



Center *for* Research Libraries
GLOBAL RESOURCES NETWORK

The Center for Research Libraries scans to provide digital delivery of its holdings. In some cases problems with the quality of the original document or microfilm reproduction may result in a lower quality scan, but it will be legible. In some cases pages may be damaged or missing. Files include OCR (machine searchable text) when the quality of the scan and the language or format of the text allows.

If preferred, you may request a loan by contacting Center for Research Libraries through your Interlibrary Loan Office.

Rights and usage

Materials digitized by the Center for Research Libraries are intended for the personal educational and research use of students, scholars, and other researchers of the CRL member community. Copyrighted images and texts may not be reproduced, displayed, distributed, broadcast, or downloaded for other purposes without the expressed, written permission of the copyright owner.

Center for Research Libraries

Identifier: 9022c76c-d270-4ed9-ad24-b9ee9a6c23a5

Range: Scans 001 - 026

Downloaded on: 2022-05-25 14:20:18

GOLD COAST.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING THE

**ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAWS AGAINST
SLAVERY IN THE GOLD COAST COLONY.**

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
May 1891.



LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C., and
32, ABINGDON STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W. ; or
JOHN MENZIES & Co., 12, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, and
88 and 90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW ; or
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1891.

[C.—6354.] *Price 3d.*

CONTENTS.

Serial No.	From or to whom.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
		1890.		
1	The Aborigines Protection Society.	August 20	Calls attention to a statement as to the prevalence of slavery and slave dealing in the Gold Coast Colony.	3
2	To Sir W. B. Griffith	August 27	Transmits copy of a letter from the Aborigines Protection Society as to the alleged existence of slavery.	4
3	To the Aborigines Protection Society.	August 27	States that the allegations of the Society will be investigated.	4
4	The Aborigines Protection Society.	Sept. 11	Calls attention to two further cases of slave dealing in the Colony.	5
5	To Sir W. B. Griffith	Sept. 17	Transmits copy of a further letter from the Aborigines Protection Society.	5
6	To the Aborigines Protection Society.	Sept. 17	States that a copy of their letter of 11th September will be sent to the Governor.	5
		1891.		
7	Sir W. B. Griffith -	Jan. 26 Rec. Feb. 23.	Replies to the charges made by the Aborigines Protection Society against himself of condonation of slavery, and encloses copy of a letter from Mr. Peregrine replying to the allegations so far as he is concerned.	6
8	The Aborigines Protection Society.	March 20	Enquires whether any report has been received from the Governor, and calls attention to an Ordinance by which it is alleged the Government intend to uphold slavery in disguise.	19
9	To the Aborigines Protection Society.	April 3	Encloses copy of a despatch from the Governor, and states that in Lord Knutsford's opinion, the charges against the Governor and Mr. Peregrine have not been substantiated and have been brought without any adequate inquiry into their foundation.	20
10	Ditto - - -	April 4	Replies to the statement made in the Society's letter of 20th March as to the alleged intention of the Colonial Government to uphold slavery in disguise.	20
11	The Aborigines Protection Society.	April 15	Replies to Colonial Office letters of 3rd and 4th April and renews the request of the Society for searching and impartial inquiry into the administration of the law.	21
12	To the Aborigines Protection Society.	May 11	Expresses the opinion that the attempt made in the Society's letter of 15th April to substantiate their allegations by reference to the Governor's despatch has completely failed, and that no case has been made out for ordering an inquiry into the conduct of the Governor.	25

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

ALLEGED SLAVERY IN THE GOLD COAST COLONY.

No. 1.

The ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Aborigines Protection Society,
Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W.

August 20, 1890.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society to invite your Lordship's attention to the following statement as to the prevalence of slavery and slave dealing in the Gold Coast.

2. Although the general law which forbids slavery within Her Majesty's dominions has been strengthened as regards this Colony by Ordinance No. 1 of 1874, and although since its passing adult slavery has been to a large extent suppressed, our Committee has trustworthy information that there are now in the Colony and the adjacent British territories a great number of boys and girls, estimated at 5,000 or more, who are bought and retained as slaves, and that the practice of procuring these children from Salaga and other districts in the interior for sale at Accra and other places on the coast still continues and has of late considerably increased, owing to the apathy and connivance of the representatives of Her Majesty's Government. This allegation is supported by the following facts:—

3. On 26th March 1890 a woman named Fanny Hagan was prosecuted before District Commissioner Edward McMunn, at Accra, on a charge of slave dealing, and it was proved that she had bought for 3*l.* a child named Nyamie Domah. Being convicted of the offence she was fined only 3*s.*, and the child was placed under the charge of the prison matron with a view to her being apprenticed according to law. Almost immediately afterwards, however, the District Commissioner was peremptorily ordered by Sir W. Brandford Griffith to restore the child to the convicted slave owner, and that this was done appears from the record in the register of the court:—"Nyamie Domah given back to Fanny Hagan by order of the Governor. (Signed) Edward McMunn."

4. In May 1890, four women and a man named Daday, Lamday, Akromah, Acquorkor, and George Owoo, were charged before the same District Commissioner with being in possession of seven girl slaves. They were admitted to bail, and the children were similarly placed under the care of the prison matron. The Governor, however, ordered that the proceedings should be abandoned, and that the children should be restored to the slave owners, which was done.

5. In the course of these arrangements Mr. McMunn was superseded as District Commissioner at Accra by Mr. L. M. Peregrine, it being openly stated in the Colony that Mr. McMunn's supersession was due to the fact that during his brief term of office, he had made some efforts to enforce Ordinance No. 1 of 1874.

6. In illustration of Mr. Peregrine's method of performing the duties to which he had been appointed it may be mentioned that when, early in June, some slave boys applied to him for liberation he informed them and the public "that he was not set there (in the Court) to decide any case of slave dealing," and that the boys must go back to their slave masters. Subsequently, on the 20th June, Mr. Peregrine, after refusing to transfer a slave boy in the possession of Elen Quartey, the concubine of a white resident, to his own mother, was only constrained to do so by Mr. Joseph Cornelius's instituting criminal proceedings in the Queen's name against Elen Quartey, and when that was done and the slave owning was proved, no penalty whatever was imposed on the woman.

7. It is notorious that at no time, or only on very rare occasions, has the Ordinance of 1874 been adequately enforced as regards either the liberation and careful apprenticeship of children imported into the Colony and there sold as slaves, or the punishment of

slave dealers and slave owners. But under Sir W. Brandford Griffith's administration, there appears to have been greater laxity than heretofore in the punishment of offenders, and corresponding increase of the evil.

8. It is shown by the official "Register of Emancipated Slave Children brought before the Commissioner" at Accra, that between July and December 1887 only eight cases were there dealt with, with seven convictions, and in each case with no penalty beyond a trivial fine. During 1888 but two cases were brought before the court. In one of these cases proceedings were stayed by order of the Governor, and two slave girls were restored to their owners. In the other the slave died before the case could be disposed of, but no inquiry was held as to the cause of her death, and the action against her owner was discharged. Between January 1889 and April 1890, 36 cases were dealt with, and in all convictions ensued, the highest two being punished with fines of 25*l.*, and in the others fines varying from 3*l.* to 15*l.* being imposed. The somewhat firm policy of this period was during the employment of Deputy Commissioner McMunn, who has since been replaced by the official who has announced that it is no part of his duty "to decide cases of slave dealing."

9. Our Committee will not at present trouble your Lordship with further details in its possession; but it appeals to Her Majesty's Government to cause a searching inquiry to be instituted into the conduct of the Governor of the Gold Coast and his subordinates as regards the administration of Ordinance No. 1 of 1874. Should the inquiry, as it is to be feared, reveal grave and wilful neglect of their duty by the local authorities, our Committee feels assured that your Lordship will take such steps as may be necessary to secure observance of the law and to prevent the sanction and encouragement of slavery and the slave trade in one of Her Majesty's Colonies.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. R. FOX BOURNE,
Secretary.

The Right Hon.
Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.
&c. &c. &c.
Colonial Office.

No. 2.

LORD KNUTSFORD to SIR W. B. GRIFFITH.

SIR, Downing Street, August 27, 1890.
I HAVE the honour to transmit to you a copy of a letter* from the Aborigines Protection Society with regard to slavery and slave dealing on the Gold Coast.
I am confident that the allegations which are made in this letter will prove to be either unfounded or greatly exaggerated; but it is, of course, necessary for me to make inquiry, and I have informed the Society that this will be done.

I have, &c.
(Signed) KNUTSFORD.

Sir B. Griffith.

No. 3.

COLONIAL OFFICE to the ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

SIR, Downing Street, August 27, 1890.
I AM directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant,* and to inform you that your statements with regard to slave dealing on the Gold Coast will be investigated.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JOHN BRAMSTON.

The Secretary,
Aborigines Protection Society.

* No. 1.

5

No. 4.

The ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Aborigines Protection Society,
Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W.,
September 11, 1890.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to my letter of 20th August,* addressed to your Lordship on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society on the subject of slavery and slave dealing at the Gold Coast, I ask leave to correct an inaccuracy in one of its statements.

2. It appears that the penalty imposed at Accra in March last on Fanny Hagan on her being convicted of buying a slave girl named Nyamie Domah was 5*l.*, not 3*l.*, as stated in paragraph 3 of my letter.

3. I now take the liberty of calling your Lordship's attention to two other instances of the condition of affairs in this Colony regarding which our Committee appealed to your Lordship, which have been brought to its notice since the letter of 20th August was written.

4. On 11th April last a woman named Dadaye was convicted at Accra of buying a girl, also named Dadaye, and was fined 10*l.* for the offence. Our Committee has been informed that this child has subsequently been restored to her former owner by order of the Governor of the Gold Coast.

