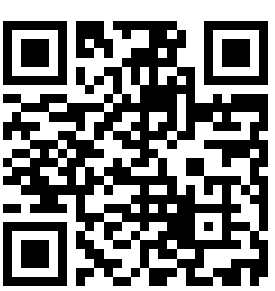
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SIERRA LEONE.

REPORT

BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONER

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

INSURRECTION IN THE SIERRA LEONE PROTECTORATE

1898.

PART I.—REPORT AND CORRESPONDENCE

(NOTE.—*The evidence taken by Sir David Chalmers and the Documents annexed to the Report are printed separately in Part II.*)

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

JULY 1899.

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SIERRA LEONE

COMMISSION passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, appointing Sir DAVID PATRICK CHALMERS, Knight, to be Her Majesty's Commissioner to inquire into an Insurrection of Natives in the British Protectorate adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone, and generally into the state of affairs in the said Colony and Protectorate.

Dated 18*th June* 1898.

VICTORIA R.—Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India: To Our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir DAVID PATRICK CHALMERS, Knight, Greeting.

WHEREAS an insurrection of the Natives of Our Protectorate adjacent to Our Colony of Sierra Leone has recently occurred, accompanied by murders of and outrages upon Our subjects and other persons residing in Our said Colony and Protectorate;

And whereas it is expedient that full and impartial inquiry should be made into the circumstances which led to the said insurrection, and generally into the state of affairs in Our said Colony and Protectorate;

Now, therefore, We do by this Our Commission, under Our Sign Manual and Signet, appoint you, the said Sir David Patrick Chalmers, to be Our Commissioner for the purpose of making such inquiry.

And We do hereby empower and require you, as such Our Commissioner, to take all such measures and to do all such things as in the interest of Our service appear to you to be advisable for the effective prosecution of such inquiry, according to such instructions as you may receive from Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State: and especially We do authorise and empower you to summon all such persons as you may think fit to give evidence before you, and to require them or any of them to produce any books, records, or other documents relating to Our Service which you may require to have before you.

And We do require you with as little delay as possible to report to Us, through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, stating fully what you shall

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have done in the matters hereby entrusted to you, and submitting to Us as well the said evidence as any opinions which you may think fit to express thereupon and such recommendations as may appear to you to be proper and expedient for remedying any evils which upon such inquiry may be found to exist and for promoting the good government of the said Colony and Protectorate and the welfare of their inhabitants.

And We do hereby command and require the Governor of Our said Colony of Sierra Leone, and all Our officers, and all other inhabitants of Our said Colony and Protectorate, to be aiding and assisting unto you the said Sir David Patrick Chalmers in the execution of this Our Commission.

Given at Our Court at St. James's, this Eighteenth day of June 1898, in the Sixty-first year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

DOWNING STREET, *20th June* 1898.

SIR,

With reference to the letter from this Department of the 16th instant, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to transmit to you Her Majesty's Commission appointing you to be Her Commissioner to inquire into the circumstances which have led to the recent insurrection in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, and generally into the state of affairs in the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone.

2. The Governor has been instructed to procure the enactment of an Ordinance, giving you all necessary power of compelling witnesses to give evidence and produce documents.

3. It has been alleged that the insurrection at its commencement was caused by the imposition of a hut tax and by the steps taken to enforce its collection. It has been stated that a direct tax of this kind on property is peculiarly obnoxious to the customs and feelings of the natives of Sierra Leone, and also that much offence has been given by the brutal and insulting way in which the collection of the tax was carried out by the Native Police.

You should inquire into the truth of these statements, and particularly should report whether in the circumstances of the Protectorate it was necessary or expedient to impose the tax, whether the amount was unnecessarily high, whether the mode of enforcing its payment provided by the Law was suitable, and whether the collection of the tax and the enforcement of its payment were properly carried out by the officers and others entrusted with this duty.

4. In the later phases of the insurrection, which were accompanied by murder and outrage, and which extended into the Colony as well as the Protectorate, the question of the hut tax does not appear to have been

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prominently raised, and it will be necessary to seek for other explanations of the simultaneous outbreak of savage violence over a large tract of country. In this connection you will no doubt find it desirable to inquire into the operations of the secret societies both in the Colony and in the Protectorate.

