

I AM sure you will feel much surprised at not receiving any communication from me before this time; and even now I am writing it is very uncertain whether this may reach you, there is so much jealousy on

the part of the Portuguese and Spaniards. I have been three times on the beach endeavouring to get off to your ship, but could not on any terms get a canoe. I waited five hours on the beach this day, endeavouring to get a canoe to take me on board; but although the Frenchman (who is the only person of any stability of character here) was shipping oil, he was afraid to allow one of his canoes to take off even a note to you, so great is the jealousy of the Spaniards and Portuguese, in consequence of my favourable reception by the King of Dahomey, whose kindness and honourable conduct is highly creditable to him and very favourable to commerce. My time will not admit of a detailed account of my journey to the capital and reception, but I hope to be able by some means to come on board and give you a *viva voce* statement; suffice to state, it was very satisfactory; but I shall have to attend again at Dahomey at the great annual Custom, which will take place in about seven moons. He expressed his great satisfaction at my return to his country, and at my appointment as Vice-Consul.

On the evening previous to my return for the coast, myself and companions received a number of presents; articles of various kinds, as well as live stock.

With the present squadron on this part of the coast, and a small garrison of men here, the Slave Trade might be completely broken up here, as the King is so anxious to encourage legitimate commerce; but now that old Da Souza is dead, it will be difficult, without some protection, to contend with such a nest of hornets as the slave-dealers. They are now making custom for old Da Souza. A number of soldiers from Dahomey are here, and some prisoners of war have been sent here to be sacrificed on this occasion; in all probability these prisoners will be put to death,—although, to the credit of Da Souza, they declined to sacrifice them. Two of the prisoners were paraded round the town on Sunday last, bound round the neck, wrists, and waist, and driven along by a man holding a rope behind. They were the principal leaders in the last war between the Eyo and Dahomian countries; they were old and determined enemies many years to the former King of Dahomey; they were compelled to dance to the death-drums as they marched, strongly guarded by Dahomian soldiers. They visited the English and French Forts. M. Blanchelley humanely offered 1000 dollars for their life, but being political offenders it was refused.

As I am writing, I have learned to a certainty, that the parties above alluded to have been sacrificed at the beach on the 17th, at half-past 3 o'clock, and two more on the grave of old Da Souza, in spite of the remonstrance of his sons, as I am told.

Inclosure 18 in No. 3.

Vice-Consul Duncan to Viscount Palmerston.

(Extract.)

Whydah, September 22, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you of my safe arrival at Abomey, the capital of the Kingdom of Dahomey. I started from Whydah on the evening of the 24th of August, and arrived in Abomey on the 30th; we rested one day at Canamina to prepare for our entry and reception in the capital. We were very tired from excessive fatigue in passing through the swamp between Ahguay and Ahgrimmy. It is nine miles across, and during this season of the year it is almost impassable.

At the entrance to the capital we were met by all the principal Cabooceers and officers of the household, who, after the usual ceremony of drinking healths with all of them, accompanied by a continual fire of musketry, we were conducted to the Palace; and after passing by three times in parade-order, the King requested me to dismount and come to him. I found him the same frank, unassuming, but intelligent man I had found him in 1845. He expressed his great satisfaction at seeing me once more, according to my promise, and said he hoped that the Queen of

England had sent me to live at his hand for a long time, and to teach his people some of the arts of civilized life. He next inquired of the Queen's health, and the whole of the Royal Family of England; next the Queen's Cabooceers, and then drank the Queen's health, and afterwards her Ministers', accompanied by roars of musketry.

The King was dressed in a plain cotton robe, without any ornament. He was surrounded by his female soldiers, some of them very good-looking; and some of the younger ones nearest his person were very richly dressed and ornamented.

Nearly all of the female commanders recognized me; they stood up alternately, making each a long speech complimentary of my return, expressing their readiness to sacrifice their lives to serve me, as the friend of their King. At this moment the old Chief of Dassa was brought before me a prisoner; the fine, venerable old man appeared so terror-stricken as to be almost unconscious of what was passing. The King told him his prophecy had now been fulfilled. He, the chief, had with his people turned out to attack one solitary white man, in a country where he had no father, no mother, except the King of Dahomey, who would always be a father to Englishmen; and also endeavoured to force a guard which accompanied him, although capable of annihilating the whole of the Dassa people. The King told him to look around him, and see the female soldiers who so easily conquered his country; he also told him he was now at my discretionary disposal. I dared not ask for his liberty, but was promised he should only be detained as a State prisoner. He was very clean, and seemed to want for nothing. It was now getting late in the afternoon, and the King gave us leave to depart.

Two days after, the Queen's presents were got ready, and sent to him through Mayo. The King was much pleased with the presents, especially with the scarlet uniforms and scarlet cloth. He was also much pleased with a spinning-wheel sent by my mother from Scotland, and also with a small model weaving-loom I had made for him. He requested me to show him how to spin, which placed me in rather an awkward position, especially as it was cotton instead of flax. However, I acquitted myself to his satisfaction. After overhauling the edge-tools, and inquiring their particular uses, he requested that I should take some of them back to Whydah, for the purpose of instructing two young men whom he promised to send down here under my charge.

On the day previous to my departure from the coast for Abomey, the King sent a messenger to acquaint me that it will be necessary, holding office in his dominions, that I shall attend his annual Custom; in consequence of which I kept some few of the presents for that occasion, having plenty of other articles of hardware, which I added and presented in the name of Her Majesty. This will enable me to go full-handed on my next visit, when he promises to give me full answers to your Lordship's letter respecting the Slave Trade. He listened very attentively to the letter, and said that when I attend his Custom, and see the quantity of money he pays to his people annually, I shall be better able to give an opinion whether legitimate trade can be extended to afford a revenue equivalent. I told him it was probable some years must elapse ere that could be done. He must himself call forth the resources of the soil of his country; and told him, that as cotton was the spontaneous production of the soil, it could easily be increased to any extent, and we would purchase as much as he chose to raise. This proposal seemed to please him very much. He admits there is no market for slaves now, which makes him very poor indeed. He promised to do all in his power to extend the cultivation of cotton, provided I remain in his country and secure a market for it. The King admits the injustice of slave-trading, but remarked that we were a long time finding it out to be wrong; and as soon as he finds that by any other means he can raise sufficient revenue, he will readily abandon it; but again remarked he would answer all at the next Custom.

On the 6th of September the King sends Mayo with a variety of presents for myself and companions,—1 fine young cow, 3 goats, 6 fowls,

3 bags of native flour, 3 kegs of fine palm-oil for cooking, 3 measures of pepper, and 3 kegs of rum, besides 3 fine native cloths.

During our sojourn in the capital, we were entertained at the King's expense. After sunset Mayo came to acquaint us that it was the King's desire that we should drink, before we leave the capital, the Queen of England's health. This, of course, was readily agreed to; and accordingly we followed Mayo to an open space in front of English House, where we found a table already laid out in real English style, and covered with a cloth I had presented a day or two before. Mayo filled the glasses with water, first, which is customary, being considered a sincere mark or pledge of friendship, being pure and unadulterated. They were next filled with wine; and Mayo proposed the health of Queen Victoria of England, which was followed by a "hip-hip-hurrah!" which passed along a line of half a mile of men stationed for that purpose. Immediately the hurrah ceased, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired in honour of Her Britannic Majesty, with a degree of regularity that would do credit to more civilized nations. This was followed by nine guns in honour of myself as British Vice-Consul.

The kind reception of the King of Dahomey has excited a great degree of jealousy on the part of the Spanish and Portuguese slave-dealers, consequently they look upon me with great suspicion since my return from the capital.

On Saturday last the Custom commenced, according to the country usage, for the late Don Francisco da Souza, who died on the 8th of May last; he was the Charchar, or Mayor of the Spaniards and Portuguese in Whydah. Great anxiety prevails at this moment amongst his sons as to the decision of the King in appointing a successor. It is expected the second son will have it; he is considered the best man as far as regards disposition and qualification; but it is expected that the Government of Whydah will not be carried on with the same energy as before.

On Sunday last a singular procession arrived at the English Fort, headed by a Cabooceer from Dahomey, who came to pay his respects to me; the procession consisted of a number of soldiers who guarded two prisoners, strongly secured with ropes, the wrists were tied together, the elbows were fastened, and a rope passed round the neck and waist; in this condition they were paraded round the town. I inquired the meaning of this singular procession, when the poor creatures were brought before me and compelled to dance, although bound in the manner above described. I was allowed to put my own questions to them direct, through my own interpreter, and learnt as follows:—

Question. How long since they left their native country?

Answer. About ten moons since they were taken.

Q. For what reason did they leave Dahomey and return to their own country to report the proceedings of the King of Dahomey?

A. They do not know.

Q. How many days since they have been bound in the manner they are at present?

A. Fourteen days.

Q. What do you yourselves suppose the King intends to do with you for this breach of faith?

A. We are at present in the state you behold us, tied both hands and body, compelled to dance through the streets and public places wherever we are driven. Whether our lives will be spared after all this or not we cannot tell.

N.B.—The first of these men is in their own country, called the "King of the Fishing-Net." The next the "King of the Turkey Buzzard;" both are natives of the Eyo Country. It appears from further inquiry, that in the reign of the preceding King of Dahomey, these two prisoners came and settled in Abomey with the King of Dahomey as his friends and subjects; but when they became acquainted with the Dahomian Country they ran away to their own country, and informed the King of Eyo that he might easily surprise the Dahomians and kill the whole of them, and

they also undertook to manage and command the whole affair. Accordingly, the King of Eyo entrusted them with his army, and they advanced towards Dahomey, where they chanced to meet a small party of soldiers journeying to a town some distance off; they attacked and destroyed the whole of this small party, and dug a hole in the ground, where they buried all their arms, which were not found until years after when digging for clay for house-building. In the last war between Eyo and Dahomey, the former was completely conquered by the female soldiers, and the two men before mentioned, although so long since they had figured so conspicuously, were recognized and made prisoners. The object of sending them to Whydah was for the purpose of sacrifice at the custom-making for old Da Souza, but his sons declined the honour, and the prisoners were beheaded on the beach. I forgot to mention that when the prisoners were taken to be exhibited at the French Fort, M. Blancheley, a merchant occupying that fort, humanely offered 1000 dollars, to spare their lives; but although they were about eighty years of age, the offer was refused upon grounds of the grievous nature of their offence.

The Custom is likely to last a month; a great nuisance in the town, as continual firing of ordnance and small arms is irregularly kept up, with drums of the most barbarous kind, day and night, Sunday not excepted, I forgot to mention.

It is with much satisfaction I am enabled to inform your Lordship that all the gibbets exhibited in the market-places in Abomey on my former visit are now done away with, and the skulls placed on the walls by the former King are suffered to decay without being replaced. This is one step towards civilization.

I have this day been visited by some respectable people from Ahguay, who some years ago emigrated from Sierra Leone; they appointed their headman to come here to present a petition, which I have inclosed to your Lordship. Cole, the bearer to me, is a very respectable man, and expresses his own and the whole of the Sierra Leone people's readiness to assist me in carrying out any agricultural experiment, and in collecting and planting cotton: this would assist these people themselves, as well as employing them profitably to those requiring their services. They are despised by the slave-dealers, as their presence and their education tends to expose the slave-dealing system. I have inclosed a document* respecting the Slave Trade; I submit it to your Lordship's kind consideration. Nothing will afford me more gratification than to be the means of doing good for my country, and entirely abolishing Slavery on this part of the coast, and establishing a system of remunerative industry and an extension of legitimate commerce.

Inclosure 19 in No. 3.

The King of Dahomey to Viscount Palmerston.

Abomey, September 7, 1849.

I, GUEZO, King of Dahomey, beg to return my sincere thanks to the Queen of England and Lord Palmerston, for presents sent to me by them, through Mr. Duncan. I beg also to thank Lord Palmerston for his good advice respecting the trade of this country, and I do assure Lord Palmerston that the earliest opportunity will be taken of consulting my Cabooceers on the subject, and at the next annual Custom held here, Mr. Duncan shall be made acquainted with our decision. I have always a strong desire to cultivate a friendship with the people of England, and to establish and increase a trade with that country. Englishmen were my father's best friends, and he always told me to respect Englishmen, and look upon them in my heart as sincere in their promises and friendship. An Englishman's heart is big, like a large calabash (gourd) that overflows with palm-wine for those who are thirsty. I know that the

* See Slave Trade Papers, Class B, presented 1850, No. 7, page 9.

Portuguese and Spaniards care nothing me, their friendship and presents are all to serve their own purpose of obtaining slaves, upon which they themselves derive the principal profit.

I beg to thank Lord Palmerston for appointing my friend, Mr. Duncan, Vice-Consul for my country, and I promise to protect and assist him in performing the duties for which you have placed him here, and shall afford him the same protection when passing through my country, as I did on his last journey in my dominions. I have broken the Dassa Country, whose people went to war against Mr. Duncan when passing their country. I hold their chief a captive ever since ten moons after Mr. Duncan's visit to their country, and have kept him in my house, that Mr. Duncan might see his enemies in captivity before he die; he has now seen him, and my heart rejoiceth. And so shall fall every one who shall molest an Englishman while under my protection.

I am much pleased with the proposal of cultivating cotton in my country, and have already planted the seeds given to me by Mr. Duncan. Mayo has also planted some. I beg to assure the Queen of England and also Lord Palmerston, of my sincere friendship and gratitude.

Signed (Mayo holding the top of the pen) on behalf of Guezo, King of Dahomey,

MAYO LADYETTO, *Prime Minister.*

[Read over three times, at the request of the King.]

Inclosure 20 in No. 3.

Treaty to be Proposed to the King of Dahomey.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the King of Dahomey, being desirous of concluding a Treaty for the abolition of the barbarous practice of transporting natives of Africa across the sea for the purpose of consigning them to Slavery in foreign countries, Her Majesty has for this purpose named as her Plenipotentiaries, John Beecroft, Esquire, her Consul to the native Chiefs of Africa whose territories lie between Cape St. Paul and Cape St. John, and Frederick Edwin Forbes, a Lieutenant in Her Majesty's Naval Service, and the Commander of her ship of war the "Bonetta."

And they, Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries, for and on behalf of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, and His Majesty Guezo, King of Dahomey, for himself, his heirs and successors, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles and Conditions:—

ARTICLE I.

The exportation of slaves to foreign countries is for ever abolished in the territories of the King of Dahomey, and the King of Dahomey engages to make and to proclaim a law prohibiting any of his subjects or any person within his jurisdiction from selling or assisting in the sale of any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the King of Dahomey promises to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break this law.

ARTICLE II.

No European or other person whatever shall be permitted to reside within the territory of the King of Dahomey for the purpose of carrying on in any way the Traffic in Slaves; and no houses, stores, barracoons, or other buildings of any kind whatever shall be erected for the purposes of Slave Trade within the territory of the King of Dahomey; and if any such houses, stores, barracoons, or other buildings shall at any future time be erected within the territory of Dahomey, and the King of Dahomey shall fail or be unable to destroy them, they may be destroyed by any British officers employed for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

ARTICLE III.

If at any time it shall appear that Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the territory of the King of Dahomey, such Slave Trade may be put down in that territory by Great Britain by force, and British officers may seize any boats of Dahomey found anywhere carrying on the Slave Trade.

ARTICLE IV.

The slaves now held for exportation in Dahomey shall be delivered up at Whydah to the senior officer of Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces in the Bight of Benin, for the purpose of being carried to a British colony, to be there set free; and all the implements of the Slave Trade and the barracoons or buildings exclusively used in the Slave Trade shall be forthwith destroyed.

ARTICLE V.

Europeans or other persons who may be found to be engaged in the Slave Trade in the territory of Dahomey, are to be expelled from the country; the houses, stores, or buildings hitherto employed as slave-factories, if not converted to lawful purposes within three months from the conclusion of this Treaty, are to be destroyed.

ARTICLE VI.

The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty may always trade freely with the people of Dahomey in every article which they may wish to buy or sell in all the places and ports and rivers within the territories of the King of Dahomey, and throughout the whole of his dominions; and the King of Dahomey pledges himself to show no favour and to give no privilege to the ships and traders of other countries, which he does not or will not show to those of England.

ARTICLE VII.

In consideration of the above-mentioned concessions on the part of the King of Dahomey, and in full compensation for the temporary loss of revenue to which His Majesty may be subject therefrom, Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages to make to the King of Dahomey yearly for three years, a present either of £ sterling, or of goods to that value, at the option of the King. But this annual present is to cease if Slave Trade should again be carried on within the territory of Dahomey.

ARTICLE VIII.

This Treaty shall have full force and effect from the day of 1850.

In faith whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of Dahomey have signed the same, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Abomey, the day of , 1850.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 25, 1850.

I NOW proceed to give you instructions for your mission to Abbeokuta, to which I alluded in the concluding part of my preceding despatch.

A short time since a deputation from the Church Missionary Society waited upon me, and represented among other things that the establishment of commercial relations with the interior of Africa through the Yoruba tribe, would materially contribute to the suppression of the Slave Trade, and that if free and secure navigation on the Ogu could be obtained, most of the advantages which were proposed by the expedition of the Niger in 1842 would be attained; that traders from the banks of the Niger visit the principal markets of Abbeokuta; and that there is little doubt that the road to Egba and Rabbah, the former of which was the highest point reached by the Niger expedition, might be opened for trade through the Ogu River.

Abbeokuta, as I am informed, is the chief town of the Egba province of the Yoruba Kingdom, and contains above 50,000 inhabitants. It is situated upon the east bank of the Ogu, and that river is navigable for canoes to within a mile of Abbeokuta, and discharges itself into the sea at the Island of Lagos. Lagos is therefore said to be the natural port of Abbeokuta; but the Slave Trade being carried on at Lagos with great activity, the Yoruba people have been obliged to use the port of Badagry, between which and Abbeokuta communications are carried on by a difficult road by land.

But besides the impediments which the slave-dealers at Lagos throw in the way of legitimate commerce, the Yoruba people experience another hindrance to their prosperity, and a constant cause of alarm from the hostility of the King of Dahomey, who harasses them by an annual slave-hunt, and who is said to have threatened the destruction of the town of Abbeokuta. His enmity is said to be especially excited by the fact that the Yorubas are becoming prosperous and are gaining wealth by their commerce with the English, and by refraining from Slave Trade.

The Yorubas are represented to be a commercial people in their habits, and much trade has been carried on between Abbeokuta and Sierra Leone, by way of Badagry. It is also believed that many of the liberated Africans have emigrated from Sierra Leone to Abbeokuta, and many vessels owned entirely by liberated Africans are said to be employed in the Trade between Sierra Leone and Badagry. There is also a regular trade carried on between London and Badagry. English missionaries have been received both at Badagry and Abbeokuta with great kindness, and their valuable services in imparting religious instruction and in promoting social improvements appear to be duly appreciated by the natives. The people of Abbeokuta are said to feel a strong desire that the Slave Trade should be wholly abolished, and that legitimate traffic should be substituted for it; and the Egba chiefs manifest a favourable disposition towards the English nation.

Under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government have deemed it advisable that you should at a suitable season visit Abbeokuta, in order to ascertain by inquiry on the spot, the actual wants, and wishes, and disposition of the Yoruba people.

I have accordingly to instruct you to proceed on this mission as soon as you conveniently can. Before you proceed, however, to Abbeokuta, it will be advisable that you should first visit the chiefs on the coast within your Consular jurisdiction, and that you should endeavour to ascertain the sentiments and intentions of such of them as have not already entered into amicable relations with Great Britain.

You will explain to those chiefs what is stated in my letters addressed to the chiefs themselves, that the principal object of your appointment is to encourage and promote legitimate and peaceful commerce, whereby

those chiefs and their people may obtain in exchange for the products of their own country, those European commodities which they may want for their own use and enjoyment; so that the great natural resources of their country may be developed, their wealth and their comforts increased, and the practice of stealing, buying, and selling men, women, and children, may be put an end to; and you will impress upon their minds that it is the earnest desire of the Queen's Government to contribute in every possible way to their welfare and prosperity, if they will but listen favourably to your overtures, and will honestly follow the friendly counsel which is offered to them by the British Government.

When by personal communication with these chiefs, you shall have made yourself acquainted with their disposition, and shall have ascertained how far they may be inclined to break off their connexion with slave-dealers, and to apply themselves to legitimate trade, you will be the better prepared to undertake with advantage your mission to Abbeokuta.

With respect to any aggressive intentions of the King of Dahomey towards the Yoruba people, you will have an opportunity, during your visit to Abomey, to bring that subject under the notice of the King; you will represent to him that the people who dwell in the Yoruba and Popo Countries are the friends of England, and that the British Government takes a great interest in their welfare, and would see with much concern and displeasure any acts of violence or oppression committed against them; that, moreover, there are dwelling among those tribes many liberated Africans and British-born subjects whom Her Majesty's Government are bound to protect from injury.

It is to be hoped that such representations as these, enforced by whatever influence you and Lieutenant Forbes may have acquired over the King in the course of your negotiations upon other matters, may induce the King to make a formal promise to abstain from future aggressions against the people of Yoruba and Popo, and from molesting in any way the liberated Africans or Europeans who reside in Abbeokuta and Badagry, or who frequent the countries adjoining the territories of Dahomey.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 4.

The Rev. H. Townsend to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

My dear Sir,

Exeter, October 17, 1849.

1. IN committing to paper at your request such considerations as appear to me to make a deputation to Lord Palmerston desirable, respecting the dangers to which our missionary stations and British subjects are exposed by the annual slave-hunts of the King of Dahomey, I must confine myself to leading facts, in order to save the valuable time of those for whose consideration these remarks are written.

2. The object to be obtained is the safety of British subjects, who, being led by motives of religion, commerce, or love of their fatherland, dwell within the circle of Slave Trade influence in the Bight of Benin, or, to speak more definitively, who dwell in the Yoruba and Popo Countries.

3. The British subjects that dwell in those countries consist of missionaries engaged in diffusing the knowledge and blessings of Christianity among the native inhabitants, mercantile agents employed in lawful commerce, and liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, some of whom are traders, others engaged in agriculture, and others in the employment of missionaries or merchants.

4. The dangers to which these variously-employed British subject are exposed, are in short, that of being driven from the country, with the loss of their property, kidnapped, or murdered, when engaged in their lawful employments. These dangers do not arise from native barbarism, nor

from our residence there being unacceptable to the people, but from the influence of the white slave-traders in producing quarrels and wars among the people, and from the enmity that they feel towards those whose influence is opposed to their nefarious Traffic.

5. That the slave-dealers use their influence to drive us from the country, is easy of proof: First, slave-traders prevented the Sierra Leone people from landing or trading at Lagos. Secondly, a party of the Badagry people, led by two of their chiefs, known to be in correspondence with the white slave-traders, warned us to leave their country, giving as reasons the refusals of slave-traders to form a slave-factory there while Englishmen dwelt there. The designs of these chiefs were made known to us by other chiefs who desired our presence, but who confessed their inability to protect us from the Slave Trade party; and at their suggestion we sought and obtained the protection of Her Majesty's sloop of war "Albatross," then cruizing in the Bight. Thirdly, an embassy sent by the slave-trader Domingo to Abbeokuta, endeavoured to set the chiefs and people there in opposition to us, representing us as poor and despicable. Fourthly, at a village a few miles to the eastward of Badagry, a Wesleyan missionary then residing in Badagry, endeavoured to form a school with the approval of the native chief of the town, but before a schoolmaster could be sent, an agent of the slave-trader Domingo took up his residence there, and when the schoolmaster went, according to the previous arrangement, he was immediately sent back by the chief, who stated that the slave-trader was unwilling for him to reside or do anything there. These facts will show that the residence of Europeans, and missionaries in particular, in that country, is acceptable to the people, but unacceptable to a section when influenced by the white slaver-trader. Why violence was not used by the Slave Trade party is obvious: both the white slave-traders and the natives under their influence dreaded the power of the British cruisers, from whom they felt it would be impossible to hide any violent and direct attempt to dislodge us from the country.

6. These instances prove the opposition of the Slave Trade party to us and our proceedings; and in passing I might be permitted to remark, that this enmity proves more than any direct testimony could do, that our labours have already or are likely to exercise a most beneficial influence upon the people as opposed to the Slave Trade—the bane of West Africa. But recent events have discovered to us the presence of a more powerful foe in the person of the King of Dahomey, whose power probably will never be exercised against the persons of white British subjects, but will, if he be permitted to go on, most completely overturn all our attempts to evangelize and civilize that part of Africa.

7. This chief fears the power of England, and deprecates what Englishmen have done towards the introduction of lawful commerce at Badagry. This will appear in the following extract from the report of Mr. Cruickshanks, printed by order of the House of Commons, who quotes the King's words, thus: "No riches for my people; Porto Novo, Agado, Badagry, and other towns on the coast, once belonged to me, and paid their tribute as regularly as Whydah. Ships now go there and trade with them; factories are established for the purchase of palm-oil, and the result is, that this people are becoming rich, and set my authority at defiance. It is true, they still pay a nominal duty to prevent war, but I am cheated by them.* I wish the English Government to prevent ships from trading at these places, and to remove the factories, in order that I may regain my lost authority. It is the English factory at Badagry which has withheld me from attacking that town, for I would not think of injuring the subjects of the Queen of England." (See page 19 of the Report.)

8. In this passage the King complains of loss of tribute through the introduction of the palm-oil trade. What that tribute is we are not at a loss to know: it is the poll-tax paid on the exported slave; the export of slaves being diminished, the amount of taxes has also declined with it. His professions of love to British subjects are the result of British power which has been successfully employed to prevent the King's attempts to

* The King of Dahomey has no right to demand a tribute from these places, but fearing his power, they endeavoured to save themselves by peaceful means.

stop the exportation of palm-oil at Badagry. On one occasion his agents seized a Mr. Faulkner, captain and owner of a vessel called the "Little Grace," a British subject, when engaged in landing or shipping goods from his vessel at Badagry beach. He was liberated after having been carried into the country and detained several days, but not until his liberation was demanded by the commanding officer of the British squadron on that station.

9. Another extract from the same report will show the source of this King's power and riches. Mr. Cruickshanks says, "An export duty of five dollars is paid upon each slave shipped from the King's dominions, even although the port of embarkation may not belong to him. It is a frequent practice to convey them by the lagoon, either to the westward, as Little Popo, or to the eastward, as Porto Novo, neither of which towns are in subjection to the King." But that my extract may not be too long, I will content myself by giving the result only, viz., that he derives a revenue from taxes imposed on the Trade and by the kidnapping and selling of slaves himself, of 300,000 dollars, or 62,000*l.* per annum.

10. It must be borne in mind that nearly all of this immense revenue is derived from direct acts of the most atrocious robbery and murder, and that everyone residing within reach of this King's power would be liable to become one of the victims of his cruelty; and, moreover, that British subjects living consistently with the laws of their country, and thereby, if by no more direct efforts to do so, proving to the inhabitants the iniquity of the system that has so long afflicted them, and showing them the means of ridding themselves of it, would render themselves obnoxious to him and become his early victims if there be no protecting power extended over them. This protection has been received by those residing on the sea-coast, and this King dares not molest them, but we entertain what we conceive to be well-grounded apprehensions that those of us whose residences are more in the interior, are dwelling under considerable danger from this rapacious chief. An account of one of the kidnapping expeditions of the King of Dahomey that took place subsequent to Mr. Cruickshanks' mission will best show the reasonableness of our fears. It is given in the fourth number of the "Church Missionary Intelligencer;" but as an extract would be too long, I must be permitted to give the substance of it in my own words. The King of Dahomey sent his messenger to collect tribute from the chief of a town called Okeadon, situated about twenty miles north of Badagry, and within a short distance of the usual road from Badagry to Abbeokuta; and while his messenger was there, suddenly the town was surrounded by the Dahomian army, attacked, the chief and many of the people slain, and 19,600 captives carried off to Abomey in triumph. The same narrative goes on to say that probably 500 of these captives would be sacrificed to the manes of his ancestors; and that 800 of them had been already sent off to a slave-factor at Porto Novo, called Domingo, to pay a debt. The motive that dictated this monstrous act could be no other than the gain that would accrue from the sale of so many captives.

11. Some acquaintance with the designs of this chief adds additional strength to our fears. We received information from one who had a personal interview with the King of Dahomey, that he sought information from everyone likely to be able to give it, as to the situation and strength of Abbeokuta; and this information is more than confirmed by recent intelligence.

12. We have, therefore, in the attack and capture of Okeadon, a proof of his power, and in subsequent information, proofs of his intention to make Abbeokuta, whenever opportunity allows, a victim of his rapacious cruelty. With what feelings can we contemplate scenes like these? But the white man who quietly deals out the munitions of war, and receives in payment the helpless victims, is the secret spring that moves the whole; he does not contrive the treacherous scheme—he does not lead forth the army to the assault—upon his hands is not seen the blood of the slain, but the wealth that fills his stores supplies the motive that moves the mass, from the King that leads, to the lowest slave that follows in his train. As he first dealt out the means and supplied the motive for this

act, so, now that it is perpetrated, he coolly receives the victims, and strikes a balance between himself and the King of Dahomey. And, too, that his own conduct, although it cannot be hidden, might not appear in its native deformity, he tells such as admire the generosity, the hospitality, and the gentlemanly conduct of the white slave-trader, that he buys these helpless victims to save them from a terrible death.

13. With a clear knowledge of these things, with what feelings can we dwell in a place where we know not but that the like horrors might burst upon ourselves at a time when least expected. Our own safety cannot, even as it ought not, to be a matter of indifference to ourselves, and we feel it is a duty to God who gave us our life, not to leave a means untried that is likely to render our living there one of ordinary security. But an additional motive presents itself—we dwell, it is true, amongst heathens, but these heathens have shown us such kindness and respect, have taken so much trouble to render our living amongst them a comfort to ourselves, as well as a blessing to them, that we feel interested in their welfare. And not only so, but very many of them have forsaken idolatry, have embraced Christianity, have been baptised in the name of the Triune God, and thus have become fellow-subjects with us of one heavenly King; can we leave these for whom we have laboured, and for whom we have left home and all the comforts and blessings of civilized life, to become a prey to these monsters of cruelty, without any effort to rescue them as well as ourselves from this dreaded evil? And, let me ask, did not England send an armed fleet against Algiers, because they, the Algerines, enslaved Christians? Can England now stand by, and look on and see Christians who have become so through England's love of the Gospel, filling the barracoons of the slave-merchant first, and then suffering and dying under the cruel usage of the taskmaster? Surely it is not our duty tamely to sit by and see such wrongs cast upon those who have received the word of salvation from us.

14. There is an additional motive presented to us, by the consideration that we possess an important post in Abbeokuta for carrying out the benevolent plans of England for the welfare of that part of Africa. I speak not of Badagry, because, being near the sea, it can have the protection of the ships of war there. Should the King of Dahomey's intentions be carried into effect successfully, we lose our present advantages; the people whom we have, through God's assistance, gathered around us to assist us in our work, will be scattered or slain, and ourselves, if our persons should be respected, will be driven from the country; and, above all, our hopes of benefiting Africa will be blighted, without a hope of a more successful issue at another place.

15. With regard to this curse, the Slave Trade in Africa, it might be said, wherever it has any existence, that the African himself is the guilty agent; but more guilty is his employer, the white slave-trader. The King of Dahomey and all other kidnapping or slave-hunting chiefs, whether great or small, are the weak tools of a horrible system of cruelty, the prime movers of which are the white slave-traders. Are Englishmen, exercising their callings with honesty and peace, to be exposed to such a system? Shall their hopes of success in their commercial or religious labours be suddenly put out, and their lives and property endangered by the power of wealth which the Brazilian slave-trader uses for the destruction of all? Were it the barbarism of the African that endangered our safety, or sought our destruction, we would stand alone, and by God's blessing, do as has been done before, teach the lion or the bear to become a lamb; but when slave-trading gold is superadded, and which, if it takes effect only upon a small portion of the community, might prove our destruction, by what means shall we resist it successfully?

16. In seeking our country's protection, we are encouraged by the consideration that she desires the destruction of that system that endangers us and our labours. The destruction of the Slave Trade would be our safety, and it is only in its destruction that we, or any other persons who may desire to benefit Africa, can obtain a safe residence there. The means, therefore, that we would desire to be used is, first, as regards the King of Dahomey, that his professions of regard towards

British subjects may be made a means of inducing him to leave all towns in his neighbourhood, inhabited by English subjects, unmolested; and, secondly, such means used to prevent the export of slaves, as will deprive the slave-traders of all chance of success. This would be a great boon to Africa, and end in its becoming civilized, and a fruitful source of honest wealth to our country.

With these convictions on my mind, I have at your suggestion, committed them to writing, for I conceive it is our duty to trust in God, in the lawful use of such means as we may be able to obtain. If, however, no means are available, I hope we shall have no less confidence in the care of our heavenly Father, who has assured us of his protection. But in writing these remarks, I feel much less concerned about our own personal welfare and safety, than I do for those among whom my lot has been cast; and if no assistance can be obtained, I shall not feel the less safe. We will, with God's help, remain at our post as long as there are people to teach.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) H. TOWNSEND.

To the Honorary Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

The Deputation will be able to represent to the Secretary of State that—

1. The establishment of commercial relations with the interior of Africa, through the Yoruba tribe, opens a prospect of the effectual suppression of the Slave Trade at its source, and the great increase of commerce in the Bight of Biafra* since the Slave Trade was suppressed there, shows what may be expected to take place when the Slave Trade is suppressed in the Bight of Benin.

2. Most of the advantages which were proposed by the expedition up the Niger in 1842, are now within reach of the British Government, by securing the free navigation of the Ogu. Traders from the banks of the Niger visit the principal markets of Abbeokuta, and there is little doubt that the road to Egga and Rabbah, the former of which towns was the highest point reached by the Niger expedition, might be opened for trade through that channel.

3. The favourable disposition of the Egba chiefs towards the English connexion; the reduction of their language to writing, and the introduction of the English language through the Sierra Leone emigrants and the Mission schools; the confidence which they have manifested by their letter and present to the Queen of England, and Her Majesty's gracious acceptance of the same; and the fact that the Yoruba tribes live under a free form of constitutional government, very different from the tyranny of the Kingdoms of Dahomey and Ashantee; their willingness to abolish the Slave Trade as soon as they can accomplish such a measure—are all circumstances which encourage the present appeal for some alliance by treaty with that tribe.

4. Numerous cases have occurred, of which full particulars can be furnished by the missionaries, in which liberated Africans, after their return to Abbeokuta, have been a second time kidnapped and sold at the slave-market at Lagos. Instances have occurred of such persons being a second time captured by the British cruisers. It may be urged, that such instances of the contempt and defeat of the benevolent intentions of the British Government afford a ground of inquiry and remonstrance, at least, with the Chiefs of Lagos.

5. The importance, therefore, of giving efficient protection and encouragement to the liberated Africans who have emigrated from Sierra Leone, and the claim which they have upon the favourable consideration and protection of the British Government, as well as the missionaries, who reside amongst them from motives of pure benevolence, and the traders in the factory, may be urged.

6. It may be suggested also, that if a mission similar to that of Mr

* See Mr. Dawson's evidence before the House of Lords Committee on the Slave Trade, and the tables he produced, pp. 269—281.

Cruickshanks were sent to the King of Dahomey, to intimate that the British Government expected that the liberated Africans and Europeans in Abbeokuta and Badagry should be unmolested, as well as the tribe which had received them with hospitality, it would probably deter the King of Dahomey from any hostile attempts against the Yoruba tribe.

7. The importance of keeping up a strict blockade of the Bight of Benin may be urged. Experienced naval officers have stated that such a blockade might be effected by an in-shore squadron of six or seven vessels, to the total suppression of the Slave Trade there. The blockade not to have reference to the lawful trade, but only to the Slave Traffic.

8. Other measures may be pointed out for effecting the objects in view—such as British forts at Badagry and at various other points of the Bight, and a gun-boat stationed in the lagoon, to communicate with the forts, and to protect lawful commerce.

Inclosure 2 in No. 4.

The President of the Church Missionary Society to Sagbua and other Chiefs of Abbeokuta.

I HAVE had the honour of presenting to the Queen the letter of Sagbua and other chiefs of Abbeokuta, and also their present of a piece of cloth.

The Queen has commanded me to convey her thanks to Sagbua and the chiefs, and her best wishes for their true and lasting happiness, and for the peace and prosperity of the Yoruba nation.

The Queen hopes that arrangements may be made for affording to the Yoruba nation the free use of the River Ogu, so as to give them opportunities for commerce with this and other countries.

The commerce between nations in exchanging the fruits of the earth and of each other's industry is blessed by God.

Not so the Commerce in Slaves, which makes poor and miserable the nation which sells them, and brings neither wealth nor the blessing of God to the nation who buys them, but the contrary.

The Queen and people of England are very glad to know that Sagbua and the chiefs think as they do upon this subject of commerce. But commerce alone will not make a nation great and happy like England—England has become great and happy by the knowledge of the true God and Jesus Christ.

The Queen is therefore very glad to hear that Sagbua and the chiefs have so kindly received the missionaries, who carry with them the Word of God, and that so many of the people are willing to hear it.

In order to show how much the Queen values God's word, she sends with this, as a present to Sagbua, a copy of this word in two languages, one the Arabic, the other the English.

The Church Missionary Society wish all the happiness and the blessing of eternal life to Sagbua and all the people of Abbeokuta.

They are very thankful to the chiefs for the kindness and protection afforded to their missionaries, and they will not cease to pray for the spread of God's truth, and of all other blessings in Abbeokuta and throughout Africa, in the name and for the sake of our only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

(Signed) CHICHESTER.

No. 5.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 25, 1850.

I HEREWITH transmit to you a letter which I have addressed to the King of Dahomey, explaining generally the nature of your appointment as Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights, and the objects of your journey to his capital; and I have to instruct you to deliver it to the King.

I inclose a copy of the letter in question for your information.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 5.

*Viscount Palmerston to the King of Dahomey.**Foreign Office, February 25, 1850.*

THE Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, my Sovereign, has commanded me to inform you that she has been graciously pleased to grant a commission appointing John Beecroft, Esq., to be Her Majesty's Consul to the several chiefs of Africa whose territories lie between Cape St. Paul, at the western extremity of the Bight of Benin, and Cape St. John, at the southern extremity of the Bight of Biafra.

It will be an important part of Mr. Beecroft's duties to endeavour to prevent misunderstandings from arising between the chiefs of that part of Africa, or their dependents, and Her Majesty's subjects, either residing in or resorting to those parts for the purpose of lawful commerce.

Mr. Beecroft will be accompanied in his visit to you by Lieutenant Forbes, with whom you are already acquainted, and they are instructed to propose to you a formal Treaty for the abolition of Slave Trade within your dominions; and to explain to you the advantages which you and your territories would derive from the increase of lawful trade, and further to assure you of the earnest desire of the Queen and of her Government to contribute in every way to your welfare and prosperity.

Mr. Beecroft will reside at the Island of Fernando Po; and he will make periodical visits, as occasion may require, to the territories of the several chiefs to whom he is accredited. He is further instructed to take charge of and to forward to Her Majesty, or to Her Majesty's Government, any communications which you may have to make to them. He will confer with you as to the best means of developing the resources of your country and of increasing the lawful commerce of your dominions, and of thus adding to the wealth and comforts of yourself and your people.

The Queen trusts that you will receive Mr. Beecroft with the respect due to his character and rank, that you will put entire faith in what he shall state to you in her name, and that you will extend to him your protection, while within the limits of your dominions.

(L.S.) (Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 6.

Lord Eddisbury to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 22, 1850.

I HAVE laid before Viscount Palmerston your letter of the 8th instant, inclosing a copy of a letter from Commodore Fanshawe,* transmitting the Treaty concluded on the 2nd February last with the Chiefs of Gallinas

* See Slave Trade Papers, Class A, presented to Parliament in 1851, No. 168, pp. 228, 229.

and Solyman, for the abolition of the Slave Trade; and I am in reply to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Lord Palmerston is of opinion that the next step which it seems desirable to take with a view to clear the African coast north of the Equator from Slave Trade would be to induce the Chief of Lagos to conclude a similar Treaty, and a rigid watch upon his port might probably bring him to agree to do so.

I am, &c.
(Signed) EDDISBURY.

No. 7.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 15.)

My Lord,

"Kingfisher," off Porto Novo, April 8, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to communicate my safe arrival off Whydah yesterday at noon, and communicated with Captain Harvey, in command of the Bights Division. I was extremely sorry to learn that Commander Forbes had sailed in Her Majesty's brigantine "Bonetta" for Ascension, four days before our arrival.

In consequence of a communication from the King of Dahomey to Commander Forbes, that his yearly Customs intended to be kept in March, were postponed until the middle of May, that he had not any desire to receive visitors before that period; I was transferred with the presents for the King of Dahomey on board of Her Majesty's brig "Kingfisher." Her Majesty's steamer "Sphinx" left under steam for Ascension at 3 o'clock.

Under the present circumstance of the case, I deemed it prudent to proceed as soon as possible to my head-quarters, Fernando Po, taking with me the presents to be delivered by me to the King of Dahomey, according to your Lordship's instructions, on my visit at his annual Customs.

Captain Harvey has been very kind, and will order Her Majesty's steamer "Phoenix," Captain Wodehouse, to take me to head-quarters, and to return to Whydah by the 15th of May, by one of Her Majesty's vessels; it will enable me to arrange affairs at Fernando Po, and to visit some of the chiefs of the rivers in the Bight of Biafra, before I depart for Abomey, for I expect to be absent two or three months.

It is reported on shore at Whydah, that the King has been unsuccessful in his last marauding expedition; that three or four of his principal chiefs have been captured by the enemy, which misfortune has no doubt perplexed a man of such an unconquerable spirit. I imagine it is the main cause of the postponement of his Customs until the 15th of May. I understand he is very anxious to ransom them before he commences his parade and feast. I think my proceedings will meet with your Lordship's gracious approbation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

No. 8.

Mr. Hutton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 10.)

My Lord,

Watling Street, October 8, 1850.

I HAVE received a letter from Cape Coast, dated on the 7th August last, written by a nephew of mine who has been a resident on the coast of Africa during the last twenty years, the contents of which, so far as they relate to the reasons and motives of the King of Dahomey for evading or refusing to enter into a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, I feel desirous that your Lordship should be acquainted with; and if it has happened that Commander Forbes and Mr. Beecroft, who visited that chief

in July last, were unsuccessful in obtaining his assent to a formal treaty, and were not informed by him of the causes of objection, the information I rely will be considered of sufficient importance to excuse my sending your Lordship the letter itself instead of an extract from it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. M. HUTTON.

At a convenient opportunity your Lordship will doubtless do me the favour to let me have the letter back again.

Inclosure in No. 8.

Mr. Thomas Hutton to Mr. Hutton.

My dear Uncle,

Cape Coast, August 7, 1850.

THE great interest you have at all times taken for the welfare of this country, and your efforts in regard to the suppression of the Slave Trade, induced me to let you know what fell under my observation in my recent visit to Whydah and that neighbourhood.

M. da Souza, the notorious slave-dealer, died, as you are aware, about fifteen months ago; this man was in his 81st year when he died. He went to Whydah in the year 1792, in his 24th year. Various have been the rumours that occasioned his going there; he, however, himself once told me he came out as Secretary under the Portuguese Government to their fort in Whydah, and remained three years in that service, and then returned to the Brazils where I imagined he was born. He wished it supposed that he was a Spaniard by birth, and was always treated so in courtesy and styled Don. The Portuguese did not long continue to support their Government in Whydah, and the Slave Trade there soon fell into the hands of the most enterprising, the most so of whom was M. da Souza. He had for many years an extraordinary run of good luck, and it was imagined had amassed a large fortune. His fame as a slave-dealer gained him unlimited credit in the Havana and Brazil, and ship after ship arrived from those places at Popo, Whydah and Lagos, consigned to him generally with full cargoes of merchandize and specie; the goods were recklessly landed in bambo store-houses on the beach. It was presumed no native dare rob him; in this, however, he was mistaken, as there is now no doubt about the matter. The accumulated cargoes brought upon him an immense amount of debt; of this he appeared utterly regardless so long as it had the desired effect upon the natives to cause them to consider him possessed of inexhaustible wealth, and for the King of Dahomey to imagine the same, on whom he lavished vast sums of wealth, but who in return could never at any time supply more than a fraction of the amount in slaves for the large amount of property that was sent to him; and frequently from 30 to 40 ships in the year 1826 were lying in the Roadsteads of Whydah, all consigned to Da Souza, who had landed all their cargoes, but in return could seldom supply more than four or five cargoes of slaves. Many of the ships after staying out twenty months to two years, from their light construction went to pieces on the beach; others lost all their crews and were abandoned; some became prizes, and the general result was, as no account whatever was kept of cargoes landed, every species of extravagance and expenditure took place, to the ruin of the owners. Some of them sent out supercargoes to see what the former were about. Frequently the fate of the second supercargo and ship and cargo went the way of the first. So lucrative, however, was the profit on slaves, or the want of them so much required, that some years elapsed before these reckless consignees to Da Souza began to grow cautious, in fact, not before many were ruined. In the interim a more rigid law had passed respecting the capture of slave-trading vessels.

The King of Dahomey, who thus had had for years past countless wealth poured in upon him, became at last exacting when the rapid torrent ceased to flow so fast as formerly, and it took some years before he could in the least comprehend the causes that had

diminished the supplies to his agent Da Souza, who had years before virtually become so; to have the monopoly of the Trade, and who went annually to Dahomey with tribute to the King, and with vast supplies to his chiefs, to furnish them with means for the next slave-hunt. Year after year these supplies became gradually less, Da Souza having become gradually poorer, and troubled with a host of creditors in the Havana and Brazils. The principals, or consignees themselves, in many instances, came to Whydah to claim their debts. Da Souza keeping no accounts, generally denied all knowledge of the parties or the business on which they had come about; frequently he would absent himself or be in Dahomey months, when a party of creditors arrived from the Havana or Brazils. Yet such was the nature of the Trade, a lucky voyage or two enabled him to pacify the clamours of these distressed creditors. He treated them with country presents and an unbounded hospitality, and with tales of the endless resources of the King, who would at any time send him as many slaves as he pleased.

Various enactments took place, and the cruizers were more vigilant than ever, and matters grew worse and worse. Merchants in the Havana sent agents to have interviews with the King; heavy complaints were made against Da Souza, which, for policy sake, the King would not listen to, he himself not being the rightful successor, but upheld by Da Souza's influence and vast presents to the chiefs.

At last, after a few more years, it was arranged that agents from the Havana and Brazils might settle at Whydah, and Da Souza should give up shipping slaves, but to receive a commission of a doubloon for every slave that was shipped. On this he lived in the latter years of his life. He had also raised up duties or contributions on every native who held a slave, at per head, which enabled him latterly to keep up some appearance before the King and his chiefs; but this grew less and less, until he actually became tortured with the thought of want. When he died his stores were empty. The King of Dahomey sent to have his property taken up to him, and his chiefs entered into the house, and all that could be found was simply a little furniture and some plate; but neither money, goods, nor anything of value. This lesson has been most salutary to the King and his chiefs, to see that the man whom they considered was possessed of endless wealth, had died without the value of a keg of gunpowder in his stores to be fired over his remains, which is with them considered extreme poverty; thus confounding them, and shaking their confidence in the stability of the Slave Trade. Such was the end of one of the greatest slave-dealers of modern times.

Da Souza may be considered to have been the mainspring of the Slave Trade on that part of the coast; his long life, influence, and slave-trading notoriety, has given way, and his like is not likely to be replaced. The recklessness of the Havana and Brazilian consignees has ceased to flow to Whydah, and the stream of wealth in consequence has ceased to flow to Dahomey. This has curtailed the King's means to make extraordinary slave-hunts; and so great have been the recent changes, by the introduction of palm-oil and other legitimate commerce, combined with the vigilance of the cruizers, that the Slave Trade is being cut up root and branch; and if it was not for the feeling of being lowered in the eyes of the surrounding nations, it is supposed the King would most willingly give it up, as he has created so many hostile powers against himself; and the free trade in palm-oil that has extended all along that coast has enabled every petty state or tribe to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition against the common enemy, who was formerly the only power who could get them. The King well knows how everything is working against him, and he feels the loss of his ancient friend and counsellor, Da Souza. One thing alone is wanting to compel him to stop the Trade, that is, to get possession of Lagos, and either by treaty or force utterly extinguish the Slave Trade there. The King of Dahomey says, if that is done, he will then be willing to listen to a treaty: he adds, "Why do you send up to me, who live so far from the sea-side, to stop the Slave Trade, and the King of Lagos, who lives on the sea-side, is not questioned or stopped, nor any notice taken of what he does? First stop him on the sea-side,

and then, as the Slave Trade only exists between Popo and Lagos, being once stopped, I shall have no excuse but to submit to a treaty, if your cruisers compel me; but until the Slave Trade at Lagos is stopped either by treaty or by force, my chiefs will not listen to any proposition I may make towards its suppression."

The King of Dahomey sent to me several times when I was at Whydah, to go up to him, as he had something to say to me. With much difficulty I got myself excused; I had important matters to attend to at Badagry, and the rainy season being near at hand, I had no time to lose. I made the King perfectly aware of this, that no misunderstanding or ill-feeling should arise in his mind; and he then sent me a private and friendly message, and one of his confidential friends told me what I have stated above, that unless the Slave Trade is first put a stop to at Lagos, it will be useless for the British Government to send to him treaties for his agreement, as he considers it would be derogatory to his dignity, and would lower him in the eyes of his subjects and the nations around, who would not be able to understand the reason that an interior King should be the first that is made to stop the Slave Trade, while the sea-side King of Lagos, so near to come at, is not even spoken to on the subject, and carries on the Trade as if he was sanctioned in it.

If the English get possession of Lagos, there is an immediate blow to the Abbeokutian and Benin Slave Trade; and the good that would then ensue to those countries is incalculable, as they abound in cotton, indigo, palm-oil, and many other resources for industry and wealth. There would be little or no difficulty in the achievement in taking Lagos, and the best time of the year for it would be from November to February, the season is then fine and wholesome, and continues so until May, when the rains set-in, with the exception of the tornados in March. The latter rains falling in September, would render the Cradoo Lagoon to be deeper, as well as the entrance or Bar of Lagos, which, during those months, is quite smooth. The town Onim, or the capital of Lagos, where the King resides, is situated on the Island of Lagos, just at the entrance of the Cradoo.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) THOMAS HUTTON.

No. 9.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 11.)

*"Bonetta," West Bay, Prince's Island,
July 22, 1850.*

(Extract.)

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Lordship my proceeding since my last, dated the 4th of May.

I sailed from Fernando Po on the 5th, and arrived at Whydah on the 10th, in Her Majesty's steamer "Phoenix," and landed on the 14th of May, accompanied by Commander Forbes. Left with the presents for the King of Dahomey on the 21st, and arrived at Abomey on the 26th, and was graciously received by His Majesty. He told us that he would give us a day's respite to rest after our journey. Our next interview was on the 28th. I handed to the King Her Majesty's letter; he received it very cordially, and pressed it to his forehead, and then handed it to me to read. The conference relative to the Treaty for the suppression of the foreign Slave Trade was postponed until His Majesty's first Custom was over, which would last about six weeks; we then should have witnessed the most extensive and expensive part of his annual Customs.

The presents from Her Majesty's Government were given over next day to the Mayogau, His Majesty's Prime Minister.

After which I was anxious to have a day appointed to confer on this momentous question; after a great deal of procrastination the 4th of July was the day appointed. It commenced with heavy rain, and continued without intermission until 1 o'clock; when it partially cleared away; we then set off for the Palace. We of course were courteously received by His Majesty.

After a few complimentary remarks from the King, relative to our not remaining to see the whole of the annual Customs and so forth, I told him that it would be five or six months ere the whole of his Customs were finally finished; that would be too long to stop; he said yes, he did not wish it. His Majesty then desired us to proceed with our statement. We then laid before him the subsidy that Her Majesty's Government authorized us to offer to His Majesty the King of Dahomey, annually for five years, instead of three, subject to ratification.

His Majesty made no reply, he was silent on the matter; he did not once refer to the amount, whether it was too small or otherwise, although, with his own permission, it was read to him a second time.

He commenced to state in detail the friendship that had existed between His Majesty's grandfather and the King of England, and stated that the country of Dahomey had not changed, but remained the same to this day.

We endeavoured to expostulate and explain to His Majesty the advantages that he must ultimately reap from agriculture, growing of cotton, as well as cultivating the palm-oil tree.

In reply the King stated that they were a warlike people, the Dahomians, and of course unaccustomed to agricultural pursuits; that he would not be able to keep up his revenues, were he at once to stop the Slave Trade. Being desirous that it should be stopped in the minor ports, prior to his entering into a treaty, requests that Her Majesty's Government will endeavour to blockade between Quittah and Lagos; and then he would endeavour to enter into an agreement for the suppression of the Slave Trade in His Majesty's own country. He asked if we had seen any farms between the swamp and Abomey? He could not disgrace himself and subject himself to be laughed at by sending the women from his Palace-yard to plant and cultivate cotton.

He also stated that he had taken and destroyed all the countries that formerly cultivated cotton.

We endeavoured to impress on His Majesty that if he employed the prisoners that were captured, instead of selling them out of their country, he might grow as much cotton as he pleased, and furthermore, England would buy it all from him and his people; however, he did not appear desirous to listen to any further discussions on agriculture.

His Majesty then requested us to address a letter to Her Majesty the Queen of England, his friend, that she would allow Whydah to become a free port; stating that he had five agents, mentioning at the same time their names, viz., Isidore, Ignacio, and Antonio—three sons of the late Da Souza—also Domingo Martins and Joaquim Antonio. His Majesty's simple request was to have papers and flags to allow them to pass without hindrance or molestation from Her Majesty's cruizers. Our reply was, that it was impossible. He appeared much perplexed, and harped upon the same theme for some time; at last His Majesty said, "surely my friend the Queen of England will allow papers and colours for one vessel for myself to go free from the men-of-war." His pride must have fallen, when the great King of Dahomey condescended to ask for one vessel on similar terms as the five. When he found it impossible to induce us to change our theme, and write thus to the Queen of England, he felt much chagrined, and his countenance changed and became a shade lighter.

We then told him as he had declined the Queen of England's liberal offer, there was only the last resource, to go on the old plan and take his chance; that it was not within range of possibility that any favours could be shown His Majesty's vessels beyond the minor ports.

I then found that our mission was drawing to a close, and being determined to draw his attention to Abbeokuta, I asked his permission to allow me to read the Earl of Chichester's letter from the Queen to Sagbua, chief of the above-mentioned town. Finding the Queen's expressions of kindness to the chief so strong, with thanks for his kindness and protection to the missionaries, &c., His Majesty appeared to be greatly excited and jealous, and said that he was going to war with that place; they were bad people; that the white men and ladies must be removed. I then told him that I was going to visit it as soon as the dry season set

in, that would be about December. He then said, "you must take the Englishmen away from that place."

Mayogau, His Majesty's Prime Minister, made a very harsh remark, and said, "what right have the white men to go to and teach those fellows book palaver?"

His Majesty then said that when Freeman, from Cape Coast, visited Abomey, when he left he promised to send a white teacher, but he had not done so, neither had he heard any more on that matter.

He was then asked if a white missionary were sent to Abomey, would His Majesty afford him his protection and give him a grant of land to build a house; he replied in the affirmative, but he must reside at Whydah. It appears that he is averse to their residing at Abomey; but I really believe he was prompted by his Minister in a whisper to make that reply relative to the missionary residing at Whydah instead of Abomey.

I had another important request to lay before His Majesty with his permission, which was granted. I then stated that Mrs. Mc Carthy, wife of John Mc Carthy, liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, late Ahguay, and residents of Whydah, complained to me that her husband, John Mc Carthy, was confined as a prisoner in His Majesty's court-yard; that he had been seized between Attahpam and Popo, on his route from the former to the latter. Not any person knew anything about the matter. I told the Cabooceer of Whydah, that he must know her; but he denied it. The King ordered the Mayogau to inquire into the affair. After which the Queen's despatch was read, and he made his mark; we witnessed it. He had not any more to say; only that he would communicate with me at Fernando Po, either by letter or a messenger, by any vessel that may be going that route from Whydah. It rained; we continued a short time, but no appearance of dry weather, we asked permission to depart. He said we must taste with him before we left; we went through the ceremony. He conducted us outside of the porch; shook hands. With his respects and best wishes for our safe arrivals at our different destinations, we left the Palace of Abomey for our own domicile. It rained the remainder of the day.

Next morning it was fine and dry. The King sent our presents for the road, of cowries, cloth, rum, &c., also a little girl each. After which we entered our house and held a short conference; present the Mayogau, Yavogau, and Narwhey, relative to Mr. Mc Carthy: his wife was presented with her child. The Mayo said he would send her with a messenger to the home of the Cambodee, and they should both return here during the day. They asked when we intended to leave; we told them on the morrow, if we received a decisive answer about the man Mc Carthy. They said that was small palaver, and would soon be settled. They took their leave.

Next morning early the same party came again. We had to sit and hear the salutes fired; twenty-one guns for the Queen and thirteen for each of us, which took full two hours. After which the Mc Carthy question was again mooted; we stating that they did not make their appearance yesterday as they all, particularly the Mayogau, promised. The latter said that he sent her to the King yesterday, and that he sent her to the Cambodee's, to see if her husband was there. I then told them "I know from good authority that she is also a prisoner, but not with her husband; it is a farce; you are making fools of us." Commander Forbes expressed himself very warmly, and told them that he was going to England, and would report to the Queen that two British subjects were detained as prisoners in Abomey; at the same time he threw his memorandum-book on the table. They looked at him seriously, and said, "We hope you are not vexed; if so, we must tell our master the King." Rose and shook hands, and left us to take our breakfast before we started. A few packages being left detained us. Commander Forbes kindly offered to remain and start them off before him; and recommended me to leave for Cana. I left at 10 o'clock, and arrived at noon; half an hour afterwards Forbes joined. He remained to get a hammock and carriers for a sick man. I went on, and arrived at Tooboodoo at 2:20 P.M. Com-

mander Forbes did not arrive until 5 o'clock. During his detention a messenger arrived in post-haste, bringing with him Mc Carthy and his wife.

I presume they must have communicated the warm debate on the matter this morning; it shows a dread of the King's meeting the displeasure of Her Majesty's Government.

We started at 5 o'clock next morning; crossed the swamp, of which we had thirteen hours before we arrived at our halting-place. Ultimately arrived at Whydah on the 9th; found Her Majesty's sloop "Bonetta." "Gladiator" and "Jackal" arrived on the 11th. We succeeded in embarking through the surf on the 12th.

The King of Dahomey has been greatly exaggerated as to his wealth and power. I am perfectly satisfied that he is under the control and opinion of several of his principal officers; and it is too obvious that he has not the slightest desire to abandon the abominable Traffic.

The only effectual means to bring him to a full sense of his error, if international law will admit of it, is to take his own advice, and blockade Whydah.

Lagos is another point. If the legitimate chief could be seen and communicated with, so as to make a treaty with him for the suppression of the foreign Slave Trade, and place him at Lagos, his former seat of Government, it would release the people of Abbeokuta from the jeopardy that they are continually in, from the fear of the King of Dahomey.

Her Majesty's steamer "Gladiator" has captured two empty slavers. Her Majesty's steamer "Hecla" two with slaves, lately from Lagos. I believe they have been trying it hard there latterly.

Her Majesty's brig "Wolverene" took a felucca, two or three days ago.

I can only state that the King of Dahomey's power and wealth have been much exaggerated. As reported, he has 18,000 Amazons as a body-guard; we have only seen and counted 3000 and about the same number of men, at a grand review. He stated himself, the same day, that we did not see all his warriors; he had a great body guarding his frontiers. I estimate his army at 20,000 or 25,000.

His Majesty's account of his total expenditure of cowries for the year is only 42,000; his first account 32,000; about two-thirds more than we could account for.

I was anxious to get a just estimate of the number of tuns of palm-oil shipped from Whydah, &c., but I could not get any but exaggerated accounts, so I have declined making any statement at present, until my next visit at the latter end of the year.

I transmit to your Lordship an original letter, dated the 4th instant, addressed by the King of Dahomey to Her Majesty.

Inclosure in No. 9.

The King of Dahomey to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Abomey, July 4, 1850.

From Guezo, King of Dahomey, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

BEING desirous that the Slave Trade should be stopped in the minor ports, prior to my entering into a treaty, I have to request that you will endeavour to blockade the slave ports between Quittah and Lagos, and then I can endeavour to enter into an agreement for the stoppage of the Slave Trade in my own country.

At present, my people are a warlike people, and unaccustomed to agricultural pursuits; I should not be enabled to keep up my revenue, were I at once to stop the Slave Trade.

I am always desirous of being at peace with Great Britain.

I am anxious that some person should be sent as Governor of the British Fort at Whydah, and having known him, should wish for Lieutenant Forbes, R.N.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GUEZO, *King of Dahomey.*
his
X
mark.

Witness to the royal mark:

(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT, *Her Majesty's Consul, Bights of Benin and Biafra.*
F. E. FORBES, *Lieutenant, Commanding Her Majesty's ship "Bonetta."*

P.S.—Some years ago I entrusted two boys and a girl to the care of Mr. Freeman; I am anxious they should be returned.
I am anxious that missionaries should settle at Whydah.

No. 10.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 11, 1850.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 22nd of July, reporting your proceedings on your mission to Abomey.

Her Majesty's Government much regret the failure of your endeavours to induce the King of Dahomey to enter into a treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade; which failure, however, appears to be by no means attributable to any want of diligence, or zeal, or efforts either on your part or that of Lieutenant Forbes.

Her Majesty's Government are also much concerned at learning that the King of Dahomey has expressed an intention of going to war with the Chiefs of Abbeokuta; and I have accordingly addressed a letter to the King upon these matters, which I have to instruct you to cause to be transmitted to him at an early moment and by a safe conveyance.

I inclose for your information a copy of this letter.

I at the same time inclose, for your information, a copy of a letter which, by my direction, has been addressed to the Admiralty, containing recommendations as to the steps to be taken for putting a stop to Slave Trade at Lagos; and at the other slave-trading ports which lie between that place and Quittah.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

Viscount Palmerston to the King of Dahomey.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 11, 1850.

I AM commanded by Her Majesty to acknowledge the receipt of the letter which you addressed to her on the 4th of July last; and I have in the first place to beg you to accept the best thanks of the British Government for the very kind and hospitable manner in which you received Mr. Beecroft and Commander Forbes during their late visit to your Majesty's capital of Abomey; and I beg to assure you, Sir, that this friendly conduct on your part has still more increased the earnest desire of the British Government to cultivate the most intimate relations between the Kingdoms of Great Britain and of Dahomey.

But as nothing more contributes to the maintenance of friendship than a frank explanation of mutual feelings and opinions, I deem it of importance to advert to the statement which you made to Mr. Beecroft, that you intended to make war upon the Chiefs of Abbeokuta; and I feel

it right to inform you that the Queen of England takes a great interest in favour of that city and its people, and that if you value the friendship of England, you will abstain from any attack upon and from any hostility against that town and people.

The British Government would be very sorry that you should make such an attack: first, because Her Majesty's Government would deeply regret that any evil should happen to the people of Abbeokuta; and secondly, because Her Majesty's Government would feel much concern if anything should be done by your Majesty which would lead to an interruption of the friendly relations between yourself and the Government of England.

With respect to what you have written about the Slave Trade, the British Government is much disappointed at your answer, for they had hoped and expected that you would have complied with their very reasonable request, accompanied as it was by a handsome offer of full compensation for any temporary loss which you might sustain by putting an end to the Slave Trade. But as you have declined to consent to what the British Government has asked you to do, the British Government will be obliged to employ its own means to accomplish its purpose; and as England is sure to succeed in any object which it is determined to attain, the result will be, that the Slave Trade from Dahomey will be put an end to by the British cruisers, and thus you will sustain the temporary loss of revenue without receiving the offered compensation. But it is at least a satisfaction to Her Majesty's Government to think that your loss of revenue will only be felt by you for a short time, and that the profits which will arise to you from legal commerce will soon very amply repay you for any deficiency of revenue created by the cessation of Slave Trade.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

Mr. Addington to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 11, 1850.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a despatch from Mr. Beecroft,* Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, reporting the failure of his endeavours to induce the King of Dahomey to enter into a treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and stating that the King of Dahomey had expressed an intention of making war on the Chiefs of Abbeokuta. I am to transmit to you also a copy of a letter† addressed by the King of Dahomey to Her Majesty, stating his views with respect to the Slave Trade.

I am to request that you will lay these papers before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and that you will state to their Lordships that it appears to Lord Palmerston that it seems clear that the King of Dahomey will not be induced to enter into any agreement to abandon Slave Trade until the Chief of Lagos shall have previously been brought to enter into such an engagement, and until Slave Trade shall have been effectually stopped at Whydah.

It seems, therefore, to Lord Palmerston, that measures should forthwith be resorted to for the purpose of putting an end to Slave Trade at Lagos, and that with this view the present Chief of Lagos should be invited to enter into an engagement similar to that which was agreed to by the chiefs at Gallinas; and if he should refuse to do so, that measures similar to those which were enforced against Gallinas, should be brought to bear upon Lagos, or that steps should be taken to replace in authority at Lagos the former chief, who is understood to be now at Badagry, and who would, it is believed, willingly subscribe to the proposed engagement.

In the meantime it would be desirable that the strictest watch which

* See No. 9.

† See Inclosure in No. 9.

circumstances might admit of should be established, to prevent slaves from being exported from Whydah.

It is obvious that the King of Dahomey, who is the greatest originator of Slave Trade in that part of Africa in which his territory lies, will yield, in regard to that Trade, only when compelled by necessity to do so, and when he shall be quite sure that the profits which he would give up by relinquishing that pursuit, would not pass into the hands of any less conceding neighbour.

I inclose for their Lordships' information, a copy of a letter* which Viscount Palmerston has addressed to the King of Dahomey on this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. U. ADDINGTON.

No. 11.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received October 15.)

My Lord,

Clarence, Fernando Po, August 13, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to communicate that since my last despatch of the 22nd ultimo, from West Bay, Prince's Island, in Her Majesty's sloop "Bonetta," Commander Forbes, I had the next day a conference with Commodore Fanshawe, relative to the communication he had received from Commander Forbes and myself, that it was the King of Dahomey's full intention to attack Abbeokuta the ensuing dry season, and His Majesty strongly urged me to remove the white men, &c. I then told him that I was going there about the same time that he would be *en route* for the same place.