5. On 18th April last a woman named Momoh was fined 5*l.* for being in possession of a slave child, Cho-Cho, and the child was placed under the charge of the chief warder of the prison. On 26th July Cho-Cho was enticed away by Momoh, to whom on 30th July the chief warder applied for her restitution. Our Committee is informed, however, that this application was met by defiance and abuse, and that up to 11th August, the date of our Committee's information, the child had not been restored.

6. Our Committee, while anxious, in the first instance, that the recent and present action of the Gold Coast authorities should be searchingly inquired into, ventures to suggest that, if all cases of slave dealing at the Gold Coast were dealt with according to law, and if adequate fines were imposed on conviction, the sums thus obtained would materially contribute to the maintenance of an industrial school such as exists at Sierra Leone, in which liberated slave children might be much better cared for than is possible under the present arrangement of entrusting them to prison officials until they can be apprenticed to approved residents in the Colony.

The Right Hon.
Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.
&c. &c. &c.
Colonial Office.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. R. FOX BOURNE,
Secretary.

No. 5.

LORD KNUTSFORD to SIR W. B. GRIFFITH.

SIR,

Downing Street, September 17, 1890.

WITH reference to my Despatch of the 27th of August,† I have the honour to transmit to you copy of a further letter‡ which I have since received from the Aborigines Protection Society on the subject of slavery and slave dealing on the Gold Coast.

Sir B. Griffith.

I have, &c.
(Signed) KNUTSFORD.

No. 6.

COLONIAL OFFICE to the ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

SIR,

Downing Street, September 17, 1890.

I AM directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge the receipt of your further letter of the 11th instant,‡ relating to slavery and slave dealing on the Gold Coast, and I am to inform you that a copy of it will be communicated to the Governor.

The Secretary,
Aborigines Protection Society.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. H. MEADE.

* No. 1.

† No. 2.

‡ No. 4.

No. 7.

SIR W. B. GRIFFITH to LORD KNUTSFORD.
(Received February 23, 1891.)

Government House, Christiansborg Castle, Accra,
January 26, 1891.

MY LORD,

27 Aug. 1890.
17 Sept. 1890.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatches* of the dates noted in the margin, calling for a report upon two letters from the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society upon the subject of certain representations which appear to have been made to the Society with regard to slavery and slave dealing on the Gold Coast.

2. In the first letter, dated the 20th of August,† the Secretary, on behalf of the Committee, "invites your Lordship's attention to the following statement as to the prevalence of slavery and slave dealing in the Gold Coast." "2. Although the general law which forbids slavery within Her Majesty's dominions has been strengthened as regards this Colony by Ordinance No. 1 of 1874, and although since its passing adult slavery has been to a large extent suppressed, our Committee has trustworthy information that there are now in the Colony and the adjacent British territories a great number of boys and girls, estimated at 5,000 or more, who are bought and retained as slaves, and that the practice of procuring these children from Salaga and other districts in the interior, for sale at Accra and other places on the coast, still continues and has of late considerably increased owing to the apathy and connivance of the representatives of Her Majesty's Government. This allegation is supported by the following facts."

3. As regards the first of these, it is stated that, "3. On the 26th March 1890 a woman, named Fanny Hagan, was prosecuted before District Commissioner Edward MacMunn, at Accra, on a charge of slave dealing, and it was proved that she had bought for 3*l.* a child named Nyamie Domah. Being convicted of the offence she was fined only 3*l.*,‡ and the child was placed under the charge of the prison matron, with a view to her being apprenticed according to law. Almost immediately afterwards, however, the District Commissioner was peremptorily ordered by Sir W. Brandford Griffith to restore the child to the convicted slave owner, and that this was done appears from the record in the register of the court, 'Nyamie Domah given back to Fanny Hagan by order of the Governor. (Signed) EDWARD MACMUNN.'

4. The action I took in this matter was as follows: Mrs. Hagan wrote to the Colonial Secretary on the 27th of March stating that she had been fined 5*l.* by Mr. MacMunn for slave dealing, and asking that, as the child on account of which she had been fined had been well treated, had cried in court to be allowed to return to her, and was a playmate of her own daughter, she might be apprenticed to her.

5. Mr. MacMunn, to whom this application was referred, reported that "there was an admission of guilt of purchasing the child; that there was no evidence of ill-treatment of the child; on the contrary, the child seemed perfectly happy and looked well fed, and expressed considerable grief at being parted from the accused. She is a respectable woman, and had I been selecting a mistress for a girl apprentice I would have given Fanny Hagan a favourable consideration. But," says Mr. MacMunn, "if I may be permitted to express an opinion as to returning these children to their former owners it might establish a dangerous precedent." And he continues, "The slavery as I have found it on the coast (in my limited experience) is not (except in some isolated cases) injurious to the slaves, who are nearly always children of tender years, and who share *pari passu* with the other children in the comforts and home and often (*sic*) to inheritance of the master's property. The slave dealing Ordinance has been in existence for a considerable period, and, I have ascertained, is universally known."

6. The Acting Colonial Secretary in minuting Mr. MacMunn's reply to me stated: "From what I can learn of this case the child seems to regard Mrs. Hagan with feelings of affection, and she seems to have been treated precisely the same as Mrs. Hagan's own child. I believe the child would be far happier with Mrs. Hagan than with any one else."

* Nos. 2 and 5.

† No. 1.

‡ Corrected in letter of 11th September to 5*l.*

7. In the circumstances, and at the time, this appeared to me as an isolated case, for I had then no knowledge of what was passing in the police court. I knew nothing of Mrs. Hagan, but as, looking to the opinions expressed by the District Commissioner and the Acting Colonial Secretary with reference to the woman, I did not see that the child would be likely to obtain better if equally good treatment elsewhere as she would if still left in the charge of Mrs. Hagan, I approved of her apprenticeship to her under the Masters and Servants Ordinance. It might be thought that this might indirectly encourage the repetition of the offence, and indeed, as I have already stated, the District Commissioner had expressed that opinion, but I did not think so at the time in this instance.

8. The application from Mrs. Hagan was sent to me at Aburi, 26 miles from the seat of Government, where I was engaged on a special mission, and shortly after my return from England on leave. Had I then known that other cases of a similar kind were being dealt with by the Commissioner at Accra I would not have acceded to the request of Mrs. Hagan; and later on when other applications for the retention of children by the persons who had bought them and had been fined by the Commissioner were made to me I refused to entertain them. The cases I refer to are those of Lamilay and Daday Akranah. Lamilay made two applications to me, which were referred to the Commissioner. With regard to Daday Akranah's case, the Commissioner minuted on the 8th of August to Mr. Peregrine: "I am entirely opposed to the return of these children. I punish persons for the contravention of a specific enactment, and after punishment return the object on account of which they became delinquent. It seems to me wanting in equity. . . . If this petitioner has the child returned, all persons who have been punished for 'slave dealing' will seek a similar indulgence." Upon seeing the foregoing on the 11th of August last, I addressed this minute to the Acting Colonial Secretary: "I think Mr. MacMunn is right. On no account must any of the children removed from the custody of their purchasers be restored to the latter. It would simply be an indirect way of putting down slavery with one hand and encouraging it with the other. We must keep all children removed from slavery and take care of them until they can otherwise be provided for. Let me know how many we have to look after at present. Inform petitioner that the child will on no account be delivered to her."

9. Notwithstanding Mr. Commissioner MacMunn's minute of the 8th of August, which I have quoted, it appears that on the case of Regina v. Adom, on a charge of slave dealing, being brought before that officer, the woman pleaded guilty, and stated, "I bought the child in Accra from a man called Cudjoe. He is now in Salagah." Mr. MacMunn then minuted (but without date): "Court takes into consideration that accused in this case delivered up child before warrant executed, and, following the practice in Regina v. Hagan, discharged prisoner with caution, child to be registered and allowed to return to Adom on probation for subsequent apprenticeship." Hagan's case was one dealt with by the Governor, and established no *practice* authorising the Commissioner to take the course he did.

10. The next alleged fact stated in the Secretary's letter is that "In May 1890 four women and a man, named Daday, Lamlay, Akromah, Acquorkor, and George Owoo, were charged before the same District Commissioner with being in possession of seven girl slaves. They were admitted to bail, and the children were similarly placed under the care of the prison matron. The Governor, however, ordered that the proceedings should be abandoned and that the children should be returned to the slave owners, which was done."

11. As to these so-called facts, it appears: (a.) With regard to Daday, that she was sentenced on the 12th of April to pay a fine of 10*l.* or to be imprisoned for three months with hard labour, and that the fine was paid on the following dates: April 14th, 5*l.*; April 18th, 2*l.*; May 16th, 3*l.* With regard to this case, Mr. Peregrine the Commissioner reported: "On the 28th of July Daday was brought up before Mr. MacMunn, and he bound her over for the space of 12 months and allowed her to keep her slave child."

12. (b.) *Lamlay*. The case of Regina v. Lamlay or Lamilay and George Owoo was brought before Mr. MacMunn on the 18th of April last. In a memorandum made with regard to it by Mr. Commissioner MacMunn it is stated: "Case adjourned for arrival of Quashie, slave boy bought at Accra, 6*l.* 10*s.*" It was subsequently brought before Mr. Commissioner Peregrine, who states in his report: "On the 18th of April, Mr. MacMunn had the case of slave dealing against Lamilay and George Owoo, when he adjourned the case *sine die*. On my discovering the fact I at once had them brought up before me, which was on the 25th August, when I fined them accordingly and placed

“ the children under the charge of the prison matron.” On looking up the court record with regard to these cases I find the following minute, under date “ 25.8.90,” made by Mr. Commissioner Peregrine :—

“ Order made that the two prisoners hand over to the court the three slave children now in their possession. Lamilay and George Owoo each fined 2*l.*, in default of distress one month’s imprisonment with hard labour.”