5. It has also been stated that the insurrection was to a great extent caused by articles in the Sierra Leone Press and by traders and others in Sierra Leone who incited or encouraged the natives to refuse to pay the hut tax, and you should inquire fully into the truth of these allegations.

6. You are further required by the Royal Commission to inquire into the general state of affairs existing in the Colony and the Protectorate.

7. As regards the Protectorate, you will inquire into the working of the scheme of administration which has been adopted, and your attention should be especially directed to the best methods of raising the revenue required for maintaining peace, order, and good government in the Protectorate, and the manner in which the land should be dealt with, so as to promote the development of the country, while preserving the rights of the natives and protecting them from being defrauded by speculators, who have sought or may seek to acquire land from them on inequitable terms.

8. With regard to the Colony, your inquiry should be chiefly directed to the system of raising the revenue, and especially to the question of imposing direct taxation.

9. I am to add that Mr. Chamberlain desires to leave you as free as possible in regulating the scope and order of your inquiry, and to request you to report fully to him on your return to England, on all the points which seem to you to merit attention in connection with the administration of the Protectorate.

I am,

SIR,

Your obedient Servant,

EDWARD WINGFIELD.

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NOTE by Sir David Chalmers.—Marginal References.

Arabic numerals refer to the questions and answers correspondingly numbered in Appendix I. Roman numerals refer to the correspondingly numbered documents in Appendix II.

The references to Appendix I. are rather to be taken as points of departure in reading the oral evidence than as exhaustive on the matters to which they relate, since it would have too much encumbered the Report to have placed upon it full notes of reference.

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REPORT

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—I, the undersigned Commissioner appointed to inquire into an insurrection of Natives in the British Protectorate adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone, and generally into the state of affairs in the said Colony and Protectorate, humbly desire to submit to Your Majesty the following Report:—

1. Preliminary.

1. In presenting this Report it will be well to say a word as to the manner in which the inquiry has been conducted. When I reached Sierra Leone on 18th July last, travelling in the country was practically impossible by reason of the rainy season, which was then in full force, and continued throughout August, September, October, and even more or less in November. During this season roads become water-courses, streams are swollen into torrents, drenching rains of a character not known in temperate regions are almost constant. Add to these physical impediments to locomotion, that it would have been in vain to go into the regions of disturbance in search of information, since few if any of the people of these regions would have been found in their habitations, nearly all of them being scattered and taking refuge in the bush or forests. Moreover the disturbance was not at an end. If I could have gone into the interior with any sufficient escort it would have scared and put to flight any natives within reach, who would have regarded it as a punitive expedition; without an escort I would have been at the mercy of any disaffected Chief or wandering band of insurgents. But besides all this, the amount of time which would have been spent in travelling and in searching for information was conclusive against attempting such a mode of operation, having regard to the necessary limitation of the period within which the inquiry ought to be concluded. Under all these circumstances I judged that to hold the inquiry in Freetown was the most expedient, and indeed the only practicable course, and it was accordingly adopted. Immediately upon the Commission being proclaimed, I issued an invitation asking all persons possessed

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of information on the subject of the inquiry to come in and give evidence. For the publication of this invitation in the Hinterland I was of course dependent on the services of the Executive Government. Moreover, as clues and lines of evidence opened, I summoned a number of individuals whose testimony I considered would be likely to be of value, and the Governor of the Colony (Sir Frederic Cardew) sent some persons to me whom he asked me to examine. The dread of being seized and imprisoned as accomplices in the rising, under the very large powers given to the Governor of the Colony by a temporary Ordinance, from which no one was exempt, probably restrained a considerable number of persons from coming forward to give evidence. This Ordinance, which could only have been authorised under quite exceptional circumstances, enables the Governor by a simple order to cause the arrest and detention in prison of any person within the Colony or Protectorate without any charge being made against him, and without evidence, so long as the Governor thinks fit. A restriction which Sir Frederic Cardew thought it advisable to place upon my obtaining, under certain circumstances, the evidence of persons under accusations, also tended to a certain extent to hinder investigation. The method adopted was, however, on the whole successful, to the effect that a large quantity of evidence has been collected from many independent sources. I took care to make my real position understood by the natives whom I interrogated, so as to lead them to speak without the bias or timidity by which they would probably have been influenced if they had supposed me to be a member of the Local Government. In dealing with the several heads of inquiry which have been presented under my Instructions, I shall proceed as I am led by the facts established without being influenced by any *à priori* theory or hypothesis.