Under such circumstances, Commodore Fanshawe, with my concurrence, deemed it prudent and necessary to address a strong remonstrance to His Majesty the King of Dahomey against any act of hostilities or oppression committed upon the people of Abbeokuta, for the British Government take a great interest in their welfare, and would see with much concern and displeasure any acts of violence committed against them; that, moreover, there are dwelling among those tribes many liberated Africans and British-born subjects, whom Her Majesty's Government are bound to protect from injury.

And should His Majesty not abstain from committing aggressions against these people, Her Majesty's Government will not refrain from commencing a hostile blockade against Whydah.

I am quite satisfied that it was always during my sojourn at Abomey, apparent that the working of his own mind has been a friendly disposition to Her Majesty's Government, and a desire not to give offence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

No. 12.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston —(Received October 15.)

(Extract.)

Clarence, Fernando Po, August 13, 1850.

I BEG leave to communicate that I sailed in Her Majesty's steamer "Jackal," from West Bay, Prince's, on the evening of the 23rd ultimo, and arrived here on the 25th. Her Majesty's steamer "Gladiator" arrived here to coal on the 31st ultimo, and sailed on the 7th instant, taking with her Commodore Fanshawe's despatch for the King of Dahomey, as mentioned in my other despatch of this date; also mine to the missionaries at Badagry and Abbeokuta, with a full and clear explanation of this marauding chief's intentions towards them. He is jealous of them since white missionaries have established themselves there.

* See Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

No. 13.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Eddisbury.

My Lord,

Admiralty, October 21, 1850.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, the copy of a letter from Commodore Fanshawe, dated 19th July last, with its inclosed letter and journal from Lieutenant Forbes, of Her Majesty's ship "Bonetta," detailing the particulars of his late mission with Mr. Beecroft to the King of Dahomey, with reference to the abolition of the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

Commodore Fanshawe to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

"Centaur," West Bay, Prince's Island,
July 19, 1850.

Sir,

I HAVE to request you will do me the honour to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the accompanying copies of a letter and journal which I have received from Lieutenant Forbes, of Her Majesty's brigantine "Bonetta," detailing the particulars of his late mission with Mr. Beecroft to the King of Dahomey, with a statement of the expenses incurred by him.

Although the mission has not had an immediate satisfactory result, I still entertain a hope that it may lead to measures which will cause the abolition of the Slave Trade in the King's dominions.

The decision and intelligence manifested by Lieutenant Forbes on this occasion, quite confirm the opinion which caused me to select him for the service, first to accompany the late Mr. Duncan, and I beg therefore to recommend him as an officer deserving their Lordships' approbation.

Lieutenant Forbes is the bearer of Mr. Beecroft's despatches to the Foreign Office, and also of a letter from the King of Dahomey and a present from him of two country cloths to Her Majesty the Queen.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

Lieutenant Forbes to Commodore Fanshawe.

"Bonetta," West Bay, Prince's Island,
July 8, 1850.

Sir,

IN inclosing my journal reporting my proceedings on my late mission to Dahomey, I have the honour to state that, May 14, I landed at Whydah with Mr. Consul Beecroft, and arrived at Abomey, May 26, where I remained six weeks. Returned to Whydah and re-embarked, July 12, on board the "Bonetta," and resumed the command of her.

Having had several interviews and conversations with His Majesty the King of Dahomey and his Ministers, I have formed the following conclusions:—

1st. That the King of Dahomey will not give up the Slave Trade without some show of coercion.

2nd. That His Majesty's Ministers are one and all slave-dealers; and if the King was willing, he has not the power to treat.

3rd. That His Majesty's wealth has been much exaggerated.

4th. That there is no Dahomey nation, but a few chiefs holding feudal rights under a high chief, Guezo. The case of John McCarthy, mentioned in my journal of proceedings, will point out the fear entertained of the stoppage of all trade.

His Majesty's recommendations to the Queen to stop the trade in the ports from Quittah to Lagos, illustrates the efficiency of such a demonstration on Whydah.

The King is about to make war on Abbeokuta. Mr. Beecroft and myself have explained to him that in Abbeokuta dwell many British subjects; and that Sagbua, the Chief, has sought British protection.

If it were represented to King Guezo, that if he makes war on Abbeokuta he declares war upon England, it would perhaps save Abbeokuta, or enable you to stop the trade at Whydah, which, if the King does not open by relinquishing the Slave Trade, will in a very short time ruin the country.

A present of powder and musket-balls would raise the confidence of the Abbeokutians.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. E. FORBES.

Inclosure 3 in No. 13.

Journal of Lieutenant Forbes, on his Mission to Dahomey.

(Extract.)

May 13.—Arrived off Whydah, and embarked on board Her Majesty's ship "Phoenix," where I had the honour of being introduced to Mr. Beecroft.

May 14.—Landed, surf rather high, one chest of muskets: twenty lost. Her Majesty's ship "Kingfisher" saluted, twenty guns. British Fort saluted as we entered the town of Whydah.

May 15.—6 A.M., visited Viceroy, and introduced Mr. Beecroft as Her Majesty's Consul, and explained to him our position as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries. Took private apartments in the British Fort.

May 16. Viceroy sent to apologize, as a King's messenger had arrived, that he could not call.

May 17.—Viceroy called. He starts on 20th; we are to start 21st. Isidore da Souza is Charchar; Ignacio da Souza, Cabooceer; Antonio da Souza, Amigo del Rey; three appointments out of one that their father enjoyed—the reason obvious: His Majesty receives three presents.

May 18.—Called on Charchar to thank him for the use of his canoes to land Her Majesty's presents. All appeared poverty and decay.

May 19.—Sunday.

May 20.—Received 2 casks 80 dollars of cowries.

May 21.—Sent on baggage. At 5 started, and at 9 arrived at Torree.

May 22.—Arrived at Allahdah. In the evening, Charchar and Ignacio da Souza arrived with the ostentation, dirt, and display of African officials.

May 23.—Arrived at Wybagau.

May 24.—Crossed the swamp; rather bad. Arrived at Zobardoh, and put up in a neat farm-house in a fine cultivated country.

May 25.—Arrived at Canamina. This being the same route I took in my last mission, I do not describe it. Cana deserves a line in praise. The level park-lands, the high state of cultivation, neatness and cleanliness of habitation, aged of both sexes, sereneness of atmosphere—all combined, lead the ideas far from Africa, slavery, and sacrifices. Dahomey, carrying war and devastation into all the neighbouring countries, has herself enjoyed the sweets of peace. It is not the Dahomians who war, but forced mercenaries; nor are the Dahomians much the gainers by these harassing slave-hunts—old age is decapitated to ornament the

Palace, strength and youth sold to enrich the Brazils, their proceeds wasted at the horrible and ridiculous Customs of "Hivae noo ee wha," occurring once a-year. Charchar arrived. Sent to Abomey to report our arrival; received in answer that we rise at cock-crow and proceed.

May 26.—At 7 arrived at Abomey. Immediately inside the gate, on wheels (a present from the late Charchar), was a brigantine about twenty-eight feet long, well rigged, under all plain sail, union-jack at the fore, French tricolour at the peak. Dressed in full uniform, Charchar and Brazilians arrived and took guard a-head of us, attended by 140 armed slaves in Dahomian uniforms. At 9 we were met by the Cabooceers. I have described a meeting before. The Charchar was bent on giving us his left, in which he failed; and to show his bad taste, muttered audibly "Politico, politico!" A messenger arriving from the King addressed him, in hopes that he and his "whites" were quite well; he was constrained to pass on to us and thus showed we were two parties. It is somewhat odd that the late Da Souza was the patron of nearly all English visitors to Abomey, Mr. Duncan, Dr. Dickson, and nearly so to Mr. Cruickshanks. Forming procession, the Cabooceers preceded them, Mr. Beecroft and myself followed by the Charchar, the guns of the saluting battery firing twenty-one guns in honour of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and thirteen each for Her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries.

French flag last visit was white.

Antonio did not accompany the other Da Souza, he remained to ship slaves for the family, but fortunately the "Gladiator" took the slaver. She was consigned to the Charchar.

The King's reception was much the same as described in my former mission—we were received first, and the Charchar "passed" first; honours were divided. The court-yard was decorated with flags of all colours; among them many union-jacks, intended doubtless as a compliment, although the only other great display was of human skulls. I remarked last journal, that the skull-ornaments of the wall were in many parts blown down; now there are few left, and the King has no intention of renewing them. Yet how inconsistent! the Palaver-house, in the centre of the square, was ornamented with 148 newly cleaned from the Okeadon war (one of the most cowardly acts that ever disgraced a tyrant). The only other ornament was a gaudy tent in front of the Palace, under which was a State chair. At noon we were permitted to retire to our new home in the Mayo's Palace, having taken a mixture—in the United States called "stone wall"—of rum, gin, brandy, beer, hock, lemonade gazeuse, besides liqueurs. In the evening the Mayo visited.

May 27.—The Mayo visited, and invited us to be present at his levee.

The Palace of Dangelahcordeh has many gates; to-day at each gate a Minister held his levee. At 2 p.m. we arrived at the Mayo's, whose canopy of umbrellas formed the apex from which a ring was extended, here and there studded with umbrellas and banners; on a high stool of state sat the Minister, surrounded by his officers, who left a lane in front for new-comers to advance through and salute the chief. On our arrival we were seated on his right, and exchanged compliments in a glass of Frontignac. In the ring were two bands, and in gaudy attire two troubadours (the only appropriate names for them; they were not minstrels, and certainly not ballad-singers, but between the two); each carried a staff of office—a blue crutch stick with a device carved in the staff, and to each stick was a yellow handkerchief. They sang about the wars of the Dahomians and histories of the Kings of Dahomey; in this way only are the records kept. The troubadours were father and son, and the office is hereditary and lucrative; if failing male heir, by adoption. First, the elder sang how the King had conquered Attahpam; but the greatest achievement appeared to be in the capturing of a lady, on which he had bestowed a largesse on the troubadours; then how the King had killed Ahchardee, King of Jena; and pointing to a handsome tunic and damask-silk crimson Turkish trousers, gave me his clothes. He then sang at length in praise of Queen Victoria, the friend of Guezo, for which we gave him a breaker of rum. A court fool, with whitewashed face, surmounted by a slouched hat, exercised his ingenuity; but not being initiate in the idiom of the language his witticisms were lost to us.

About an hour after our arrival, headed by guards, banners, and official emblems, arrived His Majesty's sisters and daughters, followed by

bands of discordant music and attendants carrying changes of raiment, gaudily dressed in cotton cloths and coral and Popo beads. The Princesses, about thirty in number, took possession on our right in front, and made it very warm. The elder troubadour was soon dismissed, the younger pleased better. After remaining about an hour, the royal ladies rose *en masse*, and each producing a small decanter, which it appeared was her prerogative to have filled with rum, assailed the aged Minister. A scene followed, highly derogatory to the dignity of royalty. As soon as all were satisfied, they took leave, and forming procession marched off to the next gate, where a similar scene followed. During this time the Mayo received his friends, and entertained each with a glass before he dismissed him; all knelt when approaching him and threw dirt on their heads. Taking leave, we called in at the Viceroy's levee; who regaled us with beer and effervescing lemonade. These levees are called *Zandro*.

May 28.—At 8 A. M., in full uniform, we were commanded to the Palace, and according to the Court etiquette, were gazed at by the many-headed for an hour. During the Customs, each Minister, Cabooceer, or military officer, has to assemble his men at 6, and when dressed and ready (every morning), to make the circuit of the Palace Square in procession three times. At the arrival at the gate in each round, he has to prostrate, while his retainers fire, dance, and sing; this finished, if on duty, he places his insignia of office under a long tent, and stretches himself on a mat until required: if not, he plants his umbrella, and, seated on his stool, holds a short levee, and then retires. At 9 we entered the Palace, and were shown to the *entrée* of the audience-chamber; His Majesty lounged on a bed. There were present the Mayo, Yavogau, Cambodee, Toonoonoo, and Maehaepah,—Minister of Foreign Affairs, Viceroy of Whydah, Treasurer, Head-Eunuch, and the Amazon Grand Vizier. The seal of Her Majesty's letter having been broken by the King, Mr. Beecroft read it in short sentences to the interpreters (three, and unfortunately none of the best).

As far as could be judged, His Majesty received its contents with pleasure; promised to consider the question; directed us to view his Customs well.

From certain remarks elucidated concerning the emoluments of the Slave Trade, we considered it prudent to acquaint His Majesty that we were authorized to offer a subsidy, and we were in power to put it in force immediately His Majesty should enter into a treaty; but that it was impossible to pronounce the sum until we had witnessed his disbursements.

The interview was flattering. On our return, sent the Queen's gracious presents. (List annexed.)

The Ministers and Cabooceers paraded the town at the head of their bands and retainers, firing constantly.

May 29.—At 7-30 we were again ushered into the audience *entrée*, now occupied by Maehaepah, very busy winding up, one after another, eight Sam Slick's clocks, some upside-down, others on their sides, and one, by mistake, in its proper position; from this state we rescued them, but not before I had horrified the stately dame by placing one foot within the sacred precincts of the harem. To prevent so unprecedented an occurrence, the Maehaepah and Toonoonoo knelt one on each side the threshold, and thus exhibited clocks, musical-boxes, watches, &c., on the particular efficacies of each of which we were called upon to dilate.

At 10 we passed through another gate. Entering a large court-yard, on the opposite side, under a canopy of umbrellas of every colour, and ornamented with strange devices, sat the King on a sofa, and over him a small European parasol of crimson-velvet and gold. His Majesty wore a blue flowered satin robe, a gold-laced hat, and sandals ornamented with silver; round his neck a neat gold chain.

On the side of the court occupied by the throne sat the royal wives and female officers, all well-dressed in a variegation of silks, cloths, &c., and the Amazons in full uniform, all seated on their hams, rested the stocks of their long Danish muskets on the ground, while the polished barrels stood up like a forest. In one part of the female group sat twenty-eight with blue crutch sticks, each ornamented with a yellow

handkerchief; these were the sticks of office of the female troubadours, and each was to relate in her own way the romance of history of Dahomey.

Standing facing the throne (the Mayo, Yavogau, and Cabooceer of the British Fort, Heechelee, lay prostrated, throwing dirt on their heads), we bowed three times to the King. This was a neutral ground, and was occupied during the day by the Maehaepah and Toonoonoo, or the female Grand Vizier and Head Eunuch, who, on their knees, communicated the royal pleasure or any message. The King, being guarded by his Amazons, could not be approached by one of the opposite sex. On this neutral ground were the skulls of Kings in calabashes, surrounding a newly-turned heap, which contained the head of a victim sacrificed last night, his body to be buried under the tent (pole) to be used by His Majesty to-morrow. Some of these skulls were ornamented with brass, copper, coral, &c.: one in a copper pan illustrated a fearful tale of treachery and murder, the skull of Ahchardee, Chief of Jena. The history may not be out of place in this journal.

Onsih, King of Jena, died; and Dikkon, heir-apparent, hated, was rejected. He escaped to Dahomey, then reigned over by Adonooza, and implored him to march upon Jena; Adonooza refused, his mother being a Jena woman. Ahchardee (until they should choose a King) was nominated President; Adonooza deposed. Guezo marched an army three successive years against Ahchardee, and was each time defeated. Resolved to effect by stratagem what he had failed to do by open war, Guezo invited Ahchardee to Dahomey to witness his Customs. Receiving hostages and presents, he came, and was returned loaded with presents. A second year he was allowed to go back unmolested. The third, he came with near a thousand traders, at the Custom called "Ek anee noo ahtoh meh." He was thrown with the victims, sacrificed, his people taken into slavery.

After saluting the Monarch we turned round, and on the opposite side were from 300 to 400 males, Ministers, Cabooceers, officers and soldiers. As with the Amazons, in one part were twenty-eight sticks belonging to troubadours; all were shaded by large umbrellas. Immediately opposite the throne were chairs and a table set with decanters and glasses for ourselves, under a canopy of handsome umbrellas; on the right sat the Charchar and the Brazilians, similiarly accommodated.

Taking our seats, the *coup-d'œil* was very pleasing: all were well-dressed; the Ministers and Cabooceers in flowing robes. Besides the diversity of colour in dress and umbrellas, there were also number of banners and Fetish ornaments. The day's jubilee is named "Eh nah ek beg" (the Day of Giving).

Business commenced by two male troubadours introducing themselves; then one at a time recited the exaggerated accounts of the wild warlike adventures of Guezo and his ancestors; interlucent praises and visionary accounts of the future. As though gratifying to the Monarch who had deposed him, they desecrated the name of his brother Adonooza, as totally unfit to reign over a powerful and brave nation such as the Dahomian. At the mention of the name of any member of the Royal Family deceased, all the Ministers, Cabooceers, and officers, male and female, had to prostrate and kiss the dust, &c. The troubadours by no means spared them: they hailed Guezo as the greatest of African Monarchs; he had only to command, and it was done; enumerated all the conquered States. That any country that insulted Dahomey must fall; and there still remained three to conquer, Tappah, Yoruba, and Abbeokuta. (In the Jena war, the Yorubas—a part of whom the Dahomians consider a separate nation from the Abbeokutians—assisted against Dahomey. In the Okeadon war, in 1848, the Abbeokutians took an Amazon general (umbrella) and standard and regiment, and, as the Dahomians term it, "Made children for them.") Two Amazons next spouted their visionary lore, amusing themselves at times calling on the multitude to laugh for joy at the recital of the King's exploits: when first, the females would exercise their risible faculties, then the males give a sort of Irish howl; now and again the singers called on the multitude to join chorus,

which was readily complied with. As each two were attended by a discordant band, there was no lack of music.

The only innovations were: 1st. Ahhophé, the King's brother, spoke of the impropriety of removing cowries, to be distributed from the market at night, stating that as there were so many strangers in the town, it would be dangerous to tempt them, particularly as the penalty, even to a Prince, would be death. The King concurred, and agreed that the cowries should be distributed on the 31st, and removed at 4 A. M. of that day. 2nd. At noon His Majesty crossed over, and took a glass of liqueur with us (being covered by cloths while he did so). Guns fired, Ministers and Cabooceers danced, and all huzzaed.

As each two, male or female, of the troubadours finished their lays, they received a present for themselves and bands, in all about thirty, thus:—

Cowries, 28 heads or dollars.
Cloth, 28½ pieces, or 28 dollars.
Handkerchiefs, 4 pieces.
Rum, 2 gallons.

The total expense of this day by my calculation was, cowries, 784 dollars; cloth, 784 dollars; handkerchiefs, 102 dollars; rum, 28 dollars: in all 1698 dollars.

At 3 P. M., raining hard, we were commanded to retire.

Seated five hours over damp ground. Had it not been for the novelty, would, doubtless, have been irksome.

In the evening the Mayo, Yavogau, and Narwey, attended by the Royal command to explain to us the expenses of the day, and brought strings of cowries, which we had to count, to satisfy ourselves of the correctness of their statement, which ran as follows: cowries, 7,540 dollars; cloth, 644 pieces; iron armlets, 92 in number; rum, 140 bottles. Further, that His Majesty had that morning thrown away 400 dollar heads of cowries, and 40 pieces of cloth, and intended that night to throw away 800 dollar heads of cowries; that the sum total of the day's expenses was 26,000 dollars in value.

At 3 P. M., when we left, only four males and four females had been paid; we allowed all to be paid, and that would have taken till at least 8 P. M., and these officers were with us at 6 P. M. His Majesty, we had expected, would take every advantage of us; but this was rather too much; it reminded me of the stories handed down by the late Da Souza, with which he fed English visitors. And well may the Royal Exchange be laid at 300,000 dollars per annum, when (at the most liberal allowance) the expenses, actually 1698 dollars, are given as 26,000 dollars. The description of the "Ek gaeé noo ahtoh meh" will, I trust, prove, together with Ahhohpé's speech, that neither the 800 nor 400 dollars were distributed; whilst the Custom called "Ek bah tong ek beh" will pretty well illustrate the impossibility of the gross sum, 26,000 dollars in cowries and cloth, being distributed in one day by the Dahomian Monarch.

Before leaving, the Mayo solemnly charged us, that neither ourselves nor our servants be found in the streets to-night; His Majesty was going to sacrifice to the manes of his ancestors.

May 30.—At 7-30 we started for the Palace. At a little distance from our house, the road was fenced off; the King's wives were going to carry goods to market, and no one might meet them.

At the foot of the ladder ascending to the Palaver-House, in the square of the Palace of Dangelahcordeh, lay six newly-cut-off human heads, the blood still oozing; at the threshold of the entrance gate was a pool of human blood. Within, the scene was entirely different from yesterday: in the centre of the Palace-court stood a huge crimson cloth tent, forty feet high, and of forty feet diameter, ornamented with devices of men cutting off others' heads, calabashes full of human heads, and other emblems of brutality and barbarity; on the top stood the figure of a Dahomian, with half his head shaved, supporting a staff from which flew a white standard; on it was emblazoned a jar, having one skull for a stopper, standing in a large dish on three other skulls (blue). Although

the King had not arrived, we had to pay the same compliment as yesterday (similarly attended) to the throne, which was inside the tent, around which were the Amazons, wives, &c. On the neutral ground were the same skulls. Turning round, our position faced His Majesty's, and about were the Ministers, &c., all dressed as near as possible alike, in red striped flowing robes, and laden with necklaces. In a short time His Majesty arrived, dressed in a coloured silk robe and laced hat. Having taken his seat on the throne under the tent, the business of the day commenced by a procession of fifty-eight Ministers and Cabooceers, each carrying a sword, a scimitar, and a club. After passing the throne three times, all prostrated, and threw dirt on their heads.

To give the whole account would be to make this journal prolix; I shall therefore annex a programme of the processions, which lasted till 3 P.M., and comprised between 6000 and 7000 people, and here merely make a few comments.

The day's Custom is called "Ek bah tong ek beh" (Carrying Goods to Market), and is really a display of as much of the whole wealth of the Monarch as can be, without material damage, drawn or carried to the market of Ahjahhee and back; a distance, both ways, of about a mile. The day was cloudy, and the dresses by no means good. From the programme a very fair calculation of the actual wealth of the King may be made: 1793 women carried cowries, each three heads, on an average, some not more than half-a-head; being in total 5,379 heads of cowries or dollars. Among the display of wealth were many articles of little value—some 50 pots-de-chambre, to wit—His Majesty could not be aware of the use of; 90 women carried common jugs; 170 carried each one piece of cloth cut in two and rolled; 46 ditto white baft ditto; 47 carried each six Dutch pipes; 70 ditto empty blue bottles; 50 carried a washing-jug each. It has been frequently related to me, that His Majesty's possesses whole services of plate. How ridiculous! All his silver ornaments were displayed to-day, and his artisan brother, Sohsar, and Hatongee the silversmith, were by command seated near us to explain their value. In all they were 90 in number, carried by as many women; among them coffee-pots, tea-pots, cream-jugs, and baskets of European manufacture; 33 were silver-headed canes, and the remainder large hollow ornaments of native make; at least so we were told, but they were wrapt in cloths. Of the fashion of His Majesty's knives and forks we had a daily sample, and certes they would be of equal curiosity in England as Dahomey, of iron. The collection of a country fair, carried in a similar manner, would have far exceeded the wealth displayed in value and appearance. The dresses of a minor theatre would have excelled.

In a country like Dahomey it is an immense collection, but when the exactions of the Monarch are considered, scarcely to be wondered at. If a Dahomian receives a present he must lay it before the King, and if admired, even the Prime Minister would find it more to his interest to forego it.

Besides goods carried, there were several bands of troops, male and female, and several tasteful groups at different periods took position, danced and sang before the King. Bands were playing in all directions; dwarfs, hunchbacks, court fools, albinos, besides an ostrich and an emu, and several dogs of strange breed strolled about the neutral ground; lastly came the ancient ladies, and those holding offices of regal rank, with the insignia of their separate offices; among them numbers of human skulls in drums, banners, knives, &c. These were disgusting enough, but to behold twelve unfortunate human victims for to-morrow's sacrifice—carried round, eight on men's, four on women's heads, bound hand and foot and tied in small canoes, dressed in white with high glazed red caps, followed by an alligator and a cat, also for sacrifices,—was fearfully so. As the victims passed the throne of their superstitious tyrant they were halted, and addressed by the Mayo on the munificence of the Monarch, who sent them each a head of cowries wherewith to purchase a last meal.

Once during the day the King left his tent to pay us a visit and drink a glass of liqueur.

As yesterday, the Maehaepah and Toonoonoo were continually engaged, and each point of the proceedings was explained to us through this channel from His Majesty.

At 3 it rained hard, and we were allowed to leave, with much to reflect upon.

Rum was distributed in bottles to the different companies, and about 800 dollars in cowries.

May 31.—At 7 A.M. we were summoned to witness the Custom called “Ek gae noo Ahtoh” (Throwing away Cowries from Ahtoh).

As we left our house His Majesty was passing, and sent us a bottle of rum. Joining in procession we were followed by the Amazon host. Passing round the walls of the Palace of Dangehlahcordeh we arrived on an open ground called Ahjahhee, at once the market-place and parade-ground, and now occupied by a huge raised platform, hung with cloths and ornamented with banners of every hue, among them two union-jacks, and surmounted by huge umbrellas and small tents. On the west side of this platform of Ahtoh was a fence-work of prickly acacia, outside of which was a band of soldiers; inside fourteen human beings for sacrifice. As soon as the King arrived he ascended the Ahtoh, and immediately several bands of naked men (unless a grass cloth bag round the waist be termed clothing) marched past; in each band several rode on the shoulders of others; headmen; these were the soldiers of the King, his sons, the Ministers and Cabooceers.

I believe it has hitherto been supposed that on this particular day of the Customs, His Majesty enjoys a species of liberality unknown in the the annals of the histories of any other known nations, in the scrambling to his people goods of all descriptions,—cowries, silk, tobacco, rum, &c., and also live sacrifices. I say I believe so, for such has been my own opinion, deduced from Dalyell and from report. Such is by no means the case. The public are not admitted to the scramble, and the whole performance is a cheat. The scramblers, as has been stated, are the soldiers (about 300), and the goods are their pay, and this day did not amount to more than 1000 dollars in cowries and 300 dollars in cloth. The throwing away occupied between seven and eight hours.

Taking seats on the left, the King (all being hustled together) addressed the scramblers, directing them not to fight or quarrel, and having thrown a few by way of trial, commanded us into his presence. Ascending the Ahtoh, the scene was extraordinary: the floor was laid with rushes, and on it about 3000 heads of cowries, and 500 pieces of cloth, besides rum and tobacco; at one end, under a gorgeous umbrella, dressed in a black waistcoat, a cotton cloth round his loins, and a white nightcap, stood the King, labouring hard “throwing goods.” Under a range of umbrellas, facing the multitude, stood the Ministers and Cabooceers, one of which remained vacant for our use. The back part of the Ahtoh was occupied by small tents for the ladies of the Harem; while, as we entered, under separate canopies, were two tables set with decanters, &c., for ourselves and the Charchar to retire to.

Taking our stand under the umbrella, the crowd appeared to be one living mass of humanity. Cowries became the property of the lucky ones who caught them: but not so the cloths,—no sooner caught, than if not handed to the headmen riders, a fight ensued terrible to behold, the riders running over the mob as if on dry land, and it was sure to be found.

As the mass oscillated, it emitted an effluvium only to be compared to the fetid vapour that rises from the over-crowded decks of a slave-ship, and a steam arose as dense as the miasm from a swamp. A guard of soldiers paraded the area during the day.

Soon after our arrival, His Majesty sent us a present of ten heads of cowries and two pieces of cloth.

During the day, as will be seen by the programme, several presents were given, altogether to the amount of 1000 heads of cowries, and about 200 pieces of cloth, a little rum and tobacco. Among the recipients were two Kings, an Ashantee ambassador, a head mullum, &c.

About noon the brigantine before alluded to was drawn up, and a lane made through the mob; a boat on wheels put off to land her cargo of rum, cloth, and cowries, &c. At 10 we breakfasted, supplied by His Majesty, and after breakfast joined the King in "throwing away." It was easy to observe that one party was the grand receiver, and that party the King's. Acting on this, a man named Pohvehsoo, captain of musketoons and court fool, and as we have since heard, headsman, had ingratiated himself; knowing him to be the King's friend, we aimed three cloths filled with cowries at him; having received the third, His Majesty ordered him off, as having had enough.

If I were to conclude the history of this day's Customs here, I should merely remark that there might be a policy in making appear munificence the distribution of a sum of money, that if doled out to each individually, would prove a miserable pittance, although it tended much to debase the minds of his people, if that were possible. But what follows is almost too revolting to be recorded.

As if by general consent, and evincing a slight dawning of decency, hardly to be expected from these truly barbarians, silence reigned, and when broken, the eunuchs would strike a metal instrument each was supplied with, to enforce it, sounding the knell of eleven unfortunate human beings, whose only crime known to their persecutors was that they belonged to a nation Dahomey had warred against, Attahpam. Out of fourteen now brought upon the platform, we, the unworthy instruments of Providence, succeeded in saving the lives of three. Lashed as described in yesterday's journal, except that only four were in boats, the remainder in baskets, these unfortunates, gagged, met the gaze of their enemies with a firmness perfectly astonishing—not a sigh was breathed. One cowardly villain put his hands to the eyes of a victim, who sat with his head down, to feel for moisture; finding none, he drew upon himself the ridicule of his hellish coadjutors.

Ten of these human offerings to the vitiated appetite of his soldiers, and the alligator and cat, were guarded by the male soldiers, and to the right of the King; four to the left were guarded by women.

Being commanded into the presence, the King asked if we wished to be present at the sacrifice; with horror we declined, and begged to be allowed to save a few by purchasing. After a little hesitation, we were asked which we would have; I claimed the first and last of the ten, while Mr. Beecroft claimed the nearest of the four, and 100 dollars being stated as the price, was gladly accepted. In all my life I never saw such coolness so near death: the most attentive ear could not have caught the breath of a sigh—it did not look reality, yet it soon proved fearfully so.

Retiring to our seats, the King insisted on our viewing the place of sacrifice. Immediately under the Royal canopy were six or eight executioners, armed with large knives, grinning horribly; the mob now armed with clubs and branches, yelled furiously, calling upon the King to "feed them—they were hungry."

Scarcely had we reached our seats, when a demoniac yelling caused us to look back. The King was showing the immolations to his people, and now they were raised high over the heads of their carriers, while the Monarch made a speech to the soldiers, telling them that these were of the prisoners from Attahpam; he called their names. The Charchar left at the same time with ourselves; but Ignacio and Antonio da Souza remained spectators.

The unfortunate being nearest the King, stripped of his clothes, was now placed on end on the parapet, the King giving the upper part of the boat an impetus, a descent of twelve feet stunned the victim, and before animation could return, the head was off; the body, beaten by the mob, was dragged by the heels to a pit at a little distance, and there left a prey to wolves and vultures.

After the third the King retired; not so the slave-merchants. When all was over, at 3 P.M., we were permitted to retire. At the foot of the ladder in the boats and baskets lay the bleeding heads. It is my duty to describe; I leave exposition to the reader.

The expenses in money, &c., expended this day was 2,700 dollars; out of the 3000 heads on the platform, 1000 remained when all was over.

June 1.—At noon we sallied forth to witness a novel sight; a review, half males, half Amazons. The Custom is called "Eh dah sol ek begh" (Firing Guns). The parade-ground in the Ahjahhee market-place was now clear, the Ahtoh had disappeared, and all that remained to mark the fearful tragedy of yesterday were the stains of blood, emitting a pestilential stench.

Having taken our seats under some shady trees, the troops marched past in the following order. First came the Cabooceers and their retainers, some 300; lastly, the King's levees, and those of the Royal Family, in all 4,400 men; then came the Amazons in the same order, 2,400. In each regiment or company, first came the armed, then the banners, stool of office, followed by the officers under umbrellas; lastly, the band. In the rear of each of the King's levees, male and female, was an equal number of stools, banners, drums, and umbrellas, all ornamented with skulls and jawbones.

At 12:30 His Majesty arrived, and took his seat on a high stool under a canopy of umbrellas. On his left the Charchar; on his right Mr. Beecroft and myself. Under the canopy were none but males. Toonoonoo remained outside, and Maehaepah hovered in the neighbourhood, ready to communicate, if required.

The King must be aware of the consequences of too often raising the evil passions of men, and too long indulging his people with murder. As if by the power of Aladdin's lamp, to-day they were a changed nation, totally military; the King was a soldier, in French grey tunic, short trousers, and fur skull-cap; no sandals, and no ornaments except a neat cartouche-box and other military apparel. The hunchback and dwarf vied with the court-fool in military address; in all this there was nothing very extraordinary; but when, in the midst of the Amazons stood the royal mother, wives, female Ministers, all in uniform, and armed each with a musket, sword, and club, and which each by her actions showed she knew well how to use, the Monarch looked to us, as if to say, "Did you ever witness the like of this?" All were well, and many handsomely, uniformly, dressed.

The whole marched past a second and a third time. 77 banners and 160 huge umbrellas flirted by the bearers, muskets ornamented with ribbons, flying aloft to be caught again, together enlivening the scene; while 55 discordant bands, and the shouts of soldiery as they hailed the Monarch, almost deafened the observer.

The retainers of the Ministers and Cabooceers now occupied the ground at the farther end of the field, when first the royal male levees (headed by an emblem of a leopard killing a snake, on a staff) advanced, skirmishing to the foot of the throne, keeping up a constant fire. In front was a regiment of blunderbuss-men, bush-rangers in green grass surtouts. Halting in front, they gave the salute, holding up their muskets with their right hands, their left rattling a small metal rattle each soldier wears round the neck; while some, having light pieces, flung them aloft to catch them again; all the officers prostrating, and throwing dirt on their heads.

The King rose and left the canopy, said one or two words to them, and receiving a light musket from an aide-de-camp, fired it, and received one of many now offered. He then danced a war-dance. It commenced with a quick-step march; presently he halted, and putting his hand over his eyes, scanned the distance, sent out scouts; danced again, again halted; now certain the enemy was in sight, fired his piece. The soldiers shouted, fired, advanced, and retired, and the King returned to his seat, shaking hands with us, telling us he had been to war.

Domingo Jozé Martins arrived (sixteen hours from Whydah). The soldiers sang, and in their song thanked Martins for some powder and muskets he had given last war. As these marched off, the Amazons advanced in the same order, keeping up a constant fire from muskets, blunderbusses, musketoons, and wall-pieces; forming a half-circle in front

Bringing his piece to the shoulder.

He had hammock-men all along the road.

of the canopy, they saluted the King, who, after a parley between those two grave reasoners, the Maehaepah and Toonoonoo, again quitted the stool and performed a war-dance. The Amazons now sang, and introduced Domingo, for the same reason, in the following verse, which they repeated several times:—

Tune—"Jim along José."

Dae mee goo o
Sooto ah noo o
Ah dae mee Guezo.

(Domingo gave us muskets to fight for Guezo.)

After much dancing and singing, they marched off and took ground to the left, forming a canopy of umbrellas in their centre for the officers, all seated on their hams, their Danish muskets on end, became speculators of the remaining part of the review.

The remainder was a sort of presentation of chiefs and officers of the King, while the retainers marched past, firing constantly. The order was as follows: first, the retainers enfilading between two Fetish-houses, about 200 yards from the throne, would commence firing, and march, edging to the right; the Cabooceers and officers would leave the body, and arrived at the foot of throne prostrate, and threw dirt on their heads, while the Toonoonoo called their names and rank. The Cabooceer then knelt, and receiving a bottle of rum, followed his retainers. All the Cabooceers having passed, among them Ignacio da Souza (who stood), to whom the King went out; and he having declined to dance, His Majesty shamed him into doing so by setting him the example. The Ministers went through the same ceremony. The only other time the King left the tent was to throw some rum on a black pudding of human blood carried by Fetish-men. At 6:30 the review ended, and we were permitted to retire, much pleased with the day's amusement.

During the whole proceedings, order and discipline were observable; the uniformity of dress exceedingly striking. The show of colours, variety of the flat-topped umbrellas, various devices and emblems like the eagles of the Romans, the highly-polished muskets—all combined, the effect was as pleasing as it was novel.

I am now accustomed to skulls, but a sense of disgust arose when the King sent the Meigau's drinking (war) cup for our inspection—it was a polished human skull. The Meigau, the highest officer in the realm, holds, among other offices, that of hereditary headsman—under a Dahomian Monarch, no sinecure, although he has a band of subordinates.

The 6,800 soldiers reviewed, with perhaps an equal number on the frontiers, form the standing army of Dahomey; certainly not more than 14,000 male and female, and nearly all foreigners, bought or prisoners of war. When the King makes war, he levies, according to its capabilities, from each town and district; but, I should say, never marched more than 20,000 to war, leaving about 8000 armed men under the Mayo to protect his capital and frontiers.

To leave the frontiers open, said the King, would be to invite an attack.

I do not think His Majesty gave us credit for being able to count his troops, but we had done so before he arrived on the ground; and luckily we had, for afterwards several of the largest regiments would march past twice, and one of them three times, thus swelling out the apparent numbers.

During the day he appeared anxious we should have every information, and frequently sent the names of the chiefs as they passed.

June 2.—Sunday, and luckily a quiet day. The Mayo called, conversed on trade; but I am not of opinion we made much impression on the Minister, who, besides being himself a slave-dealer, is too old. He did pretty well by his visit, in obtaining two gold rings and a new silk handkerchief as present. His call was to ask us to obtain for His Majesty some silk of a certain pattern the King had had twenty years.

June 3.—Again the Custom called "Ek bah tong ek begh," and preceded as before by six human sacrifices, which lay in two heaps under the steps of the Palaver-House, as we passed into the court of the Palace of Dangelahcordeh at 7:30 A.M.

The day was fine, and dresses beautiful in appearance; the tent and positions the same. The opening scene—the procession of Ministers and Cabooceers—was as splendid as it could have been; all wore crimson and yellow slashed silk robes, and over these the Ministers wore crimson silk-velvet cloaks trimmed with gold. Bands of singers, males and females, dressed in scarlet tunics and many silver ornaments, were grouped in different parts. The procession was mainly the same; the dresses of the carriers finer or rather more gaudy. Several carriages and wheeled chairs were drawn past, and cloth, velvet, silk, coral, &c., took the place of cowries. As the procession passed, ladies (attended by guards of Amazons) magnificently dressed in the most showy silks, satins, and velvets, with hats and plumes of the time of Charles II, would take position opposite the throne, and sing and dance before the King, who was habited in a black slouched hat almost covered with gold embroidery, a blue and white robe, and sandals. His Majesty seldom left the tent. A great part of the Amazons were in scarlet or crimson tunics.

The aged ladies, dressed out in scarlet, crimson, or light blue, as they passed in procession, attended by a paraphernalia of skull ornaments, as banners, drums, &c., had their trains borne by maidens in gaudy attire, and were each followed by a guard of Amazons.

Among the groups the most showy were the Paussee six ladies; one wore a Charles II hat and milk-white plume; the other five wore gilt helmets with red and green plumes, tunics of scarlet and gold, with bands of green satin, and waist-belts of blue and green silk; coral bead necklaces, silver gauntlets and armllets, attended by 200 Amazons under arms in scarlet tunics; also a group of six ex-ladies of the Royal Chamber, all mothers of the King, and his present favourite wife, in tunics of country cloth, and similarly ornamented as above, except that each wore at her girdle a polished human skull-cup, and each wore a white slouched hat trimmed with gold-lace. The scene was much more brilliant than on the last day.

May 30.

Let it be remembered that these Customs occur only once a-year, and have been annually for 100 years; and that many of the dresses (which are worn on no other occasion) are much older. I had almost forgotten to mention that these dresses did not save the eternal prostration.

One article deserves attention: the programme must be referred to for the rest. A model of a hill in Kangaroo, taken by storm by the Dahomians; by command it was placed near our position, and those two important functionaries, the Maehapah and the Toonoonoo, knelt with their heads locked for about half-an-hour, when the mystery was explained to us. The late Mr. Duncan, in his travels to the mountains of Kong, being in the vicinity, asked permission to ascend the hill, which was refused; this, as Mr. Duncan was travelling under Dahomian protection, was construed into an insult. Kangaroo Hill was surmounted by a large town, supplied for a siege and with large tanks of water; the rear was a perpendicular, the front was a slope, round which was a high wall and gate. This wall was escalated by Yawae (the English mother), at the head of a party of Amazons, and her stick of office was placed in honour on the model, where it looked very much out of proportion. Several musketoons, wall-pieces, and a five-barrelled blunderbuss, all English, were shown to us; and His Majesty sent to say, as these were getting old, he would be obliged if the Queen, his friend, would send him more, particularizing that flints were preferred. We made a note of it.

Before going away, His Majesty invited us into his tent, to the too well expressed astonishment of 200 ladies, who must have thought the King had parted with his senses when he admitted men and strangers into their sanctuaries. His Majesty proved himself to be sane, by telling us that to-morrow he wished us to measure the tent, and put down in our note-books that he wanted two, and two sofas.

Inside, the tent was supported like an umbrella, and apparently very old; in the centre was the sofa, and over it a white umbrella; on the sofa were child's toys.

At 5.30 we left, having sat too long over damp ground. At 7 we were again commanded to attend the King to an evening Custom, "El doo

beh pah meh," "Go to pah meh" (To Eat). His Majesty went in procession, attended by all the Ministers, wives, Cabooceers, and both armies.

Arrived at the market, some edibles were brought to us; but as it was very dark, we did not eat of them. The King was said to be throwing away eatables to the people; we did not see or hear it. His Majesty sent us four heads of cowries each, and permitting us to depart, we reached home at 10.

June 4.—Measured the tent and sofa. In the yard lay 800 heads of cowries, said to be to pay parties employed yesterday, but I much doubt that more than 200 were paid away, we witnessing that payment, and the rest remaining when we left. In the evening the Mayo brought the three (saved) victims; one ill. Gave him some medicine, and clothed the whole.

June 5.—One of the King's brothers called, and seeing we were employed, said, "I am a working man, and when employed do not like visitors; I therefore take leave."

June 6.—Most of the town was closed to-day, as the ladies of the royal harem went forth to bathe. Mr. Brown arrived.

June 7.—At 9:30 we entered the Palace of Dangelahcordeh to witness the first day of the Customs called "Se que ah nee" (Throwing Water).

Passing through the first court we entered an interior court-yard by a gate ornamented with two human skulls, in shape a parallelogram; at the further end were three small tents, the centre surmounted by a large silver ornament, each of the other two covering a large glass chandelier. The right was formed by a long low shed-like building, in which were two canopies; under the central one, on a couch of crimson and gold, lay the King, while in front was a crimson damask cloth for the recipients of the royal bounty to kneel upon; under the second were the females of the Royal family; while under the shed and immediately in front, were Amazons under arms, and other ladies of the harem. Again, in front, were the skulls; a space of twenty yards (a neutral ground) was unoccupied. Facing the throne beyond this, was a band of minstrels, and in their rear, Ministers, Cabooceers, military officers and visitors. Scarcely seated when the business of the day commenced.

Dresses by no means good, as nearly all had to prostrate.

A crier stepped to the neutral ground and called by direction of the Maehaepah, the Toonoonoo and Cambodee; the three then seated themselves on the edge of the crimson cloth, and the Meigau was called; he being sick, ten heads of cowries were sent to him. The Mayo being called, went through the following ceremony, which was followed by all, and a reference to the programme will give the names of the recipients and sum received by each. Prostrating at a little distance from the throne, he crawled on to the crimson cloth, and there received in his robe, poured from a basket by the Royal hand, eight heads of cowries (eight dollars), which he carried away, staggering round the yard as if under the enormous weight. After having counted them he returned, again prostrated, and covered himself with dirt.

Eunuch Treasurers.

I have before mentioned a man, Pohvehsoo; it may be necessary here to describe him. His origin is humble; he was a carrier of Whydah; he is now a captain of musketeers, a headsman, and a privileged court fool; he has a coadjutor in the Amazon ranks; they dress meanly generally, and have their faces with whitewash like a skull; take great liberties with the Monarch and the nobles; and for a headsman, or even otherwise, I never saw so benevolent a black countenance: in age he is about sixty. To-day they executed every ingenuity to obtain largesse. At one time Pohvehsoo was rolling about in a bag, imitating the call of the guinea-fowl; the King feeding him with cowries, causing the court fools and sycophants to exclaim, "Was there ever so generous a Monarch? See, he throws away cowries like corn." At another, with a mask of a monkey, he would be dipping his paws into baskets of oranges, corn, &c., and removing their contents. But the main cast was Pohvehsoo and his coadjutor, each made a present to the King. From each end of the yard a party heavily laden arrived (apparently), and it required all the care and attention of each to get his or her party before the King, the weights appeared so excessive, that the carriers had to be wiped down and fed with corn; at last they reached the foot of the throne, and the King made a present of cowries in

return, when on examination, two huge baskets of shavings and two huge stacks of the pith of the bamboo, assimilated a like quantity of corn and firewood.

In the middle of the disbursements, the Charchar, his two brothers, and ourselves were called, and received six heads of cowries each, and drank with His Majesty, amid firing, &c. Altogether he disbursed 600 heads.

Two crown birds and a beautiful gazelle played about the yard. In the intervals the minstrels took advantage and praised the King in a most disgusting manner; when one band had sung their praises they were paid, and another took their places, and either sang or danced, and some both. At 2 we took leave, and going home I asked my interpreter how many heads had been given away, during the day; at first he would not answer, but being pressed, gave it as his opinion, 10,000 dollars. Such is the idea the Dahomians have of the liberality of their Sovereign. Visited the Ahjahhee market, a four-day market, well supplied as far as variety of articles was concerned, but with little of each.

Hungoolah.

June 8.—Visited the Behcon market, a four-day market, also just outside the Cumassee gate, similar to Ahjahhee. Called on the Mayo, who reclined on a mat in the shed before described for the Ministers and others on duty at the Palace.

June 9, Sunday.—The Charchar, his brothers, and Domingo, have been closeted all day with the King. The late Da Souza's debts are said to be the palaver.

June 10.—At five miles north-west of Abomey is a beautiful view, which we visited this morning. Leaving the town, the ground gradually rises until suddenly the road opens on a deep extensive valley of undulating ground. Far as the eye can see are the Dabadab Mountains, looking blue in the distance; our eye having been so constantly accustomed to level views, looked upon this as magnificent, and the keen air blowing clear from such a distance, gave us an excellent appetite for a picnic breakfast. On the upper ground was clay with ironstone, sandstone, conglomerate, and chalk. Descending into this valley, a walk of a mile and a half brought us to a swamp of discoloured water, the only watering-place of Abomey, and from hence the water is carried on the heads of women. In the valley the soil is oozy and fertile; but unfortunately, except here and there, miles apart, there are no habitations.

Passing the Palace of Dangelahcordeh, on our return, His Majesty was taking formal leave of Domingo Jozé Martins, honouring him with a review of two regiments of Amazons. According to etiquette we had to descend from our hammocks and make our bow. Having drunk with His Majesty, he asked us if we had brought him any specimens from the bush; we told him our canteen was gone on, but we would bring him some after we had dressed. Taking leave, we returned with five breakers of rum, two large case-bottles of gin, and two of liqueur. Domingo had left, and the King entertained us with some very good dancing, first by men, then by Amazons. The dance offered very great variety of positions, and was very spiritedly performed. The band was not so good as it might have been, and one of the dancers would now and again sound them the tune. At 5 A.M. sent us two bullocks, some flour, peppers, and salt.

In the evening His Majesty passed our gate in procession to the Palace of Dahomey. First came the Cabooceers and all their pomp and array of war; then the Ministers, the King's levees, the King in a hammock (who halted and sent us a bottle of rum), followed by skull ornaments, as instruments, banners, &c.; (a space), then the Amazons, Cabooceers, Ministers, main body, and a similar hammock, skull ornaments, &c.; lastly, the Cambodee and his retainers.

In the evening, Domingo Jozé Martins, the greatest slave-dealer in all Africa, called to take leave. He remained upwards of an hour; and, in conversation, told us that last year, by palm-oil alone, he cleared 70,000 dollars, and shipped in one month from Porto Novo, 300 tons of oil, or 10 tons a-day. In conversing about the Slave Trade, he said the only thing that supported it was its being contraband. In speaking of his individual position, the monopoly of Porto Novo, that one trade helped the other.

June 11.—As an introduction to the day's proceedings (the commencement of the War Palaver), it is necessary to give some account of the present state of the Dahomian army, which is at once divided into two divisions, the right and the left, the advanced and the rear, or the Meigau's and the Mayo's, or the general's titles, the Agaou's and the Passoo's. In each of these two divisions is a battalion of males, and one of Amazons.

The army has another extraordinary division—the male and the Amazon. In each army is a Meigau, a Mayo, an Agaou, a Passoo; and each male officer or soldier has his equivalent in rank in the Amazon lines, termed “Mother.” The Meigau's levees are 140, the Mayo's 300, &c.; those of their coadjutors are equally numbered, or nearly so. The Charchar and all visitors have “mothers” also. Our “mother,” the Yawae, is a most distinguished soldier.

Their pay is precarious; clothed and fed; armed and supplied with powder; as will be seen, they swear to conquer or die. Prisoners and heads are purchased from the captors, and the reward at the Customs depends on the success in the war.

In or about 1625, Tahcohdohnoh, King of Tahhee, marched upon a small town (now called Abomey), and accomplished a vow to the Fetish by ripping open the belly of the captured Prince, and placing his body under the foundation of a new palace, which he appropriately called “Dahomey,” or Dah's belly: hence the name also of the Kingdom of Dahomey.

At 10 A.M. we entered the Palace of Dahomey at a gate called “Ah goh doh meh.” The King reclined under a canopy in a low shed-like building: the positions were similar to those described on previous days. In our rear was the mausoleums of Kings—small thatched round houses, each surmounted by a silver ornament of large size; in front of each was a heap of human skulls and bones, and at the door of each a pillar of cloth shaded by an umbrella. On the neutral ground was strewed cooked meats, &c., and hundreds of turkey buzzards flew about with sickening familiarity.

The Custom called “Seh que ah ee” (Watering the Graves) is in honour of Tahcohdohnoh and his successors.

Singing had commenced; and shortly after, from the tenor of the song, a dispute arose which became a war palaver.

Ahpahdoonomeh, an Amazon general, addressing the singers. She said Attahpam was conquered, the town taken and destroyed. But it was the Amazon who saved the war!

Ahhohpeh, the King's brother, said that her speech was true.

Ahpahdoonomeh. The Attahpams have sought refuge in Ahjah; let the King make war upon Ahjah.

Ahhohpeh. True, the Amazons saved the war: some of the King's sons gave way. Idiom: Male soldiers,

King. My opinion is, that their Chief knows more about counting cowries than the art of war. If men run away like goats, unless followed, it is not likely they will be caught. Alluding to the few prisoners.

Ahpahdoonomeh. I cautioned them to be wary.

An Amazon. If the King eats out of a plate, it must be cleaned before it is used again. After use, my musket requires cleaning.

(The party of soldiers charged with neglect advance to the neutral ground, and their remuneration, some pieces of cloth in six bags, is placed before them; they kneel and throw dirt, while a sort of trial takes place, to discover if they are worthy of the royal bounty, in which great liberty of speech is used by all classes, and any one may give his opinion.)

An Amazon. Let the King give us Bah to conquer. Abbeokuta.

Another. Let Ahjah be the seat of war; let the Mayo lay this request before the King, who will cause him to send messengers into Attahpam, calling upon the people to return and fight again, on pain of being attacked in Ahjah. Did they not invite Guezo to war, and then ran away?

Mayo. I have already sent messengers, telling that if the Ahjahs protect the Attahpams, the King will annihilate them.

Alluding to the small booty at Attahpam.

An Amazon, addressing the King. For my part I am in debt for provisions for last war, and must go again to get money, whether you give Bah or Ahjah. If a bone is thrown to a dog he will break it and eat it: so will we either.

A procession of fourteen *demoiselles du pavé*.

Mayo, to the Amazons. Don't beat about bush, but come to the point. Your charge? Explain at once your wishes. If this is to be a war palaver, the Agaou should be present.

(A stormy debate ensues. The Amazons supporting their charge that the males behaved cowardly, and left the brunt of the action to them, saying, to be overloaded is to be made a laughing stock. The men try to cry them down, when they resort to singing "If the King's soldiers go to war, they should conquer or die.")

Male Officer. The Amazons are "sweet-mouthed." If the King commands, the Agaou will see the work done.

Passoo. If the King sends me I shall do my best; there has been too much palaver about nothing.

An Officer. The King made sacrifices to the River Mono. We are ready to return, re-conquer the Attahpams, or die.

Ekbohsah, captain. If we are not able to go to Bah, we should say so, and let some other party go.

Truth.

Tookonoovehseh, another officer. Goat's blood is goat's blood. Ahpahdoonoomeh, you had better have held your tongue.

Ekbohsah. To interfere in a palaver is not right; I do not make war; the King makes war. The King shows how the Attahpams escaped, and who is in fault. If the King hears for certain where the Attahpams have sought refuge, that place will be destroyed. As for myself, I think more about the matter than I am able to express, therefore finish my palaver. I did not come here to quarrel; where the King sends me there will I fight. Is this a day on which to find fault? If I am not fit for my situation let me be degraded. If my actions are not right, let my accusers look me in the face and make their statements. I will not allow my name to be banded about because a part of the soldiers did not do their duty. I call upon my "mother" to say what she knows.

Ahpahdoonoomeh. I will explain myself and my reasons for requesting the King to give us Bah.

(Interrupted by Bohnohmahseh (male officer), who says, "where the King's sons (male army) are, there the fighting will be. What I speak in the house I will enact in the field. There is a fish in the river called Pah tah seh hed." (This fish has a natural protection.)

[Loud cries, you talk too much.]

An Amazon. What right had you to interrupt? What are your reasons? Does one do wrong, if in seeking a livelihood one gives a part to the King?

Mayo. The King has said, If a man eats too much supper he is heavy-headed in the morning; that man's a fool.

Alluding to Attahpam.

King. If a man be too lazy to labour for his own livelihood, he is of no service to his King. If one leave a country (partly destroyed) he is not likely to return in open day. He will return in the dark.

Males and females.

Hoomahee, drum-maker. If the King's daughters go to war the King's sons will go also. I and my "mother" will go together; where war is, there the drum will be, and I am the drum-maker. The army was six days in Attahpam without seeing anybody, yet there is one who calls himself King there.

(Sings. All join, males and females,

Alluding to the Attahpams having challenged.

"So wae ee jar
jor gee
Ah jor gee sar."

(If a man cries his goods in the market he will meet a sale.)

Bahsolsar, one of the singers. When the King gives us Bah I will speak; we can go to war with our clothes on [no preparation]. Ahpahdoonoomeh has raised this palaver.

Meaning the men can take one, the Amazons the other.

Ahpahdoonoomeh. If I am the cause I will have my say; if the King decides against the Attahpams, we can have Bah also.

Hoomahee. Where the women go the men must go also.

Ahpahdoonoomeh. Who are you, to speak thus confidently? Are you the Agaou?

Another singer. In the time of peace my eyes are everywhere, in war concentrated into one focus. I wish to speak to the Meigau and Agaou. Why are they not here? It was not yesterday we returned from Attahpam; why bring that palaver in question now?

An Amazon. If men give cause for a palaver, do they think a woman can hold her tongue?

Hoomahee. If Attahpam sent parties to treat, their feet would blister on the road; let the King follow and take all.

Another drummer. The reason we talk about Bah, is, that the Bahs have insulted the King and killed Dahomians. (A general murmur.)

Toonoonoo. Why is this man not allowed to speak?

Ahpahdoonoomeh, after a great deal of flattery says, the Amazons are the King's sandals.

King. (Not loud enough to be heard.)

All held up their muskets and saluted the King.

Two of the King's brothers held a palaver on the agricultural state of the country, that but little grain is grown in the neighbourhood of Abomey; formerly they brought from Ahjah, now they cannot. Hungbahgee, one of the King's officers, says formerly goats were plentiful, now there are but few in the market. Fowls are dear. The roads are uncleaned.

Singers sing. Tehpehseh and the party of soldiers in disgrace have a parley with Hungbahgee, who says they do not deserve their pay; they appeal to their "mothers" in the Amazon army, who say they deserve it, as their party killed the King of Lettlefoo (another war). One Amazon questions Hungbahgee's right, and another represents the present being given to Tohkohnohvehseh. The King confers the present on Tehpehseh and his party. A long parley ensues, and they take it. Some cowries are now distributed, among them two heads (dollars) to the Royal Family. Much rain.

At 3 we left. Before breaking up, four human beings were sacrificed (decapitated). The cowries distributed did not exceed 30 dollars (heads).

June 12.—A respectable liberated African woman called to say that her husband, also from Sierra Leone, was a prisoner of war. Her story is as follows: Ten years since they came to Whydah. Her husband has been much subject to the hooping-cough, and hearing of a doctor (native) in Attapham, went there. War came, and both he and the doctor were taken prisoners. We promised to intercede. His name is John Mc Carthy.

June 13.—At noon I arrived at the parade-ground. Mr. Beecroft unwell. His Majesty occupied a similar position to that of June 1, and I joined him under his canopy: on his right, under canopies of umbrellas, were the principal ladies and Amazon generals, &c.; scattered over the field were the different regiments of Amazons, one had passed and another was advancing to the foot of the throne. The custom was the Amazons swearing to be faithful next war. In these swearings it is customary to ask for a particular place for attack, and if asked for three times it is generally granted. Bah or Abbeokuta has been asked for twice; first the King went to Kangaroo, then made a feint, and fell upon Okeadon; now they ask confidently. The language was constantly in parables and metaphors, continually a crier hailed the King as "Ah hau soo lae hee Hausso." Oh! King of Kings.

The regiment now before the King was of bushrangers, with three stripes of whitewash round each leg; they first saluted their officers, then the King, when one after another three stepped forward and swore in the name of the regiment to conquer or die.

The first spoke of the Mahee wars; how Dahomey conquered. If we don't, let us die.

2nd. Of the Attahpam war. The Attahpams fled; if we flee, let us die. Whatever the town be we will conquer or bury ourselves in the ruins.

3rd. We are eighty, and of the advanced guard; never turned our backs. If any one can find fault with us let him do so.

A male officer about to speak is interrupted by a Fetish-man, who says, "You cannot speak; that woman is Fetish, you are not; we marched against Attahpam, thinking them men; we found them worse than women." (Sing, in derision, salute, and march off.)

Parts of two regiments now advanced, one called Ahbohghoh (firehorn), the other Ahkoongah dol (turkey buzzard); appropriate names, as they are also bushrangers.

One says, I have nothing to say, I will be proved by action.

2nd. By the King's children I swear never to retreat; if I do, let me die.

3rd. Without war there are no clothes or armlets; let us conquer or die.

4th. I am a wolf, the enemy of all I meet who are not the King's friends.

5th. Calls the names of all the conquered countries to Yawae, who repeats them to two criers, who cry them. She then says, "Let us catch elephants if we can; if we cannot, flies; we cannot come home empty-handed; if we do we deserve to die."

The colonels now step forward.

1st. Clothes are made by fingers: we are the King's fingers.

2nd. Carriages cannot be drawn without wheels; we are the wheels both. We have destroyed Attahpam; let us go to Bah. If we don't conquer let us die.

The King tells them to finish their speeches and reserve themselves for war. They dance, sing, and salute the King, then crawl off on their hands and knees; at a signal give a yell and then scamper off.

The King's own regiment now advanced and deposited their Fetish in front (about 300). They are joined by about 200 women belonging to the late Charchar, who state they are young soldiers and are come to witness the review. All sing (to the King), "You alone on earth we will serve."

The colonel advances and prostrates, then says, The Attahpams wanted strength to fight against Guezo. Let us go to Bah, and if we do not conquer, our heads are at your disposal. They will run: if into water we can follow; if into fire or up trees, we can catch them.

Another. There is a town standing that must fall; it is Bah. (All dance and sing.)

Another. Attahpam is destroyed, let Bah be also. A man entered a room where lay a corpse, he lifted up the clothes and asked why; he said he wished to be where that man was. We must go there or take Bah.

Another. Talk of Attahpam, it was unworthy of our arms. As grass is cut to clear the roads, so will we destroy the Bahs.

The Standard-bearers. If we lose the flags, let us die.

All salute and retire at the double.

King's daughters' regiments.

One. The King is like a hen: when the rain comes she takes her young under wings; we are under his protection. If we don't fight, let us die.

The King now rose and drank with me, and gave the Passoo of the male army a tumbler of liqueur.

An Amazon steps out and says, If the Passoo heads us in war, let us die. Send us to Bah, and we will conquer or die (a male officer tells them, "if you don't you will lose your name"). The King has borne us again; we are his wives, his daughters, his soldiers; we are men, not women.

Another. I am the King's daughter; the King gave me the Charchar; he died. I now belong to Antonio. Let me go to Bah; if we don't conquer we'll die.

The Colonel. These soldiers have done nothing yet, send us against the strongest; war cannot suffice us; wherever they go I will be at their head. Although a snake casts away beads, it never changes its colour; I cannot change my tongue; what I say here I will do in war.

Another. Attahpam is no more, let Bah be likewise. (Salute and scamper off.)

Title.

There is a tradition that the Popo bead is cast away by a large snake.

Another regiment, attended by the present Charchar's head wife, ornamented with much gold. They salute me and beg me to convey their thanks to Her Majesty for 2000 caps sent them by Cruickshanks. Wherever they wear them there they will be victorious.

One in the crowd of courtiers made a remark that hit the Toonoonoo, who said sharply, "If you have anything to say, here is the King, say it to him."

An Amazon. The horse has broken its halter, and the robber knows he is loose. Open Bah to us and we will take it. If any one return, and not a conqueror, let that one die.

All 2000 Amazons assemble in front of the throne. "If beans be dried in the fire, cannot one put her fingers in to take out to eat. (All sing.) When we went to Attahpam we found nobody; all ran away; if they reached the water (sea) they will be turned into salt. At Bah let the rear be the advance."

It rained hard, and a mat was sloped over the King and myself; still the Amazons kept their ground, and as they were not likely otherwise to be heard, several danced, while all sang, after which they swear again.

One. We will pass through fire to Bah.

Another. Fetish-men never initiate the poor; there is no use fighting without booty. Attahpam is totally destroyed; let us have Bah.

Souza's women sing. See the Amazons are ready to die in war; now is the time to send them.

Toonoonoo tells them, "When you go, make good use of your arms."

All. They are the King's, and with them we must conquer.

All sing and dance. The generals and ladies leave their stools and join. All salute the King.

A girl six years old came forward and said, "The King opened his mouth three times when he spoke of war, once now will be sufficient; let that once be on Bah."

All call on Souza to act like his father, and get plenty of ships for the King. "When the porcupine sheds a quill, another takes its place." All prostrate, and throw dirt, while criers call the King's names. He receives a new one for the Attahpam war, of "Hausso Ghah Glah," King of Chimpanzes, that drives men from their farms.

2,600

An Amazon. As the blacksmith takes an iron bar and fashions it, so have we changed our nature: we are men. We have powder, and the King has promised to tell the Agaou the intended seat of war; we have been waiting long; let us lead at once to Bah. The King gives us cloth, but thread is required to make the garments; we are the thread. Corn put out to dry should be looked to, or the goats will eat. Look to Bah, lest like the Attahpams they remove all their treasure. A cask of rum cannot roll itself. A table in a house becomes useful when anything is placed on it. The Dahomian army without the Amazons are as both.

Another. If one does not spit, the belly is uneasy; if the hand be not outstretched, it receives nothing.

All the officers stand in front; all the Amazons raise their muskets and shout "Soh jae mee" (May thunder kill us if we break our oaths). They hail the King as Koparsalmee (the eagle). As he leaves the canopy, all prostrate, and rise as His Majesty receives an ebony club. He then addresses them, "If a hunter buys a dog and trains him, he takes him unto the forest without telling him his errand; if he sees a beast he sends the dog after it; should the dog return without the game, the hunter kills him and leaves his carcass to the turkey buzzards. If I tell my daughters to put their fingers in the fire, they must obey; if I order you to clear the bush and you do not do it, what will I do to you? Do you think I will not punish you? If you are taken prisoners you know your fate? Your heads become ornaments and your bodies feed the wolves and vultures. Where you are sent there you must fight."

King dances and drinks; then hands round rum in a tin dish. Amazons drink. He returns to the tent, and all march off.

June 14.—The sham fight. At 10 the Ministers and Cabooceers, attended by their retainers, &c., arrived by the left, and had scarcely all reached the ground, when the King, attended by about 600 armed

soldiers appeared on the right, the Amazon army marching by another road in front. The ground was the same before described,—the Ahjahhee market, and His Majesty took up a similar position. On his right were his own male troops; on his left, in front, a court of ladies and Amazon generals, &c.; on the left, Cabooceers and retainers; in front, the Amazons; in the rear, a stockade made of palm-branches; and in the rear of that again, three towns full of slaves. Around the King, besides the Charchar and ourselves, were courtiers, eunuchs, fools and hunchbacks, all *en militaire*.

The King's male soldiers advanced and saluted, flirting umbrellas and banners, and throwing aloft the light ornamented muskets, then retired. Next, all the Ministers and Cabooceers prostrated and threw dirt on their heads. One of the King's brothers produced some tools, which he explained wanted repair.

The King having given the order, Toonoonoo was directed to command the Amazons to advance, who alone took part in the day's performance.

First came an advanced guard in single file, followed by two battalions in open order, their muskets over their shoulders, muzzles in front. As the first passed they planted sentinels, which were relieved by the second, and sent on to report; next came the Fetish gear, the King's stools, horse, and body-guard; last, a reserve and the Commissariat.

Criers crying: "Oh! King of Kings, war is coming, let all come and see it."

A servant of the Mayo's enters the tent with dirty clothes on. Toonoonoo tells the Mayo he ought to know better.

The Amazons marched past a second and a third time, having reversed their muskets. The Yavogau's mother leaves her ranks and says, "I am ready to serve the King. You (to the Yavogau) cannot hear badly of me." Heechehee's mother says the same.

The pioneers now advance with a spy; sit down and hold a palaver; scouts are sent out, who soon return with six prisoners, who are examined before the Council.

His Majesty was joking to his courtiers all the day, who laughed immoderately at the royal wit. On one of these occasions His Majesty coughed. It is not to be supposed that the Kings of Dahomey cough; all hummed and sang and danced to drown the noise.