13. (c.) *Akroma*. I cannot find any such name in the records of the court, but it appears that on the 30th of July Daday Akanoah was charged with slave dealing, and pleaded guilty to having bought a girl named Ayikuah, when the following sentence was pronounced by Mr. MacMunn : “ Court binds defendant over to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for the space of 12 months, particularly towards the offence of slave dealing, herself in 50*l.*, and two sureties in 50*l.* each, or in default three months’ hard labour,” a sentence which, in view of section 7 of the Slave Dealing Act, No. 1 of 1874, the Commissioner had no power to inflict.

14. (d.) *Acquorkor*. With regard to this case, Mr. Commissioner Peregrine states in his report :—

“ Acquorkor was charged before Mr. MacMunn on the 21st of April, and, though the woman pleaded guilty, yet the case was adjourned *sine die*. On discovering this fact on the 25th August” (over four months afterwards) “ I had the woman brought before me, fined accordingly and the child placed under the charge of the prison matron.”

15. (e.) *George Owoo*, as already stated, was charged before Mr. Commissioner MacMunn with slave dealing on the 18th of April last, when he adjourned the case. It was dealt with by Mr. Commissioner Peregrine on the 25th August, when Owoo was ordered to hand over to the court the slave girl, was “ fined 2*l.*, and sentenced, in default of distress, to one month’s imprisonment with hard labour.”

16. In connexion with three of the cases referred to, the Chief Justice informs me : “ With regard to the cases of Lamilay and George Owoo and Akworkor and the statements in Mr. Peregrine’s letter with reference to them, I may add that there is no mention whatever of those cases in Mr. MacMunn’s returns to the Chief Justice, which is of course a grave irregularity.”

17. The statements I have submitted for your Lordship’s consideration with regard to the cases of Daday, Lamlay, Akromah or Akrana, Acquorkor, and George Owoo, which are founded on official documents and information, and are indisputable, completely refute the “ *fact* ” stated in the letter of the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society that “ The Governor, however, ordered that the proceedings should be abandoned and that the children should be returned to the slave owners, which was done,” and I can only arrive at the conclusion, judging from the cases stated, that the Society has been shamefully misled in the information given to them by some malicious and mischievous person who, to forward his own ends, has imposed upon their credulity.

18. In paragraph 5 of the Committee’s letter it is stated, “ In the course of these arrangements Mr. MacMunn was superseded as District Commissioner at Accra by Mr. L. M. Peregrine, it being openly stated in the Colony that Mr. MacMunn’s supersession was due to the fact that, during his brief term of office, he had made some efforts to enforce Ordinance No. 1 of 1874.”

19. Mr. Peregrine returned from furlough on the 19th of May, during my absence at Grand Canary on sick leave, and the Officer Administering the Government in the exercise of his discretion, and acting on his knowledge of the perfunctory manner in which Mr. MacMunn discharged his duties generally, and owing to complaints of his delay in dealing with cases in his court, and for other reasons, which out of charity to Mr. MacMunn I will not further refer to, appointed Mr. Peregrine, who had recently arrived from England, to succeed him, as he was a gentleman of older standing at the bar, senior to Mr. MacMunn as Commissioner, of wider experience of the Colony, and possessed of a larger acquaintance with public business in respect of the magisterial duties of the chief town in the Colony, and this I consider was the natural course for the Officer Administering the Government to pursue. It was precisely what I should have done myself if I had been in the Colony at the time. It would be a difficult matter for the Governor to deal with the current talk of the Colony, whatever that may happen to be, or to allow it to influence his decision as to selection of officers.

20. Your Lordship will, I fully believe, accept my assurance that Mr. Peregrine's appointment by the Officer Administering the Government at the time could have had no relation to the action of Mr. MacMunn with regard to slave dealing. Indeed, I may mention, that in order to utilise Mr. MacMunn's services, until the expiry of his twelve months tour of duty on the 14th of August last, when he left the Colony for England, authority was given to the District Commissioner to find employment for him in his court when the District Commissioner was pressed in the performance of other duties of his appointment; and it appears that Mr. Commissioner Peregrine having noticed that Mr. MacMunn had devoted most of his attention to the cases of persons charged with slave dealing, instructed him, *inter alia*, to continue the investigation of those cases which at the time of Mr. Peregrine's appointment had not been completed by Mr. MacMunn.

21. As having some bearing upon the general question I am dealing with, I would mention that the Chief Justice informed me under date of 31st December last: "With regard to Mr. MacMunn's dealing with slavery cases and with slave children, having noticed in his returns for March and April a large number of such cases in which he inflicted heavy fines, and having reason otherwise to doubt his competency, I on the 20th of May gave him directions not to deal with such cases summarily." This action of the Chief Justice was quite unknown to and was taken independently of the Government by an officer whose uprightness, fair dealing, and honourable and straightforward conduct are beyond all cavil.

22. In paragraph 6 of the Aborigines Protection Society's letter it is stated:—

"(1.) In illustration of Mr. Peregrine's method of performing the duties to which he had been appointed, it may be mentioned that when, early in June, some slave boys applied to him for liberation, he informed them and the public 'that he was not set there (in the court) to decide any case of slave dealing,' and that the boys must go back to their slave masters."

"(2.) Subsequently, on 20th June, Mr. Peregrine, after refusing to transfer a slave boy in the possession of Ellen Quartey, the concubine of a white resident, to his own mother, was only constrained to do so by Mr. Joseph Cornelius instituting criminal proceedings in the Queen's name against Ellen Quartey; and when that was done, and the slave owning was proved, no penalty whatever was imposed on the woman."

23. With regard to the first statement "in illustration" of Mr. Commissioner Peregrine's conduct, that officer declares in his report dated 7th October "I solemnly contradict the serious accusations which have been made against me under paragraph 6, for I never informed some slave boys who applied to me for liberation that I did not intend to decide any case of slave dealing and that the boys must go back to their slave masters. In fact, I have always done my utmost to enforce Ordinance No. 1 of 1874 when the charge has been clearly brought before me. The difficulty in these cases is to prove actual purchases, and reliable evidence in these charges is most difficult to obtain." As confirmatory of Mr. Peregrine's statement in the last sentence quoted above, I place before your Lordship the following extract from a minute made with regard to a slave dealing case by Mr. Commissioner MacMunn on the 2nd of May 1890. "Family ties and consanguinity are a Commissioner's enemies. It is almost impossible to get the people to give any evidence at all. If they are of the same family and give any evidence which may lead to conviction there is a feud in perpetuity, and if the tie is blood the old adage applies, 'blood is thicker than water.'"

24. With regard to the second statement "in illustration" of Mr. Peregrine's conduct in the case of Ellen Quartey, I enclose copy of the proceedings taken before and signed by Mr. Commissioner MacMunn.

25. In reporting upon this charge against him, Mr. Commissioner Peregrine states: "On the 20th June, Mr. MacMunn heard the case of slave dealing against Ellen Quartey, and as there was no evidence to support the charge he adjourned it. On the 23rd of the same month the case was called up again, and as there was no further evidence forthcoming, and no application for a further adjournment, the charge was accordingly dismissed. Corporal Cornelius of the civil police, or, as he is termed 'Mr. Joseph Cornelius,' never instituted criminal proceedings in the manner stated."

26. I have inquired of Corporal Cornelius of the civil police as to the facts of this case. Cornelius stated to me that a boy was brought to the police barrack who said that he was kept as a slave by a woman; that Mr. Commissioner MacMunn told him to find out who this woman was; that the slave boy took him to Ellen Quartey's, and that

he (Cornelius) told her to come to the Commissioner's court; that she excused herself as being unwell, sending her card to the Commissioner; and that the Commissioner then directed him to summon her. He added that Ellen Quartey attended the court and that the case was partly heard and adjourned, that he had nothing further to do with it himself, as he had to accompany the inspector of police on a visit of that officer to the Windward Coast, but that he heard afterwards that the case had been dismissed for want of evidence.

27. In the 7th paragraph of the Aborigines Protection Society's letter this statement is made: "It is notorious that at no time, or only on very rare occasions, has the Ordinance of 1874 been adequately enforced as regards either the liberation and careful apprenticeship of children imported into the Colony and there sold as slaves, or the punishment of slave dealers and slave owners. But under Sir W. Brandford Griffith's administration there appears to have been greater laxity than heretofore in the punishment of offenders, and corresponding increase of the evil."

28. With reference to this statement, I would remark, as regards my predecessors, that your Lordship is aware it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government in 1874 that the far-reaching innovation which was brought about in this vast Protectorate by the enactment of the Slave Dealing Abolition and Emancipation Ordinances Nos. 1 and 2 of 1874 should not be attended with any more social disturbance or disruption of the system of African domestic economy than was necessary, but that time should rather be left to work out the change in an effective yet imperceptible manner as in the case of India. No more prudent or statesmanlike policy could, so far as I may venture to offer an opinion, in all the circumstances which obtained at the time have been adopted, and I have no doubt that the question was dealt with by my predecessors, some of them officers of very large administrative experience, as the then conditions of affairs seemed to them to require. Moreover, your Lordship will remember that the King of one of the most important tribes in the Protectorate, viz., Enimil Kwow of Eastern Wassaw, was deported to Lagos on account of his proceedings in connexion with slave dealing in the year 1876.

29. As regards myself, upon my receiving a private communication in 1888, in which it was stated that so-called slaves were being brought down by the Volta River to the Ada district, I at once began to institute inquiries into the matter, and I believe I was the first Governor since 1874 to issue a public notice warning the inhabitants of the Colony of the provisions of the law with regard to pawns and slave dealing. This was published in the Government Gazette of the 30th June 1888, copy enclosed; and I pursued the matter still further in 1889, by giving special instructions to the several District Commissioners on the 29th of June of that year, copy also enclosed, that any offences in this respect against the law should be dealt with upon occasion arising by prompt and vigorous action on their part. Again, on the 14th July 1890, I issued a circular, copy of which is enclosed, to all District Commissioners, calling for quarterly returns of all children apprenticed in their districts, and requiring a certificate from them that they had satisfied themselves that these children had been well treated and that the provisions of the bonds entered into with respect to them had been strictly enforced.