LXXIV. (a), (b), (c), (d), (e).

2. Historical and Geographical.

(a) The Colony of Sierra Leone.

2. The Colony of Sierra Leone originated in the sale and cession by King Nembana and his subordinate Chiefs to Captain John Taylor of His Britannic Majesty's brig *Miro*, on behalf of the "free community of Settlers, their heirs "and successors, lately arrived from England, and under the protection of the "British Government," of a piece of land described in the Treaty as extending from the bay commonly called Frenchman's Bay, but changed to that of St. George's Bay, coastwise up the river Sierra Leone to Gambia Island, and southerly or inland from the river-side twenty miles. The Treaty is dated 22nd August 1788. The main purpose of the Colony in its inception was to secure a home on the African continent for a party of natives of Africa, and some others, who from various circumstances had been separated from the countries of their origin, and were struggling waifs in and about London. Somewhat later the Colony was much used as a settlement for Africans rescued from slave-ships during the period when England was putting forth her efforts for the suppression of the abhorred over-sea traffic in slaves.

3. The territory of the Colony received additions from time to time by further cessions from the native Chiefs. Thus on 10th July 1807, King Firama

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and King Tom ceded all the land they possessed in the peninsula of Sierra Leone lying to the westward of the Colony; and in 1861 Bai Conteh, king of Kwaia, with his Chiefs, ceded a portion of the Kwaia country abutting on the Colony of Sierra Leone, measuring ten miles in width and sixteen miles in length from the river Sierra Leone to the river Ribbi, and particularly described as to its inland boundary in the treaty of cession. In 1825 the Governor of Sierra Leone made a treaty of cession with the King and Chiefs of the Sherbro, Bargroo, Sherbro Island, and some other places, for the purpose of adding these countries to the territories of the Colony. This treaty was not ratified by the Crown, the policy of the King's Government at that time not favouring extension of territory. It was however revived by a fresh agreement made in 1882. A number of other treaties of cession were made from time to time, the result of which treaties is that the Colony has now a coast-line of about 300 miles, extending between 6° 55′ and 9° 2′ of north latitude, from the territory of the republic of Liberia on the south-east, where the Mannoh river forms the boundary, as far as Kiragba on the north-east; that about midway on this coast there is a block of land about twenty-three miles in length with a mean width of about fourteen miles, forming the oldest portion of the Colony; that about 100 miles south-east from this block there is another block about eighty miles in length, with a varying width not definitely ascertained, forming the Sherbro district; whilst the rest of the Colony consists of a strip of land along the sea and river shores of a half-mile in depth inland from high-water mark in some places, and a quarter of a mile in others. The strip of shore-line was acquired for the purpose of securing an effective control over the importation of sea-borne goods into the main portions of the Colony. In most of those treaties there are provisions for annual payments of varying amounts to the Chiefs ceding territories.

4. Besides these treaties of cession of territory, numerous other treaties have been made between the Governor of Sierra Leone, on behalf of the Crown, on the one part, and the native Chiefs of territories adjacent to the Colony, having for their object the abatement of tribal wars and of slave-dealing, the opening up of the countries of the contracting Chiefs to British subjects for trading purposes, and for missionary establishments, the protection of traders and missionaries, and other purposes of the like character.

5. In both classes of treaties, from the foundation of the Colony down to the latest treaty made in 1895, the character of the Chiefs as the owners and sovereigns of territory and as independent contracting Powers is unequivocally and universally recognised. The Chiefs are generally well aware of this.[1] In a few of the later treaties there is found a provision for the English Crown assuming sovereignty and full control of territory in the event of the Chiefs not fulfilling their treaty engagements.

6. The Colony of Sierra Leone was as to its foundation a cession of territory for British subjects who were in process of settling there, and all subsequent acquisitions of territories have been made upon the footing that such territories were to be included in the Colony, and governed by the laws prevailing within it.

[1] *See* Note *B*, in Appendix II.