The prisoners are marched off to the main body; a council of war attend at the foot of the throne; the position of the stockade, &c., is explained, and the King orders the latest levees to attack first. We now change position to the line of the stockade, and the King goes close to superintend the manœuvres. The remainder was very tame, and more like a school of war than a sham fight. As the troops advance, the slaves cry "war is coming." A gun fired at 12, and opening the palm-branches a party entered, and presently returned with slaves and tufts of grass to imitate heads. Again a gun fired, and several regiments entered; the slaves break out from the towns, and a regular slave-hunt ensues; all being caught, they retire. Again a musket is fired, and rushing at the stockade, by force of weight, down it all comes.

At 2-30 the King returned to the canopy, the whole Amazon army formed in front. A man asks leave to kill a snake, which he says has crawled into the tree; he fires, and down falls a large yellow snake, which has been killed for the occasion.

Amazons take a circular position, surrounding the country; the slaves are loosed again, and at the firing of a musket there is another slave-hunt.

A tornado coming on, the King presents us with some food used in war,—dry cakes of beans, palm-oil, salt and pepper, &c., and we take leave*.

June 15.—The "Se que ah ee," to the memory of Agahgah Dasso, great grandfather to Guezo, took place to-day in the Palace of Ahgrim-gohmeh, adjoining Dangelahcordeh. The description of the position on June 11 will save a repetition; there were similar mausoleums, &c.

* There was a method said to be for measuring time by threads and two sticks, at twenty paces distant, but I could not make it out, nor could the interpreters explain, nor again did the King refer to it. I therefore think it must have been a blind.

As we made our bow to the King, the singers hail the advantages to trade (all trade), that brought white men to their Customs, for which the Mayo, the Yavogau, Heechelee, and all the traders from Whydah had to prostrate and throw dirt. They then sang in praise, and asked the King to come forward and dance. Maehaepah tells them the King hears. They call for Ahphodhnohmeh, an Amazon General, and sing the praises of the Amazons.

The Maehaepah, with a sly look, leads forth two coy maidens, each bearing a glass of rum; she then calls Heechelee and Ahkootoo, who very sheepishly prostrate and receive each a glass. Henceforward these are their wives. Two Cabooceera.

A slight divertissement takes place. The Cabooceers advance to receive some cowries for the singers, when one of the royal nephews is found among them. On suspicion that he intended to defraud the King, he is seized, and ordered to immediate execution. Ahhohpeh, the King's brother, takes him in charge, and with assistance is marching him off, struggling and begging for mercy. Pohvehsoo, the headsman-fool, is exercising his wit on the opposite side of the yard, sees his prisoner, and with eyes dilated and horrible countenance, rushes at him. A party attempt a rescue, when the King grants a parley; the headsman resists, until one of the party wrestles with him; the headsman is nearly down, when the King, having forgiven the prisoner, he rushes to his assistance and throws his antagonist. All laugh. Singers sing praises.

The King came forth to dance, Toonoonoo carrying his distaff, surmounted by the skull of Kohcharnee, King of Anagoo. Criers, crying, "Oh! King of Kings!"

Expenses to the singers about 30 dollars. During the day much food given away. Nothing but singing praises; no palaver.

June 16.—At 10 we again entered the Palace of Ahgrimgohmeh. Positions, &c., the same as yesterday. Singers singing in praise, hail the King as "Paugh" (a leopard), the Dahomey Fetish. There was not a well-dressed person in the yard. Singers address the Mayo on some rum having reached Abomey watered, and cautioned him and the Yavogau to be more careful. Both have to prostrate, and throw dirt. In another part they attacked the Ministers for not repairing the Palace walls, in which they are joined by an old soldier, who comments on the absence of the Meigau and Agaou: "If they are sick, why do they not daily report the state of their health? If a house catches fire, one does not run away, but endeavours to put it out, and re-thatch it in case rain comes."

Mayo acknowledges the speech.

Toonoonoo. The King is already aware of the state of the walls, and has told the Mayo how to act.

Ahhohpeh, King's brother. I spoke to the Saugau, and he said he had not time.

Saugau. I have other work in hand; when that is finished I will take the walls to repair.

Mayo. All my men are at the King's command.

Hungbahgee, a military officer. I will undertake to repair them myself.

Mayo, in a rage, defies him; says he talks too much.

Singers sing of Attapham and Bah.

An Amazon chief. Tells them that Guezo alone of all the Kings of the earth, has an army of women; there is no King like him.

A muster of all the Amazons who had taken prisoners last war. They advanced in parties of fifteen. Two officers attend, while one of the generals kneels before the King, repeats the name of the soldier and of the prisoner, adding, "Given to the King to sweep the yard Bologee;" these are 425 in number. Then come thirty-two who have brought heads of enemies, "Lau see dee." During the muster, three women were introduced to us as having received very severe wounds in war: one, named "Seh dong hung boh" (God speaks true), had a fearful scar on her head.

The King left his throne and danced, then came over and drank with us, pointing out that a stick he held belonged to the Chief of Attapham.

Maehaepah makes a long speech to a party of soldiers, and gives

them food for themselves and families; after which several bands advance, play, and are replaced; one called "Hausso Hwae" (the King's birds).

At 5 the King gave us leave to go, after asking if we wished to witness the human sacrifice. I regret to state that Ignacio and Antonio da Souza remained. It is the duty at this day's Custom, of the Mayo and Yavogau to decapitate each one victim; they receive each one head of cowries. The Mayo performed his; the Yavogau paid 15 pence to the public executioner.

June 17.—Again the "Sə que ah ee," held in a ruinous court in the Palace of Dangelahcordeh, called Ahdohnoh. Ahdohnoh was the mother of Ahgarjah Woossoo (1730), and her name is now a title in the Royal Family. The positions were similar, except that the King sat in a high-backed chair, and in his rear stood a guard of Amazons; on the neutral ground was a heap of 400 heads of cowries, and besides, lay strewed 430 more. Facing the King, was a band of singers, and each recipient of the royal bounty had to dance, kneel, and receive the cowries first on his head, and then the rum, which he carried off. A reference to the programme will show the numbers, &c. After the disbursement, a palaver ensued; during which there were two interruptions: first, a procession of public strumpets; 2nd, two countrymen arrived, each with a boiled man's head, and, prostrating, told their story. A party of horsemen from Abbeokuta had attacked a small town in Anagoo, which they had taken and destroyed; a few stragglers detached and foraged in a country called Tossoo; the two whose heads they now held up, they had shot. His Majesty gave them half a piece of white baft and two heads of cowries each, and a keg of rum for the headman of their town.

I do not feel at all certain that this was not a scene to cause us to believe that the Abbeokutians were the aggressors.

Mayo. Go to my house and receive powder, as you have killed these two so well; the King kills all.

A party of Cabooceers and officers prostrated and kissed the ground, and then opened the palaver. The 400 heads, by custom, have for years been carried to the house of Ahlohpeh (who distributed them to parties not attending the Customs), who, it appears, ran away last war.

Ahkahtoo, military chief. Ahhohpeh proved himself a coward in Attahpam, and does not deserve to have the distribution of these cowries.

Mayo concurs; and as Ahlohpeh belongs to my party (the left), they should go to my house.

A Military Officer. If Ahhohpeh is unworthy, it is Tingahlee's right.

Toonoonoo. They shall not go to Ahtingahlee's; the Mayo is the head man.

Bookohmaeoonoo, military chief. Ahtingahlee is one of the Mayo's servants. Why should they be sent to the servant, and not to the master?

Hwaemazae, an Amazon chief. As in former Customs, so let it be now. Ahlohpeh has the hereditary right.

Ahlohpeh. I have heard all the dispute, and still claim my right; it belonged to my father, and descended to me. If I did wrong in war, why was I not accused—I and all my people? It was not yesterday we came from war, nor is this a time to rip up old grievances. I will not yield my right to the Mayo.

The Mayo rushed at him and dealt him several severe blows; then arrested him, and in a moment he was forcibly removed. The whole yard was instantly in an uproar; several armed Amazons ran across; all clamoured, yelled, and shouted, when the King ordered Ahlohpeh to be brought back. The Mayo then impeached Ahlohpeh as a coward, and said that he nearly lost the Attahpam war, and that his head was forfeited.

King. You had no right to strike him.

Mayo. I was irritated at the man's presumption.

King. If you had reason to find fault with him about the war, you should have done so before, and not now.

Ahlohpeh. I was only protecting my hereditary right; the cowries ought not to go to the Mayo.

The Mayo again flies into a passion, and tries to speak, but is cried down.

Ahlohpeh. As I behaved, so did my people; I am not one in the war.

King. Come to some determination, and be less personal.

Ahlohpeh. The people call me a coward, and will not let me speak out. If they cannot be taken to my house, let them go to Sohgausar's.

Bohkohmaeoonoo. They cannot go to Sohgausar's; he is as much to blame as Ahlohpeh; let them go to Ahtingahlee's.

Ahkootoo, after a long speech, says the Mayo, as head of Ahlohpeh's party, is the proper person. After many opinions, some for the Mayo, others for Ahtingahlee—

King. You will not decide, I will; let them be carried to Karmar-digbee's house, and there distributed. The Mayo did wrong in striking Ahlohpeh. If any one interferes I can punish him. For the future, if a man acts badly in war, let him be charged at once, and not afterwards, to serve other purposes.

Lehpehhoo, King's brother, intercedes for Ahlohpeh.

King. It is no use talking now; Ahlohpeh must reflect on his past conduct and endeavour to do better in future.

Mayo warns Ahlohpeh to beware for the future.

King. We have heard enough of Attahpam; that is finished: the country overrun, the town destroyed, and the King killed. Attahpam is no more.

As will be seen by the palavers, there is great doubt upon the matter.

Bohkohnoovehseh. Ahooesooee behaved ill last war, I charge him.

King. There is, I say, too much palaver about it. I asked the Mayo why he attacked Ahlohpeh; if you wanted to quarrel about the last war, there was a time for it. I have heard all the war palaver.

Several Amazons. Ahooesooee is a brave man.

King. The palaver is that Ahlohpeh had 80 men; Ahooesooee 80 men; the latter charges the former with not coming into action, therefore he could not act.

Ahpahdoonomeh, Amazon Passoo, charges Haetungsar, the Amazon Agaou, and her party, with cowardice and running away.

The Amazon Mayo was killed; the Amazon Agaou ran away. At meeting the King she was sent back again.

King. I am aware of it. (Calls three Amazons.) These without arms took prisoners; thus I can reward them (Gives 10 heads of cowries).

A great deal of self-praise and much recrimination takes place for some time.

Kohkohagee, chief of the Cambodee's levees, makes a long speech in his own praise; hints he is better than his neighbours.

Hungbahgee, chief of the King's levees, challenges him to single combat on the spot.

Kohkohagee. I will take my gun to Bah, and there take more prisoners than you.

From the conversation that ensued, it appeared that this was an old sore.

Ahhohpeh, the King's brother,* tells the King that they hate each other, who dismisses them.

An Agaou addresses the meeting, and recommends less quarrelling and more reasoning, as they are going to war against a people that can fight. (Bah.)

This speech being distasteful, all yell and shout, then sing: "The wolf will be abroad, let the sheep fly." A lengthened palaver ensues, each party praising his coadjutors in the Harem, and *au contraire*, when the King says, "You had better reserve your strength for war, and not exhaust it in palavers. If any one distinguishes himself, I can hear of it and reward it. If any one disgraces himself, let me know at once, that I may punish him."

At 4 we left, the King making us a present of 10 heads and 3 gallons of rum.

June 18.—Again the "Se que ah ee," to-day in the court called Ahlohwargalee, after the mother of Tahcohdohnoh (1625), the founder of this Palace of Dahomey. Position similar to yesterday. As we entered a strong and stormy debate on the late war occupied all parties.

Tohkohnoovehsee and Tohvohveesar, two officers, say the Agaou is sick†;

* As the names are so nearly alike, I make a note: "Ahlohpeh" is the coward, "Ahhohpeh" the King's brother.

† The belief is that the Agaou is killed. The fashion is, if a high officer is killed, to report him sick, and some time afterwards to say he has died.

“we can hear for him and explain what passes. Last war the troops were badly generalled; the Agaou must do better next war.”

Ahhohpeh, King's brother. With regard to yesterday's palaver, Ahooesooee is not guilty; there is no necessity to try him.

Hactungsar, the Amazon Agaou. What the King said yesterday we heard. We are the King's wives, daughters, and soldiers, and must endeavour to do our duty; but our load ought not to be more than we can carry.

Aheersartong. If the Agaou's people did not do their utmost, the Agaou is not to be blamed.

Saugausar, military chief. If I behaved like a coward, I must die; I could not ask for mercy. Ahlohpeh would have lost his head, had not the King interceded. Although Ahlohpeh was not arrested yesterday, the matter is not settled; it is our duty to find if he is guilty or not. I call upon Ahlohpeh and the five men charged to appear and answer for their conduct. (They come forward, and prostrated, throw dirt. After a stormy debate, in which the prisoners join, far too quickly spoken to be understood, he continues) They are guilty, and should be disgraced; let the King take two as headsman, and give two to each, the Meigau and the Mayo.

Another soldier is brought forward, stripped of his arms and accoutrements, tied. Again a long palaver, in which Saugausar tells the King he buys slaves and makes them soldiers. He must expect good and bad.—

King. Ahlohpeh is not so much responsible as may be supposed; he was headman of eighty; his people left him to forage, against his orders. Ahooesooee swore by the Fetish to conquer or die; Ahsohnee swore also; she saved the war. Let Ahlohpeh and the five be disgraced; let them be taken away and their heads shaved.

Ahhohpeh. Saugausar has spoken well; who but him could have spoken so firmly?

King. The man before me I tried on the field; I cannot try him again. His story is this: he was second of eighty; the chief fell, and this man fighting, was separated from his party. Let him be released.

Ahlohpeh and his party return with their heads shaved, and armed with clubs as headsman. All prostrate, and kiss the dust; throw dust on their heads.

One of the three Amazons who received ten heads of cowries yesterday. I cannot return this basket; I will take it to Bah and fill it with heads of the enemy. If I do not, may I die of small-pox!

Ahlohpeh again comes forward and receives the name of “Garjardoh” (fallen house).

Ahhohpeh, apostrophizing, says, “No sooner is one man fallen than another is ready to take his place.”

Ahlohlohpnokou, next to the Passoo (in the left, or Mayo's army), is now called, and his people swear in a similar manner to that described of the Amazons, to conquer or die, ending by all saluting and singing, “If we don't conquer, may we lose our lives.”

June 19.—This day “Se que ah ee” took place in the court named after the King's great-grandmother, of the Palace of Dangelahcordeh. The Tahhee is a title, and the lady enjoying it sat to the right of the throne, in crimson velvet; the only showily-dressed person present; otherwise the positions were the same as yesterday. The day's proceedings commenced with more swearing fidelity on the part of the male troops, and much braggadocio.

Having an attack of ague I had to leave at noon; after which the swearing continued, and the King presented eight boys to the yard; stating that his grandfather was beaten by the Attahpams, now that he had conquered them, he gave these boys to keep his grandfather's yard in order. Several presents of goats, &c., were given to the King.

June 20.—Mr. Brown had an interview with the King. Charchar, Ignacio, and Antonio da Souza, received a present of three bullocks. The captains of Charchar's troops told one of our interpreters to tell us if there were any whites in Abbeokuta, we had better warn them, as the King intended to make war on Abbeokuta.

The similarity of the two names I deem it necessary to explain: “Ahlohpeh” is the King's brother; “Ahhohpeh” the condemned.

June 21.—The “Se que ah ee” was performed in a court called Sehnoomeh, named after the King’s grandmother.

Outside the gate was an oven of earthenware, inside which was a duck alive; on the top in a dish three human skulls covered with palm-oil. The yard and positions much the same as yesterday. The Sehnoomeh (represented) was dressed out in crimson-velvet, attended by the lady enjoying the title of King’s mother, and many other ladies of rank. Among the skulls displayed was one ornamented by a string of coral beads. Besides the band of singers and players, all the Amazon officers and a band knelt before the King, sometimes speaking and singing in praise of the King, his ancestors, and his family.

Toonoonoo. The songs you sing about the King are sweet to hear; sing again.

Amazon Meigau. Sing again and sing well; you know if you do not, it is in the King’s power to decapitate you.

Mayo. The songs you sing are sweet; sing again.

Toonoonoo. The King is wise; hence wisdom is diffused through the nation.

Crier cries. The King is wise; hence so is the nation.

Lehpekhoo, King’s brother. Toonoonoo spoke truth when he said Guezo is wise.

Amazons sing. This house is in charge of Sehnoomeh, and she must take care of it.

Mayo. There are not enough in your band.

Toonoonoo. Mayo says true; it should not be.

Amazon Meigau. The band is the same, but they don’t sing properly; hence the band does not sound well.

An Amazon Officer. If we don’t sing properly, you can correct us.

Ahcordemeah, Amazon, head of the band. The Meigau spoke truth; they don’t sing properly. It is the singers, not the band.

Amazon Officers sing, and call upon Sehnoomeh to dance. Her train borne by a maiden, she dances. They receive five heads of cowries.

Sehnoomeh. If the King comes to the house and does not speak, who can know he is there. To-morrow let him go to the house of her that gave him milk.

Ahhohpeh. To-morrow you must sing in favour of her that gave birth to Guezo. If you have any song about the people beyond the Agonee River sing it, for in three days comes the Fetish custom.

Abbeokuta.

Maehaepah gives the Amazon officers and their coadjutors food, over which there is much palaver about what they will do next war. Interrupted by a procession of public strumpets. King tells the soldiers to retire and eat. All sing, “Guezo is the King of Kings; what King so liberal? we are his soldiers; under him we are not men, but lions.” More praise, in which Kohkohagee and Hungbahgee again come to a war of words.

The Saugau receives a glass of rum from a delicate maiden. led by the Maehaepah; as he sips it the Maehaepah tells him he cannot divide it, nor even let one of the Cabooceers taste it.

Sehnoomeh receives seven heads of cowries, and marches off, attended by her paraphernalia of skulls, &c. Band advances and sing in praise of Guezo, who comes out and dances. Drinks, guns fire; Cabooceers dance, &c. Crier cries “Oh! *King of Kings* that can take all other *Kings* and sell them for Rum.” The band is replaced. After singing about the King, the leader calls for Ahlohpeh and the others in disgrace, and asks his name; then sings—

Oh fallen house! “Garjardoh”
That was once considered worthy to carry arms,
Be thou now disgraced to carry a club.

Garjardoh kisses the dust and throws dirt, &c. King comes out again and dances; then drinks with us; after which we retire.

June 22.—At 10.30 entered the Palace of Dangelahcordeh at the King’s mother’s gate, called Ahcontehneh. The position much the same as before. At the gate was a similar oven similarly ornamented. Under two umbrellas, to the left of the King, sat the Ahcontehneh, and one lady handsomely dressed. First passed a number of Amazons, band of

Mr. Brown left.
I have no reason to
alter my opinion
expressed in last
journal; indeed it is
much strengthened.

music playing, and receiving a few heads of cowries; then the Amazon officers advanced and saluted the King. Sing. Called upon all eyes to behold the glory of Guezo, there are not two but one, one only in the world—Guezo. Every nation has its Customs, but none so brilliant or enlightened as Dahomey. See, all nations send their ambassadors, black and white.

Chorus.—Look round and behold
Ambassadors of all nations.

All officers, male and female, prostrate and throw dirt.

All Amazon officers sing. “Yorubas lied when they said we could not conquer them. When we meet we will make their day as night. Let the rain fall quickly, that the river may be dried soon. Yoruba and Dahomey cannot drink out of the same glass; two rams cannot drink out of the same calabash. The Yorubas must have been drunk when they said they would conquer Dahomey.”

An Amazon. In days gone by, the white trader brought good articles; they do not do so now. Then a musket lasted twenty years; it now lasts three.

Deputation of public women.

Toonoonoo. You have sung sweetly; sing more.

All Amazons sing. There's a difference between the King and a poor man. There's a difference between the King and a rich man. Let a man be ever so rich, and Guezo is still King over him. All guns are not cast alike: some are long, some are short. If men are drunk they are not fit to live. There is a nation that must fall: Abbeokuta. Thus we will dance before all. (Dance.)

Alluding to the saying that the Yorubas must have been drunk to say they could conquer the Dahomians.

Criers cry the King's names, and say there is a leaf called Eeaboo*: let the King cause a Fetish to be made with it, and Bah must fall. Everything Guezo does is well done. His power is supreme over the male and female of all kinds.

Mahtohseh, Fetish chief, addressing the Amazon officers. Your songs have been pleasing, you cannot do better than sing again.

All Amazons sing. With these guns in our hands and powder in our cartouche-boxes, what has the King to fear? When we go to war, let the King dance, while we bring him prisoners.

One Amazon officer calls the King's sons and sings to them. Pray to Seh (God) that your father's days may be long in the land. Let all the King's family pray to their ancestors for long life to Guezo. If a leopard kills her prey, does she not feed her young first? If a deer bears young, does she not chop the grass for it?

Bondohhoo, the King's eldest son. All the days of my life I shall pray for longer life for my father.

All officers of both sexes salute the King.

Tohdarsar, King's mother's sister's daughter, to the Amazon officers. If you try to take the honeycomb, you must be wary; go to work carefully, or you will be stung.

The Ahcontehneh and her companion, attended by four other ladies, come forward and dance, each bearing a skull. Tohdarsar receives three heads of cowries, half-piece of cloth, and a bottle of rum, and is told by the Amazon Meigau that the cowries are to buy some food for her mother.

Amazon officers sing. We have sung our lays, now we are going; let Seh (God) bless the King and the people.

The Ahcontehneh marches off with fourteen heads of cowries, attended by her paraphernalia of human skulls and bones, &c.

A Toby Philpot's jug and a dog musical toy being sent for the Ministers and Cabooceers to admire, all prostrate and throw dirt, prior to the inspection. Food is distributed to all present, a band of singers singing in praise of the royal liberality.

A long inaudible conversation takes place between the Maehaepah and the Toonoonoo, relative to the distribution of some liqueur in the bottles of two cruet-stands, and some more equally curious decanters, which ultimately go to the Ministers and Cabooceers. The Maehaepah makes a speech to Lehpehoo, the King's eldest brother, and presents

* Poison, perhaps.

him with a sample of every kind of liqueur the King has drunk during the Customs, in a small box of phials. All the men and women belonging to all the bands that have played during the Customs assemble, and are fed (300). Ignacio and Antonio da Souza receive ten heads of cowries each.

Singers sing: "Oh, wonderful King, to purchase cowries from the white man, and give them back again." Gives 160 heads to the Ministers to make Fetish with, to clean the town after the Custom; gives 60 heads to the soldiers*.

Another palaver commenced, but the yard was too much crowded for us to hear much of its meaning; it was a war palaver. Hungbahgee and Kohkohagee became personal, and the King cautioned them not to promise too much. The Amazons, like turkey buzzards, preyed upon the fallen; in short, there was the usual quantity of squabbling, yet it had to us one glorious lustre, rendering it more valuable than the diamond to the miner. From the conversation, it appeared that this was the last of the "Se que ah ee;" nor do I envy any future visitor that may have again to set out the "Hwac noo ee wha."

The expenses of the above Custom, by my calculation, were as follows:—

Cowries	..	..	..	..	..	5,889
Cloth	..	..	..	..	..	1,551
Rum	..	..	.	..	..	0,766
						<hr/>
						8,205
Food	..	..	..	..	..	1,500
						<hr/>
						9,705 dollars

actually given away under our eye.

The account we gave the King, admitting in some measure his exaggeration, was:—

Cowries	..	..	..	..	..	7,215
Cloth	..	..	..	..	..	2,000
Rum	..	..	..	..	..	1,400
Food	..	..	..	..	..	1,500
						<hr/>
						12,115 dollars.

June 23.—Three hours were spent in the Palace of Dangelahcordeh, while the Amazons arranged 924 heads of cowries and one pipe of rum, in portions, for about 1000 different people from distant towns. As it rained much, we counted them and left.

June 24.—Mayo called and told us that the watering of the graves being finished, the King not wishing to keep us longer, he would soon appoint a day for a palaver.

June 25.—Mayo called, and reported that the King was about to make a Fetish, and that it would be perhaps fourteen days before we could hold a palaver. Visited the Fetish custom. About 100 women in a variegation of cotton clothes, and decked out with strings of cowries, dancing. Present, Lehpehhoony, the King's brother, and three other Cabooccers. Among the dancers was one of the King's daughters. Gave them a keg of rum in return for some gin and liqueur set before us.

June 26.—Mayo, Yavogau, Charchar, and Ignacio da Souza, were closeted all day with the King. Grand Fetish-dance, and sacrifice of a bullock, some goats, &c.

June 27.—Visited the Palace of Bahdahhoony, the heir apparent.

June 28.—Yavogau called in the morning; Mayo in the evening. Conversation on the Slave Trade; both slave-dealers on a large scale. The Charchar, Ignacio, and Antonio, have been closeted all day with the Mayo.

* A word or two more about the Customs will not be out of place. All night a crier paraded the Palace walls, calling "Hausava Haussoo," King, Kings: the names of the conquered nations and the King's names.

The rum distributed was in very small quantities (about half a tumbler to each).

The food was always craved after, and devoured rather than eaten.

There was a rule in all, and except the Ministers, Cabooccers, and merchants, no one received more than 1s. at a time,—4s. in all.

June 29.—Mayo called in His Majesty's name to receive our account of the expenses of the Customs, which we gave as follows:—

Cowries	7,215
Cloth	2,000
Rum	1,400
Food	1,500
	12,115 dollars.

Having been closeted all day with the Mayo, the Charchar left for Whydah.*

June 30.—Sunday.

July 1.—Mayo called to inform us he was going to the King to ask him to appoint a day for a palaver. In the evening he returned and informed us the King would appoint an early day. We had a long conversation with him about the Treaty.

This morning a chief of the Maha Country, who had not before sworn allegiance to the King, arrived with the sign of subjugation, a wreath of palm-leaves round his neck. Lehpehhoony, at the head of the Cabooceers, received him at the gate of the Palace of Agrimgohmeh. Having marched three times round the square, he prostrated and kissed the dust, together with his three attendants. In front of the Cabooceers was a party of soldiers, headed by Pohvehsoo, armed besides their muskets with clubs; having prostrated and thrown dirt three times, the soldiers beat the ground with their clubs to signify they must go through the ceremony again. This they did several times.

July 2.—Mayo and Yavogau called to give us the King's account of his expenditure during these Customs, first explaining that there were seven more to go through: the cleaning of the ship—dancing and singing at the Dangelahcordeh gate—dinner and firing guns along the road to and from Whydah—war palaver at Coomassee—custom to his father at Ahgongroo—the war—Fetish custom, which last up to the time of the next watering the graves. They brought 16 strings, each containing 2000 cowries and 26 odd cowries, or the whole expense for everything, 32,000 heads of cowries, or, deducting one-fourth the difference, 26,000 dollars.

This was an exaggeration, but only proves that His Majesty has some idea of the use of note-books, since the reader may remember that the first day we were told 26,000 heads or 22,000 dollars had been that day and night distributed, which we most positively explained was not the case. Again a long palaver about the Slave Trade. On leaving they told us they were going to the King to explain to him our conversation.

July 3.—Mayo and Yavogau called to tell us the King would see us to-morrow, and brought accounts that the remaining Customs would cost 11,800 heads of cowries, making in all, by his own account—

32,000
11,800
43,000 heads of cowries.
6,257 difference one-seventh.
37,543 dollars.

They added that the King desired them to explain that if one ship comes to Whydah, the King monopolizes one-half the trade; that of three he takes two. Much rain.

July 4.—At noon (it had rained hard all the morning) we arrived at the Palace, and at 1 P.M. were ushered into the audience *entrée* before described. There were present the Mayo, Cambodee, Yavogau, Toonoonoo, and Caoupeh, and their coadjutors in the Harem, and also Machaepah; all slave-dealers of a large scale. Besides there were Madaki, Narwhey, Magelika, and John Richards, interpreters. Narwhey, one of the greatest slave-merchants, *soi-disant* servant of the English Fort, told Madaki in conversation, that he was working against his own interest in

* Antonio da Souza had been absent some days: he returned to-day. It appears that he went to Whydah to meet a schooner, and arrived on the 22nd, in time to see her taken by the "Gladiator" on the 23rd, in Whydah Roads.

explaining matters to us, saying that the Slave Trade was sweet to him ; however, a true translation was given both ways by John Richards. After the usual compliments, the King asked us to make our statement, which was as follows :—

“ We have seen your Customs and know your amount of expenses. Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, for the welfare of the human race, is anxious to stop the Trade in Slaves, and knowing you cannot relinquish it without an equivalent, has sent us, her Plenipotentiaries (“ Ah Hausso Noo beh,” the Queen’s mouth), to endeavour to arrange a Treaty. In the first place we recommend you to cultivate the soil ; all the palm-oil and cotton you can produce cannot supply the British trade, and the present duties on vessels employed in legal trade being (if you stop the other) insufficient, we recommend you to raise it one-half. If you have enemies and are induced to war, make a treaty of trade with the chiefs of those countries, and instead of destroying, cause them to be tributary and make your prisoners of war the means of enriching your own country by the cultivation of the soil. Beyond these means of making your country rich and your name everlasting, Her Majesty, for the term of five years will yearly send you a present.

“ The Treaty, if entered into, to be subject to ratification, and not to commence until the first instalment was received.”

In answer, His Majesty gave us a history of the foreign trade of Dahomey, from its earliest dates, and the continued good feeling that had always existed between his ancestors and the former Kings of Great Britain ; that throughout the Dahomians had sold slaves. He continued, “ my people are a military people, male and female ; my revenue is the proceeds of the sale of prisoners of war. Did you, after you passed the swamp, except in the neighbourhood of towns, meet any farms ? Other nations deal in slaves, but not like me ; they keep all the proceeds to themselves ; I give mine to my people. I would wish the ports of Little Popo, Ahguay, Great Popo, Porto Novo, and Lagos, to be forced to stop the Slave Trade, before I could treat. In the meantime, let the port of Whydah be thrown open to my Slave Trade ; not to all the merchants there, but to my agents, Charchar, Domingo Jozé Martins, Joaquim Antonio, Ignacio and Antonio da Souza ; let the ships belonging to these five pass free.” We explained to him that what he asked was impossible, and the interpreters wishing it to be put down in a letter to the Queen, we gave them the short negative, which the King understood, and said—

“ Charchar has given me one ship, Domingo and Joaquim also one each, make a letter to the Queen to grant me a flag and protection for these three.” We explained that such was impossible, and again had to be expressive and say, No.

At this moment the King’s countenance was almost blanched, his head down, his right hand rubbed his forehead, while his veins swelled, and in a tremulous voice he added, write to the Queen and ask her to direct her men-of-war to allow “ one” ship to pass in my name to the Brazils, to carry a cargo of slaves, and bring back goods for me.” Again we answered, No ; the removing of one slave would not be allowed if it could be helped.

“ If I stop the Slave Trade how can the Meigau, the Mayo, &c., each of whom, and the merchants, Narwhey, Ahjohbee, Queming, &c., who pay me 5000 dollars annually (considerably exaggerated), duties and presents, afford to pay their Customs. I cannot send my women to cultivate the soil, it would kill them. My people cannot in a short space of time become an agricultural people. War has destroyed all the neighbouring countries, and my people have to go far for food. All my nation—all are soldiers, and the Slave Trade feeds them.”

We now explained to him that if he made his prisoners of war cultivate the soil at home instead of selling them to enrich a foreign land, they would soon be rich ; and read to him a second time the Articles offered. Finding we could make no impression, we asked him to dictate a letter in answer to Her Majesty’s oft-repeated request, telling him that his wishes regarding the flag and free egress from the port of Whydah were impossible to grant. The Mayo explained that if the Slave Trade

was stopped, the King must send to the beach for sand to feed the people on. After some dispute he dictated as follows:—

“*Abomey, July 4, 1850.*”

“From Guezo, King of Dahomey, to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

“Being desirous that the Slave Trade should be stopped in the minor ports prior to my entering into a Treaty, I have to request that you will endeavour to blockade the slave-ports between Quittah and Lagos, and then I will endeavour to enter into an agreement for the stoppage of the Slave Trade in my own country.

“At present my people are a warlike people and unaccustomed to agricultural pursuits; I should not be enabled to keep up my revenue, were I at once to stop the Slave Trade.

“I am always desirous of being at peace with Great Britain.

“I am anxious that some person should be sent as Governor to the Fort at Whydah; and having known him, should wish for Lieutenant Forbes, R.N.

“Some years ago I entrusted two girls and one boy to the care of Mr. Freeman; I am anxious they should be returned.

“I am anxious that missionaries should settle at Whydah.

(Signed) GUEZO ^{his} ✕, *King of Dahomey.*
mark

“Witness to the royal mark.

(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT, *Consul,*
Bights of Benin and Biafra.
F. E. FORBES, *Lieutenant, and Commander*
H.M.S. ‘Bonetta.’”

This letter having been read to the King, Mr. Beecroft produced a copy of a letter from the Earl of Chichester to Sagbua, Chief of Abbeokuta. We explained to His Majesty it was too evident he was going to war with that people, and that they were friends of the English people, and that English missionaries resided there. The King answered that he intended making war upon Abbeokuta, and Mr. Beecroft had better warn the white men to leave. (I am convinced he intends to attack Abbeokuta after these Customs.)

The Mayo declared that the two Kroomen I had seen last visit had not been found.

The next question was concerning the imprisonment of John Mc Carthy; the King, evidently annoyed at these questions, ordered the Mayo to inquire about him.

Thus ended the palaver; and I am of opinion that future attempts, unless by force, will fail in causing Guezo to give up the Slave Trade, or his pride admitting him to accept a subsidy. What he recommends to be done to other ports, stopping all trade, if enforced at Whydah, and Lagos be destroyed, the Slave Trade in the Bights will be at an end. The King’s selfishness does not save his agents. Little Popo is almost a monopoly of the Charchar’s; Great Popo is of Joaquim Antonio; Porto Novo an enormous monopoly of Domingo Jozé Martins.

In everything he said he illustrated simply a desire to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbours.

If his trade be stopped his power is done. At the head of a military nation surrounded by enemies, he must have money, and would then treat for any trade.

In a word, nothing but coercive measures will cause Guezo and his Ministers to give up the Slave Trade.

July 5.—Mayo, Yavogau, and Caoupeh came to deliver His Majesty’s present, which was as follows:—For Her Majesty’s, two pieces of cloth; Mr. Beecroft and myself, each one girl to wash our clothes, one Cabooceer’s stool and foot-stool, one piece of cloth, ten heads of cowries, one keg of rum; Madaki, four heads of cowries, one piece of cloth, one bottle of rum; Richards, two heads, one bottle; hammock-men, two heads, one bottle. After the present, they explained that His Majesty had given last war 4000 muskets to his soldiers, 4000 to the Agonee people, and 4000 he had

to give to the new war-men, and that he had equipped these 12,000 soldiers (humbug). Asked when we would start, as he wished to salute Her Majesty and ourselves. The wife of John Mc Carthy being present, the Mayo took her to recognize her husband, promising to produce him.

July 6.—At 7 A. M., the Mayo, Yavogau, called, and at the same time the battery fired a salute of twenty-one guns in honour of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and thirteen each to Mr. Beecroft and myself. Drank the health of their Majesties of England and Dahomey.

The Mayo told us that John Mc Carthy would be sent to Whydah as soon as the King gave orders for his release.

I now asked the Yavogau whether, in case Mr. Beecroft and myself coming to Whydah, he would be ready to produce the said John Mc Carthy; he evaded the question, telling me it was a small palaver, and that the man would be sent.

I then addressed both thus: "I am going to England, and shall acquaint Her Majesty that the King of Dahomey holds a British subject prisoner: you know the consequences to your trade." The shock was electrical; and they begged of me not to be angry. I then threw myself into a passion; dashed a book on the table; and told them I should act as I had told them. They looked much disconcerted.

At 10 started *en route* to Whydah. Arrived at Cana. One of the purchased men was so ill he could not walk, and it occupied me two hours to obtain two men to carry him; and then only because I had declared he should be carried in my hammock if I did not succeed. After leaving Cana at 4 P. M., a messenger overtook me, and desired me to stop, explaining that Narwey and a King's messenger were on the road and wished to speak to me. In a short time they joined, with Mc Carthy and his wife, and a message from the King, saying that he could not keep a British subject in prison. The wife had been stripped and ironed in the condemned cell.

Narwey hinted that a present would be acceptable to the King, which was sent from Whydah. (See list.) Arrived at Tooboodoo.

July 7.—Crossed the swamp; twelve hours on the road. Arrived at Whybagou.

July 8.—This morning, outside our door, was a party of soldiers guarding two dead bodies of Cabooceers. All headmen are buried at Abomey. Besides that the generality of them have their ancestral houses there, it is a more sure report to the King. Arrived at Allahdah.

July 9.—Arrived at Whydah, and found Her Majesty's ship "Bonetta" had anchored the day before.

July 10.—Paid all debts of the expedition. (See list.)

July 11.—Embarked in one of Mr. Hutton's canoes, with our hammock-men, all others being directly refused by all parties.

Leaving the Fort, a Fetish snake had during the night killed a cat in the kitchen, and had swallowed all but the two hind legs and tail which remained ungorged; a Fetish woman was sent for to remove it.

(Signed) F. E. FORBES,
Lieutenant, commanding H.M.S. "Bonetta."

No. 14.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 23, 1850.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 13th of August* last, reporting that you had had a conference with Commodore Fanshawe on the subject of the declared intention of the King of Dahomey to make war upon Abbeokuta, and stating that the Commodore had, with your concurrence, addressed a strong remonstrance to the King upon the subject; and I have the satisfaction to inform you that I entirely approve of your conduct on this occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* No. 11.

No. 15.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Eddisbury.

My Lord,

Admiralty, November 2, 1850.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, the copy of a letter from Commodore Fanshawe, dated August 8th last, with copy of its inclosed letter, addressed by that officer to the King of Dahomey, with reference to his declared intention of making the Abbeokuta Country the seat of his next war; and in laying the same before his Lordship, I am to request that you will favour me with any communication which his Lordship may have to make on the subject, in order that it may be transmitted to the Commodore by Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Wasp."

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 15.

Commodore Fanshawe to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Centaur," Cabenda, August 8, 1850.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 19th ultimo*, acquainting the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with the return of Mr. Consul Beecroft and Lieutenant Forbes, of the "Bonetta," from their mission to Abomey, and transmitting Lieutenant Forbes's report, I have to request you will do me the honour to acquaint their Lordships that on conferring with Mr. Beecroft on the subject of the King of Dahomey's declared intention of making the Abbeokuta Country the seat of his next war, I thought it desirable (in which opinion Mr. Beecroft concurred) to address the letter to His Majesty, the copy of which I herewith inclose, and I hope my doing so will be approved of.

This letter was given to Mr. Beecroft to transmit to the agent of Messrs. Hutton's house at Whydah, in order to secure the King's having a proper knowledge of its purport, as well as the mercantile community of that place.

I beg you will also inform their Lordships that I have instructed the senior officer of the Bights Division, in the event of the missionaries at Badagry applying to him for powder and ball for their protection, to furnish it as far as he may be able.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 15.

Commodore Fanshawe to the King of Dahomey.

TO the most renowned King of Dahomey, the Commander-in-chief of the Squadron of Her Majesty the Queen of England on the coast of Africa, wishes health, peace, and the blessing of God.

Sire,

"Centaur," Prince's Island, July 23, 1850.

I HAVE learned with extreme regret, from Lieutenant Forbes, the officer of Her Majesty the Queen of England, my Sovereign, whom I sent to your capital of Abomey, that you have refused the proposals made to you by the directions of the Queen, to abandon the Traffic of Slaves in your dominions, and that you proposed making war on Abbeokuta, in the Yoruba Country, for the object of obtaining more slaves for sale.

It becomes my duty, therefore, to apprize you that the people of Yoruba are the friends of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and that

* Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

Her Majesty's Government will see with much displeasure any act of violence or oppression committed against them; and also, that there are dwelling at Abbeokuta and in the Yoruba Country, many British-born subjects and liberated Africans, whom they are bound to protect from injury, and that if they receive any from your hands, it will be considered an act of hostility against the Queen and the English people, and will cause the coast of your Majesty's dominions to be immediately invested and blockaded by Her Majesty's ships under my command, and all trade stopped.

I hope your Majesty will come to some wiser conclusion, and that God may so dispose you.

(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE,
*Commander-in-chief of Her Britannic Majesty's Squadron
on the West Coast of Africa.*

No. 16.

Lord Stanley of Alderley to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 26, 1850.

I LAID before Viscount Palmerston your letter of the 2nd instant, inclosing a copy of a despatch of the 8th of August last, from Commodore Fanshawe, reporting the steps which he took on receiving intelligence of the refusal of the King of Dahomey to conclude a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and of the King's intention of making war upon Abbeokuta; and inclosing a copy of a letter which he had accordingly addressed to His Majesty.

I am in reply to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Lord Palmerston is of opinion that Commodore Fanshawe's conduct on this occasion was judicious and proper, and that the letter which he addressed to the King of Dahomey ought to be approved.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

No. 17.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Fraser.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 10, 1850.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government have been pleased to select you to be British Vice-Consul within the territories of the King of Dahomey, on the western coast of Africa, in the place of the late Mr. John Duncan.

I herewith inclose a formal letter of authority under my hand and seal to enable you to act as such.

The objects which Her Majesty's Government have in view in this appointment are fully explained in the annexed instructions, which were given to the late Vice-Consul Duncan, and which were returned to this office after Mr. Duncan's death,

You will consider those instructions* as addressed to yourself, and you will take them as the rule of your conduct during the time you shall act as British Vice-Consul in Dahomey.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* See Slave Trade Papers, Class B, presented 1850, Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

No. 18.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 11, 1850.

I HAVE to state to you that Her Majesty's Government have appointed Mr. Louis Fraser to be British Vice-Consul at Whydah, within the territories of the King of Dahomey, on the western coast of Africa.

I transmit to you a copy of the instructions which I have given to Vice-Consul Fraser; and I have to direct you to keep up an unreserved communication with him, and to give him such advice and instructions for his guidance as may appear to you to be right and proper for the good of Her Majesty's service.

I have sent a copy of this letter to Vice-Consul Fraser.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 19.

Viscount Palmerston to Vice-Consul Fraser.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 11, 1850.

I INCLOSE to you a letter which I have addressed to the King of Dahomey.

You will take a convenient opportunity to present this letter to that chief, when you will explain to him the nature and object of your appointment.

I inclose a copy of this letter for your information and guidance.

If you should not be able conveniently to present the letter to the King of Dahomey in person within a reasonable time after your arrival at Whydah, you may cause it to be transmitted to him in such a manner as may appear most proper and respectful.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 19.

*Viscount Palmerston to the King of Dahomey.**Foreign Office, December 11, 1850.*

THE Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, my Sovereign, has commanded me to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct Mr. Louis Fraser, the bearer of this letter, to be the successor to the late Mr. John Duncan as British Vice-Consul in the territories governed by your Majesty.

The reasons which have induced the Queen to station a British Vice-Consul within your territories were explained to your Majesty by the letter which I sent to you by the late Vice-Consul Duncan, and I beg again to tender to your Majesty the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the kind and hospitable reception which you gave to Mr. Duncan.

Consul Fraser is instructed to explain to your Majesty that it is the fixed determination of the British Government that the African Slave Trade shall cease; that it is useless for any African Sovereign or chief to suppose that he can be able to carry on that Slave Trade in defiance of the determination of Great Britain to put an end to it; and that the best way of securing the goodwill and friendship of England is promptly and completely to put the Slave Trade down.

Mr. Fraser is also instructed to explain to your Majesty on all suitable occasions, the great advantages which you will derive from the increase of legitimate commerce; and he is also to assure you of the

earnest desire of the Queen's Government to contribute in every way to your welfare and prosperity.

Her Majesty's Government trust that you will receive the British Vice-Consul with the respect due to his character and rank, and that you will put entire faith in what he shall state to you in the name of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 20.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 4, 1851.)

(Extract.) *Clarence, Fernando Po, September 21, 1850.*

I HAVE the honour to communicate that Her Majesty's steamer "Jackal" arrived here on the 19th instant. She has captured two slavers: one from Lagos, with 270 slaves, and a number of passengers, having been landed there from captured vessels.

No. 21.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord, *Admiralty, January 3, 1851.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copy of a letter from Commodore Fanshawe, dated the 28th of October last, and of its inclosure, relative to the position of the missionaries at Badagry and Abbeokuta.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 21.

Commodore Fanshawe to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

*"Centaur," at Sea, Lat. 4° 58' N., Long. 4° 2' E.
October 28, 1850.*

Sir,

MY letter to you of the 15th instant will have informed the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that having communicated with Mr. Beecroft, Her Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po, I was about to proceed to Badagry, for the purpose of ascertaining from the missionaries at that place, what would be the position and wants both of themselves and their establishment at Abbeokuta, in case the King of Dahomey should execute his threat of making the Yoruba Country the scene of his next war and slave-hunt.

I have now the honour to request you will inform their Lordships that I anchored off Badagry on the 21st, and sent Lieutenant Boys, of this ship, on shore, with a letter to Mr. Gollmer, in charge of the church mission; and also to examine what assistance it might be practicable for the cruisers to render, if required, and that I have the satisfaction of learning by Mr. Gollmer's reply to me, a copy of which I beg to inclose for their Lordships' information, as well as from Lieutenant Boys' report, that the present position of their Christian establishments was one of comparative security, which was likely to be confirmed by my arrival in the roads and communication with them, and Lieutenant Boys visiting the chiefs; and that I have given to Captain Adams, of the "Gladiator," the senior officer of the division, instructions to meet the wishes of the missionaries as far as practicable, until the period for the Dahomian war is past.

I ascertained from Captain Adams, that my letter to the King^{of} Dahomey, on the subject of his war on Abbeokuta, a copy of which I have already forwarded for their Lordships' information, was landed at Whydah last month for transmission through the means of Mr. Hastie, the agent of Messrs. Hutton; but as that gentleman has been since unfortunately drowned, I have not been able to learn whether it reached His Majesty. No canoes are now permitted to come off to our men-of-war at Whydah.

I have availed myself of this visit to the Bights to communicate with all the cruisers of the division, and I am happy to inform their Lordships that I have found them all healthy, for I hope the "Gladiator" need not longer be considered an exception. I have also anchored off Quittah and Whydah, and am now returning to Prince's Island and the South Coast, to meet the "Niger" and the September mail.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 21.

Messrs. Gollmer and Van Cooten to Commodore Fanshawe.

Sir,

Church Mission House, Badagry, October 22, 1850.

WE beg to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of yesterday's date, and to express that we all, myself and brother missionaries, British merchants and liberated Africans, here, are greatly indebted to you for the very lively interest you take in our behalf, and the essential service you have rendered to us by the kind measures you have adopted, in sending ships of war to inquire as to our safety, and your own timely appearance.

The position of our own friends at Abbeokuta, the Rev. H. Townsend and Mrs. Townsend, the Rev. J. Smith and Mrs. Smith, the Rev. D. Hinderer, with our native missionary, the Rev. S. Crowther, and the large band of native Christians, is comparatively a safe one, as they can rely on the protection of almost all the powerful chiefs and people at that place. Mr. Townsend, however, to whom I will forward your esteemed letter, will no doubt avail himself of your kind request to inform you as to their real position.

As regards ourselves at Badagry, where the majority of the chiefs and people are greatly influenced and stimulated by the slave-traders, we can scarcely tell what is our true position, and what to-morrow will bring forth: some are friendly, and many would expel us, if we were not protected by the ships of war; but we do believe (or hope) that the frequently appearing of ships of war in our roads, and an occasional visit from Her Majesty's officers, will deter them from doing us any harm.

It is astonishing the effect created in our town by the appearing of a ship of war, by the visit of an officer, or even by the firing of a few guns.

In accordance with your kind offer to render us any assistance we may deem desirable as regards our safety, we would request the favour, if convenient, to instruct ships of war frequently to call in here, so that in case of danger we may receive their protection; that we may be visited by Her Majesty's officers; and that a few guns may be fired, as if exercising; and may we request that you will now favour us by discharging a few guns, which we trust will have the anticipated effect upon those who are still inimical to us.

This is the only assistance we, for the present, deem necessary, and therefore beg to decline your offer to supply us with arms and ammunition.

As regards the Dahomian invasion, we know so much, that Dahomey has an old grudge against the town especially, and would unquestionably destroy it if British residents were removed. We therefore do not know whether we shall be molested from that quarter or not.

The marauding expeditions of Dahomey generally take place during the months of December and January, and we would request the favour that our position may be remembered by you during that time.

In conclusion we beg to return our sincere thanks for your great kindness to us and to our work, in helping us to maintain our position, and thus furthering the holy cause in which we are engaged; it is truly encouraging to us to be thus supported. May the blessing of God rest upon you and your endeavours to ameliorate our poor benighted sable brethren.

We have, &c.
(Signed) C. A. GOLLMER.
E. C. VAN COOTEN.

P.S.—The Wesleyan ministry has gone to Cape Coast for a short time.

No. 22.

Lord Stanley of Alderley to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 10, 1851.*

I LAID before Viscount Palmerston your letter of the 3rd ultimo, and the inclosed despatch of the 28th of October, from Commodore Fanshawe; and with reference to the doubt therein expressed by the Commodore, whether the letter which he addressed to the King of Dahomey on the 23rd of July, 1850, on the subject of the alleged intention of the King to make war upon Abbeokuta, had been forwarded to His Majesty, I am to request you to state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Lord Palmerston is of opinion that it would be important to ascertain whether the letter in question was sent on to the King or not; and if it was not sent, it would be right that a copy or duplicate thereof should be forwarded to him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

No. 23.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 20, 1851.*

ON the 22nd of April* last I suggested to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the next step which it seemed desirable to take, with a view to clear the African coast north of the Equator from Slave Trade, would be to induce the Chief of Lagos to conclude a treaty for the abolition of that Traffic.

I have not yet heard whether any communication has been made to the Chief of Lagos, in pursuance of my recommendation above alluded to. But if, when this despatch reaches you, the Chief of Lagos should not have bound himself by treaty to abolish Slave Trade, you will put yourself in communication with that chief, with a view to induce him to conclude a treaty in the form which I herewith transmit to you, and you will concert with Commodore Fanshawe the best arrangements for the execution of this service.

The Commodore will be instructed to furnish you with the means of carrying on this negotiation without placing yourself hazardously in the power of that chief. I have also to authorize and instruct you to conclude treaties according to the inclosed form, with any native chiefs within the limits of your Consular district, whose co-operation for the suppression of Slave Trade you may consider it desirable to obtain.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

* See No. 6.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Engagement to be proposed to the Chief of Lagos.

JOHN BEECROFT, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the Chiefs of Lagos and of the neighbourhood, on the part of themselves and of their country, have agreed upon the following Articles and Conditions :

ARTICLE I.

The export of Slaves to foreign countries is for ever abolished in the territories of the Chiefs of Lagos; and the Chiefs of Lagos engage to make and to proclaim a law prohibiting any of their subjects or any person within their jurisdiction, from selling or assisting in the sale of any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the Chiefs of Lagos promise to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break the law.

ARTICLE II.

No European or other person whatever shall be permitted to reside within the territory of the Chiefs of Lagos for the purpose of carrying on in any way the Traffic in Slaves; and no houses, or stores, or buildings of any kind whatever, shall be erected for the purpose of Slave Trade within the territory of the Chiefs of Lagos; and if any such houses, stores, or buildings shall at any future time be erected, and the Chiefs of Lagos shall fail to destroy them, they may be destroyed by any British officers employed for the suppression of Slave Trade.

ARTICLE III.

If at any time it shall appear that Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the territory of the Chiefs of Lagos, the Slave Trade may be put down by Great Britain by force upon that territory, and British officers may seize the boats of Lagos found anywhere carrying on the Slave Trade; and the Chiefs of Lagos will be subject to a severe act of displeasure on the part of the Queen of England.

ARTICLE IV.

The slaves now held for exportation shall be delivered up to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the purpose of being carried to a British colony and there liberated: and all the implements of Slave Trade, and the barracoons or buildings exclusively used in the Slave Trade, shall be forthwith destroyed.

ARTICLE V.

Europeans or other persons now engaged in the Slave Trade are to be expelled the country; the houses, stores, or buildings hitherto employed as slave-factories, if not converted to lawful purposes within three months of the conclusion of this Engagement, are to be destroyed.

ARTICLE VI.

The subjects of the Queen of England may always trade freely with the people of Lagos, in every article they may wish to buy and sell in all the places and ports and rivers within the territories of the Chiefs of

Lagos and throughout the whole of their dominions; and the Chiefs of Lagos pledge themselves to show no favour and to give no privilege to the ships and traders of other countries which they do not or will not show to those of England.

ARTICLE VII.

Power is hereby expressly reserved to the President of the French Republic to become a party to this Treaty, if he should think fit, agreeably to the provisions of Article V of the Convention between Her Majesty and the late King of the French, signed at London on the 29th of May, 1845.

No. 24.

Lord Stanley of Alderley to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 20, 1851.

WITH reference to my letter of the 22nd of April last, in which I conveyed to you the opinion of Viscount Palmerston that endeavours should be made to conclude a treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade with the Chief of Lagos, I am directed by his Lordship to transmit to you the accompanying copy of an instruction which he has addressed to Consul Beecroft upon this subject.

I am to request that you will lay this paper before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and that you will move their Lordships to cause instructions to be issued to the Commodore in command of Her Majesty's squadron on the west coast of Africa to assist Mr. Beecroft in the performance of this service.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

No. 25.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 21, 1851.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 20th* instant, in which I authorized you to conclude a Treaty for the abolition of the Slave Trade with the Chief of Lagos, I have now further to instruct you to represent to that Chief that the British Government is resolved to put an end to the African Slave Trade, and has the means and power to do so. That it is employing those means with increasing success on both sides of the Atlantic. That the British Government has been successfully urging the Governments of Spain and of the Brazils to prevent the importation of slaves into Cuba and into Brazil, and that thus the demand for slaves will be greatly diminished, if not entirely put an end to; while, on the other hand, the British Government has made treaties with the greater part of the native chiefs on the west coast of Africa, by which those chiefs have engaged to put an end to the exportation of slaves from within the limits of their territorial authority, and to encourage lawful commerce instead of Slave Trade.

You will represent that lawful commerce is more advantageous to the nations of Africa than Slave Trade, and that, therefore, the British Government in putting down Slave Trade, and in encouraging lawful commerce, is conferring a benefit upon the people and chiefs of Africa. That Great Britain is a strong Power both by sea and by land; that her friendship is worth having; and that her displeasure it is well to avoid. That the friendship of Great Britain is to be obtained by the Chiefs of Africa only on the condition that they abandon Slave Trade and expel

* No. 23.

the slave-traders, and that those chiefs who may refuse to do these things will surely incur the displeasure of the British Government.

If the Chief should show a disposition to refuse compliance, you should beg him to remember that Lagos is near to the sea, and that on the sea are the ships and the cannon of England; and also to bear in mind that he does not hold his authority without a competitor, and that the chiefs of the African tribes do not always retain their authority to the end of their lives.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 26.

Lord Stanley of Alderley to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 28, 1851.

WITH reference to my letter of the 20th instant*, on the subject of the proposed conclusion of a treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade with the Chief of Lagos, I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a further instruction† which his Lordship has addressed to Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights, furnishing him with arguments to be urged upon the Chief, in order to obtain his acquiescence in the proposed measure.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

No. 27.

Lord Stanley of Alderley to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 28, 1851.

WITH reference to your letter of the 21st of October‡, 1850, transmitting copies of a letter and journal from Lieutenant Forbes, of Her Majesty's ship "Bonetta" (now Commander Forbes), detailing the particulars of the mission to Abomey, with which, conjointly with Mr. Beecroft, he has been entrusted, with a view to induce the King of Dahomey to enter into a treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade; I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to request that you inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of the manner in which Commander Forbes performed his duties on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.

No. 28.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 15, 1851.)

My Lord;

Clarence, Fernando Po, December 5, 1850.

I HAVE the honour to communicate for your Lordship's information, that Her Majesty's steamer "Archer," Commander Strange, arrived here yesterday from the Bight of Benin, for coal, and brought me letters from Badagry and Abbeokuta, dated September the 28th, in reply to my letters dated the 1st of August, shortly after my arrival from Abomey. They express themselves very anxious to see me; also state that the chiefs and people are not under any fearful apprehensions relative to the King of Dahomey's proceedings.

My Lord, you will be glad to learn that they are determined to resist them to the last; they are building up their wall stronger, and making every preparation, by gathering together as much ammunition and guns as possible.

* No. 24.

† No. 25.

‡ No. 13.

I learn that the "Centaur" captured a slaver soon after leaving Fernando Po, the 17th of October, with 239 slaves, and the "Jackal," one with 267, both from the vicinity of Lagos."

It is easy to discern that Lagos is the focus of the Slave Trade in the Bight of Benin, and from Corisco to the southward, in the vicinity of the Rivers Camma and Sette.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

No. 29.

The Rev. C. A. Gollmer to the Rev. H. Venn.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Mr. Venn, March 27.)

My dear Sir,

Badagry, January 3, 1851.

THE "Thomas Snooks" will leave this to-morrow, and thus an opportunity presents itself to inform you that Captain Beecroft, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, has at last arrived here yesterday afternoon. We were led to expect him on the 10th of December, but other engagements prevented his coming earlier.

Mr. Van Cooten and myself, with our school-children, went down to the beach to receive him and to show him our respects. The Sierra Leone people also, with many others, came down with their muskets, and fired a salute; and when we reached home, the Consul was greeted with a grand burst of musketry, &c. Mr. Hutton, who arrived here a few days ago, with his agents here, and Mr. Martin, the Wesleyan native agent, came to meet him at our landing-place. Tuesday next is fixed upon to start for Abbeokuta; and I this morning sent two special messengers to apprise our friends of the arrival of the Consul, and the day they may expect him, as they intend to meet him in the way. Mr. Van Cooten will (D. V.) accompany the Consul to Abbeokuta, and return with him here after about a week's stay, the time the Consul will be able to appropriate to his visit there, he having so many engagements elsewhere. After his return we shall have a meeting with the chiefs and people here.

May God grant that great good may result from the Consul's visit! He seems certainly in earnest to do good; and the time is a critical one at present.

We here have been in a state of alarm for some time past: three times the town was threatened with destruction the last few months, and now we cannot tell when the dark, threatening cloud will burst upon us, *i. e.*, the serious dispute between the Popos and the Lagos people; the former wishing to open the road to Lagos, and the latter forbidding it.

At Abbeokuta, according to letters received this morning, persecution is still going on against Ibore; the cause of which, Mr. Townsend says, is the close blockade of Lagos, in consequence of which the Slave Trade is almost done for in that dreadful den of iniquity. The slave-traders can ship no slaves, and therefore refuse to buy any more (of 135, only 7 were sold in last market), which so much enrages the head slave-trading chief at Abbeokuta, that he seeks to annoy, defeat, and drive away, if possible, our friends, by threatening by death even, as he has done the last few days, anyone who dared to go to church. However, four persons, Mr. Crowther tells me, came in spite of this law, and others went to Aki and Ikija church. Three very nice and good men from Mr. Crowther's district came to take refuge here, their relatives and friends persecuting them. May God strengthen the faith of our converts to remain steadfast and faithful! I often long to see something of these unmistakeable signs of God's work here; but oh, what a dreary field, what a barren soil, what a fruitless tree! yet we with our work are God's.

The reason why the documents are not sent by this opportunity, is that a quarterly meeting will in a few days be held (D. V.) at Abbeokuta.

The "African," with the Society's case containing the dollars, &c., has not arrived here as yet, though she has arrived on the coast the last three months.

The Consul expects Akitoye in the morning, when they will talk over matters about Lagos; and the Consul hopes Lord Palmerston will take possession of it, according to the earnest desire of Akitoye, re-establish him, and make a Treaty for the entire abolition of the Slave Trade with him.

Pray remember us. Thank God, we are well.

Yours sincerely, &c.

(Signed) C. A. GOLLMER.

No. 30.

The Rev. Henry Townsend to Captain H. D. Trotter.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Captain Trotter, April 7, 1851.)

My dear Sir,

Abbeokuta, December 10, 1850.

I AM happy to be able to forward to you another two months' register, although not so regular as I desire, yet I hope it is better than nothing.

I understand that Mr. Gollmer is unable to record observations there (in Badagry), for want of a register thermometer. I was about to send him my spare one, but broke it when endeavouring to reunite the broken column of spirit. You will be disappointed in not being able to compare the climate of the two places.

We have been graciously preserved here hitherto. The reports of the intentions of the King of Dahomey have reached us, but it excites very little alarm among the people. They have destroyed a town reputed to have been under Dahomian influence, and for that reason, in truth I believe, they have all but made a clear sweep of the towns and villages between this and Porto Novo; and I fear they will not stop until some reverse teaches them to be moderate.

The Slave Trade I understand to be pretty much the same as I last stated. It has been a peculiarly unfortunate year for that nefarious Traffic, through the watchfulness of Her Majesty's cruisers. I hope we are on the eve of better times, and that yet we shall completely triumph over the Slave Trade.

Mr. Gollmer has had frequent communication with the cruisers, and they have manifested great concern for our safety since hearing of the King of Dahomey's intentions. The Commodore called off Badagry and wrote to us twice about it; we wrote a long letter in return, bringing him acquainted with the entire state of things here.

The Government here is exceedingly weak; it is just as if all the German principalities and little kingdoms were brought together into one town, each bringing their separate institutions and Governments, and acting but seldom in union; therefore we have the strange sight of an active persecution in one part of the town, while in another there is not even an attempt at such. It has broken out again in Mr. Crowther's district, but it is to be hoped that it will not last long.

It will not appear strange to you that the chief of the persecutors is also chief of the slave-traders; and there is another circumstance that has some connexion, viz., that the last market-day was peculiarly unfortunate, and many slaves brought back unsold. The slave-traders then attempted to take away the merchandize that our converts had purchased in lawful trade, being enraged with the fact that they with slaves could not purchase, while our people without could. They were accused and abused for favouring the English, the spoilers of the Slave Trade. It is said that three months' purchase of slaves are in Lagos unable to be shipped, and some dying for want. My informants told me that the same trader who purchased slaves at 50 dollars the market before, offered only 40 dollars now; but at what price a purchase was effected they could not tell. I feel inclined to think that now is the time to endeavour to introduce a better trade there. We have reason to expect that Captain Beecroft will be at Badagry to-day on his way here; we hope he will be able to do

some good. We have endeavoured to impress upon the chiefs the fact, that it is an honour to receive a messenger from the Queen of England; and that they should endeavour to pay him all respect and attention.

You will be gratified at hearing this. A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Gollmer, stating that he was commissioned by the chiefs of a small town called *Pokera*, to beg us to beg the chiefs of Abbeokuta for peace. We went accordingly to the Chief here, and he and his fellows declared that if the Pokera people desired peace, they were willing to treat with them for it through the white people, and them only; but if any other party either here or at Badagry was called upon also with us, they would not listen to their prayers, for they had learned that if but a glass of rum were entrusted to the white people, not a drop would be spilt by the way. In cases of this sort the weaker party will have to give presents to the stronger; and the chiefs here know by experience, that if presents come through the medium of any of their own colour, that probably three-fourths will be subtracted ere it reaches them. We may be thankful for this confidence in us; and if Divine Providence gives us opportunities of showing it is not ill-placed, and of usefulness to them, we shall gratefully embrace them.

One of the chiefs a short time since asked me to become his agent to trade with England direct. I refused, it being out of my sphere of action. Some of the young men would gladly go to Sierra Leone to see that wonderful country; I understand that one of my servants is already saving his money to pay his passage there. If any propose this, I shall certainly further them all I can; for mutual intercourse will, I hope, be of great benefit. If they should be much persecuted, I think many will fly for safety to Sierra Leone; several were speaking to me about it, and seemed to wish it very much. If they get there they will soon work their way upwards by labour or trade, they will all work for money. The enterprising spirit thus manifested gives great hopes of future good for the country.

December 31.—I expected to send the letter now sent some time since, but no opportunity presented itself—it has been delayed; yesterday, however, I sent letters to Badagry; but as only one day remains to complete my register, I did not like sending to you without it, so I send now two sheets or a register for the past four months. To-day the harmattan wind blows for the first time this season; I have exposed the hygrometer to it, and although it has only been blowing for an hour or two, it gives a difference of 16° —in dry, 82° ; wet, 66° . Time, 11 A.M. On looking again at $11\frac{1}{2}$ A.M., it is dry, 84° ; wet, 64° . Difference, 20° in the shade, but exposed to the wind.

I have had a long conversation this morning with some of the people exposed to the persecution lately broke out again, with a view of getting from them their view of the cause of it; and they told me distinctly and upon sufficient grounds, that while the idol-worship is the assigned, the real reason is the Slave Trade; and that it all comes from Lagos. Their ultimate object is to get rid of the white man; but as it cannot be accomplished by direct means, they seek to do it by drawing away those who become Christians—supposing, I think, that we receive pay for every convert; and that when the hope of gain is gone, we shall go away.

We have not heard of the arrival of the Consul at Badagry; we have been expecting him since the 10th instant; we cannot tell what has detained him. I have received, however, a note from Mr. Gollmer, stating that he is hourly expected, and that two cruizers had been there expecting to meet him. Mr. Hutton is at Badagry, and tells Mr. Gollmer that a Vice-Consul is appointed for Badagry, a Mr. Beresford. We are sorry to hear of the death of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle.

I have inclosed a note, without address, for the lady who so kindly got the box of clothes for us; I have left it without, because my memory fails me whether I am thus indebted to Mrs. Trotter or Mrs. Palmer. I hope it will be kindly excused, and if you would also favour me by addressing it to the lady to whom I ought to address it, I should be greatly obliged. I did not like to let the box remain unacknowledged.

and thought it better to write in this way through you, than not to write at all.

Please to give our kind and Christian regards to Mrs. Trotter, who, we hope, through the Divine mercy, enjoys better health. We have been greatly blessed in that respect since our return; we know not how long it may be continued to us. I feel greater weakness than I used to do before, and indisposition to move about, and very soon alarmed at trifles. Wishing that every blessing may be bestowed upon you from the Lord,

I remain, &c.
(Signed) HENRY TOWNSEND.

No. 31.

The Rev. C. A. Gollmer to Captain H. D. Trotter.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Captain Trotter, April 7.)

(Extract.)

Badagry, January 13, 1851.