30. The Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society have stated to your Lordship that there appears to have been greater laxity than heretofore in the punishment of slave dealers under my administration. The official and public documents above quoted show, however, that the information upon which they seem to have considered themselves justified in laying this charge against me was not founded upon any facts which would warrant such an assertion. On the contrary, though I write of my officers and myself, I may venture to assert that at no previous time in the history of the Colony has the Governor dealt with this question with equal success or care to check such practices in a manner best suited to the circumstances.

31. I will now proceed to deal with the several allegations of the Aborigines Protection Society, in paragraph 8 of the Secretary's letter, and for convenience of reference I will number each.

- "(1.) It is shown by the official 'register of emancipated slave children brought before the Commissioner' at Accra that between July and December 1887 only eight cases were there dealt with, with seven convictions, and in each case with no penalty beyond a trivial fine."
- "(2.) During 1888 but two cases were brought before the court."
- "(3.) In one of these cases proceedings were stayed by order of the Governor, and"
- "(4.) Two slave girls were restored to their owners."

- “(5.) (a.) In the other the slave died before the case could be disposed of; (b) but no inquiry was held as to the cause of her death; and
 “(6.) That the action against her owner was discharged.”
 “(7.) That between January 1889 and April 1890 36 cases were dealt with, and in all convictions ensued, the highest two being punished with fines of 25*l.*, and in the others fines varying from 3*l.* to 15*l.* being imposed.”
 “(8.) That the somewhat firm policy of this period was during the employment of Deputy Commissioner MacMunn, who has since been replaced by the official who has announced that it is no part of his duty ‘to decide cases of slave dealing.’”

32. As regards the official “register of emancipated slave children brought before the Commissioners at Accra,” the Chief Justice informs me as follows:—“I have now seen the ‘*register of emancipated slave children brought before the Commissioner from 13th July to 1887*,’ which is referred to in the letter from the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society. It is not an official register. It is merely a list (on sheets of foolscap stitched together with red tape) apparently started by Mr. W. Brandford Griffith on the 13th July 1887 as a list of children who either came themselves or were brought by charitable persons before him, and whom he apprenticed or placed in charge of some householder, and whose welfare he might wish from time to time to inquire about. It is not (until Mr. McMunn’s time) a list of prosecutions under the Slavery Ordinance.”

33. In the document referred to by the Society there is nothing to show that there were any convictions in the eight cases mentioned, and in no instance was any “penalty” or “trivial fine” inflicted. (2.) As regards the statement that “during 1888 but two cases were brought before the court,” the Chief Justice informs me that “this list shows that in 1888 five such children (not two as stated in the Secretary’s letter) were brought or came to the Commissioner; and of course none of these five cases is mentioned in the record book of the court or in the returns to the Chief Justice (which are copied from the record book, and which I have searched for these cases); for no charge was made against anyone in connexion with these cases. When, however, Mr. McMunn took on in August 1889 he turned this list into a list of convictions by him under the slavery Ordinance. Obviously it is impossible to contrast, as the Secretary’s letter does, the number of cases appearing in this list during 1887 or 1888 with the number appearing in it during Mr. McMunn’s régime, for before August 1889 it was a list of slave children brought before the Commissioner *where there was no prosecution*, whereas after that date it was a list of convictions for slave dealing.” Further, the Chief Justice remarks in his reply to an inquiry from me upon the subject: “As to the statement that ‘during 1888 but two cases were brought before’ the court (*i.e.*, at Accra), I have gone through the returns from the Accra court for the *last half of 1888*, and I find that in that period 11 cases of slave dealing were dealt with by the District Commissioner of Accra, *viz.*, two in August, five in September, and four in October. This is enough to show the falsity of the statement.”

34. I would further remark, in respect of the statements contained in the 7th and 8th paragraphs of the first letter from the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, that I find that in the period between January 1885 and September 1890 27 persons were prosecuted in the superior courts for offences against the slave dealing laws, convictions being obtained in seven cases only. In the years 1888 and 1889 it appears that at least 61 cases of slave dealing were dealt with in the lower courts, and the Chief Justice informs me that “the total number of cases under the slave-dealing Ordinance (No. 1 of 1874) disposed of summarily by District Commissioners in the first 11 months of the year is 106 (in 76 of which the accused were convicted). Of these 106 Mr. MacMunn disposed of 23 (18 convictions); and of this 23, 20 were in the months of March and April.”

35. With regard to the statement (3) in paragraph 8, that in one of these cases proceedings were stayed by order of the Governor, I have to report to your Lordship that there is not a tittle of evidence in support of this statement.

36. With regard to (4), the statement that two slave girls were restored to their owners, the Commissioner, Mr. Cowie, in the column intended for remarks, stated on the 7th June 1889, with reference to “Ayealley,” about seven years old apparently, and “Acquah,” about three years, whose case came before him on the 16th of August 1888, “The two children came to Giamatu at the barracks Ussher Fort. They said they wanted to stop with her, and were slaves bought by one Cudjoe living in Accra. Giamatu says she does not know the man, that she is a Houssa man’s wife and lives at the barracks. Girls say that they want to live with Giamatu at the fort. Leave granted to Giamatu, who is on no

“ account to take children out of Accra, and is to inform District Commissioner when she leaves Fort to live anywhere else. Bond to be prepared.” In a further note under date 7.6.89, it is stated and initialled by Mr. Cowie, “ Leave given to Gismatu’s husband to take girls to Kwitta, where his wife (*sic*), and to report to District Commissioner Fraser.” There is therefore nothing whatever to sustain the allegation that the two slave girls were restored to their owners.

37. As regards the second case (5a), that the slave died before the case could be disposed of, it appears that it was investigated by Mr. Cole, the District Commissioner, who put the following note in the memorandum of cases; “ Abina bought by Kune living at Awudame, says Ashanti man brought her to sell, he took her from the (*sic*) ran away. Apprenticed to Kune on usual terms;” and a note is made in the handwriting of Mr. Cowie, “ died in hospital, May 31st, 1889.”

With reference to the statement (b.) that no inquiry was made as to the cause of her death, and that the action against her owner was discharged, I transmit a statement from the Chief Medical Officer relative to Abina’s death, in which he states, “ That a girl of that name was admitted into the Colonial Hospital at Accra on the 20th May 1889, suffering from acute nephritis, Bright’s disease, of which she died on the 31st of that month. She was, therefore, 12 days in hospital. There was no inquest held on the body, and it was buried by the Government as a pauper.” No action could be brought against her owner, because no such person appears to have been discovered.

38. It is stated in the Committee’s letter that between January 1889 and April 1890 36 cases were dealt with, and in all convictions ensued. This statement is incorrect, as only 34 cases were dealt with, 21 being convicted and punished with fines, 1 imprisoned for not having paid a fine of 10*l.*, and 12 cases were those of applications by children and women who had either of themselves sought the protection of the court, or had been brought to its notice by persons of whom they had sought protection.

39. With regard to the latter portion of paragraph 9 of the Aborigines Protection Society’s letter of 20th August*, I wish to point out that Mr. MacMunn did not arrive in the Colony until the 25th July 1889, so that he had nothing to do with slave dealing cases for the first seven months of that year.

39A. The letter* of the Aborigines Protection Society concludes with a statement made in paragraph 9 that “ Our Committee will not at present trouble your Lordship with further details in its possession; but it appeals to Her Majesty’s Government to cause a searching inquiry to be instituted into the conduct of the Governor of the Gold Coast and his subordinates as regards the administration of Ordinance No. 1 of 1874. Should the inquiry, as it is to be feared, reveal grave and wilful neglect of their duty by the local authorities, our Committee feels assured that your Lordship will take such steps as may be necessary to secure observance of the law and to prevent the sanction and encouragement of slavery and the slave trade in one of Her Majesty’s Colonies.” With regard to these remarks it is unnecessary for me to offer any observations, as the life has been taken out of them by the information already placed before your Lordship in preceding paragraphs of this Despatch.

40. In the letter from the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, dated 11th of September†, the following statement is made in paragraph 4: “ On 11th April last a woman named Dadaye was convicted at Accra of buying a girl, also named Dadaye, and was fined 10*l.* for the offence. Our Committee has been informed that this child has subsequently been restored to her former owner by order of the Governor of the Gold Coast.”

41. I have alluded to this case of Dadaye’s in paragraph 11, pointing out that she paid a fine of 10*l.*, to which she was sentenced, in three instalments of 5*l.*, 2*l.*, and 3*l.* In Mr. MacMunn’s minutes of the case he states: “ 12.4.90. Regina v. Dadaye. Charge of receiving a slave girl to look after, knowing the girl to be such. Plea ‘ Guilty.’ Sentence, fine 10*l.* or three months’ hard labour.” Nothing, however, is said with regard to the disposal of the slave girl. With reference to the Committee’s statement, I make the following extract from the report furnished to me by Mr. Commissioner Peregrine of Accra, under date the 7th of October 1890: “ On the 28th of July, Dadaye was brought up before Mr. MacMunn and he bound her over for a space of 12 months, and allowed her to keep her slave child. Such legal proceedings I have never heard of before.” This is indisputable proof of the untruthfulness of the statement made to the Aborigines Protection Society that in the case referred to the

* No. 1.

† No. 4.

child had "subsequently been restored to her former owner by order of the Governor of the Gold Coast." Upon the point of requiring Dadaye to give security to keep the peace, Ordinance No. 1 of 1874, in section 7, declares the punishment to be inflicted on conviction for slave dealing to be imprisonment or fine; but there is no provision to bind convicted persons over to keep the peace, and in doing so Mr. MacMunn acted *ultra vires*.