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7. Freetown, the principal town of the Colony, is a place of Imperial importance, in respect that it has an excellent harbour, of easy access, and capable of being efficiently defended, and forming the only suitable coaling station which England possesses on the west coast of Africa.

8. The central part of the Colony—the Peninsula of Sierra Leone and lands adjoining—has a population (including Freetown) of 75,000. It yields only a small quantity of exportable commodities. The extent of the territory is small, the soil is in many places not very well adapted to cultivation, and the people of the Colony seem not much attracted to that form of industry. No valuable minerals have been discovered—except iron, which can scarcely be reckoned as of exportable value. The low price offered in the European market for such commodities as could be produced has moreover acted as a discouragement, so that the exports of produce of the Colony have even fallen off during the last quarter of a century. The Sherbro district exports large quantities of palm oil and palm kernels, with some other articles of lesser importance; but a large proportion of the exports from Sherbro are really the produce of the Hinterland.

(b) The Hinterland.

9. Immediately adjoining the Colony of Sierra Leone, lying to the northward and eastward, is the Hinterland, the boundaries of which were defined by the
I. Agreement between Great Britain and France which was concluded 21st January 1895. The extreme depth from south to north is about 210 miles, lying between 7° and 10° north latitude, and 180 miles from east to west, lying between 10° 40′ and 13° 20′ of west longitude. The estimated area is rather more than 30,000 square miles—about the size of Ireland. The configuration and soil varies much in different localities. Some parts are low and swampy, in other parts the country is mountainous, rising in some places to an altitude of 3000 feet or more. Many districts contain fertile soil, well adapted for the growth of indiarubber, kola nuts, gum copal, cotton, and other tropical products. Unlike many regions on the west coast of Africa, the country is, for
8615. the most part, well watered by rivers and running streams. The population of
611. the Hinterland has not been ascertained. It has been variously estimated,
502. before the present troubles, at from about 750,000 up to about 2,000,000.
522.

10. The trade and revenue of the Colony depend almost entirely on the Hinterland. A very large proportion of the goods imported into the Colony are carried into and consumed in the Hinterland. These goods are paid for by means of the products of the Hinterland, which are exported, and the profits derived from the exchange enable the merchants to pay the Customs duties, which constitute the bulk of the Colonial revenue.

11. The territories forming the Hinterland are, according to the native organisation, ruled over by a large number of Chiefs (or Kings, as they used to be, and still in native parlance are, called). The portions of country under each Chief are well ascertained, and recognised by the various Chiefs and their sub-
II. jects. I have obtained an incomplete list of these Chiefs, with the territories ruled over by them. In subordination to each of the Supreme Chiefs are many Sub-Chiefs, who are, at least in theory, under the absolute control of their Supreme Chief, and each of these sub-Chiefs rules, subject to more or less

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direction from his Supreme Chief, over particular towns and portions of territory forming part of the dominions of his supreme Chief.

12. The relations between the English Government and the Chiefs at the time of the conclusion of the Agreement between France and England in 1895 was, as I have stated, that some of the Chiefs whose territories lay most adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone had contracted with the English Crown certain treaties of cession, and treaties directed to definite objects of amity and good offices. In addition there had sprung up by usage a limited consensual and advisory jurisdiction, under which Chiefs as well as persons not Chiefs would bring their differences (mainly as to territorial boundaries) before the Governor of Sierra Leone as a sort of arbitrator, and implicitly follow his awards. This jurisdiction was exercised over an area of no defined limits, so far as any rules were concerned. As a fact, it was limited by conditions of distance and facility of travel, so that whilst the usage was most established in the countries nearest to Freetown, there was none in the more distant regions, or if there was any it was at most so rudimentary as to be jurally of no account. During some years the area of jurisdiction was extended, and the exercise of it was more frequent when in 1890 travelling Commissioners were appointed. They seem to have dealt with complaints brought before them on a basis similar to that on which the Governor had acted, viz. on the mutual consent and voluntary compliance of the parties. 1181-1196. 702.

13. There were not any treaties with the Chiefs of the more outlying regions. There appear to have been some instances in which, apart from treaties or consent, the English Government interposed to arrest tribal wars or slave-dealing.

14. I have not been able to trace any instance in which, either under treaty or any other form of consent, or without consent, the English Government has imposed, or endeavoured to impose any direct taxation upon the Chiefs or people of the Hinterland prior to 1896.