THE thermometer of religious inquiry and anxiety is still low. Knowledge increases, and conviction of right and wrong may be observed as its offspring, here and there; but of new creatures, the fruit of the Holy Spirit, which we long to see, we cannot speak. The thermometer of iniquitous agitation, on the contrary, stands still high, yea, of late, it rose here to "fever heat," which, had God not watched over us, might have consumed us. Twice our town was nigh being burnt down by the Lagos people here, who were about doing so in revenge upon the Popos, who, since the last few months, have, contrary to an existing law, gone to Lagos and are determined to open the road, and trade with Lagos, which Akitoye* will not allow, as it renders his residence here unsafe: however, the Popos, the last few weeks, went down in so numerous a party, that it was difficult to oppose the movement. We still fear one of these days we shall suddenly be alarmed with war and destruction. The town we of course keep quite neutral. Yet often we are consulted, when we advise peace. Captain Beecroft, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, has at last arrived, on the 2nd of January, and was received with honours here. On the 7th he went to Abbeokuta with Mr. Van Cooten, and I have just heard of their safe arrival, and how white and black chiefs went to meet him some eight miles on the way, and showed him much honour. We hope much good will ensue from this visit. If only our merchants would be more one with us, and not for filthy lucre's sake cherish and nourish what is the curse of this country; these gents, of course, do not want to see a Consul, one who will report their proceedings. Mr. Hutton was down, and his vessel sold a cargo, I believe powder, at Lagos, and Mr. Hutton himself went to Lagos to do business. The Consul is in favour of Akitoye, the expelled rightful King of Lagos, who petitions him for Government to take Lagos, plant the British flag there and establish him under it, and he will make a Treaty to abolish all Slave Trade and carry on only lawful traffic. I trust Government will take it up, for Lagos is certainly the focus of the Slave Trade, and will be a great acquisition, especially for missionary operations.

The Slave Trade is not only greatly checked, but nearly done for; the slave-traders are nearly mad on account of the Brazilian laws respecting the Trade, and the vigilance and close blockade of our cruizers; it may be that we shall have to suffer. The converts at Abbeokuta in one district are persecuted in consequence of the Slave Trade being spoilt at Lagos. Of 137 slaves, Mr. Townsend tells me only 7 were purchased the other day.

* The legitimate but expelled Chief of Lagos, who lives at Badagry, or very near it.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 10.)

(Extract.)

Clarence, Fernando Po, February 21, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Lordship a brief detail of my visit to Badagry and Abbeokuta.

During my stay at Badagry I had a private interview with Akitoye, the ex-King of Lagos. He is a quite prudent man, to all appearances; and from what was communicated to me by Mr. Gollmer and himself, it is too obvious that there is a league formed with Kosoko, his nephew, the present Ruler of Lagos, and the Popos of Badagry, against Akitoye, so far advanced, that his life is in danger, indeed he has offered a premium for his head. Akitoye has a great number of followers, and they are kept continually under arms.

I advised him to keep peace, unless attacked, until I returned from Abbeokuta, and that he must write me a full statement of his grievances; that I intended to-morrow to convene a meeting of the chiefs of Badagry, ten in number, with himself. I sent a messenger with my ring, accordingly, requesting the different chiefs to attend a conference held by me, Rev. Gollmer, and Dr. Van Cooten, at 10 o'clock to-morrow.

It was noon before they were all assembled. I read to them my commission, after which other small matters were discussed. I then addressed them relative to Kosoko of Lagos tampering with some parties relative to a person of note under their protection, and I considered it their imperative duty to protect him to the last. They denied having any communication with Kosoko on that matter. I told them that I was going in a day or two to start for Abbeokuta; that I strongly impressed upon them, whatever they did, to preserve peace, which they faithfully promised to do; that on my return from Abbeokuta we should meet again; so the conference broke up. One of the parties present, called Mayen, ex-King of Porto Novo, is a staunch friend of Akitoye's; they are afraid of the two parties and the Popos, the instruments of Kosoko. My Lord, you must be aware that the road to Lagos from Badagry has been shut since Akitoye was expelled; now the Popos have opened it, contrary to his wish, and they are combining with his enemies to destroy him; now the road is open he is not safe. I strongly advised Akitoye to have patience and a still tongue, until my return from Abbeokuta, which he faithfully promised to do.

I left Badagry on the 7th ultimo, accompanied by Dr. Van Cooten, and arrived at Awiyadee on the 9th, ten miles from Abbeokuta, where he remained all night.

Next morning at 10 o'clock we were joined by the Revs. H. Townsend, Smith, Crowther, Church missionaries, and Mr. Bickersteth, Wesleyan Society. They were rejoiced to meet me. After a light refreshment we started at 10:30, and arrived at the river. At 11:30 waited some time for the arrival of Mr. Townsend. We started and crossed the stream; it will be about 500 yards wide when at its height in the centre, and in a great part in crossing at this season of the year there were two feet depth. We entered the walls of the town at 10 o'clock. I was certainly astonished when such a mass of houses presented themselves; I was informed that I only saw a small part of the town; I replied it contains more near 120,000 souls than fifty. I was shown as the Lion, and paraded through the longest part of the town, and arrived at Mr. Townsend's compound at 3:30. I was warmly and cordially received by Mr. and Mrs. Townsend.

11th.—At daylight I accompanied Mr. Townsend to the summit of a mass of granite and feldspar; found the interstices in a decomposed state, and vegetation going on. There is a good view, but the morning was hazy. I sent messengers to Sagbua; they returned, and stated that he had heard that I had made peace at Badagry, but still he was afraid that Akitoye would suffer, and it is certain the King of Dahomey was coming. He said he would call on me privately to-night to see me; it is not his desire that all we know should be made public or exposed to some of the public

members of the Council. During the day Rev. I. Smith called; it is about two or two and a half miles to his compound. Several of the Sierra Leone emigrants came to pay their respects. I inquired of them what country they hailed from; they acknowledged themselves to be British subjects, and of course claimed British protection. I inquired of them their intentions when they left Sierra Leone; they replied, each one to go to his own country. I then told them that they were perfectly aware, acknowledging themselves British subjects, that they were subject to British law, wherever it might reach them, and trusted that they had strictly adhered to the law; but, my Lord, I was sorry to find they were discomfited on that question, because those that had joined their own families, of course they were again under the influence of that abominable Traffic the Slave Trade. I was informed that on their arrival there, the late Chief, Sadokee, had offered them a choice of ground to form their own town and abide by their own English laws; but it is too obvious the offer was treated lightly, their attention not being called to the facts just now stated, for which they are in a great calamity and very sorry at present. Under all the circumstances of the case, the people are not to blame; if they had had a head, it would have been somewhat better for them at this moment. They were rather astonished at my rebuke, they begged my acceptance of a sheep as a present from their body. The Rev. S. Crowther harangued them on the point. I had been discussing with them quietly for some time, when they expressed a wish to take their leave, which of course was granted.

Sagbua, the head chief, sent a messenger to Mr. Townsend, stating that he was at liberty, that he would be glad to see him and the stranger. Accordingly we went, accompanied by all our friends. On our arrival I saluted the chief as a messenger of peace from my mistress the Queen of England; he returned the salute very graciously, and enquired kindly after Her Majesty and all the Royal Family; if they were well when I left England; he then said he was more than glad to see at Abbeokuta, and trusted that God would long spare me for the sake of Africa. I then told him, as it was late, I merely called to pay my respects. I then spoke a few words, and told him that I was very anxious that he should announce to all his war-chiefs and traders, that I wished to have a conference as early in next week as possible. I got up to take my leave; he said he must rise to salute me: he was the father of the white men here before my arrival; that I was his father. I thanked him for the compliment and took our leave.

In the evening Sagbua and a few of his attendants waited on me. After the first salutation he intimated through the interpreter, that it was his desire that our party should be private, with the exception of two or three of his confidential attendants; we accordingly adjourned to my private room, accompanied by Mr. Townsend. I then communicated my errand to Abbeokuta, as a messenger of peace, and to consult upon the best means to arrest this abominable Traffic—the foreign Slave Trade, and to introduce legitimate trade. He immediately commenced upon Lagos and Kosoko, the present chief and usurper, and said he was a bad man; that matters could never go on peaceably with him at the head as ruler; that he paid great sums of cowries to several slave-dealers in districts of Abbeokuta, to get them to set their face against and persecute the missionaries at Badagry and here, and told them if they were sent away, he would send slave-vessels to anchor off Badagry to take slaves; he sent presents also to the King of Dahomey, to induce him to raise war against Abbeokuta; which is the occasion of harassing them very much every dry season, his people being deterred from visiting their farms on that very account. Guezo, the King of Dahomey, his continued threats render them anxious and desirous that he should come and try his skill with them in one of their open grass-fields, and decide the matter; Sagbua said his Egbas must and would fight hard for their all, for they had not any back-doors, for they were beset with enemies to the eastward, the Jebos bordering on Benin, instruments in the hands of Kosoko of Lagos. He said the Egbas were most anxious for legitimate trade, and too anxious that the above-mentioned place should be wrested from the

usurper, and Akitoye, the right chief, in his proper position, and under the protection of the British flag, or otherwise, as Her Majesty's Government should deem fit; all would go on right. A canoe can communicate with Lagos in one night, and ascend to Abbeokuta in two days, on the River Ogu. I then communicated to him my visit to the King of Dahomey, and what passed relative to Abbeokuta. He was much pleased, but all his sentiments were relative to Lagos and placing Akitoye on the throne as before; all would go right; he was ready with his chiefs to enter into any Treaty the English Government pleased to dictate. His sentiments do not differ in the smallest relative to the abominable Traffic in Slaves; all his chiefs were anxious to leave it off,—only a few of the creatures of that fellow Kosoko here, to our great annoyance. I then again reminded him that I was anxious to have an interview and a conference. He promised it should be arranged for the beginning of the week, this being Saturday. He desired me not to mention at the public conference any matters about Kosoko; I was at perfect liberty to state all other matters on the subject of the Slave Trade and my visit to Abomey. I told him on some subjects I should be obliged to speak aloud; he said I was right. He expressed himself much pleased with his interview, and desired to take leave. After family prayers retired to rest.

12th. *Sunday*.—Visited the church, morning and afternoon; it was full, there were about 200 hearers. Mr. Townsend read the Church Service in the Yoruba tongue, the sermon was communicated through an interpreter. It was really interesting to hear the little dark creatures lisping their Maker's praises; it was delightful to see the solemnity of the little church, and so well attended; he will have to enlarge it soon. It is a very comfortable building, walls of switch and mud, with a high thatch roof, and well ventilated.

14th. *Tuesday*.—After breakfast some of the chiefs commenced their parade towards the grand square, near Chief Sagbua's mansion; it was close to Mr. Townsend's compound. One of the elders named Lara called on me. 11 o'clock, drums and umbrellas were seen advancing in the distance towards the grand square where the conference was to be held; near the council-chamber there were several shady trees. It was 12 o'clock when our procession arrived at the place; chairs and benches had been placed near the shade of a large tree. I was placed in a large arm-chair, and in full uniform, but not pleasing; the thermometer 95°. To the right all the war-chiefs, about twenty; to the left, under the verandah of the council-house, Sagbua and the commercial community; a great host of spectators, including a great number of Sierra Leone emigrants. After saluting them, the Rev. H. Townsend introduced me in a short and appropriate speech, relative to my visit, and of its being previously communicated to the chiefs, &c. Trusted they would listen to my counsel, and duly appreciate the Queen of England and her Government's kind intentions towards them. Reverend friend sat down. I then stood up and read my commission; it was interpreted by the Rev. S. Crowther, after which I thanked them in the name of Her Britannic Majesty and her Government, for the kind protection afforded to God's messengers, and mentioned that they must be well aware that there cannot exist any other motive than a just and pure one, in being anxious to serve the sons and daughters of Africa; it is too obvious when they look upon all those people that have returned to their relatives and families, after a very long absence, and the fact of their being released from thralldom, and nourished and cherished by the English for a number of years; some have returned to their families and friends rich; it is only the English that have shown such a strong desire to renovate and reform Africa, and pull it out of the awful darkness that overshadows it. Her example has obliged other nations to step in to her aid.

I then communicated my visit to the King of Dahomey, and what transpired during my residence of six weeks there, and all that was said relative to Abbeokuta and his intention of making war, and of my informing him that it was my intention to visit Abbeokuta in December, or early in January; after which I attacked them, and stated they were blind to

certain persons, Kosoko's creatures, here, for persecuting the people of God; not allowing them their just privileges, indeed taking away their rights because they persisted in going to the church. I then told them that it was by the permission of the principal and responsible chiefs they were admitted here to teach their children and people, and of course I considered it a duty incumbent upon those said chiefs to prevent such awful persecutions by those slave-dealing villains, and I trusted and hoped that they would be able to make a good report to me, and to promise that all persecutions for the future should cease, and be prohibited by introducing a stringent law. I was sorry to state such a report would meet with the displeasure of Her Majesty's Government; such abominable proceedings. I was very anxious myself to make a good report if they would afford me the means. I then took my seat.

An aged gentleman made his appearance from the council-chamber and thanked me and the Queen of England and her Government for all the good she had done for Africa; they had not words to express their gratitude and joy for all the benefits bestowed on them by the English. It is pleasing to them when they reflect they have such a staunch friend, for they are beset by enemies on every side: there is Kosoko at Lagos, and his creatures the Jebos. They are puzzled to know why the King of Dahomey is continually troubling and threatening to destroy them for nothing; six or seven years ago he sent the late chief, Sadokee, 200 horses' tails and 40 slaves, to secure a lasting peace, but immediately after his death he turns round and threatens to exterminate us, so we are assailed on all sides. He then thanked me for taking the trouble to travel so far for the welfare of them and their children, for everything that has been done for them by the English has struck them with wonder and amazement at such overwhelming kindness; and furthermore, they hoped that God will protect me from evil, and not allow anything to molest me on my journey. He then sat down.

I arose again and thanked him kindly for his well-meant speech; I then told him that if there were any slave-dealers present, that if they had any place to get rid of their slaves besides Lagos, should there be any such characters present, I would merely impress upon their minds the dire necessity of considering in time the best method to pursue, for they may rest assured that the Queen and her Government are going at it in earnest, and are fully determined to finish it at once; any number of steamers. I merely mentioned this as a friend. I then communicated my visit to Rabba several times, and Laddie (the chief, Massaba, is well known here), and of my long residence of nearly twenty-two years in Africa; that I felt a great interest in their future welfare, and should visit them again, God willing, the latter end of the year. The old gentleman made his appearance again with a short speech, then presented me with a handsome pony and a female goat, from the chiefs in general, for which I returned my most grateful thanks and sat down.

A war-chief named Chacona rose and addressed the people, and stated that he begged them to retain what they had heard from me relative to the kindness of the Queen of England and her Government. He then addressed the Sierra Leone people in particular, and intimated to them that they had been fortunate to meet their families again without any price: he asked them if any of them had sent for me; they replied in the negative. He then said, "you must patiently look into this matter, and look at everything connected with us, his visit to Abomey, and what passed between him and Guezo the King, also the shot sent here: you must penetrate into all this matter." He was at a loss to find words what to say or do sufficiently for all that had been done for them: he then retired. The conference broke up. I arose and shook hands with all the chiefs. We then returned to the mission-house.

18th. *Saturday*.—1 o'clock, the conference was opened by the war-chief Sokena. He saluted me and the missionary gentlemen, wishing us health and prosperity, thanking me for my kind visit, and begged to thank me many, many times for all I had communicated to them at the former conference on the 14th instant. The first request was to assist them in fortifying their town against the attacks of their enemies, which were at continual war with some one or other—they are the Jebos and

Dahomians; secondly, relative to the Popos at Badagry, and Akitoye, the ex-King of Lagos, stating that they were forming a league with Kosoko, to take away the life of Akitoye; thirdly, they were anxious to have legitimate trade, and to do away with the foreign Slave Trade; and lastly, that they had fully determined that Akitoye should be placed under my care and protection. I told them that I would not promise anything; I would report the whole matter to the Government. As far as concerned Akitoye, I was aware he was in jeopardy; but would use my utmost endeavours, as far as an individual can be of service, to protect him from falling into the hands of the Philistines, if I arrived safe at Badagry. And as to legitimate trade, time and patience, I trusted, would ere long bring that about.

Lagos is their only sentiment: send the usurper and slave-dealers out of it, and place Akitoye in his right position; it is a grand opening, and a sweeping clause to the abominable Traffic in that quarter; the Porto Novians the same. We are not prevented by any international law that I am aware of, certainly not at Lagos; and I am not aware of any person but Domingo Martinez at Porto Novo.

The war-chiefs again desired me, on my arrival at Badagry, to use all my influence with the Popos there to deter them from entering into a league with Kosoko for the destruction of Akitoye and all his people. I promised them faithfully to use all the influence in my power, but I truly believe the Popos to be a faithless set of vagabonds. I saw through them at the conference, previous to my route here. I then asked from them a faithful promise that the persecutions against God's people should cease; they all immediately assented to it, and shook each other by the hand. There were three women that had fled from their persecutions for succour in this compound, they had been here some time; the war-chiefs were requested to send a messenger with them to the council-chamber of Sagbua and his council that had met for civil palavers, to send for the party, and arrange if they could be sent to their own place of abode, to be there at peace, and not to be molested again by the worthless creatures of Kosoko.

Mr. Townsend introduced a man to me that has just returned from Lagos; he reported that he had been a resident there for three weeks; that during that period the Badagry people had arrived twice, and that Kosoko, the ruler there, had entertained them sumptuously, killing pigs and goats, giving them rum, cloth, and cowries; had a festival and dancing; they then held a conference to consult as to the best means to attack Badagry. It was arranged that he should get all his war-canoes ready; they had been laid up for some time. They then considered that there were several guns at Badagry, which rather intimidated them, and gave them some alarm; they were afraid they would be turned against them by the English: they then began to prevaricate about the matter. He also related Mr. Hutton's visit with another white man; he stated that their visit was not agreeable to Kosoko. I inquired of him if he knew any news of the messenger. He said that he had not heard any more about the matter; that was all he had heard from a friend of his who was present at the conference with Kosoko and the Badagrians. He then took his leave. It is rather difficult to get at facts.

After dinner I took a short walk, and returned at sunset. 7 o'clock, Ogu-Bonno, one of the principal war-chiefs, with his two messengers that are to accompany me to Badagry, and to see me safe from the beach. Shortly afterwards, Sagbua arrived, so we retired to my private room, accompanied by Messrs. Townsend, Smith, Hinderer, and Dr. Van Cooten. We went over the whole of the conference, and other matters that have passed at various times relative to Akitoye and Lagos; he was now left under my protection, for they were certain that Kosoko would have his life. I harangued them strongly for not carrying out these measures at once against those persecuting wretches, instruments of that rascal at Lagos, as they please to term him. Also I told them they would allow two or three bad men to spoil their good name. Ogu-Bonno said his neck was in a noose, and in due season it should be hauled tight. They were here nearly three hours; it was a repetition of all that had passed at the different conferences. They then took their leave, and we all very readily retired to rest.

It is the current report here, that Lagos is going to war with Badagry,

and is determined upon the destruction of Akitoye and Mayen; it is also reported here that Mr. Hutton and another white man have been to Lagos, and that two messengers came with them from Kosoko. After family worship, retired to rest.

No. 33.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 10.)

My Lord,

Clarence, Fernando Po, February 24, 1851.

IN my previous despatch I gave your Lordship a detail of my visit to Abbeokuta, and all matters connected with Badagry, and Lagos, and Akitoye, the ex-King of Lagos. Your Lordship will find, in detail, the sentiments of the principal war-chiefs of that important place; that it is legitimate trade, and the latter place under the protection of the British flag, that would be a sweeping clause to the Slave Trade in all that vicinity; a field would be open to the interior. There are three or four large towns, within two days' journey, that are friendly to the Abbeokutians.

My Lord, I am fortunate to have escaped out of the hands of the emissaries of that vile wretch Kosoko, for it was his intention to finish my career; Mr. Gollmer told me he had it from good authority; when he heard it, it was too late to write me; he had received advice of my intended departure. I can only account for the escape in having a good horse and quick travelling, performing the journey in one day less than generally done.

I have been informed by a person that was at Lagos, that the massacre in 1845 was awful; he exterminated the whole of his uncle's family and people, about 2000, and the lagoon was a pest-house for weeks, owing to the dead carcasses in it.

Commander Foote, of the "Prometheus," brought my ring that I sent by a messenger two days before I left Badagry; they met the Porto Novians on their route; they would not listen to any proposal, but sent them back with my ring. It was fortunate the "Prometheus" was off Badagry, and received a letter from Mr. Gollmer, reporting the state of affairs.

Commander Foote landed an officer and men, with a field-piece; I presume it had the effect of turning the rascals back. I have not seen Commander Foote; he had left previous to the "Jackal's" arrival from Old Calabar.

The best place to land to attack Lagos is at Badagry; you go down the lagoon, *sans cérémonie*; you may surround it, being an island. My Lord, you will pardon my presuming to offer an opinion on the matter, but they all want coercion—the Porto Novians as well as others; but Lagos ought not to be allowed to escape; place the right person there, all is well. It is a well-known fact that the Slave Trade in that quarter has received a great shock.

A great number went from Abbeokuta just before I arrived. All arrived but seven; they are in great consternation.

My Lord, you are no doubt aware that the dry season is the time for Lagos; a smooth beach. I shall be enabled to communicate more fully my proceedings on my return from Benin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

No. 34.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received June 10.)

(Extract.)

Clarence, Fernando Po, February 24, 1851.

I HAVE the honour herewith to inclose a copy of a letter addressed to me by Akitoye, the ex-King of Lagos.

Inclosure in No. 34.

King Akitoye to Consul Beecroft.

I, KING AKITOYE, of Lagos, salute you and your great Queen and Government, and I wish you all happiness, peace and prosperity. May God bless your great Queen, and grant her a long and happy reign.

I rejoice very much to see the day which has brought you, the Representative of England, to this town, particularly at this time when I am surrounded by dangers. Indeed I very much need your protection, as my life is every moment at stake.

I humbly beg to bring my case before you, and trust you will condescend to listen patiently to what I have to say.

In order that you may better understand the whole affair, allow me at the commencement to inform you that the King of Benin has the undisputed right to crown or confirm the individual whom the people of Lagos elect to be their King.

After the death of the late King, which happened about nine years ago, I was unanimously chosen by the people of Lagos to be their King, and was lawfully crowned or confirmed by the King of Benin.

As a King who delights in peace, and wishes for nothing so much as the welfare and prosperity of his people, I endeavoured to promote peace among all classes of people. To this end I recalled home many exiles who had been sent away from the kingdom in the preceding reign. I chartered a vessel to go to Whydah, and to bring back my nephew, Kosoko, although it was at a great expense. I admonished him to put away all former hostilities, and begged that we should all live together in peace. After three years' peaceful reign, I thought of inviting the English to Lagos; but knowing that they are much against the Slave Trade, and that no friendly intercourse can exist between us, without giving it up, I, after much consideration, determined to abolish it from my dominions, if the English will agree to carry on lawful trade with me.

Accordingly I wrote two letters, one to the ships of war, and the other to the Governor of Cape Coast, both which letters I sent to Badagry to be forwarded; but, I am sorry to say, were delayed for a long time. This was at the year 1845.

While I was thinking of nothing but how to regulate the affairs of my kingdom in peace and quietness, Kosoko, my nephew, whom I have mentioned above, without any regard to the obligations he was under, breaking through all ties of gratitude and common humanity, made preparations for entering into animosities with me.

He, in the preceding reign, had been found guilty of an attempt of usurpation, in consequence of which he was banished. A few days after I wrote the letters to the English Government, he (Kosoko) collected a large number of his wicked boys together and waged war upon me. This war lasted twenty-one days, during which time more than thousand of lives were lost, and which terminated in my being expelled from Lagos—bribery and treachery leaving me no alternative.

Kosoko having thus set himself upon a blood-stained throne, has maintained his position by his daring wickedness, though the King of Benin never acknowledged nor confirmed him, and though thousands of people are against him.

Being thus turned away, I took refuge among my own friends and relatives at Abbeokuta, who kindly took me up and protected me against Kosoko's inhuman attempt to seek my life. But thinking that I should have better chance to communicate with the English, and that I might be nearer Lagos to watch the movements of Kosoko and the affairs of my kingdom, I took my residence at Badagry.

I need not tell you, Sir, what a calamity it is for a King to be reduced to my distressful circumstances. I find myself obliged to solicit your assistance, and I am reduced to the necessity of begging your aid against an enemy who has seized my throne and kingdom.

My humble prayer to you, Sir, the Representative of the English

Government, who, it is well known, is ever ready and desirous to protect the defenceless, to obtain redress for the grievance of the injured, and to check the triumphs of wickedness, is, that you would take Lagos under your protection, that you would plant the English flag there, and that you would re-establish me on my rightful throne at Lagos, and protect me under my flag: and with your help I promise to enter into a Treaty with England to abolish the Slave Trade at Lagos, and to establish and carry on lawful trade, especially with the English merchants.

Trusting my petition will meet with a favourable reception, I remain, &c.

(Signed) AKITOYE.

No. 35.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 11, 1851.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, the copy of a letter from Commodore Fanshawe, dated 25th March last, and of its inclosures, respecting the proceedings of the King of Dahomey and the depression of the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 35.

Commodore Fanshawe to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Centaur," off Quittah, March 25, 1851.

IN reply to your letter of the 12th ultimo, transmitting to me by the directions of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the copy of a letter from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which stated, with reference to my despatch to you of the 28th October*, 1850, that his Lordship considered it important I should ascertain if the letter I had addressed to the King of Dahomey on the subject of his making war on Abbeokuta, had been received by His Majesty; I have the honour to request you will be pleased to acquaint their Lordships that I have ascertained that the letter was received by the King, and that he very quickly sent down messengers from Abomey to Whydah with the letter, and instructions to his Cabooceer at the latter place to request (through the agent of Mr. Hutton) that the senior officer of Her Majesty's ships would send an officer on shore to explain the contents of the letter, as he "wished no Portuguese to hear of any of his affairs with the Englishmen."

The attention of Captain Adams being occupied at the moment with some disturbances in the Benin and Calabar Rivers, affecting British property, some time elapsed before he was able to comply with this request, but on his return to Whydah he sent Lieutenant Dew, Senior Lieutenant of the "Gladiator," on shore for the purpose; and I inclose a copy of his report to Captain Adams on return, of his interview with the Cabooceer, which with copies also of a letter which I have received from the English missionaries at Abbeokuta, and of an extract from Captain Adams' general report to me on rejoining him, I hope will be satisfactory to their Lordships and Her Majesty's Government; both as showing the respect of the King of Dahomey for Her Majesty and her subjects, and the general depression of the Slave Trade in this quarter.

The King I understand to be now occupied on a slave-hunt; but I am proceeding to Badagry, where I may perhaps receive further intelligence of him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

* Inclosure 1 in No. 21.

Inclosure 2 in No. 35.

Lieutenant Dew to Captain Adams.

Sir,

"Gladiator," off Whydah, February 27, 1851.

IN obedience to your order, I landed at Whydah on the 26th instant, and was received on the beach by Mr. Reynolds, an agent of Mr. Hutton's; he provided hammocks, and we were carried to the town, distant four miles. I immediately proceeded to the residence of the Cabooceer, accompanied by Mr. Reynolds, who acted as interpreter, and was received by him and his headmen. A letter was put into my hands, written by Commodore Fanshawe, and addressed to the King of Dahomey, which the Cabooceer requested me to read: I did so, explaining it paragraph by paragraph to him and his chiefs, no white person being present.

He stated that this letter had been to Abomey, but the King would not permit it to be read by the Portuguese resident there, as it might affect their interests.

The Cabooceer stated, on the part of the King of Dahomey, that it was not his intention to make war on Abbeokuta, and that all British subjects in his dominions should be held sacred.

He stated it was his wish to stop the Slave Trade, but as all his revenue was derived from it he must have compensation. He wished the Queen of England to send some officer on revenue days to see the amount he received from the Slave Traffic, so that she may judge what she ought to give him to stop the Trade. He would stop it in all parts of his dominions, save Whydah, but there he could not stop it at present, as there were too many Portuguese residing there, who paid him the greater part of his revenue.

Mr. Reynolds told me that the Slave Trade was in a most depressed state, no shipment having taken place for many months, and that the slave-merchants finding all efforts to get off slaves futile, had commenced trafficking in palm-oil. M. da Souza was then loading two vessels in the roads.

In consequence of the heavy surf, no canoe-men could be induced to bring me off last night, and it was only by using threats this morning that I obtained a canoe. Since the death of Mr. Hastie, the King of Dahomey has threatened death to any canoe-men who may lose the life of any Englishman, and I attribute the difficulty of obtaining a boat to this, and to no other cause.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. DEW.

Inclosure 3 in No. 35.

The Missionaries at Abbeokuta to Commodore Fanshawe.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, November 7, 1850.

YOUR letters to Mr. Gollmer, of October 21st and 23rd, were kindly forwarded to us, and we desire, in accordance with your wish, to inform you of our real position here.

Permit us first to thank you for your kind sympathy and attention which we esteem very highly, and also for the offer of ammunition. We hope the King of Dahomey will be induced to forego his intended invasion of this country, through your letter to him.

There are a large number of Sierra Leone people residing here, but so intermixed with the native population, that we could not expect to be able to form any sort of combination for self-defence. We are afraid, also, to acquaint them of your offer of ammunition, lest it should come to the knowledge of the native chiefs, who would be induced thereby to lean upon us for assistance, instead of exerting themselves, and would probably

think we had an unlimited supply of the munitions of war, and expect from us what we could not give.

On receiving Mr. Beecroft's letter we immediately acquainted the senior chief with its contents, as far as it concerned him. He convened a public meeting as soon as possible, and we were requested to meet them, and to tell the assembly what we had before communicated to the Chief in private. We received their thanks for our information, and a small present. Several chiefs made speeches to the assembly, to excite each other to exertions for self-defence; there appeared nothing like fear of the renowned King of Dahomey.

A short time before, a warlike expedition was sent out against a town called Ibégé. This town is under Dahomian protection, and is not unjustly suspected of having led them to destroy a large town, called Okeadon, two years since; and for this offence, and to get rid of a neighbour ever likely to be a spy for the Dahomians, the expedition was sent out. They have just accomplished its destruction; and while writing this, the sound of muskets discharged by the returning conquerors, laden with spoil and captives, announces their triumph.

We cannot but expect that this event will be likely to confirm the King of Dahomey in his intended attack upon this place. We hope he will not; if he does, a fearful loss of life will ensue: if he becomes the conqueror of this town, it cannot be, humanly speaking, but with the death of hundreds—probably thousands; and if he should be defeated, but few, it is likely, will ever reach their own country, the inhabitants of every town and country—the inhabitants of every town and village—would rise and aid in cutting off his retreating people. They fear and hate him; his human sacrifices make even a negro to look upon him as a monster of cruelty. If their people are taken in war by surrounding tribes, there is a probability of their being able to redeem them; but from the Dahomians there is no hope of their ever returning.

Should this town be besieged and taken, we shall endeavour to await the issue, and if there be no chance of escape, we shall hoist an English ensign over our houses, and allow them to make us prisoners.

We have been informed frequently during the last six months, that the Slave Trade is greatly distressed at Lagos, and in consequence the price of slaves has gone down 15 dollars; from 60 dollars to 45 dollars per slave, with but a limited supply. It has been our endeavour to obtain correct information, and without a single exception, every one connected with Lagos or the Slave Trade has told us that through the efforts of the English cruizers, the Trade is spoiled. A day or two since, a messenger from one of the Lagos chiefs to the chiefs here, called on us. We, as our custom is, endeavoured to hear from him the state of the Slave Trade at Lagos. He told us, to be brief, that very few slave-ships escape the cruizers; that the white slave-dealers were in great dread of the English; that the Lagos chiefs had lately received a letter from the English, stating that the Queen of England had had patience long enough with them, and that now they must give up the Slave Trade; also that an English merchant had been there buying palm-oil and ivory, and that they were still collecting these articles for him.

We are expecting to derive much advantage from Mr. Beecroft's intended visit, as tending to establish a good understanding between this place and the British Government, which will help forward a development of the resources and trade of the country, and the industrious spirit of the people. Strangers to this country suppose there is an innate desire among the negroes for the Slave Trade, but we are happy in knowing that any trade is sought for that produces profit, in which respect we believe they do not differ from civilized men. In truth, they have been utterly ignorant up to within a very few years, that Europeans would purchase anything but slaves, and therefore they had no choice before them but between trading in slaves and no trade. At the present time, there is a flourishing trade between this and Lagos, a large and important part of which consists of the produce of the farms of Abbeokuta. There is a considerable trade with Badagry: they carry down indigo, native cloth, soda, ivory, occasionally horses and slaves. They bring back guns,

powder, English cloth, &c. Their traders also carry their goods from 100 to 150 miles to the northward of this, carrying guns, powder, cloth, cowries, dollars, &c., and bringing native cloth, beads, ivory, soda, and slaves. Slaves are but one item of their home trade, although it may be a large one, but no description of property comes amiss to them, if they can but sell at a profit.

With these facts before us, we look for the coming of Her Majesty's Consul with the hope that his visit may be productive of good in directing the commercial spirit of the people to the right channel. We do not think there is sufficient power in the Government of this place to warrant their making a Treaty for the immediate suppression of the Slave Trade; if they should have, as some profess, a sincere desire for it, we think it would be impossible for them to keep it with the little real power that this Government possesses. The arrangements connected with trade are lodged in a company, a sort of guild, in possession of considerable power and probably wealth. What may be done with these we don't know; at present their leading man is closely connected with Lagos, and has evinced considerable personal animosity against us on account of the depression in the Slave Trade.

We desire, Sir, most sincerely to thank you for the kind exertions you have made for our safety; we feel that we occupy a position that we must for the welfare of the people maintain, come what may, relying upon the Divine protection, and also, as means in His hands, the fear and respect with which Her Majesty's squadron is regarded we shall await the issue of events. It is our constant prayer and desire before God, that He may be pleased to prosper the efforts of Her Majesty's cruizers under your command for the suppression of the Slave Trade; an event that we believe is not only to be desired, but expected.

With much respect, &c

(Signed)

H. TOWNSEND, *Church Missionary Society.*

ISAAC SMITH, *Church Missionary.*

DAVID HINDERER.

SAML. CROWTHER, *Church Missionary Society.*

EDWD. BICKERSTETH, *Wesleyan Missionary Society.*

Inclosure 4 in No. 35.

Captain Adams to Commodore Fanshawe.

(Extract.)

"Gladiator," March 24, 1851.

EVERY assistance has been rendered to the British missionaries at Badagry, agreeably to your directions, keeping up a repeated communication with that place, and exercising at general quarters in this ship and in the several cruizers in that part of the Bights.

I continue to receive repeated assurances from the most credible persons, of the decline of the Slave Trade on this part of the coast, owing, as it is alleged, to the strict blockade maintained by Her Majesty's cruizers here.

The British missionaries at Abbeokuta and at Badagry acquaint me that the Traffic from Cape St. Paul to Lagos is nearly at an end; that within the last two months 135 slaves were marched down from Abbeokuta to Lagos, for sale to the slave-merchants, but they were unable to find a purchaser. Five of them were afterwards sold as domestic slaves, the rest were marched back into the interior; a circumstance hitherto unheard of by any of the residents. They further allege that many of the slave-dealers are ruined, and that at Lagos some of them are actually selling the furniture out of their houses to procure provisions for their slaves.

The French merchant-barque "Tourville" touched at Fernando Po. She was bound to London with a cargo of palm-oil from Don José Domingo Martinez, consigned to Messrs. Forster and Smith. The super-cargo informed me that he was at Porto Novo three months shipping his

cargo; and from Don Martinez' remarks, and his own observation, he considered the Traffic thereabouts nearly at an end.

Martinez asserted that if the British took or destroyed Lagos, Slavery would be done away with in the Bights. That he was present when Martinez refused to purchase slaves at from 7 to 8 dollars each, stating he had come to the determination of having no more to do with them, owing to the difficulties of the passage across to Brazil. That Martinez realized large sums by the trade in palm-oil.

The deposed King of Lagos with some of his family and retinue were brought from Badagry to Fernando Po in the "Jackal," by Her Majesty's Consul, a reward having been offered for his head by the present usurper.

No. 36.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, June 11, 1851.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, the copy of a letter from Commodore Fanshawe, dated 30th March last, and of its inclosures, respecting an attack made by the King of Dahomey on Abbeokuta on the 3rd of that month.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 36.

Commodore Fanshawe to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Centaur," off the River Benin, March 30, 1851.

IN my despatch of the 25th instant*, from Quittah, I expressed my intention of proceeding to Badagry, with the expectation of obtaining further information of the movements of the King of Dahomey; and I have now to request that you will be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the inclosed copies of letters which I received on my arrival off Badagry on the 26th instant, from the Church missionaries at that place and at Abbeokuta, giving me the account of a furious assault which the King with his army had made on Abbeokuta on the 3rd instant; and, I am happy to add, of the signal repulse and defeat which he experienced.

2. This attack and conduct is quite irreconcilable with the assurance which had so recently been given to Lieutenant Dew, of the "Gladiator," by the Cabooceer at Whydah, of the King's intentions, and with the promised protection for British subjects throughout his dominions, made at a moment when one must suppose he knew his master was actually marching on Abbeokuta.

3. I therefore must conceive him guilty of the basest deceit and falsehood, or otherwise attribute it to the King having found himself obliged, for his own security, to yield to the repeated demands of the army to be led against the Egbas, backed by the Intagees, and promised assistance of Kosoko, the usurping King of Lagos, who appears to have been much incensed at his rival and kinsman, the ex-King Akitoye, having been taken by Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. Beecroft, on his return from Abbeokuta, in January, from Badagry to Fernando Po, under, as he supposed, British protection.

4. Learning that Mr. Beecroft was detained in the Benin, I proceeded, without delay, from Badagry to this anchorage, for the purpose of conferring with him as to the course it might be desirable to adopt; and I have to request you will be pleased to inform their Lordships, that after full consideration with him to-day of all the circumstances with which we

* Inclosure 1 in No. 35.

are at present acquainted, I have decided that, unless actual outrage or injury to a British subject should occur, it will be more prudent not to follow up my intention of stopping the trade at Whydah and coast contiguous, by the declaration of a blockade of the Dahomian territory, but to submit the subject for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

5. I beg at the same time you will assure their Lordships, that this determination has not arisen from any desire to shrink from the responsibility of such a course, as it might regard other Powers, but solely from the apprehension that any premature act might place the lives of the missionaries and their adherents in great danger, whilst it would not be known in time to influence the further warlike measures of the King this season, and would entirely preclude the placing Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Whydah, whom I had brought on in this ship to join Mr. Beecroft. And,

6. I have also learnt from Captain Adams, who has joined me at this anchorage, that on his hearing, off Whydah, of this assault on Abbeokuta, he had sent on shore a letter to the King, representing again the consequence of any injury being sustained by Her Majesty's subjects.

7. I cannot close this despatch without respectfully calling the attention of their Lordships to the fact, which will indeed, perhaps, strike them as forcibly as it has done me, viz., how impossible it is to place any reliance on the information Her Majesty's officers receive from the Agent at Whydah of Messrs. Hutton, I believe the only British mercantile firm in the Kingdom of Dahomey. He appears to have been chosen as the organ of communication between the Cabooceer and Lieutenant Dew, and almost to have been a party to the deceit which was practised; and therefore how desirable it is that the old British Fort at Whydah should be occupied by some one holding authority under Her Majesty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR FANSHAWE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

The Rev. C. A. Gollmer to the Captain of Her Majesty's ship of war off Badagry.

Dear Sir,

Badagry, March 25, 1851.

I BEG to inclose two letters from the Rev. H. Townsend of Abbeokuta to Commodore Fanshawe, and the Consul Mr. Beecroft, at Fernando Po, which I shall feel obliged if you will kindly forward.

Respecting Abbeokuta, I will only add that it is rumoured the King of Dahomey contemplates another attack upon that town shortly.

Yesterday about noon, two Portuguese arrived here from Lagos with a number of slaves and boxes, and left again for Whydah, I am told, in the evening. Possu, the chief, begged them to return to establish a factory here, but their reply was: "Lagos is spoilt; how much more this town."

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. A. GOLLMER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 36.

The Rev. H. Townsend to Commodore Fanshawe.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, March 19, 1851.

I DEEM it a duty, after the very kind attention you have paid to Her Majesty's subjects residing here, by your efforts to provide for our safety by remonstrating with the King of Dahomey on his intended invasion of this country, to inform you that he totally disregarded your remonstrance, and invaded this country with as large an army as he

could gather together, and made a furious attack upon this place on 3rd instant, proposing to destroy it, and to carry the people away as slaves. In this, however, he was, through God's mercy, disappointed; he sustained a most signal defeat, leaving about 1800 of his men and women-soldiers dead on the field of battle. I sent my own people to count the dead bodies, but they were unable to proceed with their work, from the sight and smell; they left off after counting 1209 dead Dahomians, leaving a large piece of the field not counted.

The Egbas (people of Abbeokuta) were informed by spies and friendly neighbours, of the movements of the King, in time to be prepared for him.

On the morning of 3rd, scouts brought intelligence of their near approach. On hearing this a large number of Egbas rushed out to meet the Dahomians, and met them where the River Ogu is crossed, which, being dry, presented no obstacle. The Dahomians charged the Egbas furiously, and carried all before them; the Egbas fled in confusion until within the wall of their town, when they rallied again, and poured upon the advancing Dahomians such a deadly discharge from their muskets, that their further advance was checked. The women-soldiers were in the fore-front of the Dahomians, and were, I believe, the main strength of this charge. Fresh bodies of Dahomians continued to arrive to sustain those first engaged, and they extended their forces, doubtless with a view of finding a weak unguarded place to attack; but the Egbas extended also, and everywhere the Dahomians met a heavy fire. We witnessed the battle from a height within the town, on our own premises. After a time the Egbas became more confident, and made several successful sallies, and this with much bitterness of feeling, when they found the King of Dahomey had brought women to fight them. They also outflanked the Dahomians, and after much hard fighting drove them to the ford, where the fight had first commenced; here they remained in a compact mass, and night closed upon them. The Egbas endeavoured to break and scatter the Dahomians, but they could not; the Dahomians being in part disciplined, but the Egbas not. The King, with his body-guard, moved off several miles, when he found he could not take the town, for safety; probably his army remained where they did to cover his retreat, or otherwise with a view of carrying off their dead the next morning. Through the night they were harassed from all parties, who sought their opportunity and fired upon them whenever they could approach them; this probably proved to them the impossibility of their attempting anything farther, and they decamped before daybreak. That night, however, they savagely murdered about fifty Egbas—men, women, and children—whom they had picked up in their march, persons engaged in farming, and left their headless bodies on the ground.

The Egbas, as soon as they could gather their people together, pursued the Dahomians, and came up with them at a town called Ishaga, fourteen miles from this, in time to save it from destruction. They fought again, and the Dahomians were beaten a second time, it is said with greater slaughter than that of the first day; their courage and discipline saved them from entire destruction.

We hope the King will learn from this to abstain from his barbarous wars, but it is to be feared that he will not be satisfied without seeking to avenge himself; but the great depression in the Slave Trade will doubtless embarrass him, by rendering it less easy to equip an army. A very large number of muskets and short swords have fallen into the hands of the victors, as well as prisoners.

The prisoners are a very bad sample of the negro race; several of them have murdered persons here, and very many seem to desire to provoke the people to kill them. From these circumstances many have been put to death; at one time I feared all would be killed, from the feelings they had excited against themselves. The chiefs are greatly puzzled what to do with them; they don't wish to sell them as slaves, when they may return home; and they fear to keep them, from their desperate conduct; they are now proposing to send them, or at least many of them, as presents to the interior tribes. I proposed an exchange of prisoners, in one caught in the present war for an Egba slave in the hands of the Dahomians; but I fear nothing can be done towards it.

We cannot ascertain the number of Egbas slain, or even to guess; we know many have fallen, and many are wounded, some very severely. One of their chiefs was killed and several wounded, and two had their horses shot under them.

Kosoko, of Lagos, had a hand in this war upon us. Possu, of Badagry, had many of his people in the Dahomian army; one was made prisoner and another known to have been killed. The former, when he heard that the Dahomians were really upon us, fired a salute in honour of it, and ordered that all fugitive Egbas should be caught, fully expecting the Dahomians to conquer. In retaliation, the Egbas have shut up the Lagos road, and as they are in a great measure dependent on Abbeokuta for provisions, it will be severely felt.

That the King of Dahomey should so lightly regard the repeated requests not to molest this place, may be regarded as an insult to the British Government, more especially so as he had not a shadow of right reason for it. I have inquired, but cannot learn that he gave his army any instructions concerning British subjects: the prisoners at different places to whom the question was directly put, said he gave no instructions. The least he could have done would have been to command them to respect the lives of Her Majesty's subjects. We are thankful to Almighty God, who has delivered us from this danger, to whom be all praise.

With much respect, and with our best wishes for the success of the cruizers under your command,

I remain, &c.
(Signed) H. TOWNSEND,
Minister of Church Missionary Society.

Inclosure 4 in No. 36.

The Rev. C. A. Gollmer to Commodore Fanshawe.

Dear Sir,

Badagry, March 26, 1851.

KNOWING how precious your time is, and not wishing to detain you, I commenced to write to you before Lieutenant Boys came, because I felt you would be anxious to know how we have been going on since your last visit, and what is our present position.

I am sorry to say we have had frequent disturbances in our town, and twice we fully expected an outbreak. Thanks be to God! the respective parties at length listened to advice, and peace was restored. We were under considerable anxiety at the time, particularly as we had several private warnings that our personal safety was in danger; however, God has watched over and preserved us from the evil by which we were surrounded. But we are by no means out of danger, especially just now; the slave-traders are enraged against the English, because they say we are the cause of their trade being spoiled. As a proof of this I may add, that the native Christians at Abbeokuta were much persecuted by a secondary chief, who was instigated by the Lagos slave-dealers to annoy the white men there. We know that they want to get rid of us, but know not how. Kosoko, the usurper at Lagos, about whom you will hear from Mr. Becroft, is our greatest enemy at present. Since Akitoye, the ex-King of Lagos, left with the Consul, he has done all in his power to set the people against us; and no doubt, if it had not been for the ships of war, he would have done openly what he now seeks to do treacherously, *i.e.* to drive us away. The cause of this is twofold:

1st. Because the Slave Trade is spoiled.

2ndly. He fears the English will dethrone him.

I am happy to be able to inform you that this is true in a great degree, for since Lagos has been so closely watched, it is with difficulty they can get rid of their slaves; and in consequence the slave-traders are greatly perplexed, having so many slaves to feed, and offered instead of \$50 80, only from \$30 50, and at last refused to buy any more. Very few are at present bought at Lagos. Domingo, at Porto Novo, I was told

offered for a man who was expected to fetch from \$60 70, one roll of tobacco and one keg of powder; worth about \$30. But somehow a ship escapes now and then, which keeps the market up, though greatly depressed.

Two Portuguese passed here last Sunday, from Lagos, on their way to Whydah. It is supposed they ran away. The Chief, Possu, asked them to come and establish a factory here, but they replied, "Lagos is spoiled; how much more your town?"

As regards the second reason of Kosoko, "his fear that the English will dethrone him," I can only say that we and many friends at home shall rejoice over one of the righteous and good acts of yours and our Government, when you do realize his fears, by replacing the rightful King, Akitoye. We shall hail the day as one of great good to Africa, and as by these means one of the great slave-haunts will be destroyed. As you will learn all the particulars connected with Lagos, Akitoye, and Kosoko, from Mr. Beecroft, I need say no more, but that Kosoko is prepared to flee to Badagry, should he be driven out, and also that his friends here are not only ready to receive him, but to take revenge upon us and Akitoye's party here.

The news from Abbeokuta will astonish you. I yesterday forwarded a letter to you, per "Flying-Fish," from the Reverend H. Townsend, from which you will learn all particulars.

Will you believe the King of Dahomey any more, when I tell you, after all that has passed, he on the 3rd of March, with about 20,000 men and women soldiers, really attacked Abbeokuta, without giving any orders, as the prisoners have proved, to regard the English residing there. But you will rejoice to hear that he and his army were defeated, and that he before the walls of Abbeokuta lost in less than six hours' fight about 1800 men, and the day after at the village Ishaga, fourteen miles west (to which place he had retreated, and where he desired to collect his dispersed forces to rest and make another attack), in a desperate battle, a still larger number of his best troops, the Egbas (Abbeokuta) having closely pursued him, and about 1000 prisoners were taken, but not one is to be sold.

Kosoko and Possu here were proved to be connected with the Dahomians in this war, on account of which the Abbeokuta people entirely closed their road to Lagos, and wish the people here to do the same.

It is rumoured that Dahomey is waiting for reinforcements to make another desperate attack upon Abbeokuta shortly. I hear all Abbeokuta is at work to repair and build their walls; they have a good supply of guns, powder, and shot, but I wish they had the aid of one or two small guns.

I am thankful for the good news that our friends at Sierra Leone are all well, and also for the newspapers you kindly sent me.

Thanking you for the very warm interest you take in our behalf, and wishing you health and every good success in your undertaking for the good of Africa,

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. A. GOLLMER.

No. 37.

The Rev. H. Townsend to the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by the Earl of Chichester, June 14.)

My dear Sir,

Abbeokuta, Tuesday, March 4, 1851.

I HASTEN to write a few lines, to forward to Badagry, with a hope that it may meet with an early opportunity for England.

Yesterday morning we received here your communication of November 29, 1850, which proved most acceptable to us. It is with the greatest thankfulness I desire to communicate the joyful tidings of the defeat of the Dahomian King before the walls of Abbeokuta yesterday, and that they have fled, according to our latest accounts, some sixteen miles, and that the Abbeokuta people are pursuing them. The Lord has been our defender. I scarcely know how to write an account of this event, for I feel

greatly agitated by the events of the past two days—a time to be ever remembered with thankfulness to Him to whom it is most justly due.

The motions of the Dahomians have been watched most thoroughly by the people of the smaller towns to the westward of this, and information sent to the chiefs here. On Saturday morning, such intelligence was conveyed as convinced the chiefs of the necessity of immediately arranging their affairs for self-defence. On Sunday, the war-chiefs formed their camps in three companies on the walls of the town. It became evident to me on Sunday evening, from the preparations which I saw going on when returning from Mr. Smith's church, where I had been to assist him, and from their talk which I heard when passing, that a desperate encounter was before their minds, and that they were preparing for it with a spirit befitting the occasion.

Yesterday, Monday, I went out after breakfast, to view the camps from one of the heights. I did not direct my glass to search for the Dahomians, not knowing the road they might take, nor think of their being at hand. On returning home I heard that they had been seen, and that the advanced party of Egbas had exchanged shots with them. Mr. and Mrs. Smith came up to see us for a little change, having been so long ill; and Mr. Dennis, who came on a visit from Badagry about a week since, also unwell, was also with us.

About 12 o'clock we heard a rapid discharge of fire-arms. I was in the act of showing my interpreter how to form a bullet-mould out of clay, in his house, when we heard it. With great impetuosity of manner he called for his son to bring him his gun, powder, and shot, that he might hasten to the fight, and with extreme difficulty I restrained him, he frequently exclaiming, "I cannot bear it: I must hasten to the battle." He was restrained, however. My cook, without saying anything, or our knowing of it, took his gun and ran off, and fought until the Dahomians were retreating, and shot in the fight one of the female warriors. Another confidential servant ran off in the same manner: having no arms, he purposed stoning the enemy, if they gave him an opportunity. Goodwill, who is Mr. Smith's interpreter, and was left by Mr. S. to look after the premises, ran also to the battle: all seemed to be beside themselves.

In order to view the encounter, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Townsend, Mr. Dennis, and myself, got on a high rock on our ground, whence, with a telescope, we were enabled to view it. The Dahomians advanced in compact lines or masses, bearing all before them. The Egbas endeavoured to check them at the ford of the river, but were utterly unable. They therefore retreated until withinside their walls. The walls were black with people: they poured forth their fire upon the advancing enemy, who were checked, and could not march straight on as they expected, but extended their lines in front of the wall. A most furious discharge of muskets took place from both sides. The Dahomians extended their lines, expecting to find a weak place to attack, and the Egbas extended parallel with them. At this stage of the battle I observed a large mass marching in good order to the attack, and I feared for the result; but they also extended, strengthening their companions. Mr. Bowen, an American missionary, who lodges in our compound, now joined us, he having gone out long before the Dahomians appeared, to see what preparations the Egbas had made, and was on the wall at the time of the first attack. He encouraged us by his account of the firmness of the Egbas: having once been a soldier himself, he had had practical knowledge of warfare in actual service. After a time, we observed that the Dahomians showed a disposition to retire, and also that the Egbas had outflanked them, and were becoming the assailants, setting the grass on fire to annoy their enemies, and firing on them whenever they could. The Dahomians now, evidently, were retiring, but turning about constantly and discharging their muskets: they retired after awhile out of our sight, the firing becoming less and less. While this was going on, the Abbeokuta women were leaving the town at the back, pouring out before us with a few men with them, terrified and cast down: our compound was filled with terrified people. The Egbas now began to show, in truly savage style, some proofs

of their success: the first was a foot of a man who had been slain, then the hand and foot of a woman, and after a while a living captive, one of the renowned women-soldiers. I followed her to the house of her captor, near my own: she was attired in a sort of vest. She spoke to me as freely as our ignorance of each other's language would admit of. The Dahomians retired to the ford.

Mr. Bowen returned to the wall as a spectator, and told me that he saw a daring feat performed by a few of the Egbas. They went and provoked the Dahomians to attack them, which they did: the Egbas fled, but suddenly faced about, and discharged their guns with great effect. He thought he saw four of the Dahomians fall, but the smoke prevented distinct vision.

The Dahomians left many of their party on the battle-field dead, the greater part of whom were women, and many as prisoners, but the number we have not ascertained with any certainty. The King of Dahomey, as soon as darkness permitted, fled with 200 people, leaving the bulk of his army to cover his retreat. They were too strong to be attacked by the Egbas after a long fight, and the Egbas had too little discipline to execute an attack in the night; but they were harassed all the night through by skirmishes, and early in the morning they decamped in good order, followed by the Egbas. They stamped their character with infamy, by an act of great barbarity before retreating. They had taken a number of farmers in their march, prisoners, but before leaving they decapitated forty-two or upwards, and carried off their heads. Their hands being tied, as captives are, and many being identified by their friends, proved that they were not slain in battle: two of them were women, and one a boy. I understand that the heads were cast away in the retreat afterwards.

This King is the monster who calls himself the friend of the white people at Whydah, and of the Slave Trade, and by such wars slaves are procured! What would the members of the Peace Society have done behind the walls of Abbeokuta, with these disciplined barbarians advancing in masses to the attack? Through mercy they have been repelled, but many of the Egbas have fallen, and many are severely wounded.

One of my candidates came to us in the afternoon, begging for some one to extract a shot from his shoulder: it had entered at the side of the upper part of the arm, and passed about six inches through the flesh, outside of the shoulder-blade. Mr. Dennis ventured to try, although he had never done anything of the sort before, and after considerable trouble cut it out. The poor man's first act, on hearing that it was out, was to bring himself into an attitude of prayer; and silently he offered up thanks to God for His mercy. He is doing well.

It is supposed that 200 or 300 of the Dahomians are lying dead on the battle-field, and many have been captured. They are retreating in a compact body, but in great distress. If they had broken in their retreat, scarcely a man or woman could have escaped the Egbas to-day. They are still being pursued, but a large number of the Egbas have returned, worn out by their two days' exertions. I feel also worn out by excitement, and by witnessing and hearing of so much slaughter and cruelty. I am not aware that the Egbas have acted cruelly towards their prisoners.

Wednesday, March 5.

Several persons have returned from the pursuit this morning, bringing the intelligence of a desperate encounter at a town called Ishaga, about fourteen or sixteen miles from this. The Dahomians endeavoured to enter this town, for rest or pillage, but were resisted. The Egbas came up with a strong force at the time, and the Dahomians were again driven, and, I understand, divided. It is said that a part of the personal luggage and provisions of the King fell into their hands, and that he was obliged to fly on foot. The number slain in this battle was more, they say, than those before Abbeokuta. The Egbas could not make captives in this battle: even when disarmed, they (the Dahomians) fought and refused to surrender, and they were killed.

I am sorry to report that one of Mr. Crowther's communicants is

missing, but he may yet be found. In order to find him, if he were among the slain, Mr. C. passed over the greater part of the battle-field, and his report of the number slain is such as to give a greater number. He says they are lying in fours and fives, in various directions, over a large extent of ground. The length of wall attacked was upwards of a mile.

I sent two persons out this morning to count the slain Dahomians: one counted them in tens, and the other wrote the number down—and, to our surprise, it amounts to 1209. It confirms the report brought to us by a deserter, an Egba man who had long been a Dahomian slave, that the Dahomians, when gathered together at night, were struck dumb at the loss they had sustained, especially of their female soldiers, and only one thing was uttered by all—viz., a fear that they would never be able to return home.

This is a slave war, and we might justly ask, For what were all these slain? To supply the slave-market with slaves! would be a just reply. The people everywhere here seem to ascribe their deliverance to God and the white men. I hope the Dahomian King will learn a lesson from this, and cease from these barbarous wars, for which not the shadow of a cause was given by the Egbas, nor, I suppose, by most of the other towns that he has warred against. It is to be hoped that the Egbas will not become too boastful of their victory, and be led into excesses. I fear it, but it is a satisfaction to know that our gracious Saviour and God is over us, to protect from moral as well physical evils, and will not suffer His cause to be uprooted.

I hope you will excuse this hasty letter, but I could not let an opportunity slip, or the probability of one, knowing that you would be anxious on our account, more especially as false rumours may reach you by other channels than those available to us. With much thankfulness to God, and desire for your prayers and sympathy for this unhappy country,

I remain, &c.

(Signed) H. TOWNSEND.

P.S.—I can form no estimate of the number of prisoners, or of the Dahomian army. I asked a captive how many retired with the King, when they felt themselves defeated, to be out of danger. He said 200. I asked again, How many were there in the army? He said that even as it was impossible for me to count the people of Abbeokuta, so was it for me to count their army.

The Dahomian captives are desperate: there are three several instances of their rising against their captors and slaying them in their own houses—one when he was in the act of giving his captive food. The people treat their prisoners kindly, but I fear all these will be killed, unless we can prevent it by any means. I was with Sagbua this morning, and the subject was discussed. I protested against it. A meeting was proposed, and I told him that they ought not to have a meeting without calling me to it. The prisoners are, however, private property, and this may hinder their being killed. I feel assured that the Egbas would exchange a captive for an Egba slave now in the Dahomian Country.

March 6, 1851.

No. 38.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

(Extract.)

Clarence, Fernando Po, April 19, 1851.

ON Sunday the 30th March I went on board of the "Centaur" and was kindly received by the Commodore, and was glad to see Mr. Fraser. We had a conference relative to blockading Whydah, after the King of Dahomey's slight of Her Majesty's Government's advice and counsel, as well as of the letter sent to him by Commodore Fanshawe. As a proof of the fallacy of what the Viceroy of Whydah stated to Lieutenant Steele, Royal Marine Artillery, and Lieutenant Dew, of Her Majesty's

steamer "Gladiator," who were sent on shore for an answer to a certain letter sent relative to the King of Dahomey's proceedings against the Abbeokutians, I have to observe that it was at the latter end of February that he positively declared to the said officers, that Guezo had not the most distant intention of attacking the Egbas; whereas at the same time he was *en route*; for it was on the 2nd and 3rd of March he was defeated with great slaughter, and 2000 prisoners captured. Coercive measures are the only means to tame or conquer his marauding propensities. It is reported that he is wounded in the knee. I stated that I should not advise a blockade immediately. Watch the Dahomians' movements, and at the same time communicate with Her Majesty's Government; for it must be done soon, and other matters with Lagos will complete that part of the coast, and annihilate the abominable Traffic. The Commodore said that a Vice-Consul had been appointed and was on the spot, and had been ordered to communicate with the King of Dahomey; it was therefore decided that he should decline the blockade at present.

No. 39.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received August 23.)

My Lord,

Clarence, Fernando Po, June 2, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to communicate for the information of your Lordship, that I arrived here on the 12th of April, accompanied by Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser, in Her Majesty's steamer "Gladiator."

I have deemed it fit, in accordance of your directions, to retain Vice-Consul Fraser here for a short period, considering it most advisable, for the welfare of himself and the good of Her Majesty's Government, under the present existing circumstances of the defeat of Guezo, King of the Dahomians, by the Egbas, under the walls of Abbeokuta. He is seeking anxiously for revenge, and has an awful antipathy to the English Church missionaries, and myself, no doubt, for the advice and aid rendered to the Abbeokutians, for he was made perfectly acquainted with my visit. No doubt, hosts of his Amazons fell under their influence. It was reported at Badagry that he had halted at a town two days' march from the latter place, waiting for reinforcements. They are much alarmed at Badagry that he may in his disappointment make an attack upon it rather than venture the second on the Egbas.

I presume by this time he will have returned to Camioh, ten miles from Abomey, with not the same success as he had last year at Attahpam. I am in daily expectation of the arrival of one of Her Majesty's vessels, when I trust to learn that the wars have ceased for this season, and that his body and mind will require repose; it will then be a suitable period for Vice-Consul Fraser to proceed to his duties at Whydah. I am quite certain that the slave-dealers there will be very much discomfited and clamorous against any public officer being stationed there, they knowing too well the feelings Her Majesty's Government have towards Abbeokuta.

I trust, my Lord, the reasons I have given for my wishing Vice-Consul Fraser's remaining here for a short time will meet with your Lordship's approbation.

I inclose for your Lordship's information a copy of letters dated respectively the 18th and 20th of March last, which have been addressed to me by the Rev. Mr. Townsend and the Rev. Mr. Gollmer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 39.

The Rev. H. Townsend to Consul Beecroft.

My dear Sir,

Abbeokuta, March 20, 1851.

I AM quite sure you will be delighted to hear that Guezo, the renowned King of Dahomey, came, saw, and was conquered without any sort of doubt. He received what he richly deserved—a complete defeat; a large number of his Amazons and others lie dead in the field between the wall, where you crossed the river, as witnesses to the fact. He came upon us on the 3rd instant, and charged the Egbas vigorously at the ford, and drove them back to the wall; but here they met such a deadly discharge, that they were glad not to put their hands to the wall. The Dahomians extended themselves, evidently seeking a weak point of attack, but the Egba fire met them everywhere. After a while, and when the Egbas had ocular proofs of the fact that the Dahomians were vulnerable like themselves, they became the assailants in time, and drove the Dahomians to the ford. Night came on and the Dahomians encamped, but they had a very uncomfortable night of it, the Egbas harassed them so, and they decamped very early, and the Egbas pursued them. Guezo, however, when he found that his Amazons were unable to enter the town, withdrew to a distance with his body guard, fearing his person would be endangered so near the Egbas.

At a town called Ishaga, the Dahomians stopped (about 14 miles from this) and thought to make a little amends for their loss; but just at the right time the Egbas came up, headed by Shokeno and Shumoi, and they had another battle, and Guezo's army was again beaten with great slaughter.

It is said that more were killed than before the wall here the day before.

I sent people to count the dead Dahomians before the wall; they counted 1209, and then a large piece of the battle-field remained to be counted. I could not send them back, the smell arising from so many bodies overpowered. We suppose that not less than 1800 were slain on the first day's fight of Dahomians alone; how many Egbas I don't know; they moved their dead for the most part immediately that they fell. Guezo's army killed about 50 persons that they caught on the road hither—men, women, and children,—the night after the battle, and left their tender trunks with their hands tied together on the ground where they encamped; they thought to carry the heads away as tokens of victory, but they had to cast them away afterwards to help themselves to escape. Bowen was on the wall when the first attack was made. Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Townsend, and myself, with a Mr. Hinderer, saw the battle from a rock close to our house, and glad we were when we saw the Dahomians turned back.

The Egbas have many prisoners, and savages they are. They have committed several murders in the town, and I had great fears at one time that the Egbas would massacre the entire lot for it, but I went to them and begged them to tie them well, and not to kill them.

Some of the worst have been put to death.

Some of Possu of Badagry's people were in the Dahomian army; the Egbas caught one; and I hear they sent him to his master with a very polite message, to the effect that they were sorry to find him in such company, and they could not henceforth mistake the character of Possu's pretended friendship. Kosoko is in it too, and the Egbas have in consequence stopped all traffic between this and Lagos. Kosoko was greatly mistaken; he thought his allies the Dahomians must, as a matter of course, be victorious, and no sooner did he hear that they were here, than he fired salutes in honour of their expected victory, and ordered that all fugitive Egbas should be caught. Akitoye will rejoice at this news. A letter from him was read to the chiefs here a few days ago, and they were glad to hear of his welfare.

I think the friendship of Guezo for the English is not worth much; he did not heed you, nor the Commodore's letter, nor Lord Palmerston's, not even to give his army a caution to respect the lives of British subjects.

We have been told by two of the captives, that no mention was made about us whatever other than this. We have not heard from any quarter.

The bullets were very useful, and were very thankfully received by the chiefs. The white people received the public thanks of the town for their assistance, and you have been often mentioned with thanks for having given them correct information and good advice.

We cannot but regard this victory as a great mercy from our God; had Guczo been victorious, the least we should have had would have been to be driven from our homes, and all our efforts for the good of the people and country spoilt; but the Lord in his goodness did not permit it.

We cannot ascertain how many there were in the Dahomian army; some say 10,000 and 20,000; at any rate, there were as many as he could scrape together. The muskets taken by the Egbas are very many, and swords also. All the muskets I have seen are marked Tower, G.R.

I have written to the Commodore.

With our kind regard, &c.

(Signed) H. TOWNSEND.

Inclosure 2 in No. 39.

The Rev. C. A. Gollmer to Consul Beecroft.

My dear Sir,

Badagry, March 18, 1851.

MR. TOWNSEND, who hopes soon to be able to write to you, requested me to inform you of the defeat of the Dahomians before the walls of Abbeokuta.

Since your communication respecting the intention of the King of Dahomey to invade and destroy Abbeokuta, the Dahomians were again and again said to come, and the Abbeokuta people were on the alert, keeping watch in all directions, till at last, on Saturday the 1st of March, information was received from some of the neighbouring villages, that the Dahomians were truly approaching.