42. With regard to the observations made in paragraph 5 respecting the alien child Chocho, mentioned by the Committee's Secretary, Mr. Commissioner Peregrine informs me as follows: "The alien child Chocho was placed under the charge of the chief warder of the prison and was enticed away on the 26th July. On the 28th July I sent for a woman named Mamoh, who had been charged with purchasing the before-mentioned child, who informed me that the girl had come to her, and being frightened that she might be discovered of having possession of Chocho she sent the child to Mr. Edmund Bannerman, who did at first refuse to deliver her up. The child was returned by Mr. Bannerman on the 15th August."

43. With regard to the remarks of the Aborigines Protection Society in the final paragraph of their letter of the 11th of September last* relative to an industrial school, I will request the Governor of Sierra Leone to be good enough to furnish me with information as to the practical working and results of the industrial school in that Colony, with a view to ascertaining whether any sufficient advantage is likely to result to this community by the establishment of a similar institution.

44. The statements made by the Aborigines Protection Society in their letter of 20th August,† that I allowed a slave girl to be returned to the woman who had bought her, and in their letter of the 11th September,* that a slave girl called Chocho had been enticed away from the charge of the chief warder of Accra prison, are correct, and have been explained. But it has also been shown that the circumstances upon which the Committee rely to prove the apathy and connivance of the Government of this Colony with regard to slave dealing are not founded on fact, and I should be glad to know whence they have obtained trustworthy information that there are 5,000 or more children in the British territories who are retained as slaves. I can only say that if their informants will communicate with me on the subject, stating the grounds on which they base their assertions, and will indicate to me any practicable method of preventing any evil arising from such a system, if it is found to exist, it will be my duty to devote my best attention to its prevention. What may possibly be represented to the Committee as domestic slavery, *i.e.*, the retention of children in households where they are fed and maintained, may exist no doubt to a greater or less extent in the Protectorate; these children, however, are free to leave these households when ill-treated and go elsewhere if they choose to do so; their condition is a far less binding one than the system of apprenticeship recognised in England, and it is a good thing in their own interests that they should be kept under some native form of discipline and be obliged to do some work for their living, while, if in some instances they have been purchased in Salagha, by the very fact of entering the Protectorate they become free, live among free people, are secured as to their lives, and must be immensely benefited by the change so far as they themselves are concerned, however questionable in theory the action of those who obtained them in Salagha may be. The purchasers, if any, to whom they are attached in the Protectorate have no legal hold over them or any control beyond moral suasion when they once ascertain, as must rapidly be the case, that all people are free in this Protectorate; and I cannot think that it would be suggested as a politic step that the officers of this Government, who have already as many serious responsibilities imposed upon them as they are able to perform, should be employed upon inquisitorial duties among the households of natives, whose languages they cannot understand, with whose traditions they are often not conversant, and from whose midst the habits of centuries cannot be eradicated by a few strokes of the pen or the feverish action of pseudo-philanthropists such as the informants of the Committee must be. I would also remind your Lordship that local knowledge and acquaintance with Africa and its inhabitants are indispensable to a just appreciation of such matters as those to which the Committee refer. It is very possible, however, that with the extensive frontier line of the Gold Coast isolated cases of so-called "slave dealing" or slave rescuing take place in the Colony, but so soon as man, woman, or child enter this Protectorate they become *ipso facto* free, and this is well known among all the tribes within and surrounding the Protectorate.

* No. 4.

† No. 1.

45. Upon this point a native gentleman of great experience and with strong native predilections states in relation to the Aborigines Protection Society's letter, "It is absurd for any one to pretend to believe that there is a single child in the Colony of the age of 10 years and over who does not perfectly well know that he or she is free to all intents and purposes, and that if any one attempts to coerce him or her, or in any way restrain his or her liberty, he or she can at once apply to the nearest Commissioner, or Customs House officer, or common policeman, or even to a man disguised as such, for redress. As a matter of fact so well is this known throughout the Protectorate that it has become extremely difficult to keep order in one's household and amongst one's own children, as if you chastise your own child for any act of disobedience rendering necessary a slight castigation, the child will threaten to take you before the District Commissioner."

46. The officers of this Government have their instructions to punish and repress slave dealing proper, wherever they may find it to exist. I do not know that this Government can do more with advantage in the matter with the means at its disposal at present than is done. Much might be written on the subject in explanation of local circumstances, but I believe that your Lordship realises that the local Government have the welfare of the people, with whose control they are charged, as fully at heart, and are better informed as to the most advantageous system upon which they can be dealt with, than well meaning gentlemen in Europe, who apparently have only one side of the question before them, and that, perhaps, through as untrustworthy a source as can possibly be. Those gentlemen, it is probable, do not realise that the Colony and its protected territories are estimated to cover an area of not less than 38,685 square miles, with a sea board of 350 miles, and a frontier line of about 700 miles, and to contain a population amounting to at least 1,500,000 souls, composed of many different tribes, who speak different languages, while the staff of European District Commissioners now on the coast, owing to the vicissitudes of sickness, leave, and vacancies, consists of only six officers, and in no circumstances, with the strength which is as yet provided for, could there be more than eight such Commissioners present at one time in the Colony. They also, perhaps, do not know that, in addition to their judicial and executive functions as magistrates, these officers are charged with the fiscal and political supervision of their districts.

47. Again, your Lordship will no doubt recognise the disadvantage at which I am placed when accused of laxity in my duty by so respected a body as the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, upon information the nature and source of which they refrain from producing, although at the same time apparently not scrupling to allow the publication of the *ex parte* and inaccurate statements contained in their letter in a leading London newspaper before I had had the opportunity of refuting the serious allegations which they have advanced against me. I do not think that this could have been the wish of the Committee in ordering the publication of their letter in the "Times," but such has been the practical outcome of the case. I should be happy to afford any of them who would visit this interesting part of Africa every opportunity of examining the existing course of administration and of making any proposals which might be calculated to increase the well-being of the various tribes on the Gold Coast under the protection of Her Majesty, which has never heretofore, I am justified in confidently asserting, been greater than at the present time.

48. I much regret the delay which has taken place in furnishing this report to your Lordship. It has been caused in the present, as I fear also in other instances, by the tension of public business and the comparatively few competent public officers who are available to deal with the rapidly developing condition of this important Colony. As illustrating what I mean I may mention that the Acting Queen's Advocate, to whom I referred some of the papers on this subject on the 4th October, was only able to complete his observations upon them on the 30th ultimo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. BRANDFORD GRIFFITH,
Governor.

The Right Hon.
Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.
&c. &c. &c.

P.S.—I beg to bring to your Lordship's notice that Mr. Peregrine requests that his denial of the allegations which have been made against him by the Aborigines Protection Society may be as widely circulated as those allegations have been.—W. B. G.

Enclosure 1 in No. 7.

From Mr. L. N. PEREGRINE, District Commissioner, to the Hon. the COLONIAL SECRETARY.

District Commissioner's Office, Accra,
October 7, 1890.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, as well as a copy of a letter addressed to the Colonial Office by the Aborigines Protection Society relative to alleged slave dealing in the Gold Coast Colony.

It was with feelings of surprise that I read this letter to the Colonial Office, for I can honestly state that the facts are not based on reliable matter. The person who first gave the information to the Aborigines Society appears to know absolutely nothing of the coast, otherwise he would not have placed himself in a position to be so severely criticised in every detail, as of course he must be.

The Committee state that they have trustworthy information. Is it from Mr. Edward MacMunn? Because, if so, was he in the Colony long enough, and did he travel enough in the interior to enable him to pass a reliable opinion on the habits and customs of the people? I have reasonable grounds to suspect that he is the person who has made these malicious accusations against the Government of the Gold Coast Colony. The question may be asked for what reason has he done so, for he could not ever expect to benefit by it? His reasons are twofold: first, he told me that as his Excellency had reported him to the Colonial Office for not attending to his duties he would show up his administration respecting slavery; and, secondly, he accused me because the Acting Governor had appointed me in his place because he was then unable to do his work on account of illness brought on mostly by his manner of living.

I will now go through and answer the allegations in rotation.

In paragraph 3: Mr. MacMunn was not peremptorily ordered by his Excellency to restore Nyamie Domah to Fanny Hagan. On referring to Minute Paper No. 1385, Mr. MacMunn there states that "Fanny Hagan asked a relative to procure a small girl for her to assist her in carrying on her business." She is a respectable woman who I am confident did not know that the child had been bought as a slave, for she had been represented as a maidservant. There was no evidence of ill treatment of the child, on the contrary, the child seemed perfectly happy, looked well fed, and expressed considerable grief at being parted from Fanny Hagan. Mr. MacMunn goes on to say, "the slavery as I have found it on the coast is not injurious to the slaves, who are nearly always children of tender years, and who share *pari passu* with the other children in the comforts of home, and often to inheritance of the master's property." His Excellency, after carefully weighing the whole facts of the case, ordered Mr. MacMunn to restore the so-called slave child to Fanny Hagan, which was accordingly done.

In paragraph 4: I am in a position to state that the allegations are utterly unfounded. His Excellency never ordered the proceedings to be abandoned and the slave children returned.

On the 18th April of the present year Mr. MacMunn had the case of slave dealing against Lamily and George Owoo, when he adjourned the case *sine die*. On my discovering the fact I at once had them brought up before me, which was on the 25th August, when I fined them accordingly and placed the children under the charge of the prison matron.

On the 28th July Daday was brought up before Mr. MacMunn, and he bound her over for the space of twelve months and allowed her to keep her slave child. Such legal proceedings I have never heard of before. Ordinance No. 1 of 1874 lays down certain punishments if convicted, but there is no mention of binding a party over.

Akuakor was charged before Mr. MacMunn on the 21st April, and though the woman pleaded guilty yet the case was adjourned *sine die*. On discovering this fact on the 25th August I had the woman brought before me, fined accordingly, and the child placed under the charge of the prison matron.