15. The agreement between France and Great Britain delimited the respective spheres of interest of the two countries south and west of the Middle or Upper Niger, and thus defined for England in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone a territory within which, so far as concerned any question between France and England, England was at liberty to exercise whatever species or extent of jurisdiction she might consider proper. It made, of course, no alteration on the existing native organisation, nor upon the existing relations between England and the native Chiefs, who were not parties to the agreement in any sense.

I ought at this stage to make separate mention of

3. The Frontier Police.

16. The establishment of this force was suggested by Sir Francis de Winton, a special service officer who took charge of an expedition against the Yonni tribe in 1887, between whom and certain other tribes within what is now the Sierra Leone Protectorate there had been a long-standing feud. Sir Francis de Winton considered that the occupation of certain advanced posts beyond the border-line of the Colony to be the only means of securing peace and tranquillity along the frontier. He also considered that such an occupation would strengthen the Colony in the event of invasion from the interior. III. III (a).

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17. Prior to Sir Francis de Winton's proposals, Sir Samuel Rowe, Governor of Sierra Leone, had recommended the clearing of a road connecting the navigable heads of the rivers from the Great Scarcies in the north-west to the Manoh river on the south-eastern or Liberian boundary of the Colony, and an increase in the Police force. He concurred in Sir Francis de Winton's recommendation of frontier posts, and was in the course of developing his scheme when he had to leave the Colony on account of ill-health, and soon afterwards died.

18. Sir James Hay, the successor of Sir Samuel Rowe in the government of the Colony indorsed the views of his predecessor and of Sir Francis de Winton, and recommended the establishment of a Frontier constabulary; that a line of posts
547. should be maintained from Kambia on the Great Scarcies to the Manoh river, connected by a frontier road, and that it should be the duty of the constabulary to keep up a constant patrol. It was part of Sir James Hay's scheme, as it had been of that of Sir Samuel Rowe, that there should be travelling Commissioners who should have the supervision of certain districts. The policy throughout the scheme was the protection of certain parts of the territories in the vicinity of the Colony from tribal war as well as from outside aggression, and so to surround Sierra Leone by tribes amenable to the influence of the British Government, but without the assumption of direct control. Sir James Hay cautiously stated, in winding up his despatch: "I am compelled, whilst advo- "cating the policy submitted, to admit that it is in a measure experimental, the "value and importance of which time alone can prove." The Secretary of State approved generally of the proposals, "which are in a measure experimental," and authorised the necessary steps for carrying them into effect; the establishment sanctioned at first being four officers, four sub-officers, and 280 non-commissioned officers and men. In 1885 the force was seven European officers and
8548. 555 non-commissioned officers and men; in 1896, eleven European officers and 505 non-commissioned officers and men; in 1898 twelve European officers and 568 non-commissioned officers and men; and at present there are seventeen officers and 600 non-commissioned officers and men.

19. There need be no doubt that the Frontier Police, with the system of outposts and patrols, has done some good service. The districts in the Sulyma and Yonni countries, and in other parts which had been the theatre of much desolating strife, became tranquil, partly as the result of the Frontier scheme, but partly also from the firm measures which recently before its institution had been taken for the punishment and repression of aggressive raids. The Police exercised some check also on the carriage of slaves into the interior, and to that extent cut away a powerful incentive to these raids.

20. Unfortunately, one very important element seems to have been overlooked or disregarded,—I mean the action of the Police as regards the peaceable inhabitants amongst whom they were stationed. There was forgetfulness of the tendency which is very commonly characteristic of the lower orders of West Africans—the tendency, when placed in authority, to use their power to domineer over and oppress those towards whom their position gives them advantage. In this point of view the system adopted—not integral to the scheme in its main purposes—was radically faulty. The men were scattered in small parties over the country—as small as a corporal and three men,—and quite away from the control of their officers, who, moreover, were too few in