On Sunday, the 2nd, a party of about eighty men fell upon their outposts about ten miles from Abbeokuta, in the neighbourhood of Awiyadee; these fired their muskets at them, but the Dahomians made no reply. On Monday morning the Dahomians approached, and about 1000 Abbeokuta men went out to meet them. The battle began as soon as they met; but the Dahomians being very numerous (probably 20,000—Mr. Smith says they came in as thick as bees), drove the Abbeokuta people before them. This attack and retreat on the part of the Abbeokuta people was designed to draw the Dahomians close to their main force, and to bring all their strength to bear upon them. The chiefs with their men (the main body) took their respective posts behind the walls on Sunday, and were all ready to receive the Dahomians, as they stretched themselves for about a mile along the wall outside, and a dreadful fire was opened on both sides, and kept up for some time.

But the Abbeokuta people, burning within themselves in defence of their town, considered the firing of muskets too slow a process to kill their enemies, and in a mass rushed outside their walls, through several gates at the same time, and with their swords cut their enemies down right and left. Mr. Bowen, formerly a military man, says, never did he see such fighting: the Dahomians fought most bravely, and the Abbeokutians stood firm like a rock. The battle was hot, and the slaughter great; and night only prevented the Abbeokutians from entirely destroying the Dahomian army, and giving the survivors a chance to escape. The Abbeokutians prepared to renew the battle in the morning, but finding they had fled, they pursued them as far as Ishaga, a large village about fourteen miles westward from Abbeokuta, where they met them in the act of

attacking the town, no doubt to rest a little, and to carry off the inhabitants. The Ishaga people, however, when seeing the Abbeokutians approach, resisted the attack, and a fierce battle ensued. The Dahomians fought most desperately to maintain their post, but they were driven with a still greater loss than at Abbeokuta. The Ishaga people, being expert bowmen, picked them up in great numbers; the King himself had to flee, leaving hammock, canteen, and lots of things behind him. The fleeing enemy was pursued by the Abbeokuta and Ishaga people, and many others, driven beyond the water, more than two days' journey from Abbeokuta.

It is impossible to say how many Dahomians fell—probably more than 3000, and nearly 2000 were made prisoners. Mr. Townsend sent two men to count the Dahomian dead bodies close to the wall at Abbeokuta, and the men counted 1209; they fell sick, and could count no more. The prisoners are desperate; three have killed their captors. No doubt all the prisoners will be killed. The Abbeokutians sustained, of course, a great loss; many died, but comparatively considerably less than the Dahomians.

Now what do you say to this? and what will the Commodore and Lord Palmerston say to this sad affair? The King of Dahomey cares apparently for neither; he ought to be made to feel, if he will not believe and obey. I hope he will be called to account. And again, will you believe that Kosoko, the usurper at Lagos, is at the bottom of this Dahomian war? The prisoners have proved, beyond a doubt, that Kosoko urged Dahomey, and assisted with men and means to destroy Abbeokuta, to drive the white English there and here, in order that Dahomey at Whydah and Kosoko at Lagos, may be able to sell their slaves. At present, and so long as these white English live in the country, they will not be able to do so. This determined the Abbeokuta people to pass a law not to sell one Dahomian either to Lagos or Badagry, or anywhere else, and to shut the Lagos road so long as Kosoko remains there. Aki-boyau, the head trader and head persecutor, quite turns against Kosoko now. He sent me a message to say, with a thousand thanks, how grateful the Abbeokutian people feel to you especially, you cannot imagine. I am sure they would worship you as their god—or more than many of their gods—if you were to be among them; however, if you do come in the autumn, you will see for yourself.

Respecting Badagry I could say much, but I must be brief. Akitoye's going away created a great sensation in our town and neighbourhood; the chiefs came the following morning to get an explanation, which opportunity I embraced to give them a reprimand for their inattention paid to you, by their not coming to the meeting as requested, and said that if they had come, you would have told them many things, also something about Akitoye, &c. As I observed there was some apprehension that Akitoye would bring war upon them, I satisfied them on that point.

Many were the reports what you did when passing Lagos; but I cannot enter into these; suffice it to say that Lagos was greatly confused; some people ran away. Many rejoiced, also some of the chiefs there, to hear their master was coming home, *i. e.*, Akitoye. But Kosoko with his party prepared to escape, putting his property in canoes at night, and sending it back to the house in the morning.

Respecting the Iso matter, I beg to say that your messenger was detained by the King of Porto Novo, and did not arrive before late at night. Your message and identifier, *i. e.*, your ring, I intrusted to Lieutenant Graham, of Her Majesty's ship "Prometheus," whom Mr. Batten called on shore for our protection. Lieutenant Graham has promised to forward it you, and write a line to say how he found us.

The King of Porto Novo sent a haughty message, being offended at the charge to entertain a desire to make war upon this town. He declared that his sending so many canoes was to protect the goods Kosoko may send him, &c. After mature consideration, we thought the best would be to let them quietly pass, and recommended accordingly Akitoye and Mayen people to be quiet.

But nearly three whole days I spent with this serious palaver. Akitoye's and Mayen's men insisted upon fighting the Isos; and the Popos here declared that they will fight them—Akitoye and Mayen—if they do fire a single gun at the Isos.

The matter grew worse: the women and children and property were removed to other towns, and the villagers called in to assist the battle. Everything was ready to kill and destroy; but God assisted us, and at the last hour, Mayen, to whom I sent a message that if he does insist upon fighting, cannot consider himself my friend any longer, gave in; peace was proclaimed, and not an hour after, the Isos came in about 100 canoes, containing about 400 well-armed men; they remained for a short time, went on to Lagos quickly, remained there twenty days, during which time they suffered from small-pox and drunkenness, and returned home quickly.

I have endeavoured to reconcile these two parties, but have not succeeded as yet; great animosity prevails in their breasts. The chiefs here have sent their messengers to Kosoko, and many go there regularly. Kosoko's messenger was here yesterday, but I could not show them much regard, knowing what great enemy he is to us.

Akitoye's letter to Mayen and his people created great joy. I beg to inclose one of Mayen's to Akitoye, which have the goodness to hand him over with my respects. I ought to say that Kosoko is making preparation to be taken in here, should he be forced from Lagos. I need not say how dangerous this would be for us. Possu has also expressed himself to fight in Kosoko's behalf, should he be driven out from Lagos, *i. e.*, to fight Akitoye's people here; no doubt we should be protected here from the violence of the slave-traders and their parties, if Akitoye is placed at Lagos.

Mayen and Akitoye's people also request that they will be taken under your protection previous to operation; however, you and Her Majesty's officers will know how to act.

Domingo is very sanguine, and rejoices in the proposal to see Akitoye back at Lagos. He said to poor Mr. Van Cooten the last week, that the English ought to have put Akitoye there one time, and two boats would do it in an hour without much trouble; that there are only a parcel of outlaws, and international law could not be brought in consideration at all.

With much respect, &c.

(Signed) C. A. GOLLMER.

No. 40.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, September 10, 1851.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, the copy of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated 3rd July, and its inclosures, respecting the instructions to Commander Wilmot, of Her Majesty's ship "Harlequin," to accompany Mr. Beecroft to the town of Abomey, &c.; and I am to request that the said inclosures may be returned as soon as done with, when copies of such as are required for his Lordship's information will be forwarded.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir, "Penelope," Ascension, July 3, 1851.

I REQUEST you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the accompanying extract of a letter of proceedings from Commander J. N. Strange, of Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Archer," with its inclosure, being a communication from Guezo, the King of Dahomey.

2. Their Lordships will observe from the report of Commander Strange, which is confirmed by all the information I have received on the subject, that the war between the Dahomians and the Yoruba tribes has been most disastrous to the former. I have therefore deemed it right to entertain the King's request for an officer to be sent to him, because I think it is not improbable that he may now agree to an anti-Slave Trade Treaty with Great Britain; and I have accordingly directed Commander A. P. E. Wilmot, of the "Harlequin," to accompany Mr. Becroft, Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, to the town of Abomey, and enter into a negotiation on the terms laid down in Viscount Palmerston's despatch to Mr. Becroft dated February 25, 1850.

3. I also inclose copies of my letters to King Guezo, Captain Jones, Commander Wilmot, and Mr. Becroft, and the several documents referred to in those letters.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

Commander Strange to Commodore Fanshawe.

(Extract.)

"Archer," Ascension, June 25, 1851.

WITH regard to the Dahomey war, I am informed by Mr. Gollmer, that there appears to be no immediate prospect of a renewal of hostilities, and that the estimated loss of the King of Dahomey is 16,000 killed and taken prisoners. Domingo Martinez has been employed lately in purchasing the prisoners from both parties, professedly for the purpose of effecting exchanges and bringing about peace.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of a document (the original of which was received by Commander Patey, and is now in Captain Jones' hands) in which the King of Dahomey expresses a wish that Her Majesty would send some person to hold a palayer with him. The Vice-Consul had not arrived at Whydah, and I had no opportunity of sending the document to Mr. Becroft.

Inclosure 3 in No. 40.

The King of Dahomey to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

To Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria, Queen of England, Defender of the Faith, &c.

THE King of Dahomey sends his compliments to Her Majesty, greeting, and wishes she would send him, as he expresses it, a soldier with a good head to hear some palayer from his mouth at the town of Abomey, so that he may report the same to Her Majesty.

For GUEZO,
King of the Country of Dahomey,
(Signed) GEORGE PRIOR.

Given through Madaki, as interpreter.

(Signed) EDWARD DENNIS, Witness.

Inclosure 4 in No. 40.

Commodore Bruce to the King of Dahomey.

"Penelope," June 28, 1851.

To His Majesty Guezo, King of the Country of Dahomey, &c.

AS the Commander-in-chief of the Fleet of Her Majesty the Queen of England in these seas, I have received your Majesty's note, wherein you request that a soldier with a good head may be sent to hear some palaver from your mouth at the town of Abomey; and in compliance with your desire, I have made arrangements for John Beecroft, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul, and Commander A. P. E. Wilmot, of the ship of war "Harlequin," to visit you and learn your wishes.

Your Majesty will remember, that some time since, the former gentleman, accompanied by Lieutenant Forbes, had several interviews with you at Abomey; and, amongst other things, pointed out that the Slave Trade would be done away with before long. Notwithstanding this, your Majesty declined to assist the Queen of England in the immediate suppression of that cruel Traffic, by signing a Treaty to this effect: late events will have proved to you the truth of their assertion. You must know that the Traffic in question is all but annihilated, in consequence of the vigorous measures adopted by the English and other civilized Governments, and which measures will never be relaxed until the object for which they were commenced has been effected. I trust that a few months' reflection has convinced your Majesty that your true and permanent interests are identical with the establishment of legal commerce; and that the liberal allowance which the Queen of England would make to you for a series of years, combined with that commerce, is better worth your consideration than the uncertain and decreasing revenue you may derive from foreign slave-dealers.

I hope to hear of peace having been concluded between your Majesty and the people of Abbeokuta. And I must take this opportunity of reminding you of the tenor of the note addressed to you by Commodore Fanshawe (who has returned to England), that the Queen my Sovereign would be very much displeased with, and would certainly punish, any one who molested the persons or violated the property of any of her subjects located in your Majesty's dominions or elsewhere.

I recommend to your Majesty's especial care the distinguished gentlemen who are the bearers of this despatch: one of them you know already, as a person of high rank and consideration in the civil service of the Queen of England; the other is a distinguished officer in command of a ship of war. I am confident you will communicate freely with them, and extend to them that friendship and hospitality for which your Majesty is so much esteemed.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) HENRY W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 40.

Commodore Bruce to Captain Jones.

Sir,

"Penelope," Ascension, June 28, 1851.

I DESIRE you will forward the inclosed despatch (which is left unsealed for your information) to Commander A. P. E. Wilmot, of Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin."

You will, if possible, make arrangements for Commander Wilmot meeting Mr. Beecroft at Lagos, to which place the latter gentleman is ordered to proceed, as mentioned in my letter to you dated the 31st of May last.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 40.

Commodore Bruce to Commander Wilmot.

Sir,

"Penelope," Ascension, June 28, 1851.

YOU are probably aware that it has long been the desire of Her Majesty's Government to enter into a Treaty with the King of Dahomey for the suppression of the foreign Slave Trade, which is carried on to a great extent in his dominions; and that, with this view, Mr. Consul Beecroft, and Lieutenant Forbes of the "Bonetta," were dispatched to the town of Abomey in May 1850. They, however, failed in the object of their mission, the King urging, that from the Slave Trade alone could he expect to receive a certain and sufficient revenue for the requirements of his kingdom. Since that period the condition of Dahomey has materially changed: a disastrous war with the neighbouring tribes in the Yoruba Country, and the virtual cessation of the Traffic, on which the King depended for support, must have impoverished the chiefs and humbled their spirits. It would therefore appear to be a desirable moment for us to renew our efforts to induce the King to engage never again to permit slaves to be exported from his territory to countries beyond the sea.

2. It happened, very opportunely, that I have received a paper from the King of Dahomey, in which he expressed a wish that Her Majesty would send to him "a soldier with a good head to hear some palaver." It may be that the King's object is merely to have some influential mediator between him and the people of Yoruba; but, at all events, advantage may be taken of his request to further the views of Her Majesty's Government, which, as well as the extinction of the Slave Trade, desires the termination of a war that involves the personal security of the British residents, missionaries, and others located at Abbeokuta and in its vicinity.

3. Having entire confidence in your zeal and judgment, and hearing that you are desirous of undertaking the expedition, I have selected you to perform the important service of proceeding, in company with Mr. Beecroft, to the town of Abomey, where you will find the King of Dahomey, and deliver to him the inclosed letter.

4. On being introduced to the King, you will acquaint him that I, as the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Fleet in these seas, have received his note, requesting that an officer may be sent to him "to hear some palaver;" that I have acceded to his request, because, notwithstanding his former refusal to enter into a treaty, and thereby declining, as it were, the friendship of the Queen of England, I believe that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to forgive what has passed on hearing that he (the King) now entertains the propositions of her Government with respect to the Slave Trade.

5. The despatch from the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston to John Beecroft, Esquire (a copy of which is annexed, for your information and guidance), dated the 25th February, 1850, will furnish you with arguments proper to be used in your interviews with the King; I can add nothing to them beyond what is suggested from the different aspect of affairs in Dahomey since that despatch was written. I desire you to make known to the King, that the British Government is fully determined to stop the Traffic in Slaves, and that good policy alone should induce him to assist in this object, as there is no doubt, in a very short time, it will be accomplished without his assistance. You will acquaint him that the ships of England are blockading the coasts of the countries to which his slaves are exported; that the rulers of those countries are resolved to prevent the people from continuing to bring over slaves; that the dealers are expelled and ruined; that all civilized Governments are now ranged on our side; and that in a few months the Slave Trade must cease for ever. In support of this it would be well to draw his attention to the diminution in the Traffic of late; and, in conclusion, put it to him, whether a liberal and certain stipend from Great Britain, for three years, in addition to the revenue which he might obtain from the productions of

his rich country and the establishment of legal commerce, would not be more advantageous to him, than obstinately clinging to a course which will ultimately leave him in poverty, and without a friend.

6. With regard to the war between Dahomey and the Yoruba tribes, you will, if requested to do so by the King, use your influence to bring about a peace, more particularly if the Dahomians should agree to an anti-Slave Trade Treaty, or are likely to get the better of the struggle in the end; but if, on the contrary, they should refuse to negotiate on the terms proposed, and you think it probable that the Yoruba tribes will conquer, you will acquaint the King that you are not authorized to interfere against the interests of those people, because they are assisting us in the suppression of the Slave Trade. In either case you will make the King distinctly understand, that if any British subjects suffer in life or property through his measures, the Queen of England will hold him responsible.

7. I need scarcely remind you, that in order to insure the success of your mission, it is necessary that the most cordial understanding should exist between you and your colleague, Mr. Beecroft. You will find him to be a very intelligent gentleman, possessing great local knowledge, and having considerable influence with the native chiefs and people. I request you will attend to such suggestions as he, in his position as Her Majesty's Consul and Diplomatic Agent, may make to you. You will communicate these instructions to him, and I shall request him to make you acquainted with the tenor of the despatches and orders he may have received from the Queen's Government with respect to Dahomey.

8. As soon as you are joined by Mr. Beecroft, and he is ready to accompany you, you will proceed in execution of this service, and make a full report to me of every particular connected with it as early as possible after your return to the "Harlequin."

9. Many weeks may have transpired since Guezo's note was written, and much time may elapse before Mr. Beecroft is able to reach Whydah; in the interim, the political condition of Dahomey will perhaps have changed; I have therefore left it to his judgment whether or not to accede to the King's request, and you are to be governed by his decision in this respect.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 40.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft, February 25, 1850.

[See No. 3.]

Inclosure 8 in No. 40.

Viscount Palmerston to the King of Dahomey, May 29, 1849.

[See Inclosure 1 in No. 3.]

Inclosure 9 in No. 40.

Viscount Palmerston to the King of Dahomey, May 29, 1849.

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 3.]

Inclosure 10 in No. 40.

The King of Dahomey to Viscount Palmerston.

Abomey, September 7, 1849.

I, GUEZO, King of Dahomey, beg to return my sincere thanks to the Queen of England and Lord Palmerston, for presents sent to me by them, through Mr. Duncan. I beg also to thank Lord Palmerston for his good advice respecting the trade of this country, and I do assure Lord Palmerston that the earliest opportunity will be taken of consulting my

Cabooccers on the subject, and at the next annual Custom held here, Mr. Duncan shall be made acquainted with our decision. I have always a strong desire to cultivate a friendship with the people of England, and to establish and increase a trade with that country. Englishmen were my father's best friends, and he always told me respect Englishmen, and look upon them in my heart as sincere in their promises and friendship. An Englishman's heart is big, like a large calabash (gourd) that overflows with palm-wine for those who are thirsty. I know that the Portuguese and Spaniards care nothing for me, their friendship and presents are all to serve their own purpose of obtaining slaves, upon which they themselves deriye the principal profit. I beg to thank Lord Palmerston for appointing my friend Mr. Duncan, Vice-Consul for my country; and I promise to protect and assist him in performing the duties for which you have placed him here, and shall afford him the same protection when passing through my country, as I did on his last journey in my dominions. I have broken the Dassa Country, whose people went to war against Mr. Duncan when passing their country. I hold their chief a captive ever since ten moons after Mr. Duncan's visit to their country, and have kept him in my house, that Mr. Duncan might see his enemies in captivity before he die. He has now seen him, and my heart rejoiceth; and so shall fall every one who shall molest an Englishman while under my protection.

I am much pleased with the proposal of cultivating cotton in my country, and have already planted the seeds given to me by Mr. Duncan. Mayo has also planted some. I beg to assure the Queen of England, and also Lord Palmerston, of my sincere friendship and gratitude.

Signed (Mayo holding the top of the pen) on behalf of Guezo, King of Dahomey,

(Signed) MAYO LADYETTO, *Prime Minister.*

[Read over three times, at the request of the King.]

Inclosure 11 in No. 40.

Treaty to be proposed to the King of Dahomey.

[See Inclosure 20 in No. 3.]

Inclosure 12 in No. 40.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft, February 25, 1850.

[See No. 5.]

Inclosure 13 in No. 40.

Viscount Palmerston to the King of Dahomey, February 25, 1850.

[See Inclosure in No 5.]

Inclosure 14 in No. 40.

Commodore Bruce to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

"Penelope," *Ascension, June 28, 1851.*

I DO myself the honour to inclose a copy of a communication transmitted to me from Guezo, King of Dahomey, by which you will perceive that he is anxious for an interview with a British officer.

2. It appears to me that the reverses this chief has met with in the war between him and the Yoruba tribes, added to the diminution, I may almost say complete cessation, of Slave Trade on the sea-coast of his dominions, may be taken advantage of by us to urge on him the expediency of entering into an anti-Slave Trade Treaty with Great Britain, according to the form supplied to you by the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston,

and on the conditions expressed in his Lordship's despatch dated the 25th of February, 1850.

3. I am of opinion that as soon as you have completed the service at Lagos, which forms the subject of my letter dated the 31st of May last, you would do well to proceed to the town of Abomey, and renew an intercourse with King Guezo, with a view to induce him to negotiate on the terms proposed when you last visited his capital.

4. On the supposition that you will undertake this duty, I have directed Commander A. P. E. Wilmot, of Her Majesty's ship "Harlequin," to place himself in communication with you, and accompany you to Abomey. A copy of my instructions to him I inclose herewith for your information.

5. Many weeks may have transpired since Guezo's note was written, and much time may elapse before you are able to reach Whydah; in the interim, the political condition of Dahomey may have changed; I must therefore leave it to your judgment whether or not to accede to the King's request, and Commander Wilmot will be governed by your decision.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

No. 41.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, September 10, 1851.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston the copy of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated 31st July last, with its inclosures, relating to an attack lately made on Badagry by the people of Lagos, and to request that the said inclosures may be returned as soon as possible, when copies will be forwarded.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 41.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Penelope," Prince's Island, July 31, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of correspondence relating to an attack lately made on Badagry by the people of Lagos.

2. Independent of the desire which I entertain of carrying out the instructions of Her Majesty's Government to protect the missionaries and other British subjects residing at the former place, I should be glad of an opportunity to punish the present King and chiefs of Lagos, who pertinaciously adhere to the Slave Trade, and resist all our efforts to induce them to enter into a Treaty for the abolition of the same; but in the present instance, as far as matters have yet gone, I think their Lordships will see that the quarrel between Badagry and Lagos is purely of a domestic nature, and not one which warrants a neutral Power to interfere in a hostile manner. If, for instance, the murder of Gee and the Krooman in the employ of Mr. Batten, had been proved to have been committed by Lagos people, I should, failing in obtaining redress, have deemed it my duty to attack the town and blockade the coast; but the evidence necessary to authorize such proceedings is not sufficiently clear; and indeed, from the statements of Captain Jones and Commander Heath, I am inclined to believe that it was the work of some men belonging to Badagry.

3. I trust their Lordships will approve of Commander Heath having declined to accede to the request of the British residents at Badagry to land an armed force there from Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Niger." In

the first place, the climate, particularly at this season, is most destructive to the lives of Europeans; in the next, the number of men he could have landed would have been so few, in proportion to the number they might have been called upon to engage, that the issue would have been doubtful; added to which, no provisions could be obtained from the shore, and the surf frequently prevents all communication with ships.

4. To insure the protection of British life and property, I have directed Captain Jones, the senior officer in the Bights Division, to continue to keep a vessel of war stationed off Badagry, with instructions for her commander to communicate with the missionaries and others as frequently as the state of the beach will admit; and on their requesting it, to receive them on board, with as much of their property as can possibly be got off; and should a case come to his knowledge where British life has been wantonly sacrificed, or British property wilfully destroyed by either of the contending parties, to acquaint me with the particulars forthwith, and in the meantime to take such defensive measures as the circumstances may appear to require.

5. I have also written letters to the King of Lagos and the Chief of Porto Novo, warning them against molesting British subjects, copies of which accompany this despatch.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 41.

Captain Jones to Commodore Bruce.

(Extract.)

“*Sampson*,” June 30, 1851.

THURSDAY, 19th June. Rainy and squally. At noon made out the “Niger” at Badagry, and a French steamer to the westward, running before the wind. At 2, anchored in $7\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms off Badagry, close to “Niger.” Commander Heath came on board and put me in possession of the correspondence between him and the British residents at Badagry, which I have the honour to forward herewith, together with a copy of a letter from myself to the British residents, as also of one to the Chief of Lagos. You will perceive from my letter, that I approved of Commander Heath’s proceedings and of his declining to land an armed force, unless a better defined object presented itself than that represented.

In my letter to the Chief of Lagos, I carefully avoided using anything like a threat, or saying a word to irritate; but whenever it may become requisite to use coercive measures, I have no doubt but means could be found to make him feel our power.

During the whole of Friday 20th, I remained at anchor with the signal up requesting to communicate with the shore, but no boat came off. Mr. Batten answered with Marryat’s signals our enquiries, by saying “No news.” All business for the present is stopped, the canoe-men having left the place to get food.

The trade at Badagry is very much in the hands of the English. There are now two barques and two schooners landing cargoes and shipping palm-oil.

The master of one of the schooners, the “Sea-Bird,” was at the town during the late row and present; he stated that it was entirely a naval affair, and that the few things destroyed belonging to the English was purely accidental.

Inclosure 3 in No. 41.

Captain Jones to Commodore Bruce.

(Extract.)

“*Sampson*,” July 29, 1851.

ANCHORED off Badagry. Commander Heath immediately came on board. His letters together with that and inclosures which I found from Commander Wilmot, will put you fully in possession of the distressed and

melancholy state of Badagry; business being entirely stopped and life unsafe. I also send copies of a letter from Obba Shoron and from the British residents at Badagry to me, and my replies.

The residents still desire an armed force to protect them, but I have not felt it my duty to accede to the request; it would not be of any permanent benefit to them, and we have not sufficient command of the communication to get the men off and on with facility; and the lamentable death of Mr. Duffus, the assistant surgeon of the "Niger," and the very narrow escape of Commander Heath, is positive proof of this. The fact of the man Gee, a carpenter in the employ of Mr. Batten, and of the Kroo boy, having been shot on the beach, are melancholy instances of the disturbed state of the country; but it is very uncertain who were the perpetrators,—they may have been from Lagos, or not.

Inclosure 4 in No. 41.

Captain Jones to the British Residents at Badagry.

Gentlemen,

"Sampson," June 20, 1851.

I HAVE received from Commander Heath, of Her Majesty's ship "Niger," a copy of the correspondence addressed to him, and his replies, on the subject of landing an armed party to protect yourselves and property; and I will at once state, that under existing circumstances, I quite approve of the measures proposed by Commander Heath, and of his having declined to land any part of his ship's company, and station them more than a mile inland for an indefinite period, upon an imaginary expectation of an attack, and when the forces in possession of the town have shown themselves strong enough to defeat the opposite party.

2. The officers of Her Majesty's Navy feel that they cannot be more usefully employed than in the protection of the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects, wherever located, and in promoting the trade and commerce of the British dominions; but it would be very questionable utility were they upon all occasions when applied to, to consent to take a one-sided part between hostile belligerents, without very clearly, as in the present case, knowing the one party from the other.

3. It is, however, satisfactory to find that British property has not hitherto been molested, and it is to be hoped that a neutral line of conduct between the contending parties will preserve for Her Majesty's subjects security to life and property.

4. But should the contrary be the case, and the nationality of the offending parties be attested, I will immediately, as Senior Officer on the spot, demand from the chief of the offending tribe, full retribution and compensation for any injury, loss, and sufferings, that any British subjects may have been exposed to.

5. The position of Mr. Batten's house secures for him the protection of our guns, and we can with facility dislodge any enemy advancing to molest his property, but the position of the houses of the other merchants who have signed the requisition for an armed protection, being on the other side of the lagoon, is not sufficiently defined to be sure of hitting an enemy without risk to a friend.

6. I am far from wishing to convey to the British merchants that cases might not arise which would call for our active interference by landing an armed force; but that case must be clearly defined; and whenever we land, a large number of canoes suitable for passing the surf, must be supplied and placed at our disposal.

7. In the course of the correspondence which has passed between the gentlemen whom I now address and Commander Heath, my attention was painfully arrested by the last paragraph of the letter dated June 18, 1851, in which allusion is made to the disregard of health, when in pursuit of slavers: I must most strongly protest against the expression contained in that paragraph, and I have desired Commander Heath to return the letter to you for re-consideration, for whether true or not true, the subject is altogether irrelative to the application, and not calculated to promote that

good will and mutual inclination to serve each other beneficially, which ought to be the ruling principle of all Her Majesty's subjects.

8. My duty calls me to another part of the station, but I shall return shortly to inquire after your welfare, and in the meantime feel assured that your interests will be well secured under the protection of Commander Heath.

(Signed) LEWIS T. JONES.

Inclosure 5 in No. 41.

The Residents at Badagry to Captain Jones.

Sir,

Badagry, July 11, 1851.

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th of June, conveying to us your approval of Commander Heath's non-compliance with our request of landing an armed party for our protection, upon an imaginary expectation of an attack; and also your readiness in a clear case, to interfere, and to demand full retribution for any injury, loss, or suffering that any British subjects may have been exposed to.

In reply we beg to state,—

1. That on the 21st June a large number of canoes came up the river (from the eastward, Popos and Kosoko's people), also a party by land, with a view to attack this place, but were driven back.

2. That on the 22nd a severe conflict took place at Ajido, whither the enemy had retreated, and from which place he was driven and the town destroyed by fire.

3. That on the 23rd a large number of the same canoes came up again, some passing up the river and others returning down; and that those returning to Lagos knocked down and kidnapped, and carried away one of the Kroo boys in the employ of one of the merchants here.

4. That on the night of the 2nd instant, a Mr. Gee, an Englishman, and assistant in Mr. Hutton's factory, also a Krooman, were shot dead on the beach, where they guarded the stores; and it is stated by the boy who escaped, that the foul deed was perpetrated by a party of Lagos people.

5. That on the 7th instant, about 100 large canoes, containing from ten to twenty men each, some armed with swivels, came up from Lagos (Kosoko's people), attempted to land, but were repulsed, and then fired their swivels at the house of one of the merchants.

6. That at this moment the whole force of the enemy is gathered together at Ajido, about ten miles to the east of us (on the maps called Soosoo), preparing for another attack.

7. That the letter you kindly addressed to Kosoko, the usurper at Lagos, and sent to us to forward, we endeavoured to send messengers of a secondary chief of that place, who came here by way of Abbeokuta; but they declined, stating that Kosoko would kill them, were they to deliver such a letter.

You will be able from the above to judge for yourself, whether our expectations were imaginary or not.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

C. A. GOLLMER.
J. G. SANDEMAN.
THOS. DUGGANS.
W. Mc CASKEY.
J. MARTIN.

Inclosure 6 in No. 41.

Captain Jones to the British Residents at Badagry.

Gentlemen,

"Sampson," off Whydah, July 18, 1851.

I HAVE received your letter dated the 11th July, detailing many acts of violence, threatening, and assault upon various parties in the neighbourhood of Badagry; but however much such proceedings may and must be deplored and regretted, I cannot recognize from the description you have given me, that these acts of violence were in any manner directed against the British subjects in a national spirit, but that the deaths which have unfortunately ensued have been merely the accidents incident to a state of civil war, the very perpetrators of these murderous acts being doubtful, and not likely under existing circumstances to be discovered; they may or may not have been from Lagos.

2. I am therefore still of opinion that an armed interference is still uncalled for, however desirous the officers of Her Majesty's Navy may be to meet the wishes, and forward the views, of British subjects, wherever located.

3. I would, in conclusion, strongly recommend the British subjects residing at Badagry to remain neutral, or at any rate, act only on the defensive, and not make themselves parties in a native squabble.

4. Wishing you, gentlemen, better times and a return of tranquillity,
I have, &c.

(Signed) LEWIS T. JONES.

Inclosure 7 in No. 41.

Commander Heath to Commodore Bruce.

Sir,

"Niger," Badagry, June 20, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that on the morning of the 14th instant, whilst at anchor off Porto Novo, I received information of a revolution having taken place at Badagry, and of the native town having been burnt down.

I immediately weighed and ran down, and shortly after anchoring, was visited by Mr. Duggan, supercargo of the "Severn," who professed himself perfectly acquainted with the state of affairs, and with the feelings of the missionary (Mr. Gollmer) and the other European residents. He described the fight which had taken place on the 12th instant, as being a purely native quarrel, with which the English had nothing to do, and by which the English were not likely to be injured, except inasmuch as it would stop the trade for a time. A small portion of English property had, he said, been accidentally burnt during the general conflagration of the town. He, however, made an exception in the case of one man named Randolph, a native of Accra, and therefore a British subject, who, he said, had taken so strong a part on the losing side, and had, by firing two guns from his premises, killed so many of the winning party, that they had sworn to take his life, and had burnt and destroyed all his property.

This man Randolph having embarked in safety on board the English barque "Anna Watson," I weighed after dark, and proceeded to windward to give some important information relative to the expected arrival of a Spanish slaver, and returned to this anchorage on the 17th instant.

The letters marked A 1, A 2, and B 1, B 2, passed between the English residents and myself on the 17th instant. At 4 P. M. on the 18th, the English ensigns on shore were all hoisted, union down; I therefore, in accordance with the signal agreed upon, sent boats to the back of the surf, but seeing no indications of any embarkation (the main-top commanded a view of the plain at the back of the beach, and of the front street in the town), I thought it best to land myself and ascertain what was going on. On landing I met a messenger with the letter marked A 3, and I immediately proceeded to the mission-house, and had an interview

with Messrs. Gollmer, Sandeman, Mc Caskey, and Martin. These gentlemen again urged me to land men for their protection, which I again refused, on the ground that there could be no danger to their lives if they would adopt my suggestion of removing either to the beach or to the ships, and that I thought it better there should be a probable loss of some of their property, than a certain loss by fever of a great portion of the men I might land. I also informed them that I was acting in accordance with verbal orders I had received from Commodore Fanshawe. I then inquired if there was any other way except that of landing men, in which I could assist them, and they suggested that a letter to the King of Lagos might perhaps induce him to issue orders that in the event of his people retaking Badagry, English life and property should be secured and respected.

When on the point of returning on board, I heard that a large body of warriors from Abbeokuta were on their march to assist that party which is now dominant, and which has hitherto so carefully respected British property. I am therefore under no apprehension of any danger to the English at present.

It is difficult to unravel all the intricacies of an African quarrel, but from a comparison of the information I have received from various quarters, I have concluded that the following is not far from a true statement of the case.

About six years ago, Akitoye, the King of Lagos, was expelled from his throne by Kosoko, the present King. Akitoye, with his followers, took refuge in Badagry which was then inhabited by a race called Popos. Jealousy and party spirit soon arose, and a feud commenced between Akitoye's followers, and the Popos, who sided with Kosoko. The principal cause of this, as far as I can understand was, that the Popos had been accustomed to have an uninterrupted canoe-communication all along the lagoon from Porto Novo to Lagos, which Akitoye's party, being hostile to Lagos, wished to intercept at Badagry.

On Thursday the 12th instant a large body of Lagos people came up the lagoon and landed at Badagry, visiting and doing business with their friends the Popos. Whilst in the market-place some of them sang songs, the burden of which was abuse and insult to Akitoye. Akitoye's party seized and chained two of the culprits. The Lagos people and Popos flew to arms; the fight commenced, and the town was burnt to the ground. The victory remained completely in the hands of Akitoye's party, whose chief is a respectable man called Mayen.

So much for that which is past. As for the future, it is supposed that the Porto Novo people will endeavour to avenge the defeat of their friends; whilst on the other hand, a large body of Abbeokutians is actually on its march for the defence of the present rulers of Badagry.

There is no doubt that we have not hitherto maintained a strict neutrality between the two parties. Mr. Beecroft, the Consul-General, carried Akitoye as a sort of protégé to Fernando Po, and Mr. Gollmer himself told me in the course of conversation two or three weeks before these disturbances, that Akitoye's people came to him for advice, saying, "Now Akitoye is gone we look to you as our head, he left us to your care when he went;" so that if the tables are turned, and the Popos victorious, our countrymen will no longer be as safe as at present.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 8 in No. 41.

The British Residents at Badagry to Captain Foote.

Sir,

Badagry, June 16, 1851.

WE, the undersigned British residents at Badagry, beg to acquaint you that the long-threatened war between the Popos on the one, and Mayen and Akitoye's party on the other side, at length broke out on Thursday

the 12th instant. The former being the first to fire, the latter in self-defence returned it.

The fight took place in the middle of the town, and lasted with but little intermission the whole day, or before dark. The greater part of the Popos were defeated, nearly the whole town burnt down, and much British property destroyed.

At daybreak, Friday morning, the war recommenced close to our premises; but as the principal leader of the Popos fell immediately after, his party hastily retreated, pursued by the victors, and in less than two hours the Popos were driven from the place, and the remainder of the town close to our premises burnt.

We and our places (with the exception of a few damages by fire), we are thankful to say are safe, for Mayen gave strict orders not to molest any one of us or ours, nor touch anything belonging to us. But as we are by no means out of danger, being surrounded by many enemies, and we are informed that Kosoko at Lagos, and the King of Porto Novo, are preparing to aid the expelled Popos, and take revenge, by which we should surely suffer, we deem it expedient to represent our present critical position, and to request that you will as soon as possible afford us protection. A small company of soldiers with their officers stationed on the river or on our premises, would, we think, be sufficient to protect us.

There is a goodly number of British subjects (liberated Africans included), with a considerable amount of property here, one having goods on shore to the amount of between 4000*l.* and 5000*l.*

Hoping that this will meet you soon, and that you can send us timely aid, we subscribe, &c.

(Signed)

C. A. GOLLMER.
J. G. SANDEMAN.
W. McCASKEY.
J. MARTIN.
J. A. SINCLAIR.
J. TICKLE.
W. SAVAGE.
Q. DADDIE.
S. FLOWIZ.
J. BATTEN.
WILLIAM GELL.

P.S.—We are sorry to be obliged to state that on account of the scarcity of provisions we should be totally unable to provide for the men you may send.

Medical assistance is very much wanted by the wounded.

Inclosure 9 in No. 41.

Commander Heath to the British Residents at Badagry.

Gentlemen,

“Niger,” Badagry, June 17, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, informing me of the rise and progress of the late disturbances at Badagry, and of your own projects as regards the safety of your lives and property, and requesting that a small company of soldiers may be landed for your protection.

In reply, I beg to state that I must decline acceding to your request, because, from the nature of the climate and the approach of the rainy weather, no unseasoned European could land, for any length of time, without extreme danger; and because it seems to me that your safety can be as well or better ensured by adopting either of the courses I am about to propose:

1st. By embarking, with your property, on board the vessels in port.

2nd. By embarking yourselves, or removing to Mr. Batten's house, and leaving the property on the beach, within the range of a ship's guns.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 10 in No. 41.

The British Residents at Badagry to Commander Heath.

Sir,

Badagry, June 17, 1851.

WE, the Undersigned British residents at Badagry, who this morning sent you a statement of our present critical position in consequence of the war that took place here last week, and who requested that you would as soon as possible afford us protection, by sending officers and a company of men with ammunition on shore for our protection, have ascertained that Kosoko's (Chief of Lagos) people have reached Ajido, within ten miles of us, for the purpose of bringing war upon us; and therefore we again urge our request without delay to land men and ammunition for our protection.

A few thousand of small size bullets will do for our people.

(Signed)

C. A. GOLLMER.
J. G. SANDEMAN.
W. DUGGAN.
W. Mc CASKEY.
J. MARTIN.

Inclosure 11 in No. 41.

Commander Heath to the British Residents at Badagry.

Gentlemen,

"Niger," Badagry, June 17, 1851.

I MUST adhere to my previous resolution of not landing men for your protection.

I send in accordance with your request, 1000 pistol-ball cartridges and 2000 musket-ball cartridges, and request you will sign and return (to-morrow) the inclosed receipt for the same.

I once more urge upon you the adoption of one or other of the plans I have suggested for the ensurance of your safety. Within the range of this ship's guns you can hardly be in any danger.

Under present circumstances I shall not leave this anchorage (unless for a few hours), and I shall be glad if some one of you would come on board to concert a simple set of signals suitable to the present circumstances, as it appears Marryat's are not understood.

In the meantime I shall consider a white ensign with the union downwards indicative of "Wish to embark; request you to send boat to meet canoe at the back of the surf."

I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 12 in No. 41.

The British Residents at Badagry to Commander Heath.

Sir,

[June 18, 1851.]

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of yesterday, the latter accompanied by 3000 ball-cartridges, conveying to us that you must decline acceding to our request to land men for our protection; and suggesting that we with our property should remove either on board the vessels in port, or down to the beach, within reach of the ship's guns; also that you must adhere to your resolution not to land men.

In reply we beg to say that communications from Commodore Fanshawe, Captain Adams, Captain Strange, Captain Patey, and Captain Foote, repeatedly assured us of their readiness to render us any assistance in their power, not only to take us on board of Her Majesty's ships, but land men to protect our lives and property on shore.

Accordingly we yesterday requested you to afford us the protection we so much need in our present critical position, and were not a little disappointed at the non-compliance of our request.

With regard to your suggestion to remove our property to the beach, and embarking or removing to Mr. Batten's house, the utter impracticability of following either of your suggestions we should have thought to be quite apparent, when it was stated that one merchant alone had between 4000*l.* and 5000*l.* on shore; besides we cannot get a single man to work, and were we to attempt embarking it would cause a panic, and the canoe-men would look after themselves; and so far from considering ourselves or property safer on the beach with nothing but the ship's guns to protect us, we consider both ourselves and it safer where we are: nor can we think for a moment of running away and leaving property committed to our charge while a chance remains of saving it; neither do we think you would recommend such a course, on consideration.

The commanders of Her Majesty's ships of war do not generally pay so much consideration to the health of their crews when a slaver is in the question, and surely the protection of sixteen or eighteen Englishmen, with a large amount of property, besides some hundreds of British subjects (liberated Africans), who in case of defeat would most assuredly be again consigned to Slavery, is a matter of at least not less importance.

We inclose the receipt for the cartridges you kindly sent us, and for which we return our sincere thanks.

(Signed)

C. A. GOLLMER.
J. G. SANDEMAN.
W. Mc CASKEY.
W. DUGGAN.
J. MARTIN.
J. SINCLAIR.
J. TICKLE.

Inclosure 13 in No. 41.

Commander Heath to the British Residents at Badagry.

Gentlemen,

"Niger," Badagry, June 19, 1851.

ALTHOUGH I have had a verbal communication with you since the receipt on the 18th instant of your letter (without date), I think it right to point out officially how very unnecessary and uncalled for is the last paragraph in that letter.

However much we may differ in opinion as to the proper method of meeting the present crisis in your affairs, there is no reason why our correspondence should become acrimonious, and I therefore hope that on consideration you will withdraw the words I complain of, viz.,

"The Commanders of Her Majesty's ships of war do not generally pay so much consideration to the health of their crews when a slaver is in the question."

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 14 in No. 41.

Commander Heath to the British Residents at Badagry.

Gentlemen,

"Niger," Badagry, June 18, 1851.

I SEND you a code of signals suited to the present occasion.

It is hardly worth while for any one to come off to confer with me about them (as I suggested yesterday), unless you see any material objection to make or additions to propose.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Signals to be made from Mr. Batten's Flag-staff.

Wish to communicate	[White ensign over white flag.]
The enemy are approaching, with hostile intentions, along the beach from the eastward	[White flag over white ensign.]
The enemy are approaching, with hostile intentions, along the beach from the westward	[White ensign, union down, above white flag.]
The enemy are approaching, with hostile intentions, from the lagoon across the plain	[White flag above white ensign, union down.]
Wish to embark; be pleased to send boats to meet canoe at the back of surf	[White ensign, union down.]

Signals to be made from the Ship.

Wish to communicate; please to send canoe to the back of the surf	[White ensign at the fore.]
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Inclosure 15 in No. 41.

The British Residents at Badagry to Commander Heath.

Sir, *Badagry, June 18, 1851.*

IN reply to the verbal communication we had with you yesterday, in which you wished to know if you could be of any service to us otherwise than landing men for our protection; we are decidedly of opinion, if the Commander of one of Her Majesty's ships of war would be good enough to send a message to the King of Lagos, it would in all probability have some effect in protecting British property, were he to attack this place.

The liberated Africans are calling upon us for musket-balls, as they are the only party we can rely upon in case of attack; if you could spare us a few more we should feel obliged. Some balls will serve our purpose.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

C. A. GOLLMER.
J. G. SANDEMAN.
W. Mc CASKEY.
J. MARTIN.

Inclosure 16 in No. 41.

Commander Heath to the British Residents at Badagry.

Gentlemen, *"Niger," Badagry, June 20, 1851.*

IN reply to your letter of the 18th instant, suggesting that a message should be sent to the King of Lagos, and that you should be supplied with musket-balls, I have the honour of informing you that on the arrival of the "Sampson" yesterday afternoon, I gave Captain Jones as clear an account as I could of the present state of affairs at Badagry, and submitted to him copies of our correspondence.

I have great pleasure in informing you that he has written the inclosed letter to Kosoko, and has directed me to supply you with musket-ball.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 17 in No. 41.

Captain Jones to Kosoko, Chief of Lagos.

I HAVE heard with deep regret of the disturbances that have taken place at Badagry, in a quarrel between the people of Lagos and the people of Badagry, in consequence of which the usually quiet and well-conducted trade between the British merchants and the people of the country has been disturbed, and much native property destroyed.

The English came here for purposes of trade, and are anxious to keep clear of all international quarrels, and they are sorry that there should be any disturbance amongst the natives. Mayen's party are now victorious, and Mayen has taken very great trouble to protect the English and their property.

Captain Jones hopes there will be no more war, but that both parties will now make peace. Should, however, the contrary be the case, and the Lagos people gain the day, he hopes and thinks, from what Kosoko knows of the power and strength of the English nation, he will give orders to respect the houses where the English flag, which he so well knows, is flying.

Given under my hand, this 20th day of June, 1851.

(Signed) LEWIS T. JONES.

Inclosure 18 in No. 41.

Obba Shoron to Captain Jones.

Badagry, July 3, 1851.

OBBA SHORON, second to the King, and Commander-in-chief of the Forces of all Abbeokuta, salute you, and hope you are in peace.

I beg to send you the following words, and hope they will meet with a kind consideration.

I doubt not you have heard of the affairs of Lagos, the expulsion of Akitoye, the lawful King, and the usurpation of the throne of Lagos by his nephew, Kosoko. I therefore omit repeating anything more about it here, but merely to represent to you the condition we are in and the assistance we need. I assure you, Sir, our situation is such, that should you delay us speedy relief, or delay the execution of the affair any longer, it would be very dangerous for us. Delay, indeed, is wholesome in some cases; but in circumstances like this in which we are placed, delay would be defeat—it would be loss to us.

I have stated the difference between Akitoye and Kosoko to Her Majesty's Consul, John Beecroft, Esq., upon his last visit to Abbeokuta, and have begged him to take Akitoye under British protection, as Kosoko does not desist from seeking to kill him.

As a sure means of safety, that excellent personage advised Akitoye to go on board with him; Akitoye listened to the advice, and gratefully accepted the offer.

Kosoko, that you may know, has influence enough (through bribes) to gain over the different tribes of Africans to his interests.

Thus, a short time ago, he encouraged and aided the Dahomians to make war upon Abbeokuta, concerning which the Consul forewarned us.

They indeed came; a desperate battle was fought, and many lives lost; but, by the help of God, we have been enabled to repulse them; and but twenty days since, Kosoko's party here at Badagry has raised war against the people of Akitoye; many were also killed, but thank God, Akitoye's party gained the day. At present, Badagry is the only medium of communication between the English and Abbeokuta, as Lagos is still under the administration of Kosoko, who is an enemy both to Abbeokuta and the English.

Ammunition and other useful articles are purchased by us at Badagry. Kosoko is too penetrating as not to perceive such advantages; he therefore is labouring to cut off all intercourse between the English and Abbeokuta.

He is endeavouring to raise a very large army, composed of the different tribes of Dahomians—Isos, Jebos, Porto Novians, Ottas, and the people of Ado and Pokia, against Badagry and Abbeokuta.

Being apprized of this, I left Abbeokuta for Badagry, with a view to secure our interests here—our only seaport town; and also with a view to communicate these matters to you, and ask your assistance; for we fear, should Kosoko succeed in causing all these people to rise against us, we cannot encounter them without destruction.

I humbly and earnestly beseech you, therefore, to interfere in our behalf, to save our lives from the impending storm, and to prevent our being cut off as a nation, which you can easily do by overthrowing Kosoko and his slave-town Lagos, and reinstating Akitoye on his lawful throne there, and that before Kosoko should be able to carry his designs into execution, *i.e.*, within the next two or three months.

If Lagos is destroyed and Akitoye restored, we should have little to fear, as it is the mainspring by which all other parts are put in motion.

I would also humbly request that the Queen should take possession of this town, and that she should place some person of authority here, which would greatly contribute to our safety and the welfare of this country at large.

I would again pray you in conclusion, to take the welfare of this whole country and thousands of people into your consideration. If you please to send me word what we may expect, I shall be much obliged to you. Wishing you well,

I have, &c.
(Signed) OBBA SHORON.

P.S.—I have mentioned all the above words to Captain Heath, who promised to tell you all about it, and I thought I had better put my words on paper also, and send it to you that you may read them.

Inclosure 19 in No. 41.

Captain Jones to Obba Shoron.

"Sampson," July 18, 1851.

I WISH you long life and happiness, and pray for the return of peace and tranquillity to your country.

I have received the letter which you addressed to me on the 3rd July and I am greatly grieved at the continuance of the war in the country, and that the communication for lawful trade between Abbeokuta and Badagry should be so disturbed and interfered with by the people of Lagos.

But you and Mayen are strong and powerful. Unite your forces and act on the defensive, and I would say, avoid carrying the war beyond your own territory,

Do all you can to assist the people at Badagry, to restore order and re-establish trade, and keep the communication open with the country. Let your forces be directed to this object, and so long as your opponents do not interfere with you, let them alone. But if Kosoko will molest you, attack him with all your forces, and destroy Lagos. I am sure you can do so if you unite.

I hope very shortly to see Mr. Beecroft, and will tell him how much you desire the return of Akitoye, and I hope Akitoye may come and restore peace and happiness to the people.

In the last paragraph of your letter you request I will take into consideration the large population of the country, and you beg me to state what you may expect.

You are aware that the object of England is, "peace and goodwill to all countries," and that we do not interfere with the internal arrangements of other people, but leave them to settle their own affairs, so long as British subjects are protected and unmolested by the Government of the country in which they reside.

You will therefore see that it must be by your own activity and exertions, united with your allies, that your opponents are to be defeated.

I am very glad to hear that the people of Porto Novo have refused any longer to assist those of Lagos, and I hope you will immediately become friends with the people of Porto Novo.

I purpose being at Badagry again shortly, and I shall trust to find you and the people of Porto Novo good friends.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS T. JONES.

Inclosure 20 in No. 41.

Commander Heath to Commodore Bruce.

Sir,

"Niger," Badagry, July 17, 1851.

IN continuation of my last report of proceedings dated June 20th, I have the honour to inform you that on the 27th June I landed and had an interview with Mayen, the Governor of Badagry, and Shamyeyi, the commander of an auxiliary force of two or three thousand men sent from Abbeokuta. My intention was merely to thank them for the protection afforded by them to my countrymen, and to request a continuance of the same conduct; but Shamyeyi took the opportunity of giving me the whole history of the war, ending his story with an earnest request that Akitoye might be brought back from Fernando Po, and set up by us King of Lagos; "then," he said, "there would be no more wars in this country." I replied that what he asked was quite out of my power, but that I would report all he had said to you. I need not give you a more detailed account of his speech, as I observe that he (or more probably the missionary in his name) has sent a similar statement in writing to the senior officer.

On endeavouring to return to the ship the canoe upset, and I regret to say Mr. Duffus, the assistant surgeon (who had landed with me in compliance with a requisition from the shore for medical assistance to the wounded), was drowned, whilst I but very narrowly escaped the same fate.

It is supposed that the King of Porto Novo will join his forces to those of Lagos, and thus place Badagry between two fires. I therefore proceeded on the 30th June to Porto Novo, and sent the letter marked No. 1, to the King, through Don Domingo.

A few cases of fever, one of them fatal, having broken out whilst at anchor off Badagry (where I am obliged to lay close in, that the guns may command the lagoon, if necessary), I worked to windward for four days, partly for the sake of change of air, and partly in hopes of falling in with and reporting the progress of affairs to Captain Jones; but not meeting the "Sampson," I returned on the 5th July to Badagry, and then heard that on the evening of the 2nd an English carpenter and Krooman in the employ of Mr. Batten, had been shot dead on the beach. Mr. Batten holds the opinion that this act was committed by Lagos people, but I have heard from two other sources that they were idle Badagrians, and I am inclined to think this the most probable account.

Since then nothing of importance has occurred. Her Majesty's ship "Prometheus" has been here, and Captain Foote has taken the senior officer's letter to Kosoko, and intends, I believe, to obtain, if possible, a personal interview, in order to impress the contents of the letter more forcibly upon him.

I have, &c.

(Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 21 in No. 41.

(1.) *Commander Heath to the King of Porto Novo.*

IN the late disturbances at Badagry, it appears that the party of Mayen and Akitoye has gained the victory, and driven out the friends of the King of Porto Novo.

2. In all these disturbances Mayen has most strictly and honourably protected the English and their property.

3. What I now ask is, that the King of Porto Novo will promise me, on the faith of a King, that in any expedition he may send to revenge his cause at Badagry, he will give strict orders to protect the English and their property as carefully as the other party have hitherto done.

4. The English do not wish to take any part in the quarrels of the country; let the natives fight as much as they choose, but let them beware if an Englishman suffers.

Given under my hand, this 29th day of June, 1851.

(Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 22 in No. 41.

Commodore Bruce to Kosoko, Chief of Lagos.

CAPTAIN JONES has transmitted to me a copy of the note which he sent to you on the 25th of June, relative to the war between Lagos and Badagry. I entirely approve of the caution he has given you; and as I shall remain in the neighbourhood, I have desired him to acquaint me with any case that may come to his knowledge, where British subjects have been injured by persons under your control. The English residents in these countries are here to advance the moral and social condition of the natives—they take no part in their quarrels, and therefore should never be molested; if they should suffer in person or property, in consequence of your war with Badagry, it will be my duty to inflict condign punishment on the offending parties.

Given under my hand, on board H.M.S. "Penelope," at Prince's, the 29th day of July, 1851.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 23 in No. 41.

Commodore Bruce to the King of Porto Novo.

IT is my duty to caution you that if your people in fighting with those of Badagry, injure the persons or property of any of Her Britannic Majesty's subjects, I shall at once inflict condign punishment on you and your country. Therefore take heed by this friendly warning, and remember, that as the English reside here to improve the moral and social condition of the natives, and do not interfere in their quarrels, they should never be molested.

Given under my hand, on board H.M.S. "Penelope," at Prince's, the 29th day of July, 1851.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

No. 42.

The Secretary of the Church Missionary Society to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord, *Church Missionary House, August 20, 1851.*

I BEG to inform your Lordship of the arrival in this country of the Reverend Samuel Crowther, a native missionary of this society at Abbeokuta, in West Africa, which country he left at the end of May, six weeks after the attack of the King of Dahomey upon that town.

The information which Mr. Crowther is able to give respecting the Slave Trade seems to us very important, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

It appears that the Brazilian slave-traders upon the Coast are now making a desperate effort to crush those chiefs and tribes who have combined with Great Britain to suppress the Slave Trade and to introduce lawful commerce, and that the late formidable expedition against Abbeokuta was a preconcerted plan on the part of the King of Dahomey with the usurper at Lagos and the chiefs of Badagry, Porto Novo, and Whydah.

The Yoruba nation is pre-eminent for their attachment to British interests, and comprises a large population of liberated Africans from Sierra Leone.

The rising civilization, therefore, of the Yoruba nation, and the presence of missionaries, are regarded by the slave-traders as so formidable a barrier to the procuring of slaves from the interior, that they are

now lavishing Brazilian slave-goods as bribes among the surrounding chiefs, even as far as Ashantee, for a second attack upon Abbeokuta.

Mr. Crowther is able to give much evidence upon these points.

It would doubtless be felt by Her Majesty's Government, that under any circumstances a native tribe struggling with uncommon energy and bravery to suppress the interior Traffic in Slaves, should receive assistance from Great Britain. But the Yoruba nation have special claims for help at the present crisis.

1. There are a large number of natives who, through the expensive efforts of Great Britain, have been liberated from Slavery, and received as British subjects at Sierra Leone, and have now returned to Abbeokuta to carry out England's generous designs by the establishment of lawful commerce in their native country, and who must not be regarded as having forfeited British protection.

2. The late visit of the British Consul, Mr. Beecroft, to Abbeokuta, was an assurance of the interest of Great Britain in their national independence and welfare, and contributed much, under the Divine blessing, to their successful resistance of the Dahomian invasion.

3. A warning was given, as we understand, to the King of Dahomey, by Captain Forbes, from the Commodore on the Coast, that the liberated Africans were under British protection, and that if they were molested, the port of Whydah would be blockaded. Notwithstanding this warning the King of Dahomey did attack Abbeokuta with a formidable army; and Mr. Crowther is able to prove that no instructions whatever were given to his soldiers to respect British subjects or property, native or European; and that had the Dahomians taken the town, all would have been involved in general carnage and ruin.

In the late war the chiefs of Abbeokuta received important aid from a supply of musket-balls sent by the Governor of Sierra Leone; and in an interview with the Governor he stated to Mr. Crowther, that he should be willing to render further assistance if he had sufficient authority from home. Still more efficient aid might be rendered, by allowing a few natives of Yoruba who have been trained as artillery-men in Sierra Leone—and there are many such—to return to their native land, with two or three light pieces of artillery to defend the walls of Abbeokuta against a second attack.

I will venture further to suggest the importance of a visit from the ships of war to the ports of Whydah and Lagos, to demand explanations for the part they took in the late assault upon Abbeokuta.

The case of Lagos is peculiar. The lawful King of that place, Akitoye, was dethroned upon the very ground of his adherence to British interests, and is now residing with the British Consul, Mr. Beecroft; and the usurper at Lagos, named Kosoko, is only a tool in the hands of Brazilian slave-traders, and has been the agent in bribing the Kings of Dahomey and Ashantee, and other chiefs.

Mr. Crowther is able to show that if Lagos were under its lawful chief, and in alliance with Great Britain, an immense extent of country abounding with cotton, of which he has brought specimens, would be at once thrown open to commerce, extending from the Coast to the River Niger, at points 200 and 300 miles from the mouth of that river.

I venture to hope, that the statements I have now made will be regarded by your Lordship as a sufficient apology for the suggestion that you should grant Mr. Crowther an interview for the purpose of his corroboration of these statements.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. STRAITH,
Secretary, C. M. S.

Viscount Palmerston to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords,

Foreign Office, September 27, 1851.

I HAVE to inform you that Her Majesty's Government have given their attentive consideration to the state of the Slave Trade on the western coast of Africa, and have observed with great satisfaction the success which has attended the exertions of Her Majesty's squadron on that station in putting down that piratical practice.

The watchful activity of Her Majesty's cruisers, the multiplication of treaties with the native chiefs, and the operations last year at the Gallinas, appear to have nearly rooted out the Slave Trade from the coast north of the Line.

There remain, however, two persevering offenders, the King of Dahomey and the Chief of Lagos, who still refuse to yield to persuasion, and who continue to thwart and to frustrate the measures of Her Majesty's Government. But Her Majesty's Government cannot any longer permit that the accomplishment of a great purpose, which has been steadily pursued by the British Government and nation for more than a quarter of a century by immense exertions and with great sacrifices, shall be marred and defeated by the criminal and piratical resistance of two barbarous African chiefs.

Her Majesty's Government have twice sent a mission to the King of Dahomey to endeavour to induce him to give up Slave Trade, and on both occasions an offer was made to him of compensation in money for a limited time for any pecuniary loss which he might sustain by foregoing the presents which he has been in the habit of receiving from the slave-traders.

To these overtures and offers of Her Majesty's Government, the King of Dahomey turned a deaf ear, and no sooner were the British missions gone, than he recommenced his usual preparations for his periodical slave-hunts. Her Majesty's officers had endeavoured to persuade him to desist from the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners on public festivals, and the only result was the murder of ten or eleven victims in the very presence of Her Majesty's officers.

The town of Abbeokuta, on the River Ogu, about 60 miles inland from Lagos, and about 150 miles from Abomey, has been the scene of successful exertions by British missionaries, who have drawn thither many emancipated negroes from Sierra Leone, and have instructed many of the natives in the doctrines of Christianity.

Her Majesty's Government necessarily take an interest in the welfare of a town which seems destined to be a centre from which the lights of Christianity and civilization may be spread over the adjoining countries. Her Majesty's officers sent to Abomey heard that the King of Dahomey intended to direct one of his slave-hunts against Abbeokuta, and they urgently in the name of the British Government requested him to abstain from such an attack.

The officer commanding Her Majesty's Naval Force on the west coast of Africa followed up this intercession by a stronger representation, and informed the Dahomey Chief, by a letter, that if he attacked Abbeokuta, his port of Whydah would be blockaded.

But the Dahomey Chief, deaf to entreaties, regardless of warnings, and confident in his own strength, marched, nevertheless, last spring against Abbeokuta with a large force, and if the people of the place had not been assisted by European skill in planning their defence, and by arms and ammunition, to repel the attack, this interesting community would no doubt have shared the fate of the many tribes who have fallen victims to the savage cruelty of the Dahomians. It appears, moreover, from the statements made by the Dahomian prisoners captured on the defeat of the Dahomian army, that no orders had been given to respect, in case of success, either the white inhabitants, the missionaries, or the

emancipated negroes; and if Abbeokuta had been taken, all these persons would probably have been reduced to Slavery, or have perished by the sword.

It would not be consistent with the honour and dignity of the British Government, that a warning deliberately given by a British Commodore, in entire conformity with the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and as deliberately set at nought, should be thus disregarded with impunity; and I have to signify to your Lordships the Queen's commands that the Dahomian port of Whydah and the rest of the Dahomian coast should be strictly blockaded.

It is, moreover, Her Majesty's pleasure that the blockade of that port and coast should not be raised until the Chief of Dahomey shall have concluded and signed an agreement, by which he shall bind himself to give up totally and entirely the Slave Trade, to prevent his subjects from practising that crime, and to expel all foreign slave-traders from his territory; to abandon the practice of human sacrifices; and to protect all missionaries who may come to reside within the range of his authority.

Of course no money-compensation can now be given him for any pecuniary loss which he may incur by abandoning Slave Trade. As the principal revenue of this chief is derived from the commerce which passes through Whydah; there seems good reason to expect that such a blockade will be effectual for its purpose.

The Chief of Lagos appears by all accounts to be a barbarous savage who has been put up and is supported by a set of slave-traders who have established themselves on the Island of Lagos; and it appears that his authority, which is scarcely more than nominal, is nearly confined to the island and town of Lagos.

It seems that this chief, and the slave-traders of whom he is the mouth-piece, greatly encouraged the King of Dahomey to make his recent attack upon Abbeokuta, under a notion that there is a connexion between the establishment of the missionaries and the suppression of the Slave Trade; and that by destroying the missionaries, they would impede the suppression of Slave Trade.

Her Majesty's Government have been informed by Captain Denham, by Mr. Crowther, a missionary who has been at Abbeokuta and at Lagos, and by Mr. Beecroft, Her Majesty's Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, that there would be no great difficulty in sending into Lagos the small force which would be sufficient for the purpose of expelling the present chief and the slave-traders by whom he is supported, and for re-establishing in his stead the former chief, Akitoye, who was expelled by the slave-traders on account of his intention to enter into a treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

It is the Queen's pleasure that the Commodore on the west coast of Africa should be instructed to consider the practicability of such an operation, and to undertake it if it could be accomplished without much difficulty or risk.

The most desirable result would be, the expulsion of the present chief, and the restoration of Akitoye, with whom an engagement could be made for putting an end to Slave Trade, and for not permitting slave-traders to reside at Lagos; and any such engagement made by Akitoye would be faithfully carried into execution.

Any engagement to that effect made by the present chief would probably be observed only so long as he was strictly watched and forcibly prevented from breaking it.

If Lagos, instead of being a nest for slave-traders were to become a port for lawful trade, it would, in connexion with the navigable river which there discharges itself into the sea, become an important outlet for the commerce of a large range of country in the interior, and instead of being a den of barbarism, would be a diffusing centre of civilization.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

*Mr. Addington to the Secretary of the Admiralty.**Foreign Office, October 8, 1851.*

Sir,

I HAVE laid before Viscount Palmerston your letter to Lord Stanley of Alderley, dated the 10th ultimo,* transmitting a copy of a despatch of the 3rd of July last, from Commodore Bruce, together with its original inclosures, on the subject of a mission which was about to be undertaken by Commander Wilmot, of Her Majesty's steamer "Harlequin," and Mr. Beecroft, Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, for the purpose of endeavouring to induce the King of Dahomey to sign the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade from his dominions, which had upon a former occasion been proposed to him by Mr. Beecroft and Lieutenant Forbes, of Her Majesty's ship "Bonetta," without success, but which Commodore Bruce thinks it is not improbable he may now agree to conclude, in consequence of his subsequent severe defeat by the Yoruba nation in his attack upon Abbeokuta.

I have also laid before Viscount Palmerston your letter† to Lord Stanley of Alderley of the same date, transmitting a copy of a further despatch of the 31st of July last, from Commodore Bruce, together with its original inclosures, on the subject of an attack which had recently been made on Badagry by the people of Lagos.

I am directed by Lord Palmerston to request in reply, that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Lordship is of opinion that the instructions mentioned in his letter to their Lordships of the 27th ultimo, about the King of Dahomey, and about Whydah and Lagos, should be sent to Commodore Bruce; but that he should be told that if, when he receives those instructions, a satisfactory arrangement shall have been made either with the King of Dahomey, or with the Chief of Lagos, or with both, so much of those instructions as relates to the Chief with whom the satisfactory arrangement shall have been made, or the whole instruction, if a satisfactory arrangement shall have been made with both, shall be considered as cancelled. But if either or both of those chiefs shall have rejected the proposals made to them for the complete abandonment and entire suppression of the Slave Trade within the limits of their authority, then those instructions should be considered as in force, and should be acted upon in regard to either, or to both of those chiefs, as the case may be.

The draft of Treaty which was to be proposed to the King of Dahomey in 1849 was more advantageous to him than the conditions which Her Majesty's Government would now be willing to offer him; and King Guezo of Dahomey must have been prepared for a curtailment of those conditions by the last letter which Lord Palmerston wrote to him, dated the 11th of October, 1850, a copy of which was transmitted in my letter to you of the same date. If, however, he shall have accepted the Draft of Treaty drawn up in 1849, it will of course be ratified; but if he shall have rejected it, then and in such case the fuller engagements and the less advantageous conditions stated in the instructions contained in Lord Palmerston's letter to the Lords of the Admiralty above referred to, should be exacted from him.

Pecuniary compensation may properly be offered in return for a voluntary engagement, but pecuniary compensation need not be given for an engagement extorted by force; moreover, at the time when the draft of Convention of 1849 was prepared, Her Majesty's Government had been led to believe that King Guezo had abandoned or was about to abandon the barbarous practice of human sacrifices; but what passed during the mission of Mr. Beecroft and Lieutenant F. E. Forbes to Abomey proved that this practice is still continued, and that there was no intention of giving it up; a stipulation upon that subject ought, therefore, to be imposed upon King Guezo.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. U. ADDINGTON.