I can find no case of slave dealing against the woman named Akromah; perhaps Mr. MacMunn made a private note for his own information and forgot to place his notes in the court record book.

I solemnly contradict the serious accusations which have been made against me under paragraph 6, for I never informed some slave boys who applied to me for liberation that I did not intend to decide any case of slave dealing and that the boys must go back

to their slave masters. In fact, I have always done my utmost to enforce Ordinance No. 1 of 1874 when the charge has been clearly brought before me. The difficulty in these cases is to prove actual purchase, and reliable evidence in these charges is most difficult to obtain.

On the 20th June Mr. MacMunn heard the case of slave dealing against Ellen Quartey, and as there was no evidence to support the charge he adjourned it. On the 23rd of the same month the case was called up again, and as there was no further evidence forthcoming, and no application for a further adjournment, the charge was accordingly dismissed. Corporal Cornelius of the civil police, or, as he is termed, Mr. Joseph Cornelius, never instituted criminal proceedings in the manner stated.

In paragraph 7, Ordinance No. 1 of 1874 has always been put in force except when Mr. MacMunn was District Commissioner, when he was not at all particular to whom he apprenticed the alien children, frequently keeping them in his own house and using them as servants. In many instances I have discovered that he had apprenticed the children or handed them over without duly apprenticing them to the relations of those whom he had already fined for slave dealing and thus indirectly they were returned to them. At no time has the Ordinance been put in such force as during the administration of his Excellency Sir W. Brandford Griffith.

I understand that alien children who were taken as being slaves were placed in the prison under the charge of the matron for some considerable time and then were handed back to the parties who were already convicted or to relations of theirs. I do not know by whose authority, but I am told that Bailiff Wilson used to go to the matron and state that the District Commissioner wanted certain children, who were then handed over to him. Whether it was Wilson's own doing, or whether it was really with the knowledge of Mr. MacMunn, I am unable to say.

I sincerely trust that these allegations which have been made against me may be widely circulated as perfectly untrue; as the letter from the Aborigines Society which has been published in the "Times" of the 1st September might do me an enormous amount of harm if it is allowed to go uncontradicted.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LAWSON N. PEREGRINE,
District Commissioner.

Enclosure 2 in No. 7.

CHARGE OF SLAVE DEALING about the year 1887.

20.6.90. Regina v. Ellen Quartey.

Sam sworn. About five days ago I was sent by my mistress to buy something. On my way through the town, I met a woman who declared herself to be my mother, she took me inside her house and asked me where I was staying. I told her I was staying with a certain lady in the town, she told me I must not go there again, she will bring me to the court to obtain my freedom.

By Court: I was not bought by the defendant, but by her mother, no money was paid for me but goods. I don't know how much, this was about four years ago. I don't know my age. I first saw her at Lagos, the goods were paid for me at Accra. I was three years at Lagos, she always treated me kindly. When I saw my mother, I recognised her at once by her face.

Case adjourned for further evidence.

Defendant bailed out on her own recognizances.

(Signed) EDW. MACMUNN,
District Commissioner.

23.6.90. Corporal Cornelius v. Ellen Quartey.

Charge of slave dealing about the year 1887.

No further evidence forthcoming; charge dismissed.

(Initialled) L. P.

Enclosure 3 in No. 7.

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE, June 30, 1888.

Colonial Secretariat, Victoriaborg, Accra,
June 14, 1888.

SIR,

I AM directed by the Governor to transmit to you the enclosed copies of a notice with reference to pawns and slave-dealing, and to request that you will be good enough to have copies posted in the most conspicuous position in all parts of the district under your charge and to distribute others among the clergy and other persons of influence in order that it may be widely known that the Government would view with disapproval any attempt to revert to the custom condemned in the notice.

By His Excellency's Command,
(Signed) FRED EVANS,
Colonial Secretary.

*Notice with reference to Pawns and Slave dealing.*Colonial Secretariat, Victoriaborg, Accra,
June 12, 1888.

WHEREAS it has come to the knowledge of the Government that persons within the jurisdiction are in the habit of giving and receiving persons as pledges or securities for debt under the name of pawns it is deemed advisable to publish the following portions of the "Gold Coast Slave-dealing Abolition Ordinance, 1874."

Section 4. Whosoever shall do or shall attempt to do any of the acts herein-after mentioned, that is to say:—

- (1.) Deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, transfer, or take any slave,
 - (2.) Deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, transfer, or take any person in order or so that such person should be held or treated as a slave,
 - (3.) Place or receive any person in servitude as a pledge or security for debt whether then due and owing, to be incurred or contingent, whether under the name of a pawn, or by whatever other name such person may be called or known,
 - (4.) Convey or induce any person to come within the limits of the Protected Territories in order or so that such person should be dealt or traded in, purchased, sold, bartered, transferred, or become a slave, or be placed in servitude as a pledge or security for debt.
 - (5.) Convey or send or induce any person to go out of the limits of the Protected Territories in order or so that such person should be dealt or traded in, purchased, sold, bartered, transferred, or become a slave, or be placed in servitude as a pledge or security for debt,
 - (6.) Enter into any contract or agreement with or without consideration for doing any of the acts or accomplishing any of the purposes herein above enumerated,
- shall and shall be deemed to have committed the offence of slave dealing.

Section 5. Whosoever shall aid, assist, counsel, request, order or procure any person to commit the offence of slave dealing, shall be deemed and be guilty of slave dealing.

* * * * *

Section 7. Whosoever shall be convicted of slave dealing shall be liable to be punished by imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to be fined either in addition to or in substitution for such imprisonment.

* * * * *

Section 9. Every present contract in which it is stipulated or agreed that any person shall be bought or sold, or placed in servitude, or be transferred either as a pledge or security for debt, or in any other way, shall so far as regards any such stipulation or agreement be and is hereby declared to be wholly and in every particular null and void, and in every future contract which shall contain any such stipulation or agreement shall be absolutely illegal.

By His Excellency's Command,
FRED EVANS,
Colonial Secretary.

Enclosure 4 in No. 7.

(Circular.)

Colonial Secretary's Office, Victoriaborg, Accra,
June 29, 1889.

SIR,

REFERRING to my predecessor's circular letter of the 14th of June 1888, published in the June Gazette for that year, the Governor desires me to draw your attention to Ordinances Nos. 1 and 2 of 1874 and 1 of 1875, relating to slave dealing and emancipation, and to request that you will not fail to devote your special attention to the prosecution of any offences against them in your district.

The Governor does not doubt that you have always acted hitherto in this manner, but His Excellency wishes me to caution you specially as to the necessity for watchfulness on your part, and to inform you of his desire that any tendency on the part of the natives to imagine that full effect may not be given to the provisions of those Ordinances, or that any offences against them will not be punished with the full penalty of the law, should be dispelled upon occasion arising, by prompt and vigorous action on your part. At the same time it will be necessary for you to exercise caution in your action, looking to the state of society which obtains in the Protectorate. That state of society is peculiar, and requires careful treatment. The object of the Government is to preserve full freedom of person and good treatment to every individual, but not to break up unnecessarily family ties or connexion.

His Excellency is specially anxious that no opportunity should exist for the purchase of slaves brought into the Protectorate, whether on the plea of their sale being an act of humanity or not, and this is perhaps the most important point to which I am to draw your attention.

To all District Commissioners.

I am, &c.
(Signed) F. M. HODGSON,
Colonial Secretary.

Enclosure 5 in No. 7.

COLONIAL SECRETARY to all DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS.

(Circular.)

Colonial Secretary's Office, Victoriaborg, Accra,
July 14, 1890.

SIR,

I AM directed by the Governor to request that you will furnish me at the end of each quarter with a return giving the names and sex of all children apprenticed in your district, and the names of the persons to whom they are apprenticed. You will add a certificate to this return, stating that you have satisfied yourself, by personal examination or otherwise, that the apprentices have been well treated, and that the provisions of the bond have been strictly adhered to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PERCIVAL HUGHES,
Acting Colonial Secretary.

Enclosure 6 in No. 7.

THE CHIEF MEDICAL OFFICER to the GOVERNOR.

Medical Department, Victoriaberg,
January 14, 1891.

SIR,

WITH respect to the girl "Abina" about whom your Excellency desired me to make inquiries this morning, I have the honour to state that a girl of that name was admitted into the Colonial Hospital at Accra, on the 20th of May 1889, suffering from acute nephritis, Bright's disease, of which she died on the 31st of that month. She was, therefore, 12 days in hospital. There was no inquest held on the body, and it was buried by the Government as a pauper.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. DESMOND McCARTHY, M.D.,
Chief Medical Officer.

His Excellency
Sir Brandford Griffith, K.C.M.G.,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief,
&c. &c. &c.
Gold Coast Colony.

No. 8.

THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Aborigines Protection Society,
Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W.,
March 20, 1891.

MY LORD,

WITH reference to the letters which I had the honour on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society to address to your Lordship on 20th August and 11th September 1890,* on the subject of slavery and slave dealing on the Gold Coast, and to the letter of 27th August,† informing me that the statements laid before your Lordship would be investigated, I am now directed to ask whether a report has yet been received thereon from the Governor of the Colony, and if so whether your Lordship will favour our Committee with a copy of the same?

In a communication received by the last mail from a correspondent of our Committee it is stated that a large number of slave children who, on its being rumoured in the Colony that an inquiry was about to be held as to the truth of our Committee's allegations, had been sent into the interior and there concealed, "have been brought back by their respective owners, as they are now under no fear of being punished, and believe that all risks of having their slaves taken away from them by the Government and liberated have terminated." Our Committee ventures to hope that your Lordship will consider the statements in its letters of 20th August and 11th September sufficiently important to call either for disproof or for measures aiming at removal of the evils complained of.