* No. 40.

† No. 41.

No. 45.

The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Commodore Bruce.

By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, having signified to us the Queen's pleasure that instructions should be given to you to take proceedings against the King of Dahomey and the Chief of Lagos, we send you herewith a copy of Lord Palmerston's letter, dated the 27th September last; and we require and direct you to carry out the intentions of Her Majesty's Government as therein expressed, except as hereinafter modified.

We send you, at the same time, a copy of a letter from the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 8th instant, by which you are to be guided in carrying out the foregoing instructions, or in abstaining from doing so, according to the pending proceedings; and you will be strictly guided by the views of Viscount Palmerston, as therein pointed out.

With respect to that part of the instructions respecting Lagos, we leave the mode of carrying it out to your discretion and judgment.

Should you consider a small steam-vessel of use in any operations you may have to undertake in pursuance of these orders, and you are able to obtain such a vessel, you have our authority to hire it for the purpose.

And finally, we direct you not to keep possession of Lagos, nor to remain there beyond what is absolutely necessary.

Given under our hands, this 14th day of October, 1851.

(Signed) F. T. BARING.
R. D. DUNDAS.

By command of their Lordships,

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

To Commodore Bruce, Commander-in-chief
of Her Majesty's ships and vessels on the West Coast of Africa.

No. 46.

Mr. Addington to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 18, 1851.

WITH reference to Commodore Bruce's despatch of the 31st of July* last, a copy of which was inclosed in your letter of the 10th ultimo, relative to the attack made by the people of Lagos on the people of Badagry in the month of June last; I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that his Lordship is of opinion, that under the circumstances stated in the papers inclosed in that despatch, Captain Jones and Commander Heath were perfectly right in not landing an armed force to interfere in this quarrel between the native tribes.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. U. ADDINGTON.

* Inclosure 1 in No. 41.

The Chiefs of Abbeokuta to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 9.)

(Translation.)

[*Abbeokuta, August 15, 1851.*]

SAGBŪA and the chiefs of Abbeokuta salute the Right Honourable Lord Palmerston; all Abbeokuta salute the Right Honourable Lord Palmerston.

The presents which the Queen of England and Prince Albert sent to us, we have received; that is, two Bibles, a corn-mill, and a letter. We rejoice much at receiving them, and return many thanks.

We have seen your messenger, John Beecroft, Esq.; the message he brought pleased us greatly, both young and old. When he had delivered it we saw you loved us much, on account of which we are induced now to write to you.

All the world, from the feet of the edge of the sea, they are the enemies of the Egbas (inhabitants of Abbeokuta), as Lagos, Porto Novo, and Dahomey. They desire to close the road, that we may not hold intercourse with our friends the English. Kosoko (the chief at Lagos) says all the persons whom they had sold to the Portuguese and Spaniards the English have delivered, and brought them back to the Egbas; this is their reason. The enmity which Kosoko has towards us is because the Egbas are the friends of the English; and this displeases Kosoko, because the English are spoiling his trade, and he does not see a plan of selling slaves. So, however it may be displeasing to Kosoko again, the Egbas must not turn back from the English for ever. The same Kosoko sent to Dahomey and Porto Novo, saying, "Because our Slave Trade is spoilt for us, let us join hand to hand, that we may shut the Badagry road to the Egbas." On account of this the King of Dahomey brought war; he desired to break us, our children, and the English who dwell here, that he may spoil our friendship with the English, in order that the English may leave the country, and that they (the slave-trading chiefs) may have a return of their slave-trading. God made the friendship between the Egbas and English; may He not permit that this friendship should be broken for ever and ever, from generation to generation of the Egbas!

We desire to make a treaty of friendship and commerce with you according to the custom of the English. We have cotton, indigo, pepper, ginger, and ivory; but for the distressed state of the country, we could meet you with these things in any quantity; and but for the enmity of Kosoko, who does not permit the river-road to be opened, we could supply a large quantity of palm-oil. If you please, help us to open this road, that canoes may come to us on the River Ogu here; it would be a most acceptable help.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 9.)

My Lord,

Clarence, Fernando Po, October 4, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to communicate that on the 21st ultimo, Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser arrived here from Whydah in Her Majesty's brig "Harlequin," Commander Wilmot. He stated that he had a desire to see me personally. On his landing at Whydah, a letter was handed to him by Mr. Prior, agent for Messrs. Hutton, from Guezo, King of Dahomey, stating at the same time that a deputation from Abomey arrived at the Fort, and requested him to write the King's mouth to Her Majesty the Queen of England. He wrote the accompanying letter through Madaki, the interpreter. Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser acceded to Guezo's request, and proceeded to Abomey. Whilst there he received a letter from Obba Shoron, second in command of the Abbeokutian army at Badagry, with 1000 men for the protection of the Badagrians against the Lagos

people. A copy of Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser's reply to Obba Shoron I herewith inclose, with a copy of Guezo's letter to Her Majesty the Queen of England. The "Harlequin" sailed on the 24th for Whydah.

On Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser's safe arrival at his post, he will forward to me a full detail of his mission to Abomey. He stated that Guezo was anxious for presents, such as muskets, bayonets, powder, shot, and shell, to annihilate the Abbeokutians, if possible. At present I have declined to accede to Guezo's request, as the soldier with a big head has already paid him the visit he requested, and found whatever he had to state relative to signing treaties was all twaddle. He never intends it until Her Majesty's Government deem it fit to coerce him to the path. His letter is what I have already stated; he is determined not to come to the point for the best of all reasons. I do declare he is not the despot generally reported; he has not his own will.

I shall wait your Lordship's directions ere I proceed for Whydah, to accede to Guezo's request.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

Vice-Consul Fraser to Obba Shoron, second in command at Abbeokuta.

Sir,

Whydah, September 9, 1851.

YOUR letter, dated Badagry, at the beginning of August, reached me at Abomey, through the King of Dahomey's hands, who told me it came through the Anagoo Country. He knew well where it was from. It has since been stolen from me, and I have left the King's place in consequence.

I could not obtain an answer from the King respecting his movements and motives towards Kosoko, but I suspect he will assist him.

Abbeokuta is marked out for a second attack; therefore be vigilant, let no time be lost, nothing left undone, and success is certain.

More care must be taken with official letters in future, as I am now in an unpleasant position through the miscarriage of yours.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LOUIS FRASER,
H. B. M's Vice-Consul in Dahomey.

P.S.—I shall be in Abbeokuta as soon as circumstances permit.

Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

The King of Dahomey to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

September 7, 1851.

THE King of Dahomey gives his best compliments to the Queen of England, and thanks her very much for sending me to his country; he has seen me and likes me too much. The same way he send he like, and same way the King of Dahomey will send messenger to Queen of England, by-and-bye.

The King says that the palaver that the Queen of England send him about no block Abbeokuta, he hear the King of Abbeokuta (Foolaka*) was the King's friend before; that Foolaka send him children to the King of Dahomey, and say Go block one country for him (called Keada), and the King block that country for him. If Foolaka live, he, the King of Dahomey, block Keada; and if he dies, he can block for him; because the King of Dahomey block Keada for Foolaka. The Abbeokutians go block two countries for Dahomey, King side (one is called Ba-gee and

* Is now dead.

the other To-soo); the Abbeokuta people catch all the Cabooceers, for those countries, and cut the head for all. The above is the reason the King of Dahomey get vexed with Abbeokuta; he pass forty-five peoples' countries before he come to Abbeokuta, and as he passed, he give 20,000 men for one of these countries, and also leaving some men in each of the other countries as he passed; is the reason he no block Abbeokuta properly. The reason he block Abbeokuta again is, that last time the Abbeokuta people catch and kill plenty of his men and also his wives, and keep them to make them their own wives.

The King says myself have live this country, by-and-bye me and him can settle the slave palaver.

(Signed) MAYO ^{his} ~~X~~
mark.

P.S.—The King say, anything belonging to the Queen of England live at Abbeokuta; he can see every one in his own hand.

The King say this black man kill this white man (Gee, at Badagry); if the Queen of England send to him, he can block his place; he no like black man for kill white man for any way.

The witnesses to the above were Yavogan, Narwhey, and two others from the King, Madaki being interpreter.

(Signed) LOUIS FRASER,

Her Majesty's Vice-Consul for the Kingdom of Dahomey.
Whydah, September 9, 1851.

No. 49.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received December 9.)

My Lord,

Clarence, Fernando Po, October 4, 1851.

I HEREWITH inclose a copy of a letter from the chiefs of Abbeokuta to the British residents at Badagry.

I am, &c.

(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

Inclosure in No. 49.

The Chiefs of Abbeokuta to the British Residents at Badagry.

Gentlemen,

Abbeokuta, July 15, 1851.

I AM requested by the chiefs of Abbeokuta to write to you in order to express their desires and views respecting Badagry.

It was with much concern that they heard of the war there, brought about by the enmity that the present Chief of Lagos feels towards them and the English.

Being desirous of preserving Badagry and the European trade there, in the welfare of which they are much concerned, they sent as soon as they heard of what had taken place, one of their member (Basoro) with a large force in order to protect it in conjunction with Uecon, from the attacks of the Lagos people, and to endeavour to bring back such of the Popos as were willing to dwell there peaceably, that the usual market may be held and trade carried on as heretofore.

In the doing of this they feel that they need the co-operation of the European residents at Badagry, and a good understanding with them; they hope that their fellow chief, Basoro, will be able to establish this.

They heard with much pain that one of the Europeans in Badagry was murdered.

This they feel to be an effort in consonance with the designs of

Kosoko, in order to prevent the accomplishment of what the chiefs here desire to effect, viz., the establishment of lawful commerce and peaceful traffic in the produce of African soil. The chiefs here hope that means may be taken to prevent the like occurrence happening again, and that the guilty parties may receive the just reward of their evil deed.

They have heard of your having sent for Her Britannic Majesty's Consul with much pleasure, and hope he will be able to come and settle the state of Badagry to the satisfaction of all parties.

They desire also to thank you for the assistance you have rendered to their soldiers in your gift of cowries.

They sincerely hope you will be able to maintain your position in Badagry, and that soon these adverse circumstances will pass away and trade be re-established and extended.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) H. TOWNSEND.

The above was submitted to the senior chiefs and each expressed his approval of it, but wished this to be added that they desire this or a copy to be forwarded to the British authorities, and to express to them their desire of forming a definite treaty; their words in this respect are stronger than mine, viz., they wish to submit to the English.

No. 50.

Viscount Palmerston to Rev. Samuel Crowther.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 18, 1851.

I HAVE been informed by the Church Missionary Society that you are about to return to your native country; and I am glad to have an opportunity, before you leave England, of thanking you again for the important and interesting information with regard to Abbeokuta and the tribes adjoining that town, which you communicated to me when I had the pleasure of seeing you at my house in August last.

I request that you will assure your countrymen that Her Majesty's Government take a lively interest in the welfare of the Egba nation and of the community settled at Abbeokuta, which town seems destined to be a centre from which the lights of Christianity and of civilization may be spread over the neighbouring countries.

Her Majesty's Government trust that the measures which the British Commodore on the African station has been instructed to take in consequence of the attack made last spring by the Chief of Dahomey against Abbeokuta, will prevent the recurrence of such an unprovoked and barbarous expedition, and will have the effect of promoting the security and well-being of the Egba nation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 51.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 23, 1851.

I HAVE received the memorial dated the 15th of August last,* addressed to me by the chiefs of Abbeokuta, representing that the Chiefs of Lagos, Porto Novo and Dahomey, are in league against them, and proposing to conclude a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Great Britain.

* No. 47.

I transmit herewith under flying seal the answer* which I have returned to the Abbeokuta chiefs, and I have to instruct you to forward it to them whenever a convenient opportunity may occur.

I inclose also a draft framed according to the usual model of treaties concluded with chiefs and communities of the west coast of Africa, and I have to authorize you to sign such a Treaty with the Chiefs of Abbeokuta.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Inclosure in No. 51.

Form of Engagement with African Chiefs.

Engagement between Her Majesty the Queen of England and the Chiefs of _____, for the abolition of the Traffic in Slaves.
Signed at _____

on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the Chiefs of _____ and of the neighbourhood, on the part of themselves and of their country, have agreed upon the following Articles and Conditions:—

ARTICLE I.

The export of slaves to foreign countries is for ever abolished in the territories of the Chiefs of _____ and the Chiefs of _____ engage to make and to proclaim a law prohibiting any of their subjects or any person within their jurisdiction, from selling or assisting in the sale of any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the Chiefs of _____ promise to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break this Law.

ARTICLE II.

No European, or other person whatever, shall be permitted to reside within the territory of the Chiefs of _____ for the purpose of carrying on in any way the Traffic in Slaves; and no houses, or stores, or buildings of any kind whatever, shall be erected for the purpose of Slave Trade within the territory of the Chiefs of _____ and if any such houses, stores, or buildings shall at any future time be erected, and the Chiefs of _____ shall fail or be unable to destroy them, they may be destroyed by any British officers employed for the suppression of Slave Trade.

ARTICLE III.

If at any time it shall appear that Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the territory of the Chiefs of _____ the Slave Trade may be put down by Great Britain by force upon that territory, and British officers may seize the boats of _____ found anywhere carrying on the Slave Trade; and the Chiefs of _____ will be subject to a severe act of displeasure on the part of the Queen of England.

ARTICLE IV.

The subjects of the Queen of England may always trade freely with the people of _____ in every article they may wish to buy and sell in all the places and ports and rivers within the territories of the Chiefs of _____ and throughout the whole of their dominions; and the Chiefs of _____ pledge themselves to show no favour and give no privilege to the ships and traders of other countries, which they do not show to those of England.

ARTICLE V.

Power is hereby expressly reserved to the French Government to become a party to this Treaty, if they should think fit, agreeably to the provisions of Article V of the Convention between Her Majesty and the King of the French, signed in London on the 29th of May, 1845.

No. 52.

Viscount Palmerston to the Chiefs of Abbeokuta.

Foreign Office, December 23, 1851.

I HAVE received through Mr. Beecroft, Her Majesty's Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra, your letter of the 15th of August,* 1851, stating that, in consequence of your friendship with England, the Chiefs of Lagos, Porto Novo, and Dahomey, are in league to close against the Egba nation the channels of trade and communication between Abbeokuta and the sea, and that those chiefs intend to make war with you.

Your letter also states that you wish to make a Treaty of Friendship and Trade with Great Britain.

I have to inform you that when Her Majesty's Government heard of the inroad which Guezo, the Chief of Dahomey, made last spring into your territory, they gave instructions which they trust may have the effect of preventing King Guezo from again undertaking an unprovoked attack upon Abbeokuta, and may lead to the cessation of the Slave Trade and the encouragement of legitimate commerce.

With regard to your proposal to enter into Treaty engagements with Great Britain, I have to inform you that I have sent to Mr. Beecroft the draft of a Treaty which he will be authorized to sign with you.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 53.

Viscount Palmerston to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 24, 1851.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 4th of October, stating that Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser has proceeded to Abomey in consequence of an invitation from Guezo, King of Dahomey, and inclosing a translation of a message sent by that chief to the Queen.

I have to state to you that it is not fitting that either you, or Mr. Fraser, or any other British officer should under present circumstances go again to Abomey.

* No. 47.

The Chief of Dahomey knows what are the desires of the British Government in regard to the Slave Trade; if he is willing to comply with those desires, he can send to Whydah some person duly authorized to conclude an engagement on his part or to signify his readiness to conclude such an engagement with any British officer who may be sent for that purpose to Dahomey; but until such willingness on the part of King Guezo is formally signified, there would be no use in sending any British officer to Abomey.

Instructions to the above effect have been sent to Vice-Consul Fraser, and I have at the same time directed him to address a letter to the Chief of Dahomey, reminding him that the British Government expects and requires that he shall abstain from any attack on Abbeokuta.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 54.

Viscount Palmerston to Vice-Consul Fraser.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December 24, 1851.*

I HAVE received from Mr. Consul Beecroft a copy of a paper which appears to contain the substance of a message from the Chief of Dahomey to the Queen, which was sent to Whydah by a deputation which arrived at that place from Abomey in September last.

Mr. Beecroft has also informed me that, in compliance with an invitation conveyed to you by that deputation, you went to Abomey and returned again from thence without obtaining from King Guezo any satisfactory assurance either respecting the Slave Trade, or as to the intentions of that chief with regard to Abbeokuta.

I have to state to you that it is not fitting that either you or any other British agent should, under present circumstances, go again to Abomey. The Chief of Dahomey knows what are the desires of the British Government in regard to the Slave Trade. If he is willing to comply with those desires, he can send to Whydah some person duly authorized to conclude an engagement on his part, or to signify his readiness to conclude such an engagement with any British officer who may be sent for that purpose to Dahomey; but until such willingness on the part of King Guezo is formally signified, there would be no use in sending any British officer to Abomey.

You will in the meanwhile address a letter to King Guezo, reminding him that the British Government expects and requires that he shall abstain from any attack on Abbeokuta.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 55.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 7, 1852.)

My Lord, *"Bloodhound," off Lagos, November 26, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to communicate, for the information of your Lordship, that I embarked on board of Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound" on the 10th instant, accompanied by King Akitoye and his suite, and arrived off Lagos on the 13th. Communicated with Commander Wilmot of Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin," who informed me that he had discovered a safe boat-channel into the River Ogu; and he had visited

Kosoko, the present Chief of Lagos, and was kindly received. That it was his impression that he would accede to my terms, if proposed. It appeared to me a favourable opportunity to enter into a negotiation with the said chief at once.

The same evening Her Majesty's brig "Waterwitch," Commander Gardner, arrived to relieve Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin."

After a short conference I decided upon entering into negotiation in compliance with your Lordship's despatches* received 30th of June, 1851, dated October 11, 1850, and February 20 and 21, 1851.

It was arranged, in conjunction with Commanders Wilmot, Gardner, and Lieutenant-Commander Russell Patey, as there were on board Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound" 200 muskets for the protection of Abbeokuta, that I should proceed immediately for Badagry, land the muskets, and deliver Commander Wilmot's letter to Commander Coote, Her Majesty's steamer "Volcano," ordering him to proceed to Lagos, so as to enable him to form a respectable escort under a flag of truce to the present Chief of Lagos, to whom I addressed a letter, and left it with Commander Wilmot to forward.

14th November.—Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound" weighed at 11 o'clock, and anchored off Badagry at 4 o'clock. Fired a gun and hoisted a signal for a canoe. Did not succeed in getting one until next morning.

Saturday, the 15th, I landed at 10 o'clock, accompanied by Lieutenant-Commander Patey and King Akitoye. He was received with demonstrations of unbounded joy. Shortly after I held a short conference with him and his chiefs relative to Lagos and his accompanying me. It was arranged that he should accompany me. The flints and muskets could not be completed landing until Monday. Embarked again on Tuesday the 18th at 3:30 P.M., and anchored off Lagos at 8:30 P.M. No "Volcano." Commanders Wilmot and Gardner came on board. It was arranged to start from Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin" at 9 o'clock, with ten boats, to proceed at once to the town of Lagos.

19th.—Daylight, strong symptoms of a tornado; showed itself 9:30; it came down in torrents of rain. It continued so long that our visit to Kosoko was deferred until next day.

20th.—Daylight, fine dry weather. Left Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin" at 6:30, with ten boats and flag of truce. Landed on a sandy point at the eastern entrance of the river, to wait for the water to rise to enable the heavy boats to enter. There are here a few huts, and two stores or sheds belonging to Senhor Marcos and Senhor Nobre, Brazilians.

A messenger arrived from Kosoko, stating that if we proceeded to Lagos with ten boats, we should be fired upon; it was his wish that one boat only should go. I remonstrated with Senhor Marcos on the entire absurdity of Kosoko preventing a proper escort to accompany Her Majesty's Representatives on a mission of peace and amity; that it was a national form of all the nations in the world. Senhor Marcos said that he had remonstrated with the chief to no avail; he would not listen to any other sentiment but what he first stated. I was on the point of returning, but after mature deliberation I told the messenger, through my interpreter, that one boat was not sufficient to take all the officers intended for the conference; I would come with two boats, well knowing, at the same time, that we were going to be placed in imminent danger, with such a bloodthirsty chief as Kosoko. We had to wait until the messenger returned, which was an hour, with the chief's permission. There were on this point of sand one hundred armed men, sent to watch our movements, no doubt. Senhores Marcos and Nobre, I must state, were very attentive.

10 o'clock, we started in the "Harlequin" and "Waterwitch's" gigs; Senhor Marcos accompanied me, and Commander Wilmot, Commander Gardner, Lieutenant-Commander Patey, and my interpreter, in the second gig. We arrived at the town in one hour and twenty minutes. We were

* Nos. 11, 23, and 25.

ushered into Senhor Marcos' house, there kept in suspense for two hours before we were ushered into the presence of the Chief, Kosoko. He was surrounded with armed men, with a host of retainers on each side of the court-yard.

I opened the conference by saluting him, stating that I was much pleased at having an opportunity given me as the Queen of England's Representative, of communicating to him, the purport of my mission.

Firstly, was the chief desirous to become friends with England, and sign a Treaty for the total suppression of the foreign Slave Trade within the limits of his territories? He replied that he was not his own master, but under the King of Benin. I told the chief that I was going to Benin, and would intercede with him also to sign the above-mentioned treaty.

I had previously asked the chief, supposing the King of Benin, his master, signed the Treaty, if he was prepared to do the same; he distinctly stated, through his Prime Minister, Tapaa, that he would not enter into any treaty with the English, and did not wish their friendship. I again put the same question as above, if he, Kosoko, was ready and willing to sign the Treaty with his master, the King of Benin, as he had already acknowledged him to be so?

The chief then stated that he had not up to the present received any power or authority from the King of Benin to rule as King of Lagos. He repeated the same as above, that the King might sign, but he, Kosoko, would not, nor had he any desire to do so. It is quite certain that the King of Benin will not give him that power, so long as he is certain Akitoye is alive, for he has the emblems of authority from the late and present King of Benin, who was crowned at the city of Benin when I was in that river last March. Of the further details of this conference, my Lord, I send a copy.

Finding, after our conference, that our terms were rejected, it was decided to collect such a show of force as the moment could supply, with the firm belief that such force, judging from the character of African chiefs, would have the effect, by simple demonstration of our power, to cause him to accede to our terms. We entered the river with a flag of truce, and but three guns were fired by the "Bloodhound" on entering the river, at what was considered outposts firing without authority. The flags of truce were flying until off the town, when the fire from the shore became so galling as to render the flag of truce nugatory. On being hauled down by us, a general fire in return was opened from us by the boats and Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound." The latter's assistance as a cover for the boats was unfortunately lost by her grounding at high-water, within range of the town, but not sufficiently so to afford that support to the boats that was so necessary. The waters were cleared of canoes, and a considerable part of the town burnt; but the mud-walls and very narrow streets afforded so great an advantage to the enemy, who were swarming in vast numbers, and proved themselves such good marksmen, that it was thought advisable to recall the people to their boats, as our people suffered much.

The "Bloodhound" remained on shore until high-water, when she was hove-off into $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, and remained for the night.

The senior officer and a part of the boats left the river for their ships. The following morning early, the expedition was withdrawn, the senior officer being fearful of fever.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 55.

Consul Beecroft to Kosoko, Chief of Lagos.

HER Britannic Majesty's Representative, John Beecroft, Esquire, accompanied by a naval escort, desires to hold a peaceful conference with the present Chief of Lagos. He hopes, therefore, that the Chief of Lagos

will be prepared to receive him and the English officers who will accompany him with that great respect and honour which the power and pure motives of England demand.

The Chief of Lagos will be informed one day previous to the intended conference, which will be immediately after Her Majesty's Representative returns from Badagry.

Given under my hand, this 14th day of November, 1851.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 55.

Minute of a Conference with Kosoko, Chief of Lagos.

AT a conference held at the Chief's house at the town of Lagos, under a flag of truce, on November 20, 1851.

PRESENT:

On the part of Lagos—
Kosoko, and other chiefs.

On the part of England—

Her Majesty's Consul, John Beecroft, Esq.
Commander A. E. Wilmot, H.M.S. "Harlequin."
Commander Alan Gardner, H.M.S. "Waterwitch."
Lieutenant Russell Patey, H.M.S. "Bloodhound."

AT this meeting England's Representatives were particular in pointing out the advantages of peace, and the wealth certain to accrue from legitimate and proper trade; together with the friendship and alliance of England depending on the total abolition of foreign Slavery: a traffic that fosters wars, rapine, and murder, destroying all natural ties, making a rich and beautiful country a wilderness—a scene of desolation and woe.

It was explained that by cultivating the soil, greater riches would more honourably, and certainly more happily, be obtained than Slave Traffic could possibly insure; and that the large majority of African chiefs had acceded to the views of England; had entered into treaty for the suppression of foreign Slavery, and were now reaping the benefit by the increased wealth and contentment of their people.

The firm determination of England to put an end to this infamous Traffic in Slavery, which her great power enables her to do, was then mentioned, with the resolution to be friends with none who opposed her.

Lastly, the question was put whether the Chief of Lagos desired the friendship of England, knowing the terms by which that friendship and alliance could alone be secured.

On the part of Lagos, these propositions were declined, with the remark that the friendship of England was not wanted.

Given under our hands, this 24th day of November, 1851.

(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT, *Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.*
ARTHUR P. EARDLEY WILMOT, *Commander,*
H.M.S. "Harlequin."
ALAN M. GARDNER, *Commander, H.M.S.*
"Waterwitch."
RUSSELL PATEY, *Lieutenant Commanding*
H.M.S. "Bloodhound."

Inclosure 3 in No. 55.

Consul Beecroft to Commander T. G. Forbes.

*"Bloodhound," at Sea, off Elmina Chica,
November 22, 1851.*

Sir,

HAVING had an interview with the usurper chief, Kosoko, and used every available means directed in my instructions from Lord Palmerston, to make a treaty with him for the suppression of the foreign Slave Trade, the only answer that I could obtain was, that he did not wish to be friends with the English. I have no alternative but to apply to you (as senior officer in the Bights) for a sufficient force to compel him to make a treaty, or dethrone him and replace the rightful heir, Akitoye.

You will see in the despatches received by me from Her Majesty's Government, that it is their earnest wish that decided and peremptory measures should be taken, and if necessary by force of arms.

I call your attention to the necessity of acting promptly, before the war breaks out, which may be expected daily.

My opinion is, that prompt and immediate measures ought to be taken, the water being favourable across the Bar at this time, which if delayed would in all probability prevent any coercive measures until next year.

I request you will take into consideration my views on this subject to enable me to carry out the wishes of the Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

No. 56.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, January 7, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, the copy of a letter from Commander Heath, of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Niger," dated 17th ultimo, reporting his proceedings and attack upon the town of Lagos.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 56.

Commander Heath to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Niger," Sierra Leone, December 17, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 27th November, 1851, I left Lagos under orders from the Senior Officer of the Bights, Commander T. G. Forbes, of the "Philomel," to carry his and Mr. Beecroft's (the Consul) despatches to the Commodore. I first proceeded to Ascension, and thence to Sierra Leone, where I arrived on the 17th.

I find the homeward-bound mail-steamer on the point of starting for England, and as I have not yet fallen in with the Commodore, and there is no letter addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty amongst the despatches with which I am charged, I think it my duty, in accordance with Article 56, chapter 5 of the Admiralty's instructions, to request you will submit to their Lordships the following account of events which have recently occurred at Lagos.

About the middle of November, Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound" arrived at Lagos from Fernando Po with the Consul, Mr. Beecroft, on board. Mr. Beecroft immediately put himself into communica-

tion with Commander Wilmot, of Her Majesty's steamer "Harlequin" (the cruiser stationed off Lagos), and proceeded with the boats of that vessel and the "Waterwitch" to ascend the river with the intention of endeavouring to make a treaty with the King of Lagos.

In crossing the Bar the boats were met by messengers from Kosoko, the King, begging them not to come up in force, as the inhabitants of the town were much excited, and he could not answer for the consequences, should they do so. Accordingly, the armed boats remained at the river's mouth, whilst Mr. Beecroft, Commanders Wilmot and Gardner, and Lieutenant Patey, went up to the King's Palace in two gigs. They were received with much honour and ceremony, but the King refused to make any treaty whatever with Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

Mr. Beecroft then proceeded round the Bights in search of the Senior Officer, Commander T. G. Forbes, of Her Majesty's brig "Philomel," and made a requisition, in virtue of which the whole force was assembled off Lagos by the evening of the 23rd November.

On the 24th, Commander Forbes called together the Commanders of the vessels to consult with Mr. Beecroft on the steps to be pursued. Mr. Beecroft produced three documents. No. 1 was an extract from a letter of Lord Palmerston's to the Board of Admiralty, detailing the political state of Lagos, and suggesting that with a view to the suppression of the Slave Trade, it might be advisable to dethrone Kosoko, the present King of Lagos, and set up his rival, Akitoye. No. 2 was a despatch from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Beecroft, relative to the support to be given to Abbeokuta. No. 3 was from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Beecroft, instructing him to endeavour to make an anti-slave-trading treaty with Kosoko; failing in that he was to call upon the naval officers to give him such a force as would ensure his personal safety, and he was to obtain another interview with Kosoko, and point out to him the strength of England; the relative weakness of Lagos on account of its proximity to the sea; and the fact that there was a rival claimant to his throne; and in short, Mr. Beecroft was to use the strongest possible arguments to induce Kosoko to make a treaty.

After due deliberation, it was resolved that No. 1, being merely a letter from Lord Palmerston to the Board of Admiralty, could not be considered in the light of instructions to Mr. Beecroft. No. 2 was important, because it was well known that the meditated attack by the King of Dahomey on the town of Abbeokuta might perhaps be averted by British interference at Lagos. No. 3 appeared exactly to meet existing circumstances. The case which had arisen was foreseen by Lord Palmerston, and specifically provided for. Mr. Beecroft had failed in obtaining a treaty; the next step was for him to go up and use stronger arguments with the King, and for us to support him with an armed force.

A channel across the Bar fit for the "Bloodhound" had been surveyed and buoyed by Mr. Earle, master of the "Harlequin," assisted by Mr. Harris, of the "Waterwitch;" and at daylight on the 25th, the "Bloodhound," with the boats and all the marines, crossed the Bar in safety. The "Bloodhound" carried a flag of truce; and, in addition to this, Mr. Beecroft accompanied Commander Wilmot in his gig, advanced fully 200 yards a-head of the flotilla, with another large and most conspicuous white flag. On crossing the Bar, an ineffective but heavy fire of musketry was opened from the Point; but this being four miles distant from the town, it was considered that it might have been done without the sanction of Kosoko, and accordingly no notice was taken of it, and the white flags were kept flying. The steamer grounded when within one mile and a half of the town; and after an unsuccessful attempt to get off, the boats formed a line and pulled up the river. A gun from the shore now opened fire on the boats, and as they continued to advance, other large guns and a very heavy and well-sustained, but owing to the distance, harmless fire of musketry, was opened upon them. The flags of truce were then hauled down; and keeping all the boats out of musket-range, the gunboats commenced action with shrapnell shell and round-shot, whilst the "Niger" occasionally sent a shell towards the Point at the river's mouth.

The cannonade having continued for an hour or so, a landing with a view

to firing the town was resolved on; the boats accordingly pulled in simultaneously for one spot, and about 160 or 180 men were landed, the remainder guarding the boats and protecting the subsequent embarkation. The natives made a most determined resistance, and a most skilful use of the advantages of their position. The town, or at least that part of it in which we landed, consists of narrow streets, intersecting one another in every direction. We were thus exposed to a flanking fire down every street which debouched on our line of advance; and the natives, when driven from one post ran by backways to take up a new position further on. After advancing some 200 or 300 yards, finding the resistance by no means diminishing, but, on the contrary, that the number of our opponents was increasing at every turning; and having already suffered a loss of two officers killed and six or seven men wounded, it was determined that to continue the advance would be imprudent, and we therefore fired all the neighbouring houses, and returned to the boats, and thence to the "Bloodhound." The fire continued with great fury for four hours, and there were two large explosions, but there was no wind all the day; and I am inclined to think the houses destroyed formed but a small portion of the whole city.

It can be no exaggeration to say that there were 5000 men in arms against us. A beach about one mile and a half in length was lined with musketry, and a continuous and most heavy fire was kept up along its whole face. Besides this every house was a small fortification, and there were five or six large guns and many swivels constantly at work.

The "Bloodhound" was got afloat the same night, and the next morning the expedition recrossed the Bar, and on the 27th the ships returned to their cruising-grounds.

Commander Forbes has, I believe, arranged that in the event of no submission being made by Kosoko, the "Harlequin" should occasionally annoy him with shells, &c., in order to keep him from attempting any new expedition against the missionary establishment at Badagry. In the meantime he has sent me to Ascension with the wounded, and I am to seek the Commander-in-chief, and inform him of the state of affairs, and to procure a supply of rockets; and he intends, I believe, to await further instructions.

I am aware that in writing this letter I should merely confine myself to stating the facts for their Lordships' information; but I hope I may be allowed to express a wish that their Lordships will be satisfied that we have done our duty, and that although we had not at the time of my leaving succeeded in bring Kosoko to his senses, we yet by making good our landing, and firing his town in the face of so determined a resistance, and of such an enormous disparity of force, did as much as was possible under the circumstances to effect.

I inclose a return of the force employed, and of the casualties. It may be considered nearly correct, but not strictly so, except in the case of the "Niger," upon whose ship's company, I am sorry to say, nearly all the loss has fallen. Besides those mentioned in the return, there were many struck more or less with spent-balls.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 56.

*Return of Force employed at the Expedition up Lagos River, on the
25th November, 1851.*

23 boats.
5 guns.
25 officers.
188 men (seamen).
53 marines.

2 killed (officers).
10 wounded.

No 57.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, January 8, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated the 27th October last, and of its inclosure, from the Commander-in-chief of the forces of Abbeokuta, asking for assistance in the war against Lagos and Dahomey.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 57.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Penelope," Fernando Po, October 27, 1851.

I TRANSMIT herewith, to be laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a despatch from Obba Shoron, Commander-in-chief of all the forces of Abbeokuta, and second in rank to the King of that nation, which has been forwarded to me by Commander A. P. E. Wilmot, of Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin."

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 57.

Obba Shoron to Commander Wilmot.

Sir,

Badagry, September 3, 1851.

I, OBBA SHORON, second to the King, and Commander-in-chief of the forces of all Abbeokuta, salute you and wish you long life.

I was glad to see your face and tell you what is in my heart; however, I thought I must put my words on paper, that you may not forget them.

I and my people are the Egba tribe of the Yoruba nation. Our fathers were farmers and lived peaceably in many towns, but war broke their towns and drove them from their homes; and so they and we, their children, built all at one place, that is, Abbeokuta, which is now a large town with more than 80,000 people.

We all are farmers and traders, and do not wish for war, but we have many enemies, and to defend ourselves we must fight.

Dahomey is our enemy. We have done him no wrong, but he is jealous of our large town, and thinks we shall get too strong, and so he came with a large army in the beginning of the year to destroy our town and make slaves of us, but we defeated him; and now he promises to try again in about four months.

Kosoko at Lagos is our enemy, because we are more friendly to the English than to Portuguese. We did not drive the English from our town as he wished us to do, but seek still more friendship and trade with English. He is our enemy, because we are Akitoye's friends. Kosoko spends much money all about to set the people against us, and so to defend ourselves we are obliged to engage in war.

Kosoko is the cause of war at Badagry. He bribed the Popos to kill and to catch Akitoye's people and to drive (or kill) the English from this place, but the Popos lost the war. Kosoko long desired to shut the road between Badagry and Abbeokuta, that we should not be able to trade with the English any more; and therefore as soon as we heard of the war here, and that this town, our only port, will be spoiled, I came

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down with the people to help in defending the town against Kosoko, who sent many large canoes with many people and big guns in them, to destroy this place. They have many times fired at this town, but they are now afraid of the big guns the white people have here (which they fire at them, because one white man was killed by Kosoko's agents), and so they attack the people travelling on the Abbeokuta road. Twice they have fired at parties and kidnapped several persons. The King of Porto Novo is our enemy, and as Kosoko's friend joins him to make war upon this town. I therefore have sent some of my forces to chastise him, and thus compel him to make friendship and open the road that the merchants here may get palm-oil, and if you could only grant our desire to destroy Lagos, secure that wicked man Kosoko, and bring back Akitoye to Lagos, then we fear not, the whole country will enjoy peace, and if the Slave Trade is put down at Lagos there will not be much more war in the country.

But the particular word I mention to you this morning is, that I and all the chiefs and people of Abbeokuta are most anxious to make friendship with you and all the English. We bow before your Queen and Government, and pray you to make a treaty with us. We promise to keep the law you give us by your help, for if we have English trade we do not want Slave Trade. Hoping our petition will be granted and wishing you peace.

I remain, &c.
(Signed) OBBA SHORON.

No. 58.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, January 8, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated October 27, and of its inclosures, relative to the state of affairs in Dahomey.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 58.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Penelope," Fernando Po, October 27, 1851.

I TRANSMIT herewith, to be laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a letter from Mr. Beecroft, inclosing copies of communications from Vice-Consul Fraser to Obba Shoron, second in command at Abbeokuta, and from the Chief of Dahomey to Her Majesty the Queen.

It is Mr. Beecroft's opinion that the King of Dahomey's sole aim is to obtain arms, &c. (presents), with which to attack Abbeokuta; that he considers himself a warrior, whose glory consists in fighting and making slaves; and that it would be derogatory to him to grow cotton or till the ground.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 58.

Consul Beecroft to Commodore Bruce.

Sir,

Clarence, Fernando Po, October 14, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to communicate, that on the 21st ultimo Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser arrived here from Whydah, in Her Majesty's brig "Harlequin," Commander Wilmot. On his landing at Whydah, a letter was handed to him by Mr. Prior (agent for Messrs. Hutton), from Guezo, King of Dahomey, stating at the same time that a deputation from Abomey arrived at the Fort, and requested him to write the King's mouth to Her Majesty the Queen of England. He wrote the accompanying letter through Madaki, the interpreter.

Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser acceded to Guezo's request, and proceeded to Abomey. Whilst there he received a letter from Obba Shoron, second in command of the Abbeokutian army at Badagry, with 1000 men for the protection of the Badagrians against the Lagos people. A copy of Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser's reply to Obba Shoron I herewith inclose, with a copy of Guezo's letter to Her Majesty the Queen of England. The "Harlequin" sailed on the 24th for Whydah.

On Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser's safe arrival at his post, he will forward to me a full detail of his mission to Abomey. He stated that Guezo was anxious for presents, such as muskets, bayonets, powder, shot, and shell, to annihilate the Abbeokutians, if possible. At present I have declined to accede to Guezo's request, as the soldier with a big head has already paid him the visit he requested, and found whatever he had to state relative to signing treaties was all twaddle. He never intends it until Her Majesty's Government deem it fit to coerce him to the path, by blockading Whydah.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 58.

Vice-Consul Fraser to Obba Shoron.

[See Inclosure 1 in No. 48.]

Inclosure 4 in No. 58.

The King of Dahomey to Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 48.]

No. 59.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, January 8, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated the 27th October last, and of its inclosure, relative to the native war at Badagry and Abbeokuta, on the west coast of Africa.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 59.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Penelope," Fernando Po, October 27, 1851.

I TRANSMIT herewith to be laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of a letter from the Reverend H. Townsend, respecting the native war at Badagry and Abbeokuta, which has been forwarded to me by Commander A. P. E. Wilmot, of Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin."

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 59.

The Rev. H. Townsend to Commander Wilmot.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, August 5, 1851.

HAVING a common interest in the welfare of Badagry and the English residing there, the English residents at Abbeokuta have heard with some concern, that you are unable to render such assistance as would enable Her Britannic Majesty's subjects to maintain their position, and that nothing is left them but either to abandon it, or depend on their own or native aid for preservation. It is a painful position to be placed in, but while it arises out of circumstances over which they have no control, they may with more certainty make use of such means as are given for self-preservation, trusting in a Divine Providence which is ever extended over those that most need it.

I would not trouble you with this letter, for which I have to apologize, but from observing in a copy of the letter addressed to the King of Porto Novo the following remark:—"The English do not wish to take part in the quarrel of the country; let the nations fight as long as they chose, but let them beware if an Englishman suffers." I would gather from this passage, and from one in a letter from Captain Jones, who calls the native wars a "native squabble," that Her Majesty's officers regard the war at Badagry as having no reference to the English or the acts of the British Government; but allow me with much deference to remark, that these wars result from the acts of Her Majesty's cruisers, and from the efforts of Englishmen towards establishing lawful trade. And I would further remark that they are directed against the English nationally, and not the English individually. As my views of the native war at Badagry appear to be so dissimilar to those of Her Majesty's officers, I cannot content myself with a bare assertion of an opinion, but must be permitted as briefly as possible, to show the grounds on which it rests.

The first act of hostility shown towards the English by Lagos, as far as my present object is concerned, was their refusing to allow the liberated Africans of the Egba tribe to land and pass through their country to their native country. The first that I have personal experience of was soon after our first settlement at Badagry: Lagos then endeavoured to bribe over the Badagry chiefs to procure the injury and expulsion of the English; but one of their number faithfully warned us of it, and we sought the assistance of Captain York, who was the senior officer in the Bight, and he promptly assisted us. His efforts were so well directed, that the chiefs of Badagry felt then that English power must be respected.

Soon after our efforts to form a settlement at Abbeokuta had been successful, Kosoko attempted to bribe the most powerful chief here, and from his previous character the most likely person to second his designs; but the good providence of God preserved us. The chief's answer was, "Let Kosoko drive away the white slave-traders at Lagos, and then we shall know what to do with the white men in Abbeokuta."

His second attempt here was to bribe over the native slave-traders. This was easily effected, and the result was, that they and the heathen priesthood in that district of the town where the slave-traders chiefly reside, persecuted our Christian converts, hoping to blight our prospects of usefulness, and to destroy our influence. They persecuted to the full extent of their power ; but their efforts failed of the desired end.

From Lagos again, reports were spread that white men were spies for the King of Dahomey ; and in order to effect our destruction they stated, that if the Dahomians should come, we would hoist up a flag, and by this convey to the Dahomians information of the state of the town, and point out a weak point for attack. This latter scheme was as abortive as the former, for I spread abroad a report also denying the assertion as regards spies, but asserting that we would hoist up an English flag, whenever the Dahomians came, to show them that Englishmen dwelt in the town.

But very lately one of our body of missionaries succeeded in reaching a large town two days' journey to the east-north-east of this. The intrigues of Kosoko here also followed him, and he endeavoured to procure his expulsion ; but the chiefs answered his demands by saying in effect, that they should not like to be the first to expel a white man from the town.

The schemes of Kosoko were in vain, but not, therefore, his acts of hostility towards us and the English nationally ; for against our national character were these efforts directed, on account of the injury done to the Slave Trade by the cruisers.

As these intrigues failed, and as the success of the squadron became more and more painfully felt by the Lagos Chief, so also did his evil disposition manifest itself against Abbeokuta more and more. The chiefs here, and I think justly, suspect him of aiding in the Dahomian invasion, and they thought it right to order the road between this and Lagos to be closed ; but it was after a short time opened again by the Slave Trade party of this town.

The failure of the Dahomians showed that a direct assault on this town was one of doubtful success ; the efforts of Kosoko were therefore redoubled to get Badagry into his power, and thus to cut off this town from intercourse with the English, through which it was supposed by him that the success of the cruisers in some manner depended. A suspicion is sufficient to rouse an uncivilized people into action ; and the vigour with which they act in such cases less depends upon the apparent justness of their suspicions, than the magnitude of the object dreaded. We were frequently apprized here, of Kosoko's intentions ; but for my own part, while I believed it was in his heart to do us all the mischief spoken of, I much doubted that the Badagry chiefs were so entirely blind to their own welfare as to throw away advantages that were bringing their town to a high state of temporal prosperity, for such doubtful ones as the Chief of Lagos could offer after the Slave Trade of Lagos had been virtually ruined.

The plans of the Chief of Lagos, as related to us here, before the fight took place at Badagry were, first to fight and defeat Mayen and Akitoye ; then to reckon with the English at Badagry ; and last of all, to shut up this town from all supplies of warlike stores, that it may become a prey to the Dahomians. The first act in this scheme failed, and of course the second and third could not follow ; but a course of action has been steadily pursued by Kosoko, answerable to this plan.

I hope, Sir, that I have now stated enough to show that I have reasonable grounds for what I before stated, viz., that these wars result from the acts of Her Majesty's cruisers, and from the efforts of Englishmen towards establishing lawful trade ; and as further added, that they are directed against the English nationally.

I hope I shall not trespass too long on your time and patience, by stating what direct efforts have been made by the authorities of this town to open a friendly intercourse with the English Government.

The first attempt was made by Spodeke, the late chief of this town ; he addressed a friendly letter to the Governor of Sierra Leone, and by

command of the Government at home, a civil answer was returned. The second case was, that the present Chief, Sagbua, addressed a letter and sent a present to Her Britannic Majesty, which were graciously received, of which, as in the former case, I was made the bearer; and Her Majesty commanded an encouraging and suitable answer to be returned with a present. And since then they received Her Majesty's Consul, sent under instructions from Lord Palmerston, in a manner that did them credit.

These acts of the English, in answer to theirs, have encouraged the chiefs to seek deliverance from the curse that has pressed them down so long, and to resist the warlike efforts of the Slave Trade party to force upon them a different policy. Without advice from the English, they have determined to address the British Government again direct, and they have appointed Friday as the day to meet together and dictate a letter to me; and which I have promised to write verbally, as they may speak it in their own tongue, in order that their genuine expressions may be sent, and not a mere interpretation, subject to any one's translation.

I may remark that since the fight in Badagry, the desires and aims of the Egbas and Mewes have been most praiseworthy. The Popos at Badagry plotted destruction against them at the instigation of Kosoko, but Mewes having defeated them, they desire to receive them back in a friendly spirit, in order that English lawful trade may be sustained, regarding justly Kosoko as the author of all the mischief, with whom no peace should be made but upon submission; but their well-intended efforts are opposed by the combined efforts and plots of Kosoko and the King of Porto Novo.

To-day an expedition is to be set forth against one or both of these chiefs, to make a division in favour of Badagry: what their instructions are, I do not know. In former cases of their sending forth such expeditions, the English here have counselled them against it, but now it is not in this instance just to do so; it is evident that necessity for the maintenance of their just rights calls it forth.

I may be permitted to add for myself, that in writing this I seek for no personal protection of any individual or individuals, or that of mere property, but what I deem to have been the noble object of the English nation to effect,—the deliverance of Africa from the Slave Trade and the encouragement of lawful traffic. This country has supplied her full share of slaves, and has suffered beyond the power of man fully to realize in so doing; but now enlightened and encouraged by the acts of the British Government, the Egbas have aroused to deliver themselves from it. As one of the chiefs expressed himself to the Consul in a public assembly, "our fathers were farmers and obtained enough for all their wants by their farms, without the Slave Trade; we also can live by the produce of our farms; if our farmers could only labour in safety, we should be glad to give up this evil Slave Trade."

Are not these the feelings the English are seeking to encourage; is not this the object upon which so many valuable lives and so much treasure has been spent? But to quench this feeling, to mar this good work, Kosoko and the Kings of Porto Novo and Dahomey are labouring. The abandonment of Badagry by the English traders and missionaries is not, therefore, merely the saving of so many lives, and the saving or losing of so much property as the case may be, but whether a great and good principle in which all England is interested and has laboured, is to be quenched by the craft, corruption, and power of the slave-trading chiefs.

I have no fear for the ultimate result of the present struggle; God, to whom must be ascribed every good, will not suffer the good work that has been commenced in this country to fall to the ground. The pests and evil purposes of the one party is consistent with the evil work they have been so long doing, and the struggles and difficulties of the other, the result of their long degradation and imperfect views of things.

I must again apologize for troubling you with this letter.

Believe me, &c.
(Signed) H. TOWNSEND.

P.S.—It will be necessary for me to observe that I have purposely omitted to make mention of any religious grounds of opposition, for I do not know that we have received any except from the heathen priesthood where we dwell. The acts of Kosoko were not directed against us, because we by our religious teaching endangered his idolatry, but because the English Government, through the instrumentality of her cruizers, were destroying the Slave Trade; and because, as he well knows, wherever the English are, there the national character and spirit of Englishmen must be shown, and lawful trade increase to the loss of the Slave Trade. The acts of the Egba Government show that the fears of the Slave Trade party are not groundless, for they are seeking to make a treaty of friendship and commerce with the British Government, and such a treaty may be made as would ensure the opening of the roads into the interior, and the valuable produce of the country which has not yet found its way to the sea, such as cotton, indigo, pepper, ginger, and a variety of others, which the commercial and agricultural habits of the people would soon cause to become profitable articles of commerce to the English and to themselves.

No. 60.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, January 10, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a letter dated the 1st November, from Commodore Bruce, and of its inclosures, complaining of the conduct of the Chief of Lagos, and suggesting that a blockade of Lagos should be established, and be extended to Porto Novo and Whydah, if necessary.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 60.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 164.)
Sir,

*“Penelope,” Island of St. Thomas,
November 1, 1851.*

IN my despatch dated the 31st July, 1851, I had the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I had written letters to the King of Lagos and the Chief of Porto Novo, warning them against molesting British subjects at Badagry. The former has returned my letter without any written comment, but sent a verbal message to the effect that he wanted no communication with the English.

It is necessary you should acquaint their Lordships that the natural-born British subjects at Badagry consist of a few merchants and missionaries, who have clearly a right to the protection which would be afforded them in any other part of the world; besides these, there are several hundreds of liberated Africans, who, if they have not a legal, have certainly a moral claim on our support; their freedom has been solemnly pronounced by competent British tribunals; many of them have embraced the doctrines and practices of Christianity. In the centre of a slave-trading people they have withstood the temptation of the great pecuniary gains to be had from bartering their fellow-men, and have devoted their energies to the

exercise of legitimate occupations. Their interference in the war now pending between the Chief of Lagos and the natives of Badagry and Abbeokuta has been compulsory; they have been obliged to fight, not that Akitoye might resume the throne from which he has been expelled, but from the certainty that if the reigning Chief, Kosoko, conquers their adopted country, they will inevitably be doomed to Slavery for the remainder of their lives.

Agreeably with their Lordships' directions signified to me in your letter of the 2nd September, 1851, I have communicated with the Governor of Sierra Leone, and given instructions to the senior officers of the North and Bights Divisions of the station, respecting the conveyance of arms, ammunition, and men, for the service of the Abbeokutians; the assistance thus to be afforded will, I have no doubt, be of the utmost benefit in bringing the war to a favourable conclusion; but I trust that the King of Lagos having obstinately declined any intercourse with Her Majesty's officers, and having insultingly returned my letter, although the purport of it was merely to request him not to allow the persons or property of British subjects to be injured by the people under his control, coupled with the fact of his having forcibly detained an Englishman on shore for four days, while he was shipping a cargo of slaves, as detailed in the accompanying copy of a letter from Captain L. T. Jones, of Her Majesty's steam-ship "Sampson," will induce their Lordships to authorize me to adopt more stringent measures against him. I believe that every nation has a right to communicate with another in any matter that may affect the interests of its subjects; and that the refusal of the King of Lagos to receive the friendly warnings of Her Majesty's officers is tantamount to a declaration that these warnings will not be attended to.

The legitimate trade of Lagos is considerable; it is, moreover, the principal slave-mart remaining in Western Africa. I am of opinion that the establishment of a commercial blockade of the coast would not only bring its turbulent chief to a proper sense of his duty with regard to foreign Powers, but would be the means of completely suppressing the Slave Trade in his territory, and afford a salutary lesson to the neighbouring native Kings.

If their Lordships think proper to authorize me to establish such a blockade, I request that I may be permitted to extend it to Porto Novo and Whydah (the sea-port of Dahomey), if the course of events should render it expedient to do so.

I inclose for their Lordships' inspection, my letter, as it was returned by the Chief of Lagos.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 60.

Captain Jones to Commodore Bruce.

Sir,

"Sampson," off Porto Novo, October 6, 1851.

REVERTING to the shipment in the "Relampago," mentioned in my letter of the 3rd instant, there is a point connected with it which will require explanation from the Chief of Lagos, viz., an English subject who was on shore at Lagos, and engaged to take a passage in the "Token," was detained on shore, and the vessel thereby detained the two days preceding and two days following the sailing of the "Relampago," and not permitted to embark. This is an act of aggression on the part of the King of Lagos requiring reparation, and I have therefore directed the cruiser off Lagos to exact a strict surveillance on all intercourse between vessels of whatever nature and the shore, and not to permit communication, unless the parties can give a clear account of their business.

Your letter to the King of Lagos is returned opened, which is an additional act on his part requiring coercive measures to enforce an explanation.

I think, Sir, if we had the power of immediately declaring any port blockaded, when the evidence was positive of slaves having been shipped; it would be a great step towards stopping this abominable traffic, and but an adequate punishment on the offenders.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS T. JONES.

Inclosure 3 in No. 60.

Commodore Bruce to the Chief of Lagos.

Commodore Henry W. Bruce, Commander-in-chief of Her Britannic Majesty's ships on the coast of Africa, to Kosoko, Chief of Lagos.

CAPTAIN JONES has transmitted to me a copy of the note which he sent to you on the 25th of June relative to the war between Lagos and Badagry. I entirely approve of the caution he has given you, and as I shall remain in the neighbourhood, I have desired him to acquaint me with any case that may come to his knowledge, where British subjects have been injured by persons under your control. The English residents in these countries are here to advance the moral and social condition of the natives, they take no part in their quarrels, and therefore should never be molested; if they should suffer in person or property in consequence of your war with Badagry, it will be my duty to inflict condign punishment on the offending parties.

Given under my hand, on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship "Penelope," at Prince's, the 29th day of July, 1851.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

No. 61.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, January 8, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, the copy of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated 1st November last, reporting that Mr. Consul Beecroft was about to proceed to Badagry, Abbeokuta, &c.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 61.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 166.)
Sir,

*"Penelope," Isle of St. Thomas,
November 1, 1851.*

IN my despatch of the 27th ultimo I acquainted you that Commander F. E. Forbes had gone to Badagry in the "Sampson." I have now the honour to request you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Mr. Consul Beecroft, whom I have seen at Fernando Po, will also proceed this day to Badagry and Abbeokuta, on a similar mission to that which Commander Forbes is employed upon.

Mr. Beecroft is satisfied that Abbeokuta is safe from an attack by the Dahomians for some weeks to come, as the rivers which must be passed will not be fordable before February or March. Supplies of ammunition and arms, if not of men, will have been forwarded to Obba Shoron, in the meantime.

Mr. Beecroft will also go up the Benin River with the view of ascertaining its capacity for facilitating the destruction of Lagos, should such a proceeding become necessary. He is of opinion that to give an effectual blow to the Slave Traffic in that quarter, Lagos ought to be taken under the protection of England, but he is at the same time aware of the pestilential nature of its climate and position. On this subject I would remind their Lordships that the European trade with Lagos is very considerable, particularly in Hamburgh vessels; and, moreover, that the second paragraph of Article VI of the Convention between Her Majesty and the King of the French, signed at London, May 29, 1845, stipulates that no part of the coast of Africa shall be occupied without the consent of the two High Contracting Parties. Akitoye does not appear to me to be a man likely to maintain his place by physical influence, if he could be reinstated in his seat of Government. I intend to be at Badagry and Lagos in the course of December.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

No. 62.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Lord Stanley of Alderley.

My Lord,

Admiralty, January 7, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you the copy of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated 6th ultimo, and of its inclosures, respecting the establishment of a blockade of all ports and places (except Badagry) situated in the Bights of Benin; and in laying the same before Earl Granville, I am to require that you will move his Lordship to cause publicity to be given to the same.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 62.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 200.)

Sir,

"Penelope," Sierra Leone, December 6, 1851.

I REQUEST you will be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that their order dated 14th October last, directing me to carry out the instructions of Her Majesty's Government relative to the King of Dahomey and the Chief of Lagos, having reached me at Ascension on the 20th ultimo, I sailed immediately for this place to concert measures with the Governor for obtaining a supply of arms and ammunition for the people of Badagry, and to receive on board as many of the liberated Africans as might volunteer to join the cause of the Abbeokutians.

After consulting his Excellency I obtained from the ordnance store-keeper, for conveyance to Badagry,—

2 light field-pieces (3-pounders) with 300 rounds of powder and shot.

159 muskets, flint-lock, with bayonets.

28,000 musket-ball cartridges and 2 barrels of flints.

The Africans would not volunteer without a promise of being paid for their services; under this circumstance I declined to receive them.

My despatches of October 27 and November 1,* 1851, will have apprized their Lordships of the failure which has attended my endeavours to treat on favourable terms with the King of Dahomey and the Chief of Lagos. I am of opinion that the course about to be pursued will bring about the object in view, and compel these barbarous rulers to put a stop to Slave Trade in their dominions.

I cannot tell the exact limits of the coast subject to the authority of the Chiefs of Dahomey and Lagos, but the Foreign Office chart which

was supplied to me on leaving England, and the reports I have received from Captain Jones, the senior naval officer in the Bights, and the several officers serving there, prove that Slave Trade exists (except at Badagry) from longitude 1° to 4° 30' east; I shall therefore blockade the whole of that line of territory.

I send you herewith a notification of the blockade and a copy of my order on the subject to the officers commanding Her Majesty's ships on this station, which I trust their Lordships will approve of.

In the absence of any report from Mr. Beecroft, relative to the result of the mission to Dahomey, I should have delayed issuing the notification of blockade until my arrival in the Bights, but Mr. Fraser's communication, a copy of which was forwarded to you in my despatch of the 27th October last, held out so little prospect of matters being amicably settled, that to prevent unnecessary inconvenience to several merchant-vessels about to sail for that quarter, I deemed it but proper and just that they should be apprized forthwith of the steps about to be taken. I have also given due notice of the blockade to the several British and foreign functionaries on the Coast, and to Rear-Admiral Henderson in the Brazils.

I believe there is sometimes as much as six feet water on the bar of the Lagos River; a small steam-vessel, therefore, would be of infinite service, but I am sorry to say I cannot hire one at Sierra Leone.

It is my intention to proceed towards the Bights to-morrow, and I have made arrangements for meeting Mr. Consul Beecroft, Commander Forbes, and Akitoye, late Chief of Lagos, in the neighbourhood of Badagry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 62.

Notification of Blockade.

"Penelope," Sierra Leone, December 6, 1851.

IN compliance with instructions from Her Majesty's Government, it is hereby notified that a blockade of all ports and places (except Badagry) situated in the Bight of Benin, from longitude 1° to 4° 30' east of Greenwich, will forthwith be established by me with an efficient force; and no merchant-vessel will be permitted to hold any communication whatever with the ports and places interdicted, from and after the 1st day of January next.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE, *Commodore and Commander-in-chief of Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces on the West Coast of Africa.*

Inclosure 3 in No. 62.

Order issued by Commodore Bruce.

General Memo.

"Penelope," Sierra Leone, December 6, 1851.

THE respective captains, commanders, and officers commanding Her Majesty's ships and vessels on the west coast of Africa will receive herewith a notification of my intention to establish a complete blockade of all the ports and places in the Bights of Benin (except Badagry), from longitude 1° to 4° 30' east of Greenwich, and they are to supply a copy of the same to the masters of all merchant-vessels they may happen to fall in with, inserting in the log-books of such vessels the fact of their having done so.

The duties devolving on the commanders and officers of the ships of the blockading squadron are of a most delicate nature: while, on the one hand, they are required to carry out the blockade in a strict and impartial

manner, they are, on the other hand, enjoined not to give occasion to foreign Governments to complain of any undue severity or annoyance in the accomplishment of this service.

Vessels of war are not to be interfered with in any way, and merchant-vessels are not to be detained unless they are found breaking the blockade after due notice of its existence has been inserted in their log-books, and signed by the boarding officer.

It must be borne in mind that the blockade is intended to bring about the suppression of the Traffic in Slaves; therefore it should be the endeavour of Her Majesty's officers, in the accomplishment of this object, to occasion as little inconvenience as possible to lawful traders.

Boats sent away to board, or on detached service, are to have an ensign and pendant flying; the officer in charge is to be of commissioned rank, to wear his proper uniform, and to be particularly instructed not to search any vessel belonging to a nation that has not conceded that right to Great Britain.

Commanding officers are required to receive on board their respective ships, British and foreign residents, and others, who may be desirous of leaving any of the blockaded ports or places for protection, or to wait an opportunity of being transferred to merchant-vessels.

No person belonging to the squadron is to be permitted to land on any part of the blockaded coast, without the permission of the Senior Officer present.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE, *Commodore.*

No. 63.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 16, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of Lord Granville, the copy of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated 9th December last, and of its inclosures, addressed by that officer to the several British and foreign functionaries respecting the blockade of the Bights of Benin.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 63.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Penelope," off the Sherbro, December 9, 1851.

IN reference to the 6th paragraph of my despatch of the 6th instant,* I have to request that you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the inclosed copies of my letters to the several British and foreign functionaries to whom I transmitted printed notices of the blockade about to be established in the Bight of Benin.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 63.

Commodore Bruce to the Governor of Sierra Leone.

Sir,

"Penelope," Sierra Leone, December 6, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a notice of my intention to establish a complete blockade of all the ports and places in the Bight of Benin,

* No. 62.

(except Badagry), from longitude 1° to 4° 30' east of Greenwich, and I now beg leave to state the circumstances which have led to the adoption of this coercive measure.

1st. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo, in defiance of repeated warnings from Her Majesty's Government, persist in carrying on the foreign Slave Trade, the suppression of which has been an unceasing object with all civilized countries for years past.

2nd. Her Majesty's officers endeavoured to persuade the King of Dahomey to desist from the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners on public festivals, and the only result was, the murder of ten or eleven victims in the very presence of Her Majesty's officers.

3rd. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo have, in the persecution of their barbarous enterprises, commonly known as "slave-hunts," and against the remonstrances of British officers, attacked and made war upon the towns of Abbeokuta and Badagry, where several British missionaries and liberated Africans are located, and places which Her Majesty's Government necessarily take an interest in, because they seem destined to be points from whence the lights of Christianity and civilization may be spread over the adjoining countries.

4th. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo have declined to respect the lives of British subjects living at Abbeokuta and Badagry, should they at any time be enabled to force their way into those towns.

5th. The King of Lagos forcibly detained a British subject on shore, while he (the King) was shipping a cargo of slaves on board a vessel in the roadstead.

6th. The King of Lagos declined to enter into any communication whatever with the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces on this station, and insultingly returned a letter which that functionary had addressed to him, although the purport of that letter was merely to request that British life and property might not be injured by persons under his control.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Similar letters sent to

His Excellency Colonel F. Gore Browne, Governor of St. Helena.

His Excellency Major S. J. Hill, Governor of Gold Coast.

His Excellency the Governor of the Gambia.

Rear-Admiral Henderson, Commander-in-chief, Brazil Station.

Commodore Wyvill, Commander-in-chief, Cape of Good Hope.

John Beecroft, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul, Bights of Benin, &c.

George Brand, Esq., Her Majesty's Vice-Consul, Angola.

A. W. Hanson, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul, Monrovia.

Louis Fraser, Esq., Her Majesty's Vice-Consul, Dahomey.

John Rendall, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul, Cape Verds.

Inclosure 3 in No. 63.

Commodore Bruce to Commodore Pénaud.

M. le Commodore,

*"Penelope," Sierra Leone,
December 6, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a notice of my intention to establish a complete blockade of all the ports and places in the Bight of Benin (except Badagry), from longitude 1° to 4° 30' east of Greenwich; and I now beg leave to state the circumstances which led my Government to adopt this coercive measure.

1st. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo, in defiance of repeated warnings persist in carrying on the foreign Slave Trade, the suppression of which has been an unceasing object with all civilized countries for years past.

2ndly. Her Britannic Majesty's officers endeavoured to persuade the King of Dahomey to desist from the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners on public festivals, and the only result was, the murder of ten or eleven victims in the very presence of Her Majesty's officers.

3rdly. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo have in the prosecution of their barbarous enterprises, commonly known as "slave-hunts," and against the remonstrances of British officers, attacked and made war upon the towns of Abbeokuta and Badagry, where several missionaries and liberated Africans are located, and places which Her Britannic Majesty's Government necessarily take an interest in, because they seem destined to be points from whence the lights of Christianity and civilization may be spread over the adjoining countries.

4thly. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo have declined to respect the lives of British merchants and missionaries living at Abbeokuta and Badagry, should they at any time be enabled to force their way into those towns.

5thly. The King of Lagos forcibly detained a British subject on shore, while he (the King) was shipping a cargo of slaves on board a vessel in the roadstead.

6thly. The King of Lagos declined to enter into any communication whatever with the Commander-in-chief of Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces on this station, and insultingly returned a letter which that functionary had addressed to him, although the purport of that letter was merely to request that British life and property might not be injured by persons under his control.

I feel confident, M. le Commodore, that you will be gratified to hear of the adoption of a measure which bids fair to ensure the suppression of the Slave Trade in Africa, an event mutually desired by our respective Governments, and to bring about which both France and Great Britain have maintained large and expensive squadrons of ships on this coast for many years.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 63.

Commodore Bruce to the Governor of the Senegal.

Sir,

"Penelope," Sierra Leone, December 6, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a notice of my intention to establish a complete blockade of all the ports and places in the Bight of Benin (except Badagry), from longitude 1° to 4° 30' east of Greenwich; and I now beg to state the circumstances which led my Government to adopt this coercive measure.

1st. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo, in defiance of repeated warnings, persist in carrying on the foreign Slave Trade, the suppression of which has been an unceasing object with all civilized countries for years past.

2ndly. Her Britannic Majesty's officers endeavoured to persuade the King of Dahomey to desist from the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners on public festivals, and the only result was, the murder of ten or eleven victims in the very presence of Her Majesty's officers.

3rdly. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo have in the prosecution of their barbarous enterprises, commonly known as "slave-hunts," and against the remonstrances of British officers, attacked and made war upon the towns of Abbeokuta and Badagry, where several British missionaries and liberated Africans are located, and places which Her Britannic Majesty's Government necessarily take an interest in, because they seem destined to be points from whence the lights of Christianity and civilization may be spread over the adjoining countries.

4thly. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto

Novo have declined to respect the lives of British merchants and missionaries living at Abbeokuta and Badagry, should they at any time be enabled to force their way into those towns.

5thly. The King of Lagos forcibly detained a British subject on shore, while he (the King) was shipping a cargo of slaves on board a vessel in the roadstead.

6thly. The King of Lagos declined to enter into any communication whatever with the Commander-in-chief of Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces on this station, and insultingly returned a letter which that functionary had addressed to him, although the purport of that letter was merely to request that British life and property might not be injured by persons under his control.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Similar letters to the foregoing written and sent to,
 His Excellency the Governor-General of the Cape Verde Islands.
 His Excellency the Governor-General of Angola.
 His Excellency President Roberts, Monrovia.
 Commodore Manoel Thomas Silva Cordeiro, Commander-in-chief of the Portuguese Naval Forces, West Coast of Africa.

Inclosure 5 in No. 63.

Commodore Bruce to Commodore Lavalette.

Sir,

"Penelope," Sierra Leone, December 6, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a notice of my intention to establish a complete blockade of all the ports and places in the Bight of Benin, except Badagry, from longitude 1° to 4° 30' east of Greenwich; and I now beg leave to state the circumstances which led my Government to adopt this coercive measure.

1st. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo, in defiance of repeated warnings, persist in carrying on the foreign Slave Trade, the suppression of which has been an unceasing object with all civilized countries for years past.

2ndly. Her Britannic Majesty's officers endeavoured to persuade the King of Dahomey to desist from the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners on public festivals; and the only result was, the murder of ten or eleven victims in the very presence of Her Majesty's officers.

3rdly. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo have, in the prosecution of their barbarous enterprises, commonly known as "slave-hunts," and against the remonstrances of British officers, attacked and made war upon the towns of Abbeokuta and Badagry, where several missionaries and liberated Africans are located, and places which Her Britannic Majesty's Government necessarily take an interest in, because they seem destined to be points from whence the lights of Christianity and civilization may be spread over the adjoining countries.

4thly. The King of Dahomey and the Chiefs of Lagos and Porto Novo have declined to respect the lives of British merchants and missionaries living at Abbeokuta and Badagry, should they at any time be enabled to force their way into those towns.

5thly. The King of Lagos forcibly detained a British subject on shore, while he (the King) was shipping a cargo of slaves on board a vessel in the roadstead.

6thly. The King of Lagos declined to enter into any communication whatever with the Commander-in-chief of Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces on this station, and insultingly returned a letter which that functionary had addressed to him, although the purport of that letter was merely to request that British life and property might not be injured by persons under his control.

I feel, confident, Sir, you will be gratified to hear of the adoption of proceedings which bid fair to insure the suppression of the Slave Trade in Western Africa, an object which our respective Governments have long and anxiously endeavoured to bring about, and for which they have for many years maintained a number of ships on this station.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

No. 64.

Earl Granville to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 24, 1852.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 26th of November last, stating what passed at your conference with Kosoko, the Chief of Lagos, on the 20th of that month, and reporting the circumstances of the attack which you authorized Commander Forbes to make upon the town of Lagos, after Kosoko had rejected your proposal that he should conclude a Treaty with Great Britain for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that you were not borne out, either by the circumstances of the case, or by your instructions from Her Majesty's Government, in directing that Her Majesty's naval forces should land and attack Lagos; and Her Majesty's Government greatly regret the loss of life which has been the consequence of that attack.

The latest instruction which you had received from Viscount Palmerston with reference to the object of your visit to Lagos, was contained in a despatch from his Lordship dated the 21st of February, 1851. That despatch stated, that if the Chief of Lagos should refuse to abandon the Slave Trade and to expel the slave-traders, you were to remind him of the presence on the coasts of his territory of a powerful British squadron, and of the fact that his authority had been founded on an usurpation; but you were not directed to resort immediately to hostilities against Kosoko; and Her Majesty's Government cannot but regret that you did not, after the unsatisfactory termination of your conference with Kosoko, determine to wait till you should have had an opportunity of conferring with Commodore Bruce as to the nature of the coercive measures proper to be adopted against Lagos.

I am aware that Lord Palmerston's despatch to you of the 11th of October, 1850, inclosed a copy of a letter to the Admiralty of the same date, stating that it appeared to his Lordship, that if the Chief of Lagos should refuse to enter into an engagement similar to that which was agreed to by the Chiefs of Gallinas, measures similar to those which were enforced against Gallinas should be brought to bear upon Lagos; but you should have borne in mind that the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces on the west coast of Africa was the only person who could properly direct any measures to be taken with reference to that letter; and if you had consulted Commodore Bruce before you proceeded to require Commander Forbes to attack Lagos, hostile measures might have been avoided; and if a necessity had subsequently arisen for the employment of force, instead of directing against the Chief of Lagos an unsuccessful attack, which will necessitate further hostilities to do away with the bad moral effect which has been produced upon the natives, such precautions might have been taken as would have ensured success.

I regret to be obliged to disapprove of your conduct in this affair, as Her Majesty's Government have had occasion to remark the zeal and activity with which you have generally carried out the instructions given by Her Majesty's Government with the view to put an end to the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 17, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a despatch, dated the 19th December, from Commodore Bruce, and of its several inclosures, relative to the proceedings which took place in November last in the River Lagos, when an engagement took place between the boats of certain of Her Majesty's ships under the command of Commander T. G. Forbes, of the "Philomel," and the chief Kosoko and his followers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. PARKER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 65.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Penelope," off Lagos, December 19, 1851.

IN accordance with the intimation conveyed in my despatch to you dated December 6, 1851, I sailed from Sierra Leone on the 8th instant. I proceeded along the coast, touched at several places, and arrived here yesterday, when I learned that Commander Thomas Forbes, of the "Philomel," had, on the 25th of November, upon the requisition of Mr. Consul Beecroft, entered the River Lagos with an armed force, which resulted in his being led into an engagement with the party under the direction of the Chief, Kosoko.

From the verbal reports I have received, and from information contained in the documents accompanying this despatch, I will endeavour, in as concise a manner as possible, to place the Lords of the Admiralty in possession of the particular circumstances which brought the respective parties into collision.

On the 20th November, Mr. Beecroft, accompanied by Commander Wilmot, of the "Harlequin," Commander Gardner, of the "Waterwitch," and Lieutenant Patey, of the "Bloodhound," held a conference with Kosoko and other ruling chiefs at Lagos, and offered them the friendly alliance of Great Britain, on the condition that they relinquished the foreign Slave Trade. The concluding paragraph in the notes of this conference shows how completely Her Majesty's officers failed in obtaining the end which was sought after: "On the part of Lagos, these propositions were declined, with the remark that the friendship of England was not wanted."

On the 25th of November, Mr. Beecroft having showed Commander Forbes certain instructions from Lord Palmerston, prevailed upon him to send an armed force, with a flag of truce, into the River Lagos. This force was fired at from the town and both banks of the river. The flag of truce was hauled down, a general action commenced, and the men effected a landing, set fire to several houses, returned to their boats, and re-embarked, with the loss of 2 officers killed, and 2 officers and 14 men wounded.

There are circumstances connected with this transaction to which I am reluctantly compelled to draw their Lordships' attention.

In the first place, I regret that Mr. Beecroft should have attempted to negotiate with Kosoko, after the failure which attended his endeavours on the 20th November.

2ndly. That in a case where immediate action was not necessary, he should, without consulting me, have requested an officer under my orders to place himself in a position where hostilities were almost inevitable.

3rdly. Because there can be no doubt that the instructions he had received from Lord Palmerston were intended by his Lordship to be carried into execution in conjunction with the Naval Commander-in-chief at this station.

4thly. That a flag of truce should have been displayed under circumstances which could scarcely warrant a hope of its being respected.

5thly. That having made an express appointment to meet Mr. Beecroft here on the 15th of December, to conduct any operations that might be considered necessary during the present favourable season, which will last until the end of February, the position of affairs now leaves but one course of action open to me, which is, to inflict a summary and retributive punishment upon the chiefs of Lagos.

I am quite certain that Commander Forbes acted from a desire to promote the interests of Her Majesty's service, and I am confident their Lordships will be pleased with the gallantry displayed by him and the officers, seamen, and marines under his command.

I particularly regret the loss which the service has sustained by the death of Mr. Dyer and Mr. Hall, mates of the "Niger;" they were both highly meritorious officers, and were killed in the very execution of their duty.

I inclose copies of Commander Forbes' reports.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 65.

Commander T. G. Forbes to Commodore Bruce.

Sir, *"Philomel," off Lagos, November 26, 1851.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you a letter from Captain Wilmot, of Her Majesty's steamer "Harlequin," also from J. Beecroft, Esq., relative to their proceedings in endeavouring to obtain a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade from the usurper, King Kosoko. I have now to acquaint you of my proceedings on the occasion.

After the insult offered to Her Majesty's Consul, Mr. Beecroft, on his going up to Lagos with a flag of truce for the purpose of negotiating a treaty, accompanied by Commanders Wilmot, A. H. Gardner, and Lieutenant Patey, by Kosoko threatening to fire on him if he took more boats up the river than one, thereby entirely placing Mr. Beecroft at his mercy, Mr. Beecroft thought it advisable to apply to me to place such a force at his disposal, so as would deter the usurper Kosoko from having any recourse to treachery, to enable him to carry out the earnest wishes of the Government as expressed in Lord Palmerston's despatches, of which he gave me a perusal. A despatch, dated 11th October, 1850,* from the Foreign Office, addressed to Mr. Beecroft, mentions "that it appears to Lord Palmerston that it seems clear that the King of Dahomey will not be induced to enter into any agreement to abandon the Slave Trade, until the Chiefs of Lagos shall have previously been brought to enter into such an engagement, and until Slave Trade shall have been effectually stopped at Whydah."

It seems, therefore, to Lord Palmerston, that measures should forthwith be resorted to for the purpose of putting an end to the Slave Trade at Lagos; and with that view the present Chief of Lagos should be invited to enter into an engagement, similar to that which was agreed upon by the Chiefs of Gallinas; and if he should refuse to do so, that measures similar to those which were enforced against Gallinas should be brought to bear upon Lagos, or that steps should be taken to replace in authority at Lagos the former Chief, who is understood to be now at Badagry; and who would, it is believed, readily subscribe to the proposed engagement. In another despatch, dated Foreign Office, 21st February, 1851,† Lord Palmerston mentions: "If the Chief should show a disposition to refuse a compliance, you should beg him to remember that Lagos is near the sea, and that on the sea are the ships and cannon of England;

* No. 10.

† No. 25.

and also to bear in mind that he does not hold his authority without a competitor, and that the chiefs of the African tribes do not always retain their authority to the end of their lives." Having read the proceedings and result of the attempted treaty with the Chiefs of Lagos, together with Mr. Beecroft's request and opinion (as per inclosed copy of a letter); also Lord Palmerston's despatch to him, extracts of which I now forward, and knowing it to be my duty to furnish Mr. Beecroft with means of carrying on the negotiation without placing him in the power of the Chief of Lagos; I felt it my duty under these circumstances, particularly as any satisfactory arrangement being made now would in all probability postpone, if not entirely prevent, the second premeditated attack on Abbeokuta; in consequence I assembled all the force under my command at Lagos, and anchored there about 8 o'clock on Sunday evening. On Monday the 24th, I held a consultation with Mr. Beecroft and all the captains, and having carefully considered the importance of trying to obtain a treaty, I ordered the "Bloodhound" and the ship's boats under my command to be manned and armed, ready to proceed up the River Lagos at daylight on the 25th, to protect Mr. Beecroft from any insult with a flag of truce.

We entered the river at 6:15 A.M., and proceeded towards Lagos with the boats in tow, having a flag of truce flying on board the "Bloodhound," preceded by Captain Wilmot in his gig, carrying Mr. Beecroft with a flag of truce, 200 yards ahead of the "Bloodhound." Notwithstanding the two flags of truce being up, on rounding the first point at 6:25 A.M., they opened a harassing fire of musketry along the right bank of the river. This first act of aggression I took no notice of, but kept the flags flying and proceeded steadily on until about a mile from the town, when the "Bloodhound" unfortunately took the mud, the enemy's fire all this time increasing, and the shot falling fast and thick among the boats.

At 7:25 A.M. they commenced firing great guns of different calibre; and at 7:45, Mr. Beecroft hauled down the flag of truce, which was done on board the "Bloodhound." I then thought it high time this hostile act of the usurper should be answered. I ordered the boats to open their fire with great guns and small arms, which was immediately done. They then endeavoured to cross large bodies of troops in war-canoes, for the purpose of keeping up a cross-fire of musketry from both banks of the river; this was effectually stopped by my ordering the gigs and cutters to cut them off, which was done, and our rear well protected in consequence.

With the very small force I had to oppose the vast numbers of men, armed with good muskets, and who were keeping up an incessant fire from behind clay walls, and the town being quite a stockade, I determined on setting fire to it, which was gallantly done, in the face of a heavy and destructive fire, at 9 A.M. My force not being sufficiently strong to keep up this unequal contest, and having accomplished all that could be done without great sacrifice of life, I ordered the men off to their boats, and proceeded down the river, taking care to keep the enemy in check whenever they showed themselves.

I have every reason to believe from what I saw, the numbers of men lining the right bank of the river must have been three or four thousand black troops well armed. Having burnt a considerable part of the town, I considered I had shown to the usurper Kosoko, that the British flag was not to be fired upon with impunity. I retired to the "Bloodhound" in the same order as going up, and then commenced preparing, by laying anchors out, to get the "Bloodhound" off on the rise of the tide. The practice made by her 18-pounder was excellent, and kept effectually in check some guns that would have done great injury to her while on shore. It being too late, after getting the "Bloodhound" afloat, to cross the Bar in the dark, I left Captain Wilmot to superintend the getting her off, and I returned to the "Philomel" with the light boats of the squadron for their respective ships, leaving the gun-boats with the "Bloodhound" for protection. On the morning of the 26th, the "Bloodhound" and remainder of the boats returned outside the river in safety.

I am greatly indebted to the arduous and difficult task performed by the Master of the "Harlequin," and assisted by the Acting Master of the

"Waterwitch," in surveying and buoying this most difficult Bar, which enabled him (Mr. Earl) to take the "Bloodhound" and boats over the Bar with perfect safety, having 15 feet of water, a plan of which I submit.

I have now to inform you that the boats of the different ships named in the margin* were commanded by their respective Commanders, with the exception of my own vessel ("Philomel"), whose boats were in charge of Lieutenant G. B. Williams (Senior Lieutenant in the squadron), and I cannot say too much for the active zeal and assistance of Captain Wilmot and the other Commanders, by their strict attention to the orders given, as well as the attention paid by the officers, seamen, and marines under them; and to their great forbearance in not returning the harassing fire until directed by me, I attribute the success of our enterprise in burning a large portion of the town of Lagos.

Though the loss in killed and wounded was very severe and much to be lamented, I feel that we were fortunate with so small a force (300 officers and men, 52 of whom were on board "Bloodhound"), so much exposed to over 3000 men, armed with muskets, besides, I should say, from 20 to 30 pieces of ordnance, in getting off with such little loss, in the difficult task of setting fire to a stockaded town, full of men and very narrow streets.

The two medical officers, assistant surgeons of "Niger" and "Harlequin," employed on this service, under the immediate direction of Assistant Surgeon Dr. J. Ternan, M.D., were unremitting, and tended much to alleviate the sufferings of the very severely wounded.

The two mates, Messrs. Dyer and Hall, both highly spoken of by their captain, met their deaths, gallantly leading at the head of their men; Mr. Hall was alongside his captain when he fell, and his loss will be deeply felt by his mother and two sisters, whom he assisted in pecuniary matters.

I have now written you an account of my proceedings, and the causes which led to the event which has just happened, and I trust that my conduct will be sanctioned by your approval as well as that of the Government. I have only to regret that my force was not sufficient to have dethroned Kosoko, and placed Akitoye, the rightful heir, in his place. If I had done that at a great sacrifice of life, I could have expected nothing but censure.

I am, &c.

(Signed) THOS. G. FORBES.

Inclosure 3 in No. 65.

Commander Wilmot to Commander T. G. Forbes.

Sir, *"Harlequin," Lagos, November 26, 1851.*

HER Majesty's Consul having returned to this port from Badagry, on the evening of the 18th of this month, without the "Volcano," which vessel had been ordered by me to accompany him, I immediately communicated with him upon the subject of his visit to Lagos.

It was determined to proceed to Lagos at once with the boats of the "Harlequin," "Waterwitch," and "Bloodhound," manned and armed, with the full complement of marines as an escort, the leading boat ("Harlequin's" galley) carrying a flag of truce. The marines were to have been landed at Lagos as a body-guard to the Consul. On the morning of the 20th, the boats of the ships above mentioned, consisting of 2 pinnaces carrying 12-pounder guns, 3 cutters, and 5 gigs, with Commander Alan H. Gardner, of the "Waterwitch," Lieutenant Russell Patey, of the "Bloodhound," myself, and Her Majesty's Consul, proceeded to the River Lagos, with the intention of passing up to the town.

The heavy boats not being able to pass the Bar, as it was low water, I beached them on the Point immediately outside, and landed the marines, part of the crews, and the heavy gear, to lighten them. A great number of armed men, with long muskets and short swords, were assembled in the bushes and around the huts that formed the village upon the Point.

* Philomel, Harlequin, Volcano, Niger, Waterwitch, Bloodhound.

The Consul and myself advanced towards these people, who retired behind the huts and stockades, coming to the kneeling position and seemingly ready to fire upon us. Seeing this, I ordered up the marines who had been landed, when some of the Portuguese merchants, who have houses and barracoons upon this Point, came towards us and begged we would not go on to Lagos, as the King's people were ordered to fire upon the boats if they advanced up the river. They told us they were dreadfully excited; had been up all night expecting an attack; were under no command, and that the King could not restrain them. We explained that we were not coming to fight, but to hold a "peaceful palaver," as the flag of truce would show; that if we were attacked we should defend ourselves. The Portuguese, several of whom I had seen before and been on terms of friendship with, said that the King would receive the Consul and myself at Lagos, if we would come up in one boat, and that the people would not fire.

The question to be considered was whether, if we forced the river, and the flag of truce was insulted, we had sufficient force to resent the affront. Lagos is a large town four miles from the Point, containing 10,000 inhabitants, all armed; the river-side has advantages which enable them to fire at our boats without the least possible risk of injury to themselves, having a long sand bank thrown up, and being covered with thick bushes and jungle. At Lagos and along the bank are several guns of different sizes, a long 24-pounder being mounted at the landing-place near the King's house, and all the canoes (amounting to some hundreds) having a small gun in their bows.

Taking into consideration this amount of difficulties and opposition, and considering that the object might be effected by showing confidence in the King and firmness in ourselves, as we could do no effectual damage with such a small force, Her Majesty's Consul determined to leave the escort inside the river bar and proceed to Lagos in my gig, accompanied by Commander Gardner and Lieutenant Russell Patey. The Portuguese held themselves responsible for our reception and safety.

Mr. Beecroft commenced at once the palaver and held out the friendship and alliance of the Queen of England, stating at the same time the advantages to be gained by legitimate trade and lawful commerce, the cruelty of the Slave Trade, and the crimes resulting from such a barbarous traffic.

Kosoko replied that he was entirely under the King of Benin, and that he was not even acknowledged as King by him at present. That the King of Benin must first sign the Treaty; but that if the King of Benin did sign it, he would not. In fact it appeared that the King of Lagos did not wish our alliance and friendship, and would have nothing to do with us in any way.

The palaver ended and we returned to the "Harlequin" the same evening, when Mr. Beecroft resolved to communicate with the senior officer of the Bights Squadron, and call for a larger force to enforce his wishes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. E. WILMOT.

Inclosure 4 in No. 65.

Consul Beecroft to Commander T. G. Forbes.

[See Inclosure 3 in No. 55.]

Inclosure 5 in No. 65.

Minute of Conference with the Chief of Lagos.

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 55.]

Inclosure 6 in No. 65.

RETURN of Killed and Wounded of Her Majesty's ships in the attack on Lagos, on the
25th November, 1851,

Ships.	Force of Officers and Men sent to Lagos.	Boats.	Wounded.			Killed and Died of Wounds.	Remarks.
			Dangerously.	Severely.	Slightly.		
Philomel ..	34	Pinnace, 2 whale-boats ..	1	..	1	..	
Harlequin ..	62	Pinnace, cutter, 2 gigs, 1 galley	..	1	1	..	
Volcano ..	45	2 Paddlebox-boats, 1 cutter, 1 gig	..	3	2	..	
Niger ..	75	1 pinnace, 3 cutters, 2 gigs ..	2	5	..	2	
Waterwitch ..	38	Pinnace, whale-boat, gig, canoe	..	..	..	..
Bloodhound ..	52	"Bloodhound" present ..	..	..	..	..
	306	21 and 1 canoe	3	9	4	2	

Inclosure 7 in No. 65.

RETURN of Officers, Seamen, and Marines employed in the Boats of Her Majesty's sloop
"Philomel," in the attack on Lagos, on the 25th of November, 1851.

Description of Boat.	Names of Officers and Number of Men.	Killed.	Wounded.	Remarks.
5-oared Whale-boat	Commander Thos. G. Forbes, officer commanding expedition 5 Seamen 1 Serjeant of Marines			
5-oared Whale-boat	Mr. R. P. Cator, Acting Mate. 5 Seamen 1 Private R.M.			
Pinnace, 12-pounder carronade	Lieutenant G. B. Williams, com- manding "Philomel's" boats Fred. Townsend, master's assistant 13 Seamen 4 Marines Dr. A. Mitchell, volunteer to assist in attending on wounded	.. .. Nil	1 1 2	Wm. Walker, quartermaster, wounded dangerously John Peard, boatswain's mate, slightly wounded

No. of Officers in boats ..	..	..	5
Seamen ..	..	..	23
Marines ..	..	..	6
Total ..	..	..	34

Inclosure 8 in No. 65.

RETURN of Officers, Seamen, and Marines engaged in the Boats of Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin," in the attack on Lagos on the 25th November, 1851.

Pinnace ..	Lientenant C. F. F. Boughey, Mr. J. H. Haran, assistant surgeon, 14 Seamen, 9 Marines.
Cutter ..	Mr. C. R. Tuckey, acting mate, Mr. J. Walker, boatswain, 10 Seamen, 6 Marines.
Galley ..	Commander A. P. E. Wilmot, Mr. A. Wright, midshipman, 6 Seamen.
1st Gig ..	Mr. A. R. Lathbury, midshipman, Mr. J. N. Wicker, clerk.
2nd Gig ..	Mr. C. D. Davies, midshipman, Mr. E. F. Reffell, clerk's assistant, 5 Seamen, 2 Marines.

Wounded.

Thos. Mitchell, (2) A.B., slightly.
John Toze, private Royal Marines, seriously.

(Signed) **A. E. WILMOT, Commander.**
JAMES FISHER, M.D., Surgeon.

Inclosure 9 in No. 65.

A LIST of the Officers and Men employed in the "Volcano's" Boats, together with the Number Wounded.

		Wounded.
Port paddlebox-boat ..	Lieutenant Reeve Mr. Hall, acting paymaster and purser 7 Seamen 2 Stokers 3 Marines 2 Kroomen	} 1 Krooman, musket-shot in back, severely
Starboard paddlebox-boat .	Lieutenant Robinson Dr. Fernan M.D., late acting surgeon Mr. Read, master's assistant 6 Seamen 3 Stokers 4 Marines 2 Kroomen	
2nd Cutter ..	Mr. Onslow, midshipman 7 Seamen 3 Marines 1 Krooman	} 1 Seaman, iron musket-shot in side, severely
1st Gig ..	Commander R. Coote 5 Seamen 1 Marine	
Total ..		52 employed.
" ..		5 wounded.

(Signed) **R. COOTE, Commander.**

Inclosure 10 in No. 65.

RETURN of Officers and Men, and in what Boats dispatched, from Her Majesty's sloop "Niger,"
L. G. Heath, Esq., Commander, in the expedition to Lagos, on the 25th November, 1851,
showing the number Killed and Wounded.

Description of Boat.	Names of the Officers and Number of Men.	Killed.	Wounded.	Remarks.
5-oared Gig ..	Captain L. G. Heath Mr. T. G. Chown, master's assistant 5 Blue-jackets 1 Bombardier, R. M. A.	..	1	Urbane Collett, bombardier, R.M.A. severely wounded
12-oared Pinnace 12-pounder howitzer	Lieutenant M. B. Dunn 13 Blue-jackets 5 Marines	.. ..	2 1	John McCarthy, (2) A.B., badly wounded Wm. Hall, A.B., severely wounded Chas. Hancock, serjeant R.M.A., dangerously wounded
10-oared Cutter 3-pounder gun	Mr. M. Norman, acting master 11 Blue-jackets 4 Marines			
10-oared Cutter	Mr. J. G. F. Dyer, mate 11 Blue-jackets 4 Marines	1	2 1	Rd. Garnett, capt. after-guard, severely wounded Thos. Todhunter, A.B., very severely wounded John G. Turner, R.M.A., dan- gerously wounded
8-oared Cutter ..	Mr. H. H. Hall, mate Mr. C. H. Chambers, as- sistant surgeon 6 Blue-jackets 1 Marine	1		
5-oared Gig ..	Mr. B. B. Dowling, master's assistant 5 Blue-jackets 1 Marine			
No. of Officers	in boats .. 8 ..	2		
" Seamen	" .. 51 ..	..	4	
" Marines	" .. 16 ..	..	3	
Total ..	.. 75 ..	2	7	

(Signed)

L. G. HEATH, *Commander.*
H. STUPART, *Surgeon.*

Inclosure 11 in No. 65.

LIST of Officers employed in the Boats of Her Majesty's sloop "Waterwitch," at Lagos,
on 25th November, 1851.

Gig ..	Commander Gardner, Mr. Davidson, gunner, 5 Seamen, 2 Marines.
Pinnace ..	Lieutenant Graham, Mr. Babington, midshipman, 11 Seamen, 5 Marines.
Whaleboat ..	Mr. Legg, mate, Mr. Whitshed, midshipman, 5 Seamen, 2 Marines.
Canoe ..	2 Kroomen.

Total .. 38.
No killed or wounded.

(Signed)

ALAN H. GARDNER, *Commander.*

Inclosure 12 in No. 65.

LIST of Officers and ship's company, Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound."

9 Officers,
4 Able seamen,
6 Ordinary seamen,
2 Cooks, stewards, and others,
8 Marines,
5 Stokers,
1 Artificer,
2 Petty officers,
2 Boys, 1st class,
1 „ 2nd class,
12 Kroomen.

—
52 Total.

(Signed)

RUSSELL PATEY, *Lieutenant Commanding.*

Inclosure 13 in No. 65.

Commodore Bruce to Commander T. G. Forbes.

Sir,

"Penelope," off Lagos, December 19, 1851.

I HAVE perused your letter of the 27th ultimo, reporting your reasons for having, on the 24th November, sent an armed force with a flag of truce into the River Lagos.

It appears to me, that after the failure of the negotiation on the 20th of that month, an attempt to treat with the present Chief of Lagos upon any terms, was extremely ill-advised.

While I acknowledge the zeal for the honour of the service which I have no doubt actuated you, I cannot, under all the circumstances of the case, approve of your proceedings.

Hostile operations should, unless on occasions requiring immediate notice, be only commenced under the direction of the Commander-in-chief. It would have been quite judicious if you had referred Mr. Beecroft's application to me or to Captain Jones, particularly as I lost no opportunity of making known in the squadron my intention of being here about this date.

I fully appreciate the gallantry of the parties engaged, and regret the loss which the service has sustained by the death of Mr. Dyer and Mr. Hall of the "Niger," and the several men who were wounded in the action.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

No. 66.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 17, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of two despatches from Commodore Bruce, dated the 20th and 29th of December last, and of their inclosures, reporting the arrival and proceedings of Commander F. E. Forbes at Abbeokuta.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. PARKER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 66.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir, "Penelope," off Lagos, December 20, 1851.
 I REQUEST you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the inclosed copy of a letter, from Commander F. E. Forbes, dated the 16th ultimo, reporting his arrival in Abbeokuta.
 I have, &c.
 (Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 66.

Commander F. E. Forbes to Commodore Bruce.

Sir, Aki, Abbeokuta, November 16, 1851.
 I HAVE the honour to state that on Thursday 13th November, I arrived in Abbeokuta.
 I was met at the town of Eawaldeh*, nine miles distant, by the Reverend Messrs. Townsend and Smith, of the Church Mission Society, and the gentlemen of the Wesleyan Mission, at the head of at least 150 Africans in European costume, and many of them on horseback. The scene was most interesting, and exceeded my most sanguine expectation.
 The custom of this country would call upon a traveller to send messengers from Eawaldeh to the Chiefs, who, what is termed "meet him," *i. e.*, send representatives, horsemen, and soldiers, to escort him in. A fresh horse being provided (having travelled from Badagry on one I purchased there), I rode into the town in a manner highly becoming to a Christian Mission.
 On Friday the 14th Sagbua, the Chief of Chiefs here, called upon me, as did several other chiefs.
 On Saturday the 15th a gathering of the horsemen and soldiers came to perform the ceremony of "meeting," and a most interesting sight it was, being particularly novel in this part of Africa. Horsemen in gaudy dresses, on horses showily caparisoned, were galloping about in a confused manner; the whole art of the riders displayed in making his horse kick, rear, and demi-volt as often and in as small a space as possible.
 Meanwhile the chiefs assembled, and at noon approached my house.
 The whole of the high chiefs, with Sagbua (I am not competent to state out of how many rulers of the Egbas), with the exception of the Obba Shoron, Commander-in-chief, who was sick, being present, I gave the following speech:

"Chiefs of the Egbas,

"You have this day and yesterday apologized for not receiving me according to the custom of your country.

"I rejoice that the ceremony did not take place, and acquaint you that I was received into your town in the highest manner in which an Englishman and a Christian could be received in Africa, namely, by 100 Christians,† clothed in European style. You could not have done more honour had you sent thousands of horsemen and musketmen to meet me. I thank you for the reception; let no apology be made.

"I wish to explain to you the reason of my being sent to Abbeokuta. You are aware that a white man‡ is teaching the Dahomians the art of

* Or, Arweyadeh. I write from sound.

† To be on the safe side, I only quoted 100.

‡ Lieutenant de vaisseau Bouet, chargé d'une mission accrédité au Roi de Daomé. I am aware that he is in Dahomey, I brought out a letter for him. In Badagry the chiefs told me he was teaching the Dahomians to fire off "air-fire" rockets, and guns on wheels, and the same was explained to me here yesterday.

war. The Queen of England, desiring to protect the Egbas who have protected her subjects, has sent me to teach you how to protect yourselves. When I have seen your guns I will explain to you how to make charges for them.

“When I have seen your walls I will point out to you any repairs that can improve them.”

“I wish you to understand once for all that I promise to give you nothing.”

“There are many obstacles in the way ; the distance is great, the beach is often bad at Badagry, and I am only servant of the Queen of England ; therefore I cannot and ought not to promise anything. But I will look about, and what I see wanting for the protection of this town I will endeavour to obtain.

“Remember, all things that come for the protection of this place, by whomsoever brought, are sent by the Queen, and not by the messengers themselves ; and they are sent as well to protect your town as to protect the British subjects you have protected.

“There are powder and shot on the road, but you must not place too much dependence on that ammunition. It will be served out when opportunity offers ; but you must also prepare yourselves. Each man should be ready with his musket and powder to protect his house and the town. I hear you have already made a law to that effect, and I can tell you it is a very creditable law, and pleases me much.

“In this assembly I miss the Obba Shoron ; I am sorry he is sick ; the palaver I am about to make I should wish to be repeated to him [his representative was introduced].

“When the Dahomians arrive, every man should seize his musket and sally out to the fight, remembering that the army of the Dahomians is partly of ‘women ;’ no man can allow himself tamely to be conquered by a woman. When you sally out you must not let them draw you out too far, lest they outflank you and prevent your return. You must learn the art of war as the Dahomians have learnt it*. I will concert with the war chiefs about that. It is my intention to remain with you to share your honour or your disgrace. I told you I promised nothing, nor do I this ; but if not recalled, it is my determination.

“Abbeokuta must not be destroyed. Let the Egbas fight well ; your country is under the protection of the Almighty ; thanks to the assistance of these gentlemen (the missionaries), who have given to many of you the knowledge of the power of God, and whom you have protected. Egbas ! protect yourselves, and the Almighty God will guard you.

“I have finished my palaver, I hope you will all hear it and attend to it.”

All thanked me in many expressions † ; told me that man, woman, and child, all were delighted at my arrival, and that my speech gave comfort ; that they would assemble and carry me round the walls. Let Dahomey come this year, they were ready for him, they would fight him.

I gave them to understand that their own reports and mine agreed, and undoubtedly he would come, and they must prepare.

I consider it in place now to give you a copy of my letter to the Vice-Consul at Whydah, and the inclosure to the King of Dahomey mentioned in my letter No. 1.

“ *Commander Forbes to Vice-Consul Fraser.*

“Sir,

“I am employed on an important mission to Abbeokuta. It is important that the claims I make on His Majesty the King of Dahomey in the event of his succeeding in the ensuing war, should be laid before His Majesty by some trustworthy person. Should it not be convenient for you to deliver the letter in person, I have to request you will be pleased to cause the inclosed letter to be read to His Majesty by some certain and

* During this speech each sentence was given separately, and at the end of each, each chief was asked, Did he hear ? and each answered in the affirmative.

† There was no bravado, no gesticulation, no useless expression, but apparently what they intended to do, and nothing more.

interested person, as by misconstruction it might become a dangerous instrument, if possessed by any slave-merchant."

"Commander F. E. Forbes to the King of Dahomey.

"May it please your Majesty,

"Your Majesty is aware of the desire of the Queen of Great Britain to extend and protect the missionary labours in Abbeokuta and in the surrounding countries.

"Your Majesty is also aware that on going to war on Abbeokuta you are partly warring on British subjects.

"I am ordered to proceed to Abbeokuta, there to protect British life and property during the period of your intended invasion of that country.

"I shall be ready to proceed to Abomey, there to receive any intimation from your Majesty regarding a treaty, provided your Majesty will send protection and guides to me at Abbeokuta. I shall be ready to receive messengers from your Majesty at Abbeokuta.

"Over the house in which I reside, which I shall proclaim to be a sanctuary for British subjects, will float the flag of Britain. I shall demand from your Majesty protection for each and every soul whose claims I think fit to set up."

I trust you will approve of my proceedings, and assist my views by following up Commodore Fanshawe's threat read to the Viceroy (Eaboogan, or white man's Minister) of Whydah, for the information of his master the King of Dahomey, to the effect that if the life of a British subject or a Sierra Leone person was taken in the attack, Whydah would suffer in consequence, or words to that effect.

In pursuance with my expressions to the chiefs, I have required of Commander Heath to supply me with two field-pieces and ammunition, and as many congreve rockets as can be spared, to the number of at least twenty-four, and a rocket-tube. These implements of war being in possession of the Dahomians, the Egbas may be panic-stricken at their effect, unless they also possessed them.

I cannot of course describe Abbeokuta; but I am perfectly surprised at all I see. The surrounding country is beautiful and cultivated; the town immense and picturesque, scattered and clustered among granite hills. The walls—none of the best, of mud, and extending over a circumference of about fifteen miles, impossible to fortify.

There is a determination about the Egbas—a knowledge that a deadly combat is at hand; unless surprised or panic-stricken—and I hope to guard them against these—they will, I hope, conquer.

The Egbas are a nation of farmers, and, with the blessings of peace, traders; but that which calls upon Great Britain to make a bold attempt to save Abbeokuta is, that within its walls are several hundred people and Christians. Indeed the missionary accounts I have read did not convey to me so sufficient a reason as my own eyes have witnessed.

I will write more fully when better experienced.

The copy of a letter has been placed into my hands from the chiefs to Lord Palmerston, offering to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce, desiring the Lagos River to be opened to them; I will pay attention to it when I have gained strength by assisting them, and learn more of the policy intended towards Lagos.

Here, as well as Badagry, report is rife, and Akitoye and Lagos terms of continual inquiry.

The rainy season has been late and heavy: the rivers are full, but receding. The King of Dahomey cannot march until his army can cross on foot; he is expected after the middle of next month.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. E. FORBES.

Inclosure 3 in No. 66.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 221.)

Sir,

"Penelope," off Lagos, December 29, 1851.

I REQUEST you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the inclosed report of the proceedings of Commander F. E. Forbes at Abbeokuta.

Their Lordships will be pleased with the enthusiastic zeal and energy displayed by this officer. I had desired him to leave Abbeokuta before the King of Dahomey attacks it; but he has earnestly requested me to allow him to remain to witness the result of that event.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 66.

Commander F. E. Forbes to Commodore Bruce.

(Extract.)

Aki, Abbeokuta, December 9, 1851.

ON Monday, 24th November, I assembled the Sierra Leone people, about 1500 men and boys; I may safely state that there are 3000 Sierra Leone, emigrants of all ages and sexes, in Abbeokuta. I inclose a copy of the speech I made them.

I enlisted from their number thirty able-bodied men to act as gunners.

At this moment there are two 6-pounders, one 3-pounder, and two 1-pounder guns mounted, though rudely, but strong, as field-pieces. I have one European and two native carpenters at the work; and the gratitude and astonishment of the natives I can hardly express.

Two field-pieces have been landed from the men-of-war; the chiefs, last night, promised me fifty men to drag them up from Badagry; they will start to-morrow.

The corps before alluded to are now in very fair order, and run the field-pieces well; firing them continually.

Letters from Commander Heath and Mr. Fraser tell me that my letter neither has reached, nor will, His Majesty the King of Dahomey; in that I am nothing disappointed. I am aware that His Majesty is bound by his military subjects to prosecute this war. His whole power is at stake. He must either conquer Abbeokuta or die. He has sworn it, and he must perform it. But he is aware of the contents of that letter, and that is all I require.

The Dahomian army would have been here this full moon, if 200 men the King sent to examine the Opara had found that river fordable. I have the most authentic information of all his actions, although Mr. Fraser and Captain Heath state the road to Whydah is closed to messengers; and the Ikalce people, a town near the Opara, state theirs, and all roads to Abomey, to be closed; that the King is ready, his sacrifices are made; and he only waits for the receding of the waters.

The Ogu is receding fast, and is now nearly fordable.

It requires very much persuasion to get the people to turn out and build up their walls, miles of which were razed by wet and time; the impulse which the daily reports of Dahomey give is strikingly visible, and the wall rising in proportion.

The residents of Badagry state that Kosoko intends invading; I am sceptical as to reports from that place. However, I have done all in my power to prevent it by threatening his assistants, the towns of Ighesa, Otta, and Adu. The messenger starts to-day.

I fully believe and trust that before you receive this the invasion of

Abbeokuta will be past, and this town be either a Golgotha or a field of victory; but should it not be so, I trust you will not imagine that the King of Dahomey can be shaken from his purpose. I have suffered already from these ideas and opinions, and have too much on hand not to endeavour to attempt to put aside difficulties of the kind in the future. It is, therefore, that I request you to consider my information.

I have already, in former communications, given my opinion as regards Lagos; time and circumstances have not altered those ideas with regard to Kosoko and Akitoye. Reports state the deaths of the Lagos people to be very numerous; the English fire murderous in the extreme. I have neither anything to do with the cause, nor inclination to question the effect of the policy.

If the Egbas conquer Dahomey, Lagos will open and Badagry be at rest.

If the Dahomians conquer, the strength of the King, thus added to, will render it difficult for the British to keep any King on the Throne of Lagos.

Instead of Dahomey being dependent on Lagos, as I am informed both from Her Majesty's officers and the residents at Badagry, I know, and time will prove, that the future fate of Lagos depends entirely on the victory or defeat of Dahomey, whatever be the extent of British operations on it.

I hope, Sir, that I am in my performance of the duties I have taken on myself meeting your approbation; I feel that I am doing my duty, and hence persevere in spite of difficulties; and holding one course, have gained great power and respect from the chiefs, elders, and people here, almost amounting to adoration; I only fear they put too much faith in me and my work (the field-pieces), but as I have told them, I trust that the Almighty will protect his own and save this city, for the sake of the Christian souls it contains.

I am, &c.
(Signed) F. E. FORBES.

P.S.—There is one more report I wish to gainsay, which is, that the Egbas would not treat with Kosoko; I have ascertained that they would: all they want is space and the Ogu open to trade. F. E. F.

December 10. I have runners to Lagos once in four days. The first man that fired on the British from Lagos was the chief; he was forced to do it. The report of two being killed, and of the first interview, I detailed to Commander Heath in a private note.

The last messenger to-day states that Kosoko, assisted by the Portuguese, is staking the channel. The following anecdote is also detailed: In Lagos is a peculiarly long brass gun, which is only fired on State occasions; it was fired at the steamer and missed; but the steamer, they say, fired at it, with the intention of putting a shot in it and stopping it; they did not quite do this, but hit the gun, and the splinters (perhaps grape) killed many around the gun.

F. E. F.

Inclosure 5 in No. 66.

Minute of a Speech of Commander Forbes to 1500 Sierra Leone People at Abbeokuta.

November 24, 1851.

I DEMAND of you to fight for the protection of your lives and properties. You know, if Dahomey conquers, the city will be destroyed, your homes desolated, you will be houseless; it is possible I may save your lives, but nothing more.

Your religion, your duty, teach you to trust in God; but God will not save you without exertion from yourselves; you must put your trust in Him, and do your utmost to drive the robber Dahomey from your town. You have done so once; do so again.

You are a great number, and should be all men of some education; set an example to the Egbas; show them the advantage of the knowledge the white men have, through God's assistance, ingrafted in you. You fight thus: happiness and peace if you conquer; desolation and misery if you are defeated!

Let each provide himself with the means of protection; each emulate the other in war.

As I said to the chiefs, so I say to you: I promise you nothing; but of the bounty of Her Majesty's Government you shall share.

I want from among you thirty able-bodied men to act as gunners to work field-pieces I intend to mount here, to meet those you know Dahomey is advancing with; these men will meet twice a-week, Mondays and Fridays, for exercise, and will receive on those days six strings of cowries, or 6*d*.

I have written the King of Dahomey, to tell him the flag of Great Britain will fly over my house, and I shall demand from him, if he conquers, the life of each Sierra Leone man; so do not run into the bush, or you will be kidnapped; but seek shelter here. But beware of running before the Egbas, or I will spurn you with my foot, and hold you up as public cowards.

Remember the power of the Almighty; strengthen your hearts, and at the same time prepare your muskets and powder; sharpen your swords, and if possible, let not a Dahomian go home to say, We went forth to fight the Egbas.

You fight for peace and your families; the Dahomians for desolation, slavery, and murder.

Sagbua, the Chief of this town, wishes each new arrival to report himself or herself to him, through Mr. Townsend. He, knowing the name, may insure him or her against being kidnapped; but if the report be not made, how can he be answerable?

I shall send a copy of this to Sierra Leone, that your friends may hear of you. Farewell.

(Signed) F. E. FORBES.

No. 67.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 17, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, the copy of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated 29th December last, and of its inclosures, reporting the proceedings of Mr. Consul Beecroft at Lagos.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. PARKER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 67.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 218.)

Sir,

"Penelope," off Lagos, December 29, 1851.

I REQUEST you will lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the inclosed copy of a despatch from Mr. Beecroft, reporting his proceedings in the River Lagos on the 20th and 25th of November last.

After reading Mr. Beecroft's statements, I see no reason to alter the opinions which I expressed in my despatch to you of the 19th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 67.

Consul Beecroft to Commodore Bruce.

Sir,

"Bloodhound," off Lagos, November 27, 1851.

I HAVE the honour to communicate for your information, that I embarked on board Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound," on the 10th instant, accompanied by King Akitoye and his suite, and arrived off Lagos on the 13th. Communicated with Commander Wilmot, Her Majesty's steamer "Harlequin," who informed me that he had discovered a safe boat-channel into the River Ogu; and he had visited Kosoko, the present Chief of Lagos, and was kindly received. That it was his impression that he would accede to my terms if proposed. It appeared to me a favourable opportunity to enter into a negotiation with the said Chief at once.

The same evening Her Majesty's brig "Waterwitch," Commander Gardner, arrived to relieve Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Harlequin."

After a short conference I decided upon entering into negotiation, in compliance with Viscount Palmerston's despatches dated October 11, 1850, and February 20 and 21, 1851.

It was arranged, in conjunction with Commanders Wilmot, Gardner, and Lieutenant-Commander Russell Patey, as there were on board Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound," 200 muskets for the protection of Abbeokuta, that I should proceed immediately for Badagry, land the muskets, and deliver Commander Wilmot's letter to Commander Coote, Her Majesty's steamer "Volcano," ordering him to proceed to Lagos, so as to enable him to form a respectable escort under a flag of truce to the present Chief of Lagos, to whom I addressed a letter, and left it with Commander Wilmot to forward.

Nov. 14. Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound" weighed at 11 o'clock, and anchored off Badagry at 4 P.M. Fired a gun, and hoisted a signal for a canoe; did not succeed in getting one off until next morning.

Saturday 15th.—I landed at 10 o'clock accompanied by Lieutenant-Commander Patey and King Akitoye; he was received with demonstrations of unbounded joy. Shortly after landing I held a conference with him and his chiefs relative to Lagos and his accompanying me. It was soon arranged that he should accompany me.

The flints and muskets could not be completed landing until Monday. I embarked again on Tuesday the 18th, at 3:30 P.M., and anchored off Lagos at 8:30 P.M. No "Volcano."

Commanders Wilmot and Gardner came on board. It was arranged

to start with all boats, ten in number, from Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin," at 9 o'clock, to proceed at once to the town of Lagos.

19th. Daylight, strange symptoms of a tornado showed themselves. 9-30, it came down in torrents of rain, and continued so long, that our visit to Kosoko was deferred until next day.

20th. Daylight, fine day; we left Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin" at 6-30, with ten boats under a flag of truce. Landed at a sandy point at the eastern entrance of the river, to wait for the water rising, to enable the heavy boats to enter. There are on this point a group of small huts, and two stores belonging to Senhores Marcos and Nobre, Brazilians.

A messenger arrived from Kosoko and stated that if we proceeded to the town with so many boats, we would be fired upon; it was his wish that one boat only should go. I remonstrated with Senhor Marcos, on the entire absurdity of Kosoko preventing a proper escort to accompany Her Majesty's Representatives on a mission of peace and amity; that it was a national form of all the nations in the world. Senhor Marcos said that he had remonstrated with Kosoko to no avail, he would not listen to any other sentiment but what he first stated. I was on the point of returning, but after mature deliberation, I told the messenger, through my interpreter, that one boat was not sufficient to take the officers intended for the conference; I would come with two boats, well knowing at the same time that we should be placed in imminent danger in the hands of such a blood-thirsty chief as Kosoko. We had to wait an hour; the messenger returned with his permission. There were on this point of sand 100 armed men, sent no doubt to watch our movements.

Senhores Marcos and Nobre, I must state, were very attentive. 10 o'clock, we started in the "Harlequin" and "Waterwitch's" gigs. Senhor Marcos accompanied me, and Commander Wilmot, Commander Gardner, and Lieutenant Patey, and my interpreter, in the other gig. We arrived at the town at 11-30, and were ushered into Senhor Marcos' house; there kept in suspense for two hours before we were ushered into the presence of the Chief, Kosoko. He was surrounded with armed men, with a host of retainers on each side of the court-yard.

I opened the conference by saluting him, stating that I was much pleased having an opportunity given me, as the Queen of England's Representative, of communicating to him the purport of my mission.

Firstly.—Was the Chief desirous to become the friend and ally of England by signing a treaty for the suppression of foreign Slave Trade within the limits of his territories. He said he was not his own master, but under the King of Benin. His Prime Minister, Tappa, spoke and said that he would not sign any paper with England, he, Kosoko, was not desirous to have her friendship.

I again asked the Chief, supposing his master, the King of Benin, signed the Treaty, if he was not prepared to do the same; he distinctly stated that he would not enter into any treaty with the English, and did not desire their friendship. I said, "you have acknowledged the King of Benin to be your chief." He said, he had not to the present date received any power or authority from him to rule as King of Lagos; he repeated it, the King might sign a treaty, but he, Kosoko, would not, nor had he any desire to do so.

It is quite certain that the King of Benin will not give him that power so long as he knows Akitoye is alive, for he holds the emblems of power sent him by the late and present King of Benin, who was crowned at that city when I was in that river last March. Of the further details of this conference, I send herewith a copy*.

Finding, after our conference, that our terms were rejected, it was decided to collect such a show of force as the moment could supply, with the firm belief that such force, judging from the character of African chiefs, would have the effect by simple demonstration of our power, of causing him to accede to our terms. We entered the river with a flag of truce at the mast-head of Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound," and headmost boat. On entering the river they opened fire on us from the sandy point at the eastern entrance of the river; but three guns were fired by

* See Inclosure 2 in Nc. 55.

the "Bloodhound" at what was considered outposts, firing without authority. The flags of truce were kept flying until off the town, when the fire from the shore became so galling as to render the flags of truce nugatory. On being hauled down by us, a general fire in return was opened from us by the boats and by Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound;" the latter's assistance as a cover for the two boats was unfortunately lost by her grounding at high-water within range of the town, but not sufficiently so to afford that support to the boats that was so necessary.

The waters were cleared of canoes, and a considerable part of the town burnt, but the mud-walls and narrow streets afforded so great an advantage to the enemy, who were swarming in vast numbers and proved themselves such good marksmen, that it was thought advisable to recall the people to their boats, as our people suffered much.

The "Bloodhound" remained on shore until high-water, when she was hove off into two and a half fathoms, and remaining for the night.

The senior officer and a part of the boats left the river for their ships. The following morning early the expedition was withdrawn. I refer you to Commander Forbes's despatch for further details, and what will be required for the next attack.

I am glad to state that the river at this season is as easy of access as the River Benin.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

Inclosure 3 in No. 67.

Consul Beecroft to the Chief of Lagos.

HER Britannic Majesty's Representative, John Beecroft, Esquire, accompanied by a naval escort, desires to hold a peaceful conference with the present Chief of Lagos. He hopes, therefore, that the Chief of Lagos will be prepared to receive him and the English officers who will accompany him, with that great respect and honour which the power and pure motives of England demand.

The Chief of Lagos will be informed one day previous to the intended conference, which will be immediately after Her Majesty's Representative's return from Badagry.

A reply to this is required as early as possible, and sent to Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin," Commander Wilmot, now lying off Lagos.

Given under my hand, this 14th day of November, 1851.

(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

No. 68.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 17, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated the 29th of December last, and of a letter which he had addressed to the King of Dahomey.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. PARKER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 68.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 223.)

Sir,

"Penelope," off Lagos, December 29, 1851.

I REQUEST you will lay before the Lords of the Admiralty the accompanying copy of a letter which I have addressed to Guezo, King of Dahomey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 68.

Commodore Bruce to the King of Dahomey.

Sir,

"Penelope," Whydah, December 17, 1851.

IN June last you requested that a soldier with a good head might be sent to Abomey to hear something which you wished to be repeated to the Queen, my Sovereign.

Under the impression that you were about to yield to the voice of reason and humanity, and accede to an agreement for the suppression of the infamous Traffic in Slaves, on the terms which were proposed to you by Commander F. E. Forbes and Mr. Beecroft in 1850, Mr. Fraser, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Whydah, complied with your request, and proceeded to Abomey, where, instead of the good result he hoped for, he learnt that your object in seeking the presence of an Englishman at your capital, was to instruct him to convey your application to the Queen for arms and ammunition to enable you to carry on a war against Abbeokuta.

Now you must be aware, because you have been told it repeatedly, that the men of Abbeokuta are looked upon with favour by the British Government, for the reason that they are assisting in the suppression of the Slave Trade; and, therefore, the Queen of England has commanded, not only that no assistance should be given to you, to the prejudice of the Abbeokutians, but in consequence of your former attack on these people, your obstinacy in continuing to sell slaves to the Europeans living in Dahomey who are engaged in that Traffic, and your abominable practice of murdering prisoners on public festivals and other occasions, that your town of Whydah and the coast on the neighbourhood be blockaded, so as to prevent your having any trade, or receiving any supplies whatever from the sea; which blockade is to continue so long as you adhere to your present evil courses.

You have set at nought the many warnings which you have received from the Queen's Government, Commodore Fanshawe, and myself. You are now to be shown that these were not idle words, but meant, in the spirit of friendship, to put you on your guard against listening to the counsel of the slave-traders, who consult their own personal interest, and not your honour and prosperity.

By coming yourself without delay to Whydah, or by sending duly authorized messengers to enter into such a Treaty as I am empowered to make for the total suppression of the Slave Trade, and by preserving peace with Abbeokuta, you may yet save your country and yourself from the ruin and destruction which await it and you.

How can you hope for success in your present course? The Brazilians have given up the Slave Trade, so also have the Spaniards. If you had your barracoons full of slaves you could not sell them to these people, even at one dollar each; properly speaking, you are required not to renew the Slave Trade, for at this moment it may be said to be suppressed.

Dahomey is stated to be rich in various productions useful to the merchants of Europe and America. Let your subjects turn their attention

to these, and to the cultivation of the land and its produce, and you will have the support and encouragement of all civilized nations.

The advantageous terms which were formerly offered to you cannot now be given, that is to say, you will not receive any pecuniary compensation from the British Government. If you continue still to hold out, the English will be your enemies, and your brother African Chiefs will be leagued against you to destroy you.

Should you be desirous of retaining your position as King of Dahomey, leave the Abbeokutians to themselves, and prove yourself worthy of the goodwill of the Queen of England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

No. 69.

Consul Beecroft to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord,

"Bloodhound," off Lagos, January 3, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Lordship my proceedings since my last, dated the 26th November, off this place.

On the evening of the 30th, boats from Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin," Commander Wilmot, and Her Majesty's steamer "Volcano," Commander Coote, landed on the point at the eastern entrance of the river, and destroyed the barracoons, by fire, belonging to Senhores Marcos, Nobre, and Lima, Brazilians.

1st ultimo, weighed with "Volcano's" boats in tow. Joined her next day off Porto Novo; from thence proceeded and anchored off Badagry. At sunset, next day, landed a field-piece for Abbeokuta. Weighed the same day and proceeded to Fernando Po. Anchored in Clarence Cove on the 7th ultimo; completed coal and water, and left on the 13th, with my iron galley in tow. Anchored off Lagos on the 17th, near Her Majesty's sloop "Philomel." Next day, early, anchored Her Majesty's steamer "Sampson," Captain Jones. The same day arrived Her Majesty's steamer "Penelope," Commodore Bruce. Waited on the Commodore; he informed me that he had received orders to attack Lagos, and place Akitoye on the throne; also to notify a general blockade from 1° to 4° 30' east, after the 1st instant. Finding that I had landed Akitoye at Badagry after the first attack, he requested me to proceed at once for him, and endeavour to bring him; also to ascertain how many men he could bring under arms. Weighed and proceeded immediately, under steam. Anchored off Badagry early on the 19th ultimo. Landed, and had an interview with Akitoye; he was anxious to accompany me. I requested him to send all his men under arms as soon as he could get them together; they came the same afternoon, and were mustered, 630 in number; it was arranged they should leave on Sunday evening, the 21st, and proceed along the sea-beach to the western entrance of the River Lagos or Ogu, and display their flag. Akitoye embarked with me on the 20th, and anchored off Lagos next day at 10 A.M.

Monday, preparing for the attack. Tuesday, 10 A.M., saw Akitoye's flag flying on the western point, surrounded by his people from Badagry. I crossed the Bar, accompanied by Lieutenant Patey, in "Bloodhound's" gig, and communicated with them; informed them the "Bloodhound" would cross the Bar as soon as we returned on board; they informed me they had been attacked, passing the village Ageedoo, which is an ally of Kosoko. Lost two men, had several wounded; they drove them out and destroyed the village. 3-30 P.M., "Bloodhound" crossed the Bar and anchored inside near the royal troops. 5-30, Captain Jones and "Sampson's" boats arrived.

24th. This morning went on shore and mustered the troops; distributed to each a white favour, to distinguish them from the opposite party; issued them one pound of bread each, and told them

as soon as the town was on fire they must be ready to land. 3 P.M., weighed and dropped up abreast of the sites of the barracoons; sent two life-boats and cutter, in command of Lieutenant Saumarez, to proceed on shore and launch the six or seven sea-going canoes and bring them alongside, covered by the "Bloodhound's" guns. Succeeded in getting them alongside without a shot from the enemy; they were in the bush. Sent them to the troops, to transport themselves across the mouth of Badagry creek, so as to enable them to march opposite the town and take up a position.

Weighed and dropped up the river; anchored out of range of their big guns and musketry; returned a few shots from "Bloodhound." 5 P.M. Her Majesty's steamer "Teazer" anchored, accompanied by Her Majesty's steamer "Penelope's" boats, and my iron galley fitted as a rocket-boat, besides one brass 6-pounder.

25th. Christmas-day. Remained at rest. A great number of the enemy got as near as they could, and fired musketry for some time undisturbed, until they were tired wasting powder and shot. It was arranged to start at daylight next morning. "Teazer" to follow "Bloodhound."

Friday 26th. Weighed at 6 o'clock, and proceeded, passing under a very heavy fire of big guns and musketry; formidably stockaded with cocoa-nut trees, four feet from the outer to the inner, filled between with sand; men were planted, not more than three feet apart, for nearly two miles, behind embankments. Arrived off the town. Shallow water; took the ground. Several were hit, running the gauntlet; a spent shot hit me and dropped on the deck; I picked it up. Opened fire on the town from "Bloodhound" and "Sampson's" boats. As the smoke cleared away saw the "Teazer" unfortunately aground, nearly in the same position as "Bloodhound" was aground at the first attack. She was within range of several of the enemy's big guns; her 32-pounder not able to return a shot.

Captain Lyster had no other alternative but to send a party to spike those guns to save the "Teazer." 223 officers, seamen, and marines, landed, and succeeded in spiking them; on returning to their boats, an overwhelming force rushed upon them sword in hand; escaped with an awful loss of 80 or 90 killed and wounded, life-boat and howitzer, and 2 men left behind. It was reported they were awfully mutilated, and their heads cut off and sent to Kosoko. It was committed by Obella-oboo-joo, the head war-chief that commanded where the spiking party landed.

Saturday 27th.—"Teazer" under weigh, with boats in tow to join "Bloodhound." 7.15, fire opened on "Teazer," from shore; she returned it. 7.20, commenced firing from "Bloodhound." 7.45, "Teazer" again grounded. 7.50, fire of musketry commenced from shore at boat going to "Teazer." 8 o'clock, "Teazer" afloat, proceeded up the river. 8.20, "Teazer" anchored astern of "Bloodhound," off Tapaa's Point. 9.20, gig arrived from flag-ship in charge of Lieut. Marshall. 9.30, Commander Coote arrived from "Volcano." 10.30, fired house on shore from rocket-boat. 1.55, "Waterwitch's" boats arrived, bringing with them an Abbeokutian with despatches, &c. 2 o'clock, from rocket-boat fired magazine on shore; cheered boat; a great explosion, followed up by shells, and made an awful havoc. It was a death-blow to Tapaa, the head chief next to Kosoko. 2.43, remainder of "Waterwitch's" boats arrived, accompanied by Commander Gardner. 3 P.M., boats sent to reconnoitre and fire shell at the Chief's house; rocket-boat fired twice; it finished the affair, as informed next morning.

Sunday 28th. Daylight, all serene and quiet; not a solitary sound of a gun. After breakfast the second chief of the small village opposite came on board, and informed me that we were conquerors; the town was totally evacuated.

My Lord, I am proud to state the "Victoria" you did me the honour to allow me for my use, has done her share in causing the total abandonment and conquest of Lagos and Kosoko, who has for six years sat on a throne of iniquity and blood. 5 P.M., I went on shore accompanied by Captain Jones, and other officers of the expedition, to visit the trenches, &c. Had an engineer from Woolwich been on the spot it could not have been

better planned: strong stockades, and ditches without, with trenches within, deep with their sleeping mats, fire, water, and provisions; and at every point an enfilading piece of ordnance; they must have used every energy and perseverance for an attack; the beach was fenced within 15 yards, having 5 or 6 feet for canoes at a narrow entrance near Chief Tappa's house.

Monday 29th. 6 o'clock, Commanders Coote, Gardner, and a squadron of boats sent to bring off guns. 10 o'clock, Captain Jones, myself, and King Akitoye left Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound," in "Sampson's" gig, accompanied by two cutters; proceeded in procession to the King's house. Landed, and took possession; found great destruction and havoc of property, broken furniture and glass; the exterior has suffered but very little injury. After remaining some time conferring with him relative to his sending a crier round to proclaim, in justice to the rightful King, that a free pardon will be granted to all that return to their homes and allegiance, 1:15, Captain Jones and myself returned through the town; found it nearly half-destroyed by fire, and totally deserted by the enemy. 3:15, a canoe, with a white flag in the bow and a Brazilian ensign flying astern, came alongside with Senhor Marcos. He had a short conference with Captain Jones. He requested permission to be allowed to land at his house to look after his property; it was not granted. He referred him to the Commodore on Thursday. He was told he had opportunities enough before the attack to claim protection; but I presume they considered themselves safe behind their stockades, ditches, and trenches. He took his leave. 5:30, Captain Jones and myself went on shore to visit Akitoye and to arrange about placing a guard round his house. 7:20, we returned; employed getting ship afloat.

Tuesday 30th. Daylight, dispatched "Volcano's" and "Waterwitch's" boats across the Bar to join their respective ships, having in tow canoes with captured guns. 10:15, Captain Jones and myself proceeded to the King's house; I again advised him to send a drum and crier round the island to proclaim forgiveness to all that would come and swear allegiance to their right and lawful King. Stragglers coming in; allies occupying the town. 4 o'clock, returned on board. "Teazer" ordered to cross the Bar; getting under weigh, grounded.

Wednesday 31st. 6:30, Captain Jones and myself landed at the village of Egoorah and the adjacent villages; called on the chiefs and people, and intimated to them the cause of the attack on Kosoko. He was invited to sign a treaty for the suppression of the foreign Slave Trade, which he refused; they all appeared pleased and delighted at Akitoye's instalment again. We walked across the Island of Echalli, about two miles, and visited Ohlotoo's village; it was totally abandoned. I was told Akitoye has already sent a message to him to return to his allegiance. Spiked a gun on the beach used against the Abbeokutians, when they may at any time from the opposite bank make an attack on Lagos, or his village. Saw a number of men on the opposite bank; we were told they were Abbeokutians; crossed the lagoon, hailed them, and ascertained who they were; all right. We landed; found 151 armed men, with Obgunmalah, their chief, sent from Abbeokuta to King Akitoye, and to communicate with white men (English), and to take any orders they had to give. Captain Jones got a volunteer to carry a bag of despatches from Commodore Bruce to Commander Forbes. The chief expressed a wish to see Akitoye; he ordered one of the cutters to take the chief and two or three others of them on board of the "Bloodhound;" we returned in the gig. On board the chief informed me a great number of the people of Lagos had taken a position on the left bank of the Ogu, at a village called Caddão, to annoy or intercept boats or canoes that may desire to proceed by that route to Abbeokuta. 10:20, returned on board; "Teazer" still aground. 1:30, Captain Jones and myself, accompanied by Lieutenant Patey and Mr. Mc Arthur, Lieutenant R. M. A., proceeded to the King's mansion, and succeeded in getting a treaty signed for the suppression of the foreign Slave Trade, &c. I requested him and his two chiefs to hold themselves in readiness; at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning, a boat would be sent for them to embark on board the "Bloodhound," to cross the Bar to wait on Com-

modore Bruce, to finish the treaty already begun. It was arranged as they willingly consented to go off.

Whilst there a messenger arrived from two of the principal chiefs, Ageeneah and Palu, stating if King Akitoye would grant them a free pardon, they would return to their allegiance, for they had lost their all, and were without a wrapper, and begged Akitoye to send them one each. Akitoye requested Captain Jones to write to them that they should be pardoned on their return. The King appears to be attached to Ageeneah, but not to Palu. The messenger further stated that the moment the magazine was struck with a rocket from the "Victoria," the explosion took place, and was followed up by shells and round-shot. The slaughter was awful, and Tappa's house burnt; he was in an awful state of consternation; he went to Kosoko, and told him firmly he was determined to give up—he could not withstand such awful missiles any longer. Kosoko told him to cease firing, and bury the dead; they would abandon the town during the night, which was certainly done. By the report, Kosoko, Tappa, Palu and Ageeneah went off together; they were at no great distance from Lagos. Kosoko anxious that they should swear to be true to each other, and never rest until they had Akitoye's head. The two latter said they would not swear, they had already suffered too much; they were not desirous to continue any longer enemies to the English. They were called cowards; swords were drawn, and a scuffle ensued with the two parties; Kosoko and Tappa made off with 300 or 400 men towards Yaboo, on Benin side; most of his slaves left him. I cannot vouch for the truth of this account.

Thursday, January 1, 1852.—9 o'clock, King Akitoye and his two chiefs arrived. 10·15, weighed, and proceeded. 12 o'clock, anchored inside of the Bar. 2·30, weighed, and proceeded across; "Teazer" in company astern; anchored near Her Majesty's steamer "Penelope." Akitoye and chiefs accompanied me on board of flag-ship; a salute was fired from Her Majesty's brig "Waterwitch," on account of wounded on board of "Penelope." They were very kindly received by the Commodore, and invited below to the after-cabin. The Treaty was signed—the original I herewith inclose. After a short conference they took their leave in the flag-ship's cutter, and crossed; a large canoe was in waiting within the Bar.

I trust what has been done will meet with your Lordship's approbation. I beg leave to state I write these proceedings in great haste, to go by Her Majesty's steamer "Sampson." As I close this despatch, "Philomel's" boat arrived from off Whydah, with a letter to the Commodore from Commander Forbes of the above-mentioned vessel, stating that Guezo, the King of Dahomey, had requested Vice-Consul Fraser, with a naval officer, to proceed to Abomey; Commander Forbes has accordingly followed Mr. Fraser. It appears he is anxious at once to enter into a treaty; if so, the blockade and the conquest of Lagos has had some effect in changing his policy in two or three days; for in a brief note from Vice-Consul Fraser, dated the 23rd ultimo, he stated his liberty was stopped for a day or two.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN BEECROFT.

Inclosure in No. 69.

Engagement with the King and Chiefs of Lagos.

Engagement between Her Majesty the Queen of England and the King and Chiefs of Lagos, for the abolition of the Traffic in Slaves. Signed at Lagos, on board H.M.S. "Penelope," on the 1st day of January, 1852.