Our Committee also begs to direct your Lordship's attention to "An Ordinance to provide for the Registration and Protection in certain other respects, of alien Children in the Gold Coast Colony," which, as stated in the Government Gazette, was introduced into the Legislative Council on the 29th September last, and for which Her Majesty's assent will probably before long be sought. Fears are entertained in the Colony, as our Committee is informed by the correspondent already referred to, that this Ordinance "is intended to enable slave owners to register their slaves under the false designation of 'alien children,' and by such an artifice to enable the Government of the Colony to uphold slavery in disguise."

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. R. FOX BOURNE,
Secretary.

The Right Hon.
Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.,
&c. &c. &c.
Colonial Office.

* Nos. 1 and 4.

† No. 3.

No. 9.

COLONIAL OFFICE to the ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

SIR,

Downing Street, April 3, 1891.

I AM directed by Lord Knutsford to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a despatch* from the Governor of the Gold Coast, with its enclosures, upon the subject of the charges made against him, and also against Mr. L. N. Peregrine, one of the District Commissioners of the Colony, in your letters of the 20th of August and the 11th of September last†.

2. Lord Knutsford desires me to observe that, while he is always ready to cause investigation to be made into charges brought against Colonial officers, he cannot refrain from pointing out that those who endorse such charges should at least satisfy themselves as to the *prima facie* truth of the charges as well as the *bona fides* and general trustworthiness of those who make them. He is bound to state, in defence of officers who are endeavouring to do their duty in a very trying climate, that, in his opinion, these particular charges against Sir Brandford Griffith and Mr. Peregrine have not been substantiated and have been brought without any adequate inquiry into their foundation; and I am to add the expression of his hope that your Society will not again resort to the practice of publishing letters addressed to him in the "Times" before the officers accused have had an opportunity of replying to the charges brought against them.

The Secretary to the
Aborigines Protection Society.

I am, &c.
(Signed) R. H. MEADE.

No. 10.

COLONIAL OFFICE to the ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

SIR,

Downing Street, April 4, 1891.

I AM directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th of March,‡ and I am to inform you in reply that, as soon as the Gold Coast Ordinance to which you refer is received, it will be duly considered, but that at present Lord Knutsford is unable to express any opinion on it.

His Lordship has observed with surprise and regret that your Committee apparently adopt without any hesitation the statement that fears are entertained in the Colony that the Gold Coast Government have introduced an Ordinance "intended to enable slave owners to register their slaves under the false designation of 'alien children' and by such an artifice to enable the Government of the Colony to uphold slavery in disguise." This statement, which involves a very unjustifiable, not to say offensive, accusation against the Colonial Government, and which, moreover, is worthless unless it shows that serious fears are entertained by responsible persons, would seem to be made on the sole testimony of an unnamed correspondent, who advances no proof in support of this general allegation.

I am to observe that your Committee cannot fail to perceive that support given to such reports as that above referred to, unsupported by evidence of any kind, and containing such unwarrantable accusations against the Colonial Government, must tend to impair the authority of the Society, and to diminish the value which, in view of their excellent aims, would otherwise naturally attach to the representations you are instructed to make.

The Secretary to the Aborigines
Protection Society.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT G. W. HERBERT.

* No. 7.

† Nos. 1 and 4.

‡ No. 8.

No. 11.

The ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Aborigines Protection Society,
Broadway Chambers, Westminster,
April 15, 1891.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour, by direction of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of 3rd instant,* transmitting a copy of a Despatch from the Governor of the Gold Coast with reference to our Committee's letters of 20th August and 11th September last† on the subject of slavery and slave dealing in that Colony; also of your Lordship's letter of 4th instant‡ in reply to an appeal from our Committee as regards a contemplated "Ordinance to provide for the Registration, and Protection in certain other respects, of Alien Children in the Gold Coast Colony."

2. Our Committee much regrets that your Lordship has taken exception to the terms employed by it in bringing these matters before the notice of Her Majesty's Government. It also regrets that, as Sir W. Brandford Griffith has shown, there were some errors as regards details in the statements made in its former letters. At the same time I am to assure your Lordship that those statements, although they have been corrected in certain particulars by the fuller information now supplied from official sources and not within access of its correspondents in the Colony, were not made by our Committee without what it felt justified in regarding as sufficient warrant, and I am to point out that all its material allegations are supported and strengthened by Sir W. B. Griffith's Despatch and its enclosures.

3. Before referring to the special instances of encouragement of slavery in the Gold Coast Colony which were adduced by our Committee, I am directed to call your Lordship's attention to Sir W. B. Griffith's admission, in paragraph 44 of his Despatch, that "domestic slavery, *i.e.*, the retention of children in households where they are fed and maintained, may exist no doubt to a greater or less extent in the Protectorate." This arrangement he declares to be "a good thing in their own interests" for the enslaved children; and he adds that, "if in some instances they have been purchased in Salaga," they "must be immensely benefited by the change, however questionable in theory the action of those who obtain them in Salaga may be." Our Committee fully recognises the difference between domestic slavery and the traffic in slaves procured by force or fraud for sale and service away from their own homes which prevails in other parts of Africa. It also recognises the difficulties with which the administrators of so large an area as the Colony and protected territories of the Gold Coast must be confronted in their efforts to put down either domestic slavery or the slave trade in outlying districts. But it ventures to think that Her Majesty's Government cannot approve the palliation and sanctioning of slavery, even in its mildest form, which is implied in the words quoted from Sir W. B. Griffith, and of which ample evidence is given in other portions of his Despatch.

4. It is shown by this Despatch that much more than "isolated cases of slave dealing" occur in the Colony, and that, in spite of the warnings which, as he reports, Sir W. B. Griffith issued in 1888 and 1889, no adequate precautions are taken to enforce the Slave Dealing Abolition Ordinance of 1874, and this not merely in the remote provinces of the Protectorate, but in portions of the Colony in which it might be supposed that the agents of the Crown have sufficient opportunities for detecting and preventing offences. Had the Ordinance of 1874 been duly enforced throughout the past 17 years there would long since have ceased to be in the Colony any children born in it or imported as slaves. It is against the tolerance of the custom of bringing slave children from Salaga and other parts of the interior to Accra and other towns on the coast, and against their detention and sale in these towns as slaves, that our Committee protests. It takes leave to demur to Sir W. B. Griffith's statements that child slavery is "a good thing in the children's own interests," and that slave children brought from Salaga to Accra, Cape Coast Castle, and other towns in the Colony "must be immensely benefited by the change," to the extent, it would seem, of excusing if not of justifying "the action of those who obtained them," "however questionable in theory." It also

* No. 9.

† Nos. 1 and 4.

‡ No. 10.

demurs to his statements that, under present arrangements, "these children are free to leave [their owners'] households when ill-treated and go elsewhere if they choose to do so," and that "the purchasers to whom they are attached have no control over them beyond moral suasion." It may be taken for granted that adults understand and are able to assert their rights; but that children sold into bondage, often when they are only four or five years of age, are competent to protect themselves from those who claim to be their owners is an assumption inconsistent with reason and fact.

5. Without troubling your Lordship with too many details, it is necessary to submit the following remarks on the cases cited by our Committee as illustrations of the way in which the Ordinance of 1874 has been administered on the Gold Coast.

6. As regards the first case, Sir W. B. Griffith admits the truth of our Committee's allegation. The girl Nyamie Domah was on 11th April 1890 given back by the Governor's order, under a form of apprenticeship, to Fanny Hagan, the woman who had on 26th March been convicted of obtaining her from Salaga and holding her as a slave. This surrender Sir W. B. Griffith now says he would not have ordered had he not supposed it to be "an isolated case," seeing that he "had then no knowledge of what was passing in the police court." It is respectfully submitted that, as at this time the convictions for slave dealing at Accra were so numerous as to bring a reprimand on the Commissioner who disposed of the cases, they ought to have been within the cognisance of the Governor or his immediate advisers.

7. In our Committee's statement as regards Daday, Lamlay, Akromah (which name should have been written Daday Akromah or Akranah), Acquorkor, and George Owoo the inaccuracies pointed out by Sir W. B. Griffith do not materially affect our Committee's serious allegations, which, indeed, are confirmed by his Despatch. Daday was, it is true, fined on 12th April for being in possession of a slave; but she was on 28th July "allowed to keep her slave child," who had, apparently without express sanction of the court, been left with her in the interval. Lamlay and George Owoo were on 18th April brought before the District Commissioner, who adjourned the case *sine die*; and they were only brought up again on 25th August, a date subsequent to our Committee's first letter, when they were fined no more than 2*l.* each for being in possession of three slave children. Acquorkor's case, although she pleaded guilty on 21st April, was also adjourned *sine die*; and it was not till 25th August that she was fined 2*l.* and the child taken from her. Daday Akromah, who also appears to have been charged in April with having bought and detained a slave girl, and who pleaded guilty in July, was then only bound over "to keep the peace and be of good behaviour." "A sentence which," in the opinion of the Governor, "the Commissioner had no power to inflict." In the leniency shown in all these instances it is evident that the District Commissioner was guided by the precedent which he considered that Sir W. B. Griffith had established in the case of Fanny Hagan in March. Our Committee regrets that it was led into error in attributing this leniency, and also the supersession of Mr. McMunn in May, to the immediate orders of the Governor; but the essential point of its complaint that this policy was controlled by the Administration of which Sir W. B. Griffith is head, is supported by his citation from the Chief Justice, who wrote on 31st December. "With regard Mr. McMunn's dealing with slavery cases and with slave children, having noticed in his returns for March and April a large number of cases in which he inflicted heavy fines, and having reason to doubt his competency, I on 20th May gave him direction not to deal with such cases summarily." Our Committee is not in a position to discriminate minutely between the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony and the colleagues subordinate to him; but it ventures to think that, especially in a colony so administered as the Gold Coast, the Governor should be held responsible for the acts of those under him, more particularly when the acts, after he must have been made aware of them, are not condemned by him.

8. As regards the case of Ellen Quartey, our Committee's statement is also, except in two unimportant details, substantiated by the meagre records of the Court, of which a copy has been forwarded by Sir W. B. Griffith. It appears to have been before Mr. McMunn and not Mr. Peregrine, and on 20th, not 23rd June, as stated in our Committee's letter, that Ellen Quartey was charged with forcibly detaining a boy, Sam, who was found by his mother after he had been three or four years in slavery, and the case was adjourned for further evidence. But it was again brought before the Court on 23rd June, and it was apparently then dealt with by Mr. Peregrine, who initialled this record "No further evidence forthcoming; charge dismissed." No punishment was awarded to Ellen Quartey, but, according to our Committee's information, the evidence sufficed to render it necessary for Mr. Peregrine to allow the child to be transferred from the slaveowner to his mother. Although Mr. Peregrine

reports that, as regards this case "Corporal Cornelius never instituted criminal proceedings in the manner stated," your Lordship will observe that in the extract from the court record the proceedings are entered as "Corporal Cornelius v. Ellen Quartey."

9. As regards the alien child Chocho referred to in our Committee's letter of 11th September, the allegations there made are admitted by Sir W. B. Griffith, who, however, reports that the child was restored to the custody of the Court on 15th August, four days after the date of the information on which our Committee based its appeal. That the court, should, although tardily, have obtained recognition of its authority in this particular instance is satisfactory; but it may be pointed out that even such qualified success in administering the law against slavery appears to be rare. Our Committee is assured that of slave children not restored to their owners with or without a form of apprenticeship, or more legitimately apprenticed to other persons, large numbers are enticed from their inefficient custody and modified imprisonment under the care of the prison warders and matrons and are thus brought back into a state of slavery.

10. The Governor, who is in this supported by the Chief Justice, deprecates our Committee's having quoted from a "register of emancipated slave children brought before the Commissioner at Accra" in and after July 1887; and this document is now described as "not an official register," but, "before August 1889, a list of slave children brought before the Commissioner when there was no prosecution, and after that date a list of slave-dealing convictions." Our Committee regrets that it has been misled by the title of this document into attaching to it more completeness and significance than there was warrant for, and in thus understating the number of slavery cases dealt with under Sir W. B. Griffith's administration. It considers, however, that it was justified in drawing from the list in question, which is preserved as a court record, as well as from other sources of information, evidence that there has been great lack of zeal in administering the law; and its opinion is not altered by the supplementary figures supplied by the Chief Justice, which apparently refer not to Accra alone but to all the District Commissionerships on the Gold Coast. As in the great majority of cases disposed of by the courts, where conviction was obtained, the only penalties imposed on the slaveowners were trivial fines and removal of the children from their keeping, it is submitted that sufficient steps have not been taken to put the law in force with a view to restraining the great evils of child slavery.

11. With reference to the orders issued by the Governor in 1888 and 1889, of which he has forwarded copies, our Committee ventures to point out that an occasional assertion of authority, if not steadily supported by efforts to maintain that authority, is more likely to cause harm than good. By the quotation already made from a statement of the Chief Justice it appears that Mr. McMunn, when anxious to perform his duty as District Commissioner, was reprimanded for having in March and April 1890 "inflicted heavy fines" in slavery cases. It may be noted that, whereas the Ordinance of 1874 renders anyone convicted of slave dealing "liable to be punished by imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period which may extend to seven years," with the addition or alternative of a fine, the penalties imposed by Mr. McMunn in those months were limited to sentences of three months' imprisonment with the option of fines, of which the heaviest was 25*l.*, and no more than he was empowered to inflict as a District Commissioner. The actual penalties imposed by him, as shown in the register referred to, were as follows:—

On 3rd March, for being in possession of a girl about 12 years old, purchased at Salaga, 25*l.*

On 22nd March, for two little girls bought at Salaga, 15*l.*

On 26th March, for a boy bought at Salaga, 8*l.*; for two girls bought at Salaga (one of them being Nyamie Domah), 5*l.* each; for another girl, delivered up by the slave dealer himself, a sergeant in the Houssa Constabulary, no fine recorded.

On 11th April, for two slave girls, 15*l.* and 10*l.*

On 14th April, for three slave girls, 10*l.*, 10*l.*, and 5*l.* (In the last case "no evidence of ill-treatment.")

On 18th April for two girls bought by Accra women, 9*l.* and 5*l.* (The latter being the child Chocho referred to in paragraph 9.)

12. While accepting Sir W. B. Griffith's statement that he had no personal share in the supersession of Mr. McMunn immediately after 19th May, our Committee has difficulty in reconciling his further statement that the supersession "could have had no relation to the action of Mr. McMunn with regard to slave dealing" with the Chief Justice's statement that on 20th May he directed Mr. McMunn "not to deal

summarily with slavery cases," on account of "the large number of such cases in which he inflicted heavy fines." It is also difficult—Mr. McMunn's mode of dealing with slavery cases having been condemned—to find good reason for his being deputed, as the Governor reports, "to continue the investigation of those cases which had not been completed by him." This arrangement, however, may in part account for the failure in the administration of justice as regards slave-dealing cases at Accra during the next two or three months. Although Mr. Peregrine now contradicts the statement freely circulated in the Colony at the time, that he openly repudiated in Court his responsibility as regards slavery cases, it is admitted that he left such cases to be dealt with by an official who had been reprovved and degraded, and who incurred further blame in endeavouring to adapt his course to the requirements of his superiors.

13. From dates already given it will be seen that on and after 25th August last some of the slaveowners mentioned in our Committee's letter of 20th August* were brought before the Accra Court and then dealt with. For instance, Mr. Peregrine states in his letter of 7th October that on 25th August he "discovered the facts" that Lamlay, George Owoo, and Acquorker were in possession of slave children, and that on that day he had them brought before him, fined them 2*l.* each, and rescued the children. The "facts" had long before been so well known in the Colony that in April the three culprits had been summoned before Mr. McMunn, and had retained Mr. Edmund Bannerman, a prominent barrister, for their defence. It does not appear that there was any more evidence "forth coming" in August, when they received very mild punishment, than in April, when the cases were adjourned.

14. It is necessary to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that before this change took place, telegraphic information had reached the Gold Coast authorities as to the purport of our Committee's letter. It is reasonable to assume that the subsequent alteration of policy was a result of the intelligence received at that time by Sir W. B. Griffith that the question of slavery had been brought before your Lordship's notice; and the action of the authorities must be regarded rather as an acknowledgment of their previous apathy than as proof of a sudden desire to permanently amend the condition of affairs. Our Committee ventures to urge that the proceedings of the Gold Coast administration in August and September furnish additional reasons for the searching inquiry which it has appealed to Her Majesty's Government to institute.

15. Should such an inquiry be accorded, our Committee would be happy to place at your Lordship's disposal all the sources of its information, and in so doing it would hope to convince your Lordship that it has not made its allegations without, in the first instance, satisfying itself "as to the *prima facie* truth of the charges, as well as "the *bona fides* and general trustworthiness of those who make them." Our Committee's information is inevitably incomplete and liable to error in minor particulars, and the whole facts can only be ascertained by an official inquiry conducted in the Colony and by individuals not personally concerned in the matters under investigation; but it feels assured that such an inquiry is urgently needed and would lead to reforms which it cannot doubt that Her Majesty's Government, after acquainting itself with the actual state of affairs, would be anxious to secure.

16. Pending the full and impartial investigation asked for, our Committee does not consider itself at liberty to disclose the names of residents in the Colony who have brought the facts to its knowledge, as a premature disclosure might be seriously prejudicial to them. As, however, Mr. Peregrine's assertion that he has "reasonable grounds to suspect that Mr. Edward McMunn is the person who has made these "malicious accusations" appears to be endorsed by Sir W. B. Griffith, it should be stated that our Committee has had no communication whatever with Mr. McMunn, either before or since his return from the Gold Coast Colony, and that all its information has been derived from entirely independent sources. Our Committee is in no way concerned in Mr. McMunn's relations with the Gold Coast authorities, except in so far as there is evidence of his having endeavoured, while he had the opportunity, to put in force the law as regards the suppression of child-slavery in the Colony.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. R. FOX BOURNE,
Secretary.

The Right Hon. Lord Knutsford, G.C.M.G.,
&c. &c. &c.

Colonial Office.

COLONIAL OFFICE to the ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

SIR, Downing Street, May 11, 1891.

I AM directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th of last month.*

2. I am to observe, with reference to the second paragraph of your letter, that his Lordship did not take exception to the terms employed by you on behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society in your previous letters of the 20th of August and 11th of September 1890,† but to the fact that the Committee had repeated allegations, which could not be substantiated, without any adequate inquiry into their foundation; and I am to state that, in his Lordship's judgment, Sir B. Griffith has not merely corrected errors as regards details, but has shown that upon all the more important points the Committee had been misinformed.

3. The attempt which the Committee have now made to substantiate the allegations by reference to Sir B. Griffith's despatch seems to Lord Knutsford to have completely failed. It appears to him that what Sir B. Griffith wrote has, doubtless through inadvertence, been either incorrectly quoted or made to bear a construction alien to its meaning. He does not think it necessary, however, to reply to your last letter in detail, as both the letter and the despatch will be published, and it will then be open to those who are interested in the matter to form a judgment upon them.

4. Lord Knutsford does not consider that a case has been made out for ordering an inquiry into the conduct of a Governor, who appears to have taken all practicable steps to put the law in force and to provide for the welfare of the liberated children, and who is not less anxious than your Society to effect the complete suppression of slavery.

I am, &c.

The Secretary to the Aborigines
Protection Society.

(Signed) ROBERT G. W. HERBERT.

* No. 11.

† Nos. 1 and 4.