COMMODORE HENRY WILLIAM BRUCE, Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's ships and vessels on the west coast of Africa, and John Beecroft, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul in the Bights of Benin and Biafra,

on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and the King and Chiefs of Lagos and of the neighbourhood, on the part of themselves and of their country, have agreed upon the following Articles and Conditions :—

ARTICLE I.

The export of slaves to foreign countries is for ever abolished in the territories of the King and Chiefs of Lagos; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos engage to make and to proclaim a law prohibiting any of their subjects, or any person within their jurisdiction, from selling or assisting in the sale of any slave for transportation to a foreign country; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos promise to inflict a severe punishment on any person who shall break this law.

ARTICLE II.

No European or other person whatever shall be permitted to reside within the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos for the purpose of carrying on in any way the Traffic in Slaves; and no houses, or stores, or buildings of any kind whatever, shall be erected for the purpose of Slave Trade within the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos; and if any such houses, stores, or buildings shall at any future time be erected, and the King and Chiefs of Lagos shall fail or be unable to destroy them, they may be destroyed by any British officers employed for the suppression of Slave Trade.

ARTICLE III.

If at any time it shall appear that Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos, the Slave Trade may be put down by Great Britain by force upon that territory, and British officers may seize the boats of Lagos found anywhere carrying on the Slave Trade; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos will be subject to a severe act of displeasure on the part of the Queen of England.

ARTICLE IV.

The slaves now held for exportation shall be delivered up to any British officer duly authorized to receive them, for the purpose of being carried to a British colony, and there liberated; and all the implements of Slave Trade, and the barracoons, or buildings exclusively used in the Slave Trade, shall be forthwith destroyed.

ARTICLE V.

Europeans or other persons now engaged in the Slave Trade, are to be expelled the country; the houses, stores, or buildings hitherto employed as slave factories, if not converted to lawful purposes within three months of the conclusion of this Engagement, are to be destroyed.

ARTICLE VI.

The subjects of the Queen of England may always trade freely with the people of Lagos in every article they may wish to buy and sell in all the places, and ports, and rivers within the territories of the King and Chiefs of Lagos, and throughout the whole of their dominions; and the King and Chiefs of Lagos pledge themselves to show no favour, and give no privilege to the ships and traders of other countries, which they do not show to those of England.

ARTICLE VII.

The King and Chiefs of Lagos declare that no human beings shall, at any time, be sacrificed within their territories, on account of religious or other ceremonies; and that they will prevent the barbarous practice of murdering prisoners captured in war.

ARTICLE VIII.

Complete protection shall be afforded to missionaries, or ministers of the Gospel, of whatever nation or country, following their vocation of spreading the knowledge and doctrines of Christianity, and extending the benefits of civilization within the territory of the King and Chiefs of Lagos. Encouragement shall be given to such missionaries or ministers in the pursuits of industry, in building houses for their residence, and schools and chapels. They shall not be hindered or molested in their endeavours to teach the doctrines of Christianity to all persons willing and desirous to be taught; nor shall any subjects of the King and Chiefs of Lagos, who may embrace the Christian faith, be, on that account, or on account of the teaching or exercise thereof, molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever. The King and Chiefs of Lagos further agree to set apart a piece of land, within a convenient distance of the principal towns, to be used as a burial-ground for Christian persons. And the funerals and sepulchres of the dead shall not be disturbed in any way or upon any account.

ARTICLE IX.

Power is hereby expressly reserved to the Government of France to become a party to this Treaty, if it shall think fit, agreeably with the provision contained in the Vth Article of the Convention between Her Majesty and the King of the French for the suppression of the Traffic in Slaves, signed at London, May 29, 1845.

In faith of which we have hereunto set our hands and seals, at Lagos, on board H.B.M. ship "Penelope," this 1st day of January, 1852.

(Signed)

H. W. BRUCE.
JOHN BEECROFT.

^{his}
KING ✕ AKITOYE.
mark

^{his}
ATCHOBOO ✕
mark

^{his}
KOSAE ✕
mark

Witnesses :

LEWIS T. JONES, *Captain, H.M.S. "Sampson."*
H. LYSIER, *Captain, H.M.S. "Penelope."*
W. HICKMAN, *Secretary to Commander-in-chief.*

No. 70.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 16, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated the 2nd January, and of its inclosures, reporting the proceedings attending the attack on and capture of Lagos.

^{I am, &c.}
(Signed) J. PARKER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 70.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 10.)

Sir,

"Penelope," off Lagos, January 2, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that their Lordships' instructions of the 14th October, and the wishes of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as far as respects Lagos, have been faithfully fulfilled by the expulsion of the slave-dealing Chief, Kosoko, and his people; the utter destruction of his town; and the establishment of the friendly Chief, Akitoye, with his followers, in the seat of power at Lagos.

By my letter of December 19, 1851, their Lordships are aware that Kosoko very recently rejected the proffered friendship of England, and that he opposed with fire and sword the approach of a flag of truce proceeding to his seat of government with Mr. Consul Beecroft, who offered to negotiate and to advise with him, and who was merely attended by an escort of armed boats, scarcely or problematically sufficient for his personal safety among savages.

I therefore determined to send a strong and well-organized force to punish this refractory chief; and having, through the untiring energy and exertions of Mr. Beecroft, procured the attendance of Akitoye, and nearly 500 of his followers, near the scene of action, ready to take advantage of a clear sweep when we should make it, I concerted measures with Captain Lewis T. Jones, of the "Sampson," and Captain Henry Lyster, of this ship, who both were volunteers on the occasion, and intrusted the detail and execution of the service to Captain Jones, seconded by Captain Lyster; and their Lordships will see, from the accompanying reports, the complete success with which the enterprise has been crowned.

I am at a loss to do justice to the chivalrous bearing and devoted bravery of these two officers: Captain Jones, who, commanding the expedition, was no less conspicuous for his gallantry and firmness than for his judgment and energy; and Captain Lyster, who, finding himself by unavoidable circumstances, exposed in the "Teazer" to be summarily destroyed by the enemy's guns, made a noble rush into the midst of armed hosts on shore, and, with his undaunted followers, spiked the obnoxious guns and turned the fortune of the day at that point. It is to be borne in mind that our people could expect no quarter; nor did they get any.

I should come short of my duty did I not bring before the notice of their Lordships, the ardent and devoted gallantry exhibited during this very severe affair by officers and men. The responsible post which Captain Lyster filled cost him a severe wound, happily not dangerous; Commander Hillyar, of this ship, who charged with him, is severely but not dangerously wounded; Lieutenants Edward Marshall and T. D. Rich, each in command of a paddlebox-boat, exhibited heroism and firmness never surpassed. Lieutenant John Corbett, in command of Mr. Beecroft's iron boat with rockets, with his own hands spiked the guns, receiving a shot in his arm after doing so, and had five severe wounds before the affair ended. Lieutenant Williams, R.M.A., was dangerously wounded; and Mr. Frederick Fletcher, midshipman, commanding one of the cutters appointed to guard the boats when on shore, defended them to the last, and fell with two balls in his forehead. With the other division, Lieutenant Saumarez, of the "Sampson," received a dangerous wound, while encouraging his men; and Mr. Richards, midshipman of that ship, got his death-wound.

The conduct of Lieutenant Patey, commanding the "Bloodhound," and Lieutenant Leckie, commanding the "Teazer," and the success attending their efforts, is beyond all praise. Besides their annihilating fire, their vessels were a rallying-point for the respective divisions of boats, and were conspicuously instrumental in the attainment of victory,

reflecting infinite credit on all belonging to them. Commander Coote, of the "Volcano," and Commander Gardner, of the "Waterwitch," with their detachments, contributed, as soon as they arrived, to the labours of the hour with an energy and zeal well worthy of them.

Nothing could exceed the devotion of the officers of the medical staff to the exigencies of the day: Mr. Richard Carpenter, Surgeon; Mr. Walling and Mr. Sproule, Assistant Surgeons of this ship; Dr. Barclay, Acting Surgeon of the "Sealark;" and Mr. Morgan and Mr. Pendrith, Assistant Surgeons of the "Sampson." Wherever a man was struck in the boats, a medical officer was immediately by his side, setting their own lives at nought when compared with the wants of their brave companions in arms. Mr. Walling and Mr. Sproule landed at the charge, with their comrades under Captain Lyster.

Mr. Beecroft, during all the operations, was on board the "Bloodhound," and gave every assistance that his advice and experience could afford.

I cannot withhold the expression of my regret for the very severe loss which has attended this achievement, but in which I trust their Lordships will feel that the dignity of England has been asserted and the honour of the flag gloriously sustained.

The inclosures with this despatch will afford all further information.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 70.

Captain Jones to Commodore Bruce.

*"Bloodhound," off the North Point of Lagos,
December 29, 1851.*

Sir,

IN my letter to you dated the 27th, I had the extreme gratification of reporting to you the entire and complete success of the expeditionary forces which you did me the honour of placing under my command, upon which event permit me sincerely to congratulate you.

It now becomes my duty to represent to you in an official form, my proceedings since leaving the "Sampson," and to thank you for allowing me hitherto to keep you acquainted with these movements by private notes as opportunities offered.

In entering into the various details arising from the nature of the service of the several divisions, and to do justice to all, and particularize those who have had the opportunity particularly to distinguish themselves, I feel that I shall be obliged to write rather a long despatch in the form of a daily journal, commencing on the day of my crossing the Bar of Lagos on the 23rd, to the subjugation of our opponents on the 29th December, and finally rejoining you on the 1st January.

You are aware, Sir, that on the 23rd December, in pursuance of your orders to place the "Sampson" in the most advantageous position for throwing shells occasionally across the lagoon, I moored the ship as near as possible at the back of the surf, and then with the boats of the "Sampson," crossed the Bar, preceded by "Bloodhound," and anchored off Point Bruce for the night. On the morning of the 24th, in company with Akitoye and Mr. Beecroft, Her Majesty's Consul for the Bights, I mustered and inspected the Badagry and Abbeokutian forces; at the time of muster numbering 500, and increasing during the day to 640. To these we distributed as a mark of recognition, a white neck-tie, with which they seemed much pleased. I then ordered that these men should be supplied with three days' bread from the "Bloodhound." At 2 p.m. the "Bloodhound" weighed and crossed to the opposite side of the river, where the boats of the "Sampson," under the orders of Lieutenant T. Saumarez, were sent to launch all the canoes at the slave station on the left bank worth bringing

off. At 3 o'clock, Lieutenant Saumarez returned, having in a very short time launched 7 large and 2 small canoes; a most desirable acquisition for the conveyance of the auxiliary forces. The landing party was covered by the guns of the "Bloodhound" right and left, and over-head, to check the advance of an armed force seen from the mast-head advancing. This service being finished, the "Bloodhound" dropped up the river with the tide for the purpose of acquiring piloting knowledge and examining the lines of defence. Three guns from the south end of the island opened on her; the fire was exceedingly well directed, but faulty in elevation. We now knew the channel, and therefore steamed down. At 3:30 P.M., true to time and promise, the "Teazer," accompanying the boats of the "Penelope," were seen crossing the Bar; and at 5, "Bloodhound" and "Teazer" anchored near together, out of range of the enemy's shot. Captain Lyster immediately came on board, and placed himself under my orders; we then consulted and decided on the plan of attack, as shown by Paper 3, and that the auxiliaries should keep on the right bank of the river, proceeding up as the steam-vessels advanced. The force now assembled consisted of the men and guns specified in No. 2 paper. The day was too far gone to commence the attack, and we also determined that Christmas-Day should be a day of rest; and the 25th was a quiet day, with the exception of the enemy wasting a vast deal of ammunition.

26th. The plan of attack was the suggestion of Captain Lyster, that we should pass the lines of defence as quickly as convenient, and round the north point of the island, and at that point make the grand attack, it being there that Kosoko and the slave-dealers reside, and to let them have the first punishment. The line of sea-defence extends from the south point of the Island of Lagos to the north point along the west front, a distance of nearly two miles, and in parts where the water is sufficiently deep for boats to land, stakes in double rows are driven in six-foot water, and along the whole of this distance an embankment and ditch for the protecting of infantry, and at chosen points, stockades exceedingly strong, made from stout cocoa-nut trees, were erected for guns, the guns being laid for the difficult points of the passage. We could count 4 guns so placed, since found to be 25.

6. Our work being clear before us, the "Bloodhound" weighed at dawn of day on the 26th, and with the "Sampson's" boats in two divisions, the one preceding, the other following, proceeded up the river; the "Teazer" following with the boats of the "Penelope" similarly arranged, and accompanied by Mr. Beecroft's iron-boat "Victoria," fitted for rockets. The enemy immediately opened fire of great guns and musketry, the whole line of embankment being filled with men, the muzzles of the muskets only being visible. This fire was returned from great guns only, and with very beautiful precision, yet with very little effect, for the shot did not do much injury to the green wood of the stockade, and the guns themselves, from being retired, could not be seen. At 7:20 A.M. the "Bloodhound" and her division of boats had passed the north-west point, and in trying to get round the north point, grounded in eight feet. The black pilot, John Johns, did his work well and steadily, and is not to blame; the channel had filled up since he was last here—Mr. Beecroft and his interpreter, Richards, assisting. We had carried three fathoms all the way up. On sounding it was found impossible to get further. Anchors were therefore laid out to heave off. During this time a very deliberate and beautiful fire was kept up from the 18-pounder of the "Bloodhound," directed by Mr. Barry the gunner, and from the 12-pounder howitzer, by Lieutenant McArthur, R.M.A., with shrapnell and other shells, by which means the great guns abreast were silenced; but nothing could silence the perpetual showers of musketry, the greater part of which fell short, but every now and then one or two would fall on board; and men were hit slightly—very few indeed escaped a slight touch.

7. The "Teazer" had grounded shortly after weighing, and I did not observe her to be aground before we had advanced too far to anchor for mutual support, as had been agreed upon. I have therefore the honour to forward to you Captain Lyster's report of the proceedings of the divi-

sion under his command, during the remainder of the 26th and morning of the 27th. The operations of the division under my immediate direction continued occasionally to throw shot and shell, as any movement was observed on shore, and to check the operations of the enemy, who had nearly succeeded in bringing an invisible gun to bear, the shot at each discharge coming nearer and nearer.

At 10 A.M. I dispatched Lieutenant Thomas Saumaréz in command of the gun-boats of Her Majesty's steamer "Sampson," viz., 1st and 2nd life-boats and pinnace, round the north-east point, to ascertain the strength and position of the guns on that side of the island. A fire from four guns strongly stockaded was immediately opened; this fire was returned from the life-boats and pinnace by the 24 and 12-pounder howitzers with such good effect as to have upset and turned out of its carriage one of these guns. The object being attained of ascertaining the position of the guns on the north-east side of the island, I recalled the boats, as it became requisite to reserve the ammunition and shells for the grand assault, when the other division under Captain Lyster should have joined. The fire from gingals, petrels, and muskets, continuing from the ditch and embankment abreast; and observing the enemy busy in trying to bring other guns into position, I, at 2:30 P.M., dispatched Lieutenant T. Saumarez, with the boats of the "Sampson," accompanied by Lieutenant E. McArthur, R.M.A., in command of the Royal Marine Artillery, to attempt a landing and spike these small guns. They did all that men could do, but it was found impossible to make their way through the showers of musketry opened against them; and Lieutenant Saumarez, therefore, very properly relinquished the attempt, and returned with ten men severely wounded, Mr. Richards mortally, and himself hit in three places. I must here bring to your notice the gallant conduct of Mr. William J. Stivey, carpenter of Her Majesty's steamer "Sampson," who, neck deep in water, axe in hand, was hewing away at the stakes to make a passage for the boats to land; he is one of those men always where he is wanted. The remainder of the day was passed in firing shot and shell as circumstances required, so as to prevent guns being moved against us; the nearest shots passing about ten yards astern.

At daylight on the 27th I had the satisfaction of seeing the "Teazer" afloat; and at 7:20, that she had entered the right channel and was coming towards us. I immediately ordered that a deliberate flanking fire should be opened on the west part of the enemy's defences from the "Bloodhound" and gun-boats; and sent a boat, under Mr. Bullen, my clerk, to point out to Captain Lyster, the position for the "Teazer" to anchor. 8:10, "Teazer" anchored, and I went on board to see Captain Lyster. Ordered the rocket-boats to take up a position to the northward of the "Bloodhound," which was quickly done, and Lieutenant Marshall threw some rockets with beautiful effect, setting fire to several houses, and particularly that of the Prime Minister, Tappa; this produced a spontaneous cheer through the little squadron for the rocket-boat. The rocket-boat shifted her position a-head of the "Teazer," and a general but deliberate fire was opened from the whole force. At 10:45, Lieutenant Marshall threw a rocket, which struck the battery below Tappa's house; and simultaneously, a shot from the "Teazer" capsized the gun. An awful explosion ensued, and from this moment the fate of our foes was decided: it became evident they must submit; house after house caught fire, and the town was shortly in a general blaze. At 10:30, Commander Coote joined, with the boats of the "Volcano;" and at 1:45, P.M., Commander Gardner, with the boats of the "Waterwitch." At 2:45, I dispatched the gun-boats of the squadron, under Commander Coote, accompanied by the rocket-boat, round the north point, to salute Kosoko's house; but directed that they should only fire a few rounds, being unwilling further to destroy the town; the ultimate fate being positive, should resistance continue. I therefore recalled the boats; sent a summons to Kosoko, by a chief of the Island of Echalli, and determined to wait until Monday morning at 7.

Sunday, 28th. This, on our part, was a day of rest, in preparation for the final assault of the 29th, should Kosoko reject the proffered terms,

as in Paper No. 4. I felt a reluctance to destroy the detached part of the town still standing, as it would be required for the new-comers. I felt it as a national question, that we should duly observe the Sabbath.

9. During the whole of this day, canoes from the north-east of Lagos were observed crossing to the Island of Echalli, loaded with furniture and household goods; but I conceived that it was no part of the grand object with which England sent her forces here, to care whether a bed and table, and private property of any kind, were on one side of the river or the other; that might safely be left to the choice of individuals fleeing from a city in flames. I therefore allowed this to go on without molestation, though a jolly-boat might have stopped it. It was also desirable to show that we did not come for pillage, but that our sole object was to stop Slave Trade. At 3:45 p.m., it was ascertained that Kosoko and his followers had abandoned the island. I therefore sent my aide-de-camp, Mr. Bullen, with the interpreter, Richards, to the chiefs of the auxiliary forces, desiring them to close with the canoes, and escort the rightful King, Akitoye, to his house, and instal him in office, preferring that they who had joined him in adversity should have the honour of being his body-guard. None of the British forces landed, except a small party with Commander Coote, to spike guns. In the evening I landed with Captain Lyster and Mr. Beecroft, when a scene of the most perfect desolation presented itself.

10. The lines of defence are the most cunningly devised scheme for entrapping assailants into ambush that can be conceived. I have desired Lieutenant Mc Arthur to make sketches, which shall be forwarded to you when ready.

11. A creek and swamp, running about 200 yards inland, had checked the flames, and saved the eastern division of the town.

29th. At daylight, I ordered Commander Coote, with his own boats and those of the "Sampson," and Commander Gardner, with his boat and those of the "Penelope," the one on the north-east, the other on the north-west point, to embark or destroy the whole of the guns. They returned at noon, having, by extraordinary exertion, embarked and destroyed fifty-two pieces of ordnance, as stated in their several reports sent herewith, Nos. 5 and 6.

12. Thus, Sir, the Island of Lagos and its dependencies are prostrate before us, ours by the right of conquest, to deal with as might be most expedient. Everyone had fled.

13. It appears Kosoko, with about 2000 followers, had absconded in fifty or sixty canoes. The women and children had been sent away several days before. Akitoye and his followers are in full possession.

14. I have thus, Sir, arrived at the point when the full and complete accomplishment of your instructions was fulfilled; the climax of your expectations, as conveyed in your first order, placing the gallant and devoted officers and men composing the expeditionary forces under my command, realized.

15. And I cannot, in terms of adequate import, convey to you how fully I appreciate the cheerful endurance of intense heat, the perpetual rattling of shot from an invisible foe, and the labour of getting the vessels afloat after grounding.

16. In these duties each and all in their several departments exerted their best; but the toil and anxieties of floating the vessels principally devolved on Lieutenant Russell Patey, of the "Bloodhound," and Lieutenant Leckie, of the "Teazer." Each and all have done their duty with a cheerfulness and good-will worthy of the righteous cause upon which we have been engaged, and to all my best thanks are due.

17. I have, in the course of this despatch, mentioned the names of officers who have stood forth as leaders, and of those in command of boats, and I fully adopt the report of Captain Lyster, to bear testimony of the ardent zeal of Commander Hillyar, and Lieutenants Marshall and Rich. My gallant friend, Captain Lyster, and Commander Hillyar, were each severely wounded in the assault to spike the guns on the 26th, bearing on the "Teazer;" but nothing could induce these officers to return to their ship, though suffering severely, until they had seen the final

triumph of their exertions. The gallantry and devotion of Lieutenant Corbett is fully set forth in the letter of Captain Lyster; and I trust "I have done it" will not be forgotten as an example of what a man may do by courage and perseverance.

18. Lieutenant Thomas Saumarez, who was in command of the boats of the "Sampson," is a most energetic and promising young officer; he has for some time been doing duty as First Lieutenant of this ship.

19. Mr. James Cooke, the gunner, has been the conveyer of all my notes to you, and keeping up the supply of ammunition.

20. Charles Blofield, boatswain's mate, has had charge of the pinnace mounting a 12-pounder howitzer, for the last two days, having no officer left to put in her. He conducted his charge to my entire satisfaction, and is a deserving, promising young man, and will, with a little more experience, make a good boatswain.

21. The 24-pounder howitzer in the first life-boat was served by George Yule, gunner, Royal Marine Artillery, with admirable precision.

22. Before concluding, I must, as senior officer of the Bights Division, express to you how deeply I feel indebted to Commander Wilmot, of the "Harlequin," for the manner in which he has executed my orders to make himself acquainted with the passage of the Lagos Bar. He first ferretted his way in his gig, and then step by step, day by day, when the surf would permit, till he discovered a passage of ten feet, which enabled the steam-vessels to pass the Bar. I much regret that he should not have been present to witness the final triumph of which he was the pioneer.

23. I forward to you two notes received from Mr. Olive, master, who was left in command of the "Sampson," showing that those who were left on board were not idle, and that the anxiety of Mr. Donnelly, the surgeon, to come to the assistance of the wounded, nearly cost him his own life; he succeeded, however, in joining us the following day.

24. Mr. Thomas Hocking, the purser, stationed himself in the main-top, to report the effect of shells and progress of the forces inside.

25. I herewith send lists of the killed and wounded, amounting to killed, 15; wounded, 75.

26. I have yet another paragraph to add to this lengthened despatch, which I cannot without extreme injustice omit, and that is, to express how deeply I feel indebted to Mr. Rupert H. Bullen, clerk of the "Sampson," who has combined the duties of secretary and aide-de-camp; and when I say that no Lieutenant would have done better, I hope I shall convey to you how fully I appreciate his services.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS T. JONES.

Inclosure 3 in No. 70.

Captain Lyster to Captain Jones.

Sir,

"Teazer," off Lagos, December 29, 1851.

1. I HAVE the honour to report my proceedings from the time of entering the River Lagos until I anchored in company with the "Bloodhound" on the morning of the 27th instant.

2. On the morning of the 26th, while following you up the river, the "Teazer" grounded under the enemy's guns on the left bank. I ran anchors out immediately, and kept up a steady fire from the ship and boats. At half-past 8 the water ceased to rise, and all our exertions to get off failed. Up to this time "Teazer's" 32-pounder bore on the enemy's battery, and kept it in check; but it was not long before two guns were brought to a stockade about a point on our quarter in an unassailable position from us; these guns were admirably served, and I felt satisfied they would destroy the vessel before the tide rose again. Under these circumstances two courses were open to me: namely, to set fire to and

abandon Her Majesty's ship, or to land and carry the guns. There could be no hesitation on these points, I knew the sacrifice of life would in all probability be great, but I determined to adopt the alternative; and the cheerful and ready acquiescence which Commander Hillyar, and the rest of the officers with me, gave to my determination left no doubt of its successful issue.

The boats as noted in the margin* were formed in line abreast; we pulled in (keeping up a continued fire of spherical, grape, and cannister shot) directly for the stockade where the best landing-place appeared to be. As the boats touched the shore, we received a discharge of at least 1500 muskets; notwithstanding, we landed, formed on the beach, and entered the stockade, from which the enemy retreated into the bush close to the rear. Lieutenant Corbett rushed a-head and spiked the guns. Of this officer I shall have to speak again presently.

Having thus accomplished our object, I ordered the party to re-embark, and had scarcely done so, when Commander Hillyar informed me that No. 1 life-boat was taken, and that the enemy were tracking her along the beach towards the guns that first opened on the "Teazer;" it was necessary to retake her, and we hurried down accordingly. As the crew of the captured boat, consisting of upwards of sixty men, had now to get into other boats, we became crowded, and some little delay occurred in consequence; all this time the enemy were coming from the bush in swarms, and poured a crushing destructive fire on us at pistol-range. When we had shoved off, and while Commander Hillyar was arranging the boats, I observed something wrong with the "Victoria," which was nearer to the shore; on pulling back to her I could only see Mr. Blight, boatswain, who said that the krooman had let go the anchor without orders. I desired him to slip the cable; he replied, "it is a chain-cable clinched to the bottom, and we can't unshackle it." As I jumped on board to look, Lieutenant Corbett staggered up from the stern, saying, "I have done it, and am alive." Yes, he had cut the chain-cable with a cold chisel, and in doing so received five different wounds, which with a severe wound received on shore rendered him almost helpless, his right arm was hanging by his side, but with the left he assisted in getting the "Victoria" off to the "Teazer." I have entered into particulars here, because I feel that such heroic devotion deserves to be recorded.

On leaving the "Victoria," I was shot in the back with a musket-ball, and I found that I had too many of my force wounded to justify an attempt to recover the life-boat on this occasion, and most reluctantly left her on the beach, and returned to the "Teazer." Some forty or fifty of the enemy had the audacity to go on board the life-boat, seeing which, Mr. Balfour, Acting Mate, assisted by Mr. Dewar, gunner, threw a rocket into her magazine and blew it up.

On reaching the "Teazer," I ordered all the provisions to be taken out of her, the coals, with the exception of ten tons, to be thrown overboard, and shored her up. We were not much annoyed by the enemy on this occasion. At sunset we succeeded in heaving her off, and anchored out of gun-shot for the night.

I had decided not to go up to you if I found the "Bloodhound" afloat at daylight, until I could communicate by signal the number of wounded men there were on board this small vessel, but as you were aground I felt it to be my duty to join, which I did at 9 o'clock A. M. on the 27th, and took up a position opposite the town batteries. Our proceedings then came under your own observation, and therefore need no comment from me.

Where each officer and man vied with the other in performing daring

* 1. Gig.—Captain Lyster; Mr. Wroughton, midshipman.

2. Whale-boat —Commander Hillyar; Mr. Pack, midshipman.

3. 1st Life-boat.—Lieutenant E. Marshall; Mr. Puddicombe, midshipman.

4. 2nd Life-boat.—Lieutenant F. D. Rich; Mr. R. Brown, naval cadet; Mr. Wilcox, carpenter.

5. Victoria rocket-boat.—Lieutenant S. Corbett, Mr. Gillham, master's assistant; Mr. B. F. Clark, master's assistant; Mr. S. Blight, boatswain.

6. Pinnace.—Mr. H. Hathorn, mate.

7. 1st Cutter.—Mr. J. B. Balfour, acting mate; Mr. H. A. Dewar, gunner.

8. 2nd Cutter.—Mr. F. R. Fletcher, midshipman.

exploits of valour, I naturally feel a difficulty in naming particular individuals, but the prominent position of those who were in command, on whose coolness and courage the safety of the persons subordinate to them depended, compels me in justice to bring to your notice Commander Hillyar, Lieutenants Marshall, Rich, and Corbett, and Lieutenant Williams of the Royal Marine Artillery, who, although severely wounded in three places, remained at the head of his men until the last, also Lieutenant Leckie, commanding the "Teazer," and Mr. W. R. Bent, senior mate.

Mr. John Brown, master of the "Penelope," was of great assistance in piloting the "Teazer."

Mr. F. R. Fletcher, midshipman in charge of the second cutter, who had the care of the boats while on shore, received a mortal wound, and died in the execution of his duty.

James Webb, gunner's mate, in attempting to spike the gun of the first life-boat, was cut down and mortally wounded.

The warrant officers, Mr. Dewar, gunner, Mr. Blight, boatswain, and Mr. Wilcox, carpenter, distinguished themselves.

The medical officers, Mr. R. Carpenter, senior surgeon in the expedition, Mr. Walling, assistant surgeon of the "Penelope," Dr. Barclay acting surgeon, and Dr. Sproule, assistant surgeon, never flinched from their duty; in the midst of the fire they stepped from boat to boat and alleviated the sufferings of the wounded and the dying.

To each of the above mentioned, and other officers engaged with me, and to the seamen and marines, collectively and individually, my warmest thanks are due; under the most trying circumstances their ardour was never checked, their spirit was never daunted.

I inclose a list of the killed and wounded. I deeply regret the loss which has been sustained, but even if it had been greater, I should feel that I had done my duty in preventing one of Her Majesty's ships from falling into the hands of the enemy.

I am happy to report that the first life-boat has been recovered.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY LYSTER.

Inclosure 4 in No. 70.

LIST of Officers, Seamen, Marines, and Kroomen, belonging to H.M.S. "Penelope," killed and wounded at Lagos, on December 26, 1851, in spiking the guns to protect "Teazer," then aground.

KILLED.

Names.	Rank.	Remarks.
Mr. F. R. Fletcher	Midshipman	Shot through the head
John McDonald	A.B.	Ditto
William Laws	Captain foretop	Shot through the orbit
Frederick Hunn	Armourer	Shot through the brain
Thomas Sutton	Captain forecastle	Ditto
James Webb'	Gunner's mate	Shot through the abdomen
Thomas Davis	A.B.	Ditto
Samuel Pitt.. ..	Stoker	Shot through the head
Benjamin Tracey	Ditto	Killed on shore
Rd. Peacock	Ditto	Ditto
Francis Bone	Marine	Shot through the brain
Thomas Nonely	Ditto	Ditto
William Wilson	Supernumerary marine	Ditto
King George	Krooman	Shot through the heart

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WOUNDED.

Names.	Rank.	Remarks.
Henry Lyster	Captain	Severely
C. F. Hillyar	Commander	Ditto
John Corbett	Lieutenant	Very severely
J. W. C. Williams	First Lieutenant Marines	Severely
H. M. Gillham	Master's assistant	Dangerously—since dead
H. A. Dewar	Gunner	Slightly
James Blight	Boatswain	Ditto
Henry Huggins	Ordinary	Severely
V. Walters	Captain forecastle	Dangerously
George Strong	Boatswain's mate	Slightly
Henry Keemer	A.B.	Severely
Peter Coleman	Captain foretop	Ditto
James Markham	Ordinary	Ditto
George Day	Captain's coxswain	Ditto
William Voler	Boatswain's mate	Ditto
Thos. Stephenson	2nd Ordinary	Ditto
H. M. Davis	A.B.	Ditto
Henry Laws	A.B.	Ditto
Joseph Brunkir	Ordinary	Ditto
George Cox	2nd class Ordinary	Ditto
William Walter	A.B.	Ditto
Richard Wisdom	A.B.	Ditto
George Bulley	A.B.	Slightly
William Rice	Ordinary	Ditto
William Hender	Captain maintop	Ditto
Henry Harrison	Sailmakers' crew	Ditto
Alexr. Rutter	Coxswain launch	Severely
John Murphy	A.B.	Ditto
William Smith	Captain maintop	Ditto
William Hayes	Ordinary	Ditto
William Aldred	Quartermaster	Slightly
William Windsor	Gunner's mate	Ditto
Charles Whitcomb	Stoker	Severely
Robert William	Ditto	Slightly
James Fullerton	Leading stoker	Dangerously
William Marshall	Stoker	Severely
John Oakley	Boy, 1st class	Dangerously
Thomas Saunders	Supernumerary ditto	Severely
Thomas Rose	Boy, 1st class	Slightly
Theophilus Cock	Ditto	Severely
Richard Cocks	Ditto	Slightly
G. Ben. Inprel	Ditto, supernumerary	Ditto
David Berry	Boy, 2nd class	Ditto
George Peters	Gunner, R.M.A.	Ditto
George Glen	Fifer	Severely
W. Wainford	Gunner, R.M.A.	Ditto
W. Bovingdon	Ditto	Dangerously
Wm. Botters	Ditto	Severely
William Chaffe	Ditto	Ditto
Edward Cassidy	Ditto	Ditto
George Lacey	Ditto	Ditto
John Brown	Bombardier	Ditto
Robert Wood	Gunner, R.M.A.	Ditto
David Harlick	Ditto	Ditto
George Maggs	Serjeant	Slightly
Ben Liverpool	Krooman	Dangerously
Tom Toby	Ditto	Severely
Tom Peter	Ditto	Slightly
Tom Bestman	Ditto	Ditto
Tom George	Ditto	Ditto
Abm. Dennis	Ditto	Severely
Tom Barber	Ditto	Slightly

Total killed 14
Total wounded 62
Total wounded in "Teazer" 2

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(Signed) RICHARD CARPENTER, Surgeon.

Inclosure 5 in No. 70.

LIST of Officers, Seamen, Marines and Kroomen, belonging to H.M.S. "Sampson," killed and wounded at Lagos, on December 26, 1851.

Names.	Rank or Rating.	Remarks.
Thos. Saumarez	Lieutenant, R.N. ..	Shot through right thigh
Thos. Richards	Midshipman	Shot through the brain—since dead
Ben. Harding	Corporal Marine Artillery	Shot through left temple
Geo. Yule	Marine Artillery ..	Shot through left thigh
James Wade	Ditto	Shot through left wrist
Thomas Kirkpatrick	Ditto	Shot through right hand
Joseph Martin	Ditto	Shot through right thigh
S. Dobell	Ordinary	Wound of ring finger of left hand
P. Rowe	Captain maintop ..	Wound of left wrist
P. Foot	A.B.	Wound of left hip
Joseph Williams	Captain foretop ..	Wound of forehead
Jno. Jumbo.. ..	Krooman	Wound of right shoulder
Total killed		1
Total wounded		11
		12

(Signed) SAMUEL DONNELLY, *Surgeon.*

Inclosure 6 in No. 70.

LIST of Officers and Men wounded, belonging to H.M.S. "Teazer" (tender to "Penelope"), at Lagos, December 27, 1851.

Names.	Rank or Rating.	Remarks.
Mr. Geo. E. Howell	Gunner 3rd class ..	Very dangerously
John Yates	A.B.	Slightly

(Signed) RICHARD CARPENTER, *Surgeon.*

Inclosure 7 in No. 70.

(No. 2.)—List of Officers and Men sent from "Sampson," December 23, 1851.

<p>1st Gig.</p> <p>Captain Jones. Mr. Bullen, clerk. Coxswain and 4 seamen.</p> <p>1st Life-boat. 24-pounder howitzer.</p> <p>Lieutenant Saumarez. Lieutenant McArthur, R.M.A. 17 Seamen. 13 Marine Artillery. 4 Kroomen.</p> <p>2nd Life-boat. 24-pounder howitzer.</p> <p>Mr. Bayley, mate. Mr. Pendrith, assistant surgeon. 15 Seamen. 14 Marine Artillery. 4 Kroomen.</p>	<p>Pinnacle. 12-pounder howitzer.</p> <p>Mr. Ward, second master. Mr. Kelly, master's assistant. 14 Seamen. 3 Marines. 2 Kroomen.</p> <p>1st Cutter.</p> <p>Mr. Richards, midshipman. Mr. Stivey, carpenter. 12 Seamen. 2 Kroomen.</p> <p>2nd Cutter.</p> <p>Mr. Henderson, midshipman. 11 Seamen. 2 Kroomen.</p> <p>2nd Gig.</p> <p>Mr. Cook, gunner. 4 Seamen.</p>
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Total, 12 officers and 122 men.

List of Officers and Men sent from the "Penelope."

<p>1st Gig.</p> <p>Captain Lyster. Mr. Wroughton, midshipman. 6 Seamen. 1 Marine.</p> <p>Whaler.</p> <p>Commander Hillyar. Mr. Parke, midshipman. 5 Seamen. 1 Marine. Mr. Carpenter, surgeon.</p> <p>Rocket-boat (iron). 24-pounder and 12-pounder rockets.</p> <p>Lieutenant Corbett. Lieutenant Williams, R.M.A. Mr. Clarke, master's assistant. Mr. Blight, boatswain. Mr. , assistant surgeon. 28 Seamen. 16 Marines. 19 Kroomen.</p> <p>1st Life-boat. 24-pounder howitzer.</p> <p>Lieutenant Marshall. Mr. Puddicombe, midshipman. 19 Seamen. 6 Marines. 7 Kroomen.</p>	<p>2nd Life-boat. 24-pounder howitzer.</p> <p>Lieutenant Rich. Mr. Brown, naval cadet. Mr. Wilcox, carpenter. 19 Seamen. 6 Marines. 7 Kroomen.</p> <p>Pinnace. 12-pounder howitzer.</p> <p>Mr. Hawthorn, mate. 17 Seamen. 6 Marines. 4 Kroomen.</p> <p>1st Cutter. 6-pounder rocket.</p> <p>Mr. Balfour, mate. Mr. Dewar, gunner. 12 Seamen, 4 Marines. 2 Kroomen.</p> <p>2nd Cutter.</p> <p>Mr. Fletcher, midshipman. Mr. Gillham, master's assistant. 12 Seamen. 4 Marines. 2 Kroomen.</p>
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		Total.	
Officers	20
Seamen	118
Marines	44
Kroomen	41
			223
		Sampson's Total.	
Officers	12
Men	..	..	122
			134
		Grand Total	.. 357

Inclosure 8 in No. 70.

(No. 3.)—*Regulations for the attack on Lagos, Friday, December 26, 1851.*

High-water full and change at 6; rise 4 feet. New moon, Monday, 22nd, 3³⁴ P.M.

DRESS.

Seamen	}	Blue frocks. White trousers. Straw hats.
Marines	}	White frocks. White trousers. White caps.

Akitoye's men to wear a white band round the neck.

150 of Akitoye's men to be embarked in the seven captured canoes, and follow steamers, the rest to remain in encampment until sent for.

Town to be shelled from the gun-boats in two divisions at a range of 1000 yards, then to advance under a deliberate fire of round-shot. Shrapnel and case to be reserved for special service.

Officer in charge of explosion powder.—Lt. McArthur, R.M.A.

Officer to spike guns.—Commander Hillyar.

"Bloodhound" to lead, preceded by port-division of boats, and followed by starboard-division. "Teazer" to follow, with similar arrangements of

boats. The gun-boats to keep up a fire with round-shot, and if near enough, with cannister, but not to use shell without special orders. Should either of the steamers ground, the boats will take up positions for mutual support, but if nothing occurs to prevent it, it is designed to pass direct to the north part of the island.

General signals to be used to "Teazer."

Wilmot's signals to be used to boats.

White ensign at the fore,—signal for Akitoye's canoes to close round "Bloodhound."

(Signed) LEWIS T. JONES, *Captain*
H.M.S. "Sampson."

Inclosure 9 in No. 70.

Captain Jones to the Chief Kosoko.

Lagos River, December 28, 1851.

KOSOKO is invited to come on board Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound," to meet the rightful King, Akitoye. Kosoko's life will be safe; he shall be provided for at Fernando Po. Kosoko must resign to the rightful King, Akitoye.

The answer must be received by 7 o'clock to-morrow morning, by which many lives and much property may still be spared.

Inclosure 10 in No. 70.

Commander Gardner to Captain Jones.

Sir,

"Bloodhound," December 29, 1851.

IN compliance with your order I have taken, sunk, or destroyed guns from the N.W. point of Lagos, as follows:

Guns taken.

Gun, brass 1, length 10 ft. 4 in., calibre 4.2 in.
 Gun, iron 1, length 5 ft. 5 in., calibre 3.5 in.
 " 1, length 5 ft., calibre 4 in.
 " 1, length 6 ft. 7 in., calibre 4½ in.
 " 1, length 8 ft. 2 in., calibre 4½ in.
 " 1, length 6 ft. 7 in., calibre 4¼ in.
 Carronade, iron, length 4 ft., calibre 5 in.
 Gun, iron 1, length 8 ft., calibre 4.5 in.
 " 1, length 4 ft. 10 in., calibre 3.5 in.
 " 1, length 8 ft., calibre 4.5 in.
 " 1, length 4 ft. 10 in., calibre 3.5 in.
 " 1, length 8 ft. 7 in., calibre 5 in.
 " 1, length 4 ft. 10½ in., calibre 3.5 in.
 " 1, length 4 ft. 5 in., calibre 3½ in.
 " 1, length 3 ft. 6 in., calibre 2.5 in.
 " 1, length 4 ft., calibre 3½ in.
 " 1, length 5 ft., calibre 3½ in.
 " 1, length 4 ft. 10 in., calibre 3 in.
 " 1, length 2 ft. 6 in., calibre 3 in.
 Carronade 1, length 3 ft. 8 in., calibre 5 in.
 " 1, length 3 ft. 6 in., calibre 3.5 in.

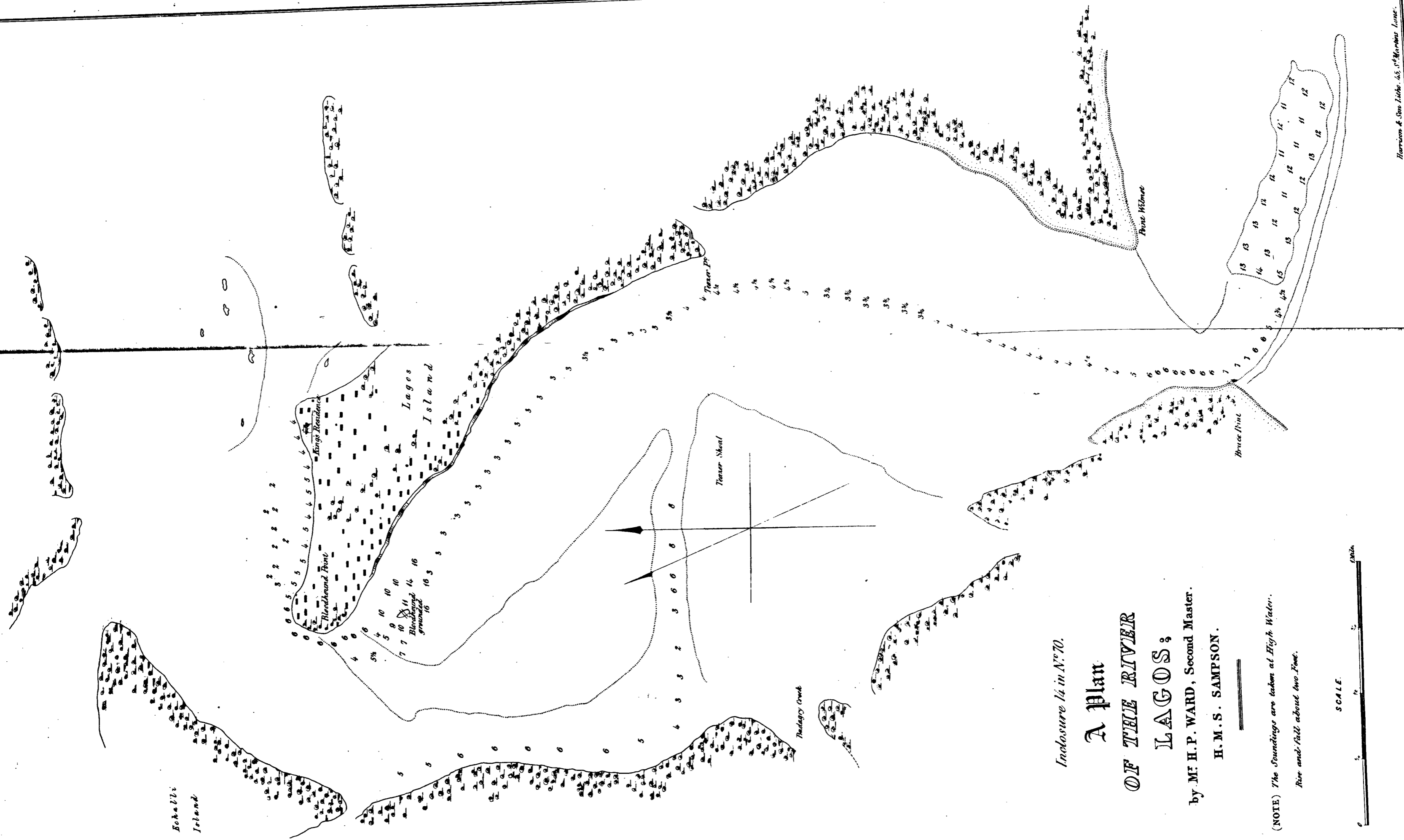
Guns sunk.

Gun 1, length about 8 ft.
 " 1, length 5 ft. 3 in.
 " 1, length 4 ft.
 " 1, length 8 ft.
 Carronade 1, length 4 ft.

One heavy gun remaining to be destroyed.

Total guns brought ..	..	21
Total guns sunk ..	..	5
To be destroyed ..	..	1

(Signed) A. GARDNER, *Commander*
H.M.S. "Waterwitch."



Enclosure 14 in N° 70.

A Plan OF THE RIVER OF THE RIVER OF LAGOS;

by M. H. P. WARD, Second Master.
H. M. S. SAMPSON.

(NOTE) The Soundings are taken at High Water.
River and fall about two Feet.



Inclosure 11 in No. 70.

(No. 6.)—*Commander Coote to Captain Jones.**“Bloodhound,” off the town of Lagos,
December 29, 1851.*

Sir,

IN obedience to your instructions of the 28th instant, I beg to acquaint you that the following guns have been brought from the shore by the division of boats under my orders:

One 18-pounder, mounted on a well-executed revolving carriage, near the King's house.	}	All iron.
One 18-pounder carronade		
One 12-pounder gun		
One 12-pounder carronade		
One 6-pounder gun		
One 6-pounder carronade		
One 4-pounder gun, travelling-carriage		
Also five small iron guns, and eight small brass guns.		

The following guns have been spiked and rendered useless; when possible they have been sunk in deep water.

One long 32-pounder.
 One long 24-pounder carronade,
 One long 32-pounder carronade.
 One long 18-pounder gun.
 One long 12-pounder carronade.
 One long 9-pounder carronade.
 Two long 6-pounder guns.
 Two small guns.

In all 25 guns, in various positions, between the north point of the island and the King's house.

I am, &c.

(Signed) R. COOTE, *Commander, H.M.S. “Volcano.”*

Inclosure 12 in No. 70.

Mr. Olive to Captain Jones.

Sir,

“Sampson,” off Lagos, December 26, 1851.

I REGRET to inform you the second gig was capsized on the Bar yesterday, with the doctor and gunner in her; but both, I am happy to say, are saved and doing well. The Commodore has ordered the boat to go on board with powder and shot for shore party without an officer, which I have done. I fear the shells from the 68-pounder may strike the boat, so I have ceased firing.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. OLIVE.

Inclosure 13 in No. 70.

Mr. Olive to Captain Jones.

Sir,

“Sampson,” off Lagos, December 28, 1851.

I SENT all the charges for boat's guns in the paddle-box boat, as well the musket-ball cartridge, and also all the boat-shot that I can find in the ship. I shall go on filling musket-ball cartridge to-day.

I have fired several shells to the right of the town, but they fell short, and I have therefore desisted, though I am keeping a good look out for any party of the enemy that may come within range.

Wishing you success, I am, &c.

(Signed) W. OLIVE.

No. 71.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 16, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, a copy of a letter dated the 3rd January, from Commodore Bruce, and of its inclosure from Captain Jones, of Her Majesty's steam-ship "Sampson," reporting the successful termination of the service in the River Lagos.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 71.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 12.)

Sir,

"Penelope," off Lagos, January 3, 1852.

I TRANSMIT herewith, to be laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter from Captain Lewis T. Jones, reporting the successful and final termination of the service in the River Lagos, which forms the subject of my despatch to you dated the 2nd instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 71.

Captain Jones to Commodore Bruce.

Sir,

"Sampson," off Lagos, January 1, 1852.

I HAVE the honour of reporting to you the termination of the proceedings of the expeditionary forces under my command, having at 2 P.M. to-day recrossed the Bar with the "Bloodhound" and "Teazer," and boats of the "Sampson."

The 30th and 31st December were occupied by Mr. Becroft and myself in visiting the adjacent Island of Echalli, and explaining to the natives the object of the English coming up the river.

That it was solely to "prevent the exportation of slaves." That "the suppression of this abominable Traffic would lead to lawful and free trade." That "England would take all the oil they could make."

They were also told, and told to spread it far and wide, "never to fear an attack from the English, but always come forward and meet them as friends; that we never fired first, but that if people assailed us, we 'hit hard.'"

Each of these announcements was received with great joy and clapping of hands; it seemed as if a new existence had opened on these fine-looking athletic men.

On the 31st Akitoye hoisted his flag: white with red cross diagonally.

Akitoye signed the provisional Slave Treaty at the King's house, in the presence of a large concourse of people, the Separate Articles being read aloud and translated by Richards the interpreter, the people approving as each Article was read, by clapping of hands and the peculiar snapping of thumbs.

It is, Sir, with considerable pleasure that I can report to you the perfect state of the health of the crew of the "Sampson;" there is but one man in the list, exclusive of the wounded.

In conclusion, I trust and hope that my own heart, and the hearts of each and every one engaged in the late operations, is fully impressed with

the bountiful goodness of God in protecting them from sickness, in cheering them through most laborious duties, and enabling them to do their duty to their noble country with courage and fidelity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS T. JONES.

No. 72.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 16, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, a copy of a letter from Captain Jones, of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Sampson," dated the 10th February, giving the latest intelligence of the state of affairs at Lagos.

I am, &c.
(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 72.

Captain Jones to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

*"Sampson," at Sea, Lat. 38° 56' N., Long. 11° 30' W.
February 10, 1852.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Lords of the Admiralty, that after Commodore Bruce left Lagos, I, with Mr. Consul Beecroft, paid King Akitoye a visit on the 5th of January. He was perfectly delighted to see us, and we had the gratification of learning that upwards of 5000 of the inhabitants had returned to the town.

One of the principal chiefs, Ageeneah, had sent in a messenger to seek terms and forgiveness. He will be an important acquisition to Akitoye. The same messenger stated that Kosoko was on an island in the Benin Creek, about seventeen miles distant; that his followers had dwindled down to about 200, with the chief Tappa at their head; but that they were determined men, and that Kosoko would attack Akitoye so soon as the white man was gone.

In returning down the river at sunset, I had the satisfaction of meeting Commander Wilmot coming up. He will keep in constant communication with Akitoye, and afford him the valuable assistance of his counsel and advice in reforming the Government. He could not be in better hands.

The "Harlequin" had had an exceedingly long passage to Prince's, which was owing to very light winds.

I left Lagos on the morning of the 6th January, and on the 7th I communicated with the "Philomel" at Whydah.

Commander T. G. Forbes was still at Abomey with Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser, and it appeared very uncertain how long the palaver might last.

As Commodore Bruce was anxious for me to save the homeward-bound mail, I did not think it expedient to remain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS JONES.

No. 73.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 17, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a letter from Commodore Bruce, dated the 2nd of January last, and its inclosures, stating that Commander T. G. Forbes, of "Philomel," will proceed to Abomey.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. PARKER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 73.

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

(No. 7.)

Sir,

"Penelope," off Lagos, January 2, 1852.

BY the accompanying correspondence, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will observe that there is a probability of our obtaining concessions from the King of Dahomey. I have acquainted Commander T. G. Forbes, of the "Philomel," that as soon as His Majesty signs a treaty similar to that which we have with Lagos, stipulating, in addition, that there shall be perpetual peace between Dahomey and Abbeokuta, the blockade of Whydah will be withdrawn, but not before. I am glad to find that the King of Dahomey has so promptly noticed my despatch to him, and I hope, in a very short time to bring all the chiefs between Cape St. Paul and the Benin (a line of coast notorious as containing the most extensive slaving establishments in Africa), to agree to the terms which I am directed by Her Majesty's Government to propose to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.

P.S.—I highly approve of the promptitude and energy shown by Commander T. G. Forbes in proceeding to Abomey at once.

H. W. B.

Inclosure 2 in No. 73.

Commander T. G. Forbes to Commodore Bruce.

Sir,

"Philomel," off Whydah, December 31, 1851.

IN a communication dated 26th December, from Vice-Consul L. Fraser, I was under the impression that he only wanted me or one of my officers to go to Abomey, more as a companion than a matter of duty; and as your instructions to me express that on no consideration did you think it advisable for me to land or allow any person under my orders, I therefore declined, particularly as I did not like leaving the brig in charge of Lieutenant Morrell, my Senior Lieutenant being absent at the time.

I have this day received the inclosed letter, dated 30th December, from Thomas Hutton, Esq., which makes it appear to me that I should at once accede to the King of Dahomey's wishes, of being present on this important occasion, and therefore shall proceed early to-morrow with the King's express messengers for Abomey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. G. FORBES.

Inclosure 3 in No. 73.

Vice-Consul Fraser to Commander T. G. Forbes.

Sir,

Whydah, December 26, 1851.

I HAVE just received the King of Dahomey's stick and message, calling me to Abomey. I should like yourself or one of your Lieutenants to accompany me, more particularly as it would be in accordance with the King's wishes.

Things seems to be going on favourably, but I fear the sacrifices will be the great obstacle.

I have, &c.
(Signed) L. FRASER,
H. B. M.'s Vice-Consul in Dahomey.

Inclosure 4 in No. 73.

Mr. Hutton to Commander T. G. Forbes.

Sir,

Whydah, December 30, 1851.

THE Yavogau and chiefs of this town, with express messengers from the King of Dahomey, have called upon me to request that I shall endeavour to prevail upon you to favour the King with an interview at Dahomey.

Mr. Vice-Consul Fraser, who left for Dahomey last evening, informed me that in accordance with your instructions, it was not conceived advisable that yourself should visit the shore; and such intimation I am led to infer has been made known to the King, who appears most anxious that yourself, being Her Majesty's Senior Officer on this station, should be present on this important occasion, the effecting a treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

The Yavogau and chiefs, the Da Souza's and the principal residents here, with Senhor Domingo Martinez of Porto Novo, and also myself, are invited to be present.

I am assured the King will feel much aggrieved if disappointed in the favour of your presence; permit me to hope that you will gratify him, as your presence will certainly tend to lessen difficulties, and dispose him to bring this long-desired treaty to a successful conclusion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. HUTTON.

No. 74.

Mr. Layard to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 23, 1852.

I HAVE laid before Earl Granville your letter of the 16th instant, inclosing copies of despatches from Commodore Bruce, the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces on the west coast of Africa, and from Captains Jones and Lyster, reporting their proceedings in the attack which was made upon the Island and Town of Lagos on the 26th and 27th of December last, and which compelled the usurper Kosoko to evacuate that town with his forces, and led to the restoration of Akitoye, the rightful Sovereign of Lagos.

The great numerical strength of the enemy, the entrenchments by which they had skilfully fortified the place and its approaches, and the natural difficulties attending the ascent of the river, rendered this expedition peculiarly arduous and formidable; and Lord Granville feels called upon to say, that it appears to him that the officers and men engaged in the reduction of Lagos have greatly distinguished themselves, and have

fully maintained the high and well-earned reputation of the British Navy for courage and gallantry; and if the Lords of the Admiralty should concur in this opinion, Lord Granville hopes that Commodore Bruce may receive from their Lordships a suitable acknowledgment of the distinguished services of the officers and men employed under his orders in this action.

I am, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 75.

Earl Granville to Consul Beecroft.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 23, 1852.

IT was my duty to inform you by my despatch of the 24th ultimo, that Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that you were not justified in requiring Commander T. G. Forbes, of Her Majesty's steamer "Philomel," to direct against the town of Lagos the attack which was made by the boats of Her Majesty's squadron on the 25th of November last; and I have since learnt from the Admiralty, that the view which I took of these transactions on the receipt of your despatch of the 26th of November, has been fully borne out by the opinion thereupon which Commodore Bruce communicated to Commander Forbes on the 19th of December, after having investigated upon the spot all that occurred on that occasion.

I have now to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 3rd of January, reporting your proceedings on board Her Majesty's steamer "Bloodhound," between the 30th of November, 1851, and the 1st of January last; and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government have learnt with great satisfaction that the formidable resistance of the King and chiefs of Lagos has been completely subdued by the skill and intrepidity so eminently displayed by Her Majesty's Naval Forces under Captain Jones, in the attack upon that island and town, on the 26th and 27th of December.

I have no doubt that by your professional and local knowledge, and by your perseverance and activity, you have been enabled to render important services to Commodore Bruce, in preparing and carrying into execution his plans for the attack upon Lagos; and I hope that the restoration of the rightful chief, Akitoye, to his sovereignty, combined with the signature of the Treaty which he concluded with Commodore Bruce and you on the 1st of January, may lead to the complete extirpation of the Slave Trade from the stronghold which it has found for some years at Lagos.

I have the gratification of informing you that Her Majesty's Government have confirmed the Treaty of the 1st of January, and that they entirely approve the part taken by you in the proceedings of Her Majesty's squadron since the 30th of November last.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 76.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 25, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, copies of a letter dated the 5th January, from Commander Wilmot, of Her Majesty's sloop "Harlequin," and of its inclosure, reporting the circumstances attending the destruction of a village and barracoons at the entrance of the River Lagos on the 30th November last.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 76.

Commander Wilmot to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir, "Harlequin," Lagos, January 5, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a letter forwarded to Commodore Bruce, Commander-in-chief of the African squadron, relative to the destruction of a village and barracoons, on the point at the entrance of the River of Lagos, on the night of the 30th November, 1851, by the boats of the "Harlequin" and "Volcano."

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. E. WILMOT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 76.

Commander Wilmot to Commodore Bruce.

Sir, "Harlequin," off Lagos, December 1, 1851.

THE King of Lagos having commenced hostilities against Great Britain, by firing upon a flag of truce that accompanied Her Majesty's Consul up the river on the morning of the 25th November last, for the purpose of holding a palaver with His Majesty, I have considered it my duty ever since, as the commander of a British cruizer upon this coast, to annoy him by every means in my power.

Mr. Beecroft having intimated to me his desire to re-enter the river of Lagos with the "Bloodhound" and the armed boats of this vessel, "Volcano," and "Waterwitch," for the purpose of harassing the town and people, and preventing war-canoes from going up the Badagry Creek, I recalled the "Waterwitch" from Jaboo, still retaining the boats of the "Volcano" with Commander Coote on board the "Harlequin."

As I have always considered the destruction of the eastern point of land that commands the entrance of the river,—upon which are several large barracoons belonging to the Portuguese, capable of holding from 5000 to 6000 slaves, as well as a native village, in which and around which an armed force of some hundreds of men had taken up their position,—to be of much importance in our operations against Lagos, both as to the advantage to be gained by us in having our way clear from annoyance, as well as the moral effect it might have upon the King, I determined to attempt a night attack with the boats of this ship and those of the "Volcano" which remained with us.

Accordingly, upon the night of the 30th November, at 9:30 P.M., the moon shining brightly, with a moderate breeze of wind, I dispatched 97 men, including officers, seamen, and marines, from this ship and "Volcano," under the command of John M. Reeves, First Lieutenant of the "Volcano," accompanied by Lieutenants Charles P. Robinson, of the same vessel, and James D. Curtis, of the "Harlequin," to destroy the barracoons and village. A fire party, under Mr. John Walker, boatswain of this ship, with portfires, covered lanterns and candles, and flambeaux, made of pitch and turpentine, were attached to the force.

My object was to take the village by surprise, and accomplish its destruction without any sacrifice of human life.

I am most happy to inform you of the complete success of the expedition, without the slightest casualty of any kind. The whole of the barracoons and village were in flames in less than an hour, and the enemy must have been panic-struck, as no great resistance was offered, although musketry was opened when the party had effected their purpose. A quantity of powder exploded in the different houses, and in the barracoons belonging to the slave-dealers, several casks of palm-oil, aguadaente, &c., were destroyed.

In reporting the successful accomplishment of this little expedition, important in its effects upon the minds and energies of all Lagos, had it

been followed next day by entering the river according to Mr. Beecroft's original intention, I have to bring before your notice the steady, zealous, and gallant conduct of Lieutenant Reeve, who conducted his party with the greatest silence and good order, carrying out the instructions he received from me to my great satisfaction, although every moment anticipating an attack from the stockades and bushes, as we had seen between 200 and 300 men constantly in arms upon the point.

Lieutenant Reeve speaks most highly of every officer, seaman, and marine that landed, and gives a large portion of praise to Mr. Walker, boatswain of this ship (who had previously landed with me), and his fire party, for so effectually performing their share of the plan.

I trust, Sir, that this fire, which must have been seen at least forty miles around, will remind the King of Lagos, that though the greater portion of our force has left his shores for the present, it is still the intention of our Government to give him and all Africa such a proof of our power, that the coming year will dawn upon a brighter period than has hitherto been known here, and behold the complete abolition of the Slave Trade for ever.

It was my intention to have destroyed the canoes belonging to the Portuguese slave-dealers upon this point, amounting to twenty or thirty, but they have been withdrawn up the river, evidently anticipating the attack.

Mr. Beecroft having changed his mind with respect to re-entering the river left Lagos, this evening in the "Bloodhound," with Commander Coote and the "Volcano's" boats in tow, for Badagry, to rejoin their vessel; and I have sent the "Waterwitch" to Prince's, receiving from her all the water she could conveniently spare.

The barracoons belonged to Senhores Nobre, Lima, and Marcos, the three greatest slave-dealers in Lagos.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR P. EARDLEY WILMOT.

No. 77.

The Secretary of the Admiralty to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 24, 1852.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Earl Granville, a copy of a despatch from Commodore Bruce, dated the 17th January, containing intelligence respecting the state of affairs in the Bight of Benin, and recommending that certain Consular Agents should be appointed to places there.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 77.

(No. 23.)

Commodore Bruce to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Penelope," Ascension, January 17, 1852.

THE recent operations in the Bight of Benin which were undertaken in compliance with instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, will, there is every reason to suppose, be the means of stopping the Slave Trade in that portion of Africa. The expulsion of the white slave-dealers from Lagos, the deposition of its barbarous Chief, Kosoko, and the establishment of a friendly and comparatively civilized ruler in his place, has opened out a field for legitimate commercial enterprise to an extent difficult to define.

Lagos, lately an excellent and well-built native town, situated near to the sea-coast on the bank of a river which is accessible to vessels drawing as much as ten or eleven feet, and having water-communication far into the interior, beyond Abbeokuta, and for hundreds of miles along the coast, appears to be the natural magazine for such of the produce of the surrounding country as is intended for exportation. The natives are a brave and intelligent race, and more desirous of partaking of the comforts and luxuries consequent on an intercourse with European traders, than most of the adjacent tribes. Their exports of palm-oil and ivory under the late Government were very considerable, and now, when they perceive that their favourite occupation of slave-dealing must from the strict blockade which is kept up by the British cruizers, be relinquished, and are made to understand that their topographical position enables them to become the carriers of merchandize to and from the inland nations, it may be supposed that they would, with a proper degree of management, turn their attention to lawful pursuits, and before long be the wealthiest and most considerable people in Western Africa.

But unfortunately, the Traffic in Slaves is of all descriptions of commerce, the one most congenial to the habits and disposition of the African: the marauding expeditions undertaken at certain seasons for the capture of slaves, establishes his character for enterprise and courage among his brethren; the boundless and cruel control he exercises over his captives in the barracoons is gratifying to his savage temper; and the readiness with which he finds purchasers for them satisfies his cupidity. Experience shows us that he will never voluntarily abandon this vile Traffic.

At this moment our negotiations with Dahomey are progressing to a favourable termination; the petty chiefs in the Bight of Benin will be governed by the result. Lagos, the greatest slave emporium, is in our power, and the people are ready to accede to any terms which we may propose to them; but the difficulty is in keeping them to their engagements. The Slave Trade requires no organized system for its support; it might cease for a century and be renewed in a week; remove the blockading squadron, and to-morrow, if the Spaniards or Brazilians were willing to buy slaves, the chiefs would be ready to sell them, notwithstanding their pledges to the contrary. Still there are, in my opinion, means, by the adoption of which, the squadron might, to effect all that is required of it on this point, be reduced to a number only sufficient to watch over the interests of legitimate traders, namely, by establishing Consuls and Agents at different places, whose duty it should be to ascertain whether or not the native chiefs to whom they are accredited, faithfully observe their engagements for the abolition of the Slave Trade. They should be instructed to foster legitimate commerce, to keep up a constant communication with the officers commanding Her Majesty's ships; to impart at once any intelligence they might obtain of a breach of treaty, and the offending chief should be summarily punished for the same by the stoppage of trade and the destruction of his coast town. It should be their duty to report to the Senior Naval Officer, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, once a-month at least, the state of affairs within the limits of their respective Consulates or Agencies; they should be strictly forbidden to interfere in the political concerns of the countries in which they are residing, and prohibited from entering into commercial speculations, either on their own account or on account of other parties. The persons best adapted for these situations would be intelligent and fairly educated Creoles of the West Indies, or natives of Sierra Leone, as they alone are capable of withstanding the effects of the climate. I would suggest that on the respective chiefs entering into anti-Slave Trade engagements, Consuls be appointed at Lagos and Whydah, and Agents at Elmina Chica, Fish Town, Ahguay, Great Popo, Appi, Porto Novo, Badagry, Jacknah, Jabor and the Oddi.

If the Consuls at Lagos and Whydah were to be paid 300*l.* a-year each, and the Agents at the other ports above mentioned 200*l.* a-year each, the charge would amount to 2,600*l.* a-year, being one-fourth less than the expense of a 6-gun brig. Three cruizers would be sufficient, instead

of seven, the number now required; and thus a saving would be effected of nearly 20,000*l.* a-year, and the objects of Her Majesty's Government more likely to be accomplished than by an adherence to the present system.

The trade in the Bight of Biafra is so considerable, that I am sure Mr. Beecroft would be fully and most usefully occupied in confining his attention to British interests in that quarter; and I should therefore recommend his being relieved of the duties arising in those parts of his Consulate which are situated to the westward of the River Benin.

I request you will be pleased to bring this despatch under the notice of their Lordships.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. W. BRUCE.