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number. They were practically the sole representatives and exponents of the Queen's Government and laws in the inland regions. The material of the force was but ill suited to the position of exuberant trust in which they were placed. Very few could read or write. Their knowledge of English—in which language alone can their officers, as a rule, communicate with them—was very defective, or almost absent. In knowledge, intelligence, or discretion, they were hardly above the lowest of the populations amongst whom they were sent. The men had the fullest opportunities to indulge their most objectionable tendencies. Their organisation was very slack. There were no districts, no companies; men were out of touch with their officers, hidden away, large arrears of pay due, the paymaster not knowing where the men were. Their supposed duties were to stop any slave-dealing, to prevent inter-tribal fighting, and to watch the country. They were practically little judges and governors. Thus situated, many of the Police egregiously abused their position and powers. "Whenever an officer went up into the country, he was inundated with complaints. "Some were three years old." 704. 4202. 3531. 3542. 7596. 3544.

21. The African, in his native state, is slow to make complaint against any persons clothed in uniform, and whom he believes to have the authority or the support of Government, so that when at length he does complain, the very fact of his doing so will lead any one acquainted with the African character to give serious attention to the complaint. In 1893, so many complaints had come to the notice of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. Parkes, that he felt it his duty to address to the Government the representation which is printed, No. IV. of the Appendix. Mr. Parkes, I may say, has impressed me as an able, cautious, and conscientious officer, and one who would be very slow to put forward any sort of accusation reflecting upon a branch of the Government service without very well considered grounds for so doing. It is most necessary to keep in view that in a matter of this sort the complaints which reach superior authority, of grievances occurring amongst an ignorant and scattered population, bear only a small proportion to the number of instances where wrong has been done. There is the indisposition of the African to complain against any one having Government authority, to which I have already alluded; there is the actual difficulty—being scores of miles, as he may be, away from any authority; and there is, moreover, the fear, which I have heard repeatedly expressed, that the police would make the situation much worse for any one who should venture to complain; and even when complaint is made, influence is brought to bear on the complainant previous to the examination, so as to induce him to withdraw or materially soften his accusation. Notwithstanding those causes tending to minimise the complaints, I have read a great many such upon record. A large number of such charges have been held proved by the Commanding Officer. Some are not held proved, whilst the exculpation is not always in these cases thoroughly satisfactory. The accused policeman, or perhaps the non-commissioned officer, his immediate superior, answers the complaint with a denial of the facts or with a counter-charge against the complainant. The accuser is not always or generally confronted with the accused; the allegations on either side may not be well supported by evidence, and the Commanding Officer giving effect to the rule which lays the *onus probandi* on the person complaining, IV. 2373. 7920.

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V. very naturally decides that the case is not established. I subjoin a list of cases where there have been convictions, mostly for offences against people of the Protectorate. In the period to which this list refers, a stricter discipline was being enforced, and the lawless behaviour of the policemen was no doubt being restrained. The present Governor of the Colony, I am glad to state, has made strong efforts to suppress irregular and lawless behaviour on the part of the Police, but I cannot doubt that much mischief has been done.

5479. 22. A very unfortunate feature in this matter is that Chiefs have in not a few instances been insultingly and injuriously treated by the Police. There are instances in which they have been handcuffed and forced to go before District Commissioners upon utterly insufficient grounds; in one case the grounds were no more than that a District Commissioner had sent for a Chief
897. to come to his station to receive a staff of office, which that Chief had been
4547. somewhat slow to do.

23. Many complaints have had relation to interference with the Chief's authority over his people. The fact of the Police being largely recruited from natives of the Protectorate, who for their own reasons have left their country and come into Freetown, tends to prepare the way for misconduct towards the Chiefs. Some of these recruits are runaway slaves—generally the idlest and worst-behaved of a household; and as there is no system by
7598. which recruits are kept back from being sent to the parts of the interior
4518. from which they have come, it must happen that a former slave finds himself in a position to use the authority of the Government against persons of the class to which his former master belongs, or even, it might chance, against his
4208. former master himself,—an opportunity he would not be likely to neglect.
4217. Another frequent complaint, both by Chiefs and those who are not Chiefs, has referred to improper interference with women. Endeavours have been made to extenuate this fault of the Police rather than to deny it, by asserting that the women are willing to be attracted by them. Even if this were true —which it can only be partially—it would hardly diminish the exasperation of the husbands and fathers.

24. It would be a remarkable illustration of the ascendency obtained by the Police, and the position of authority in which they felt themselves, if, as seems to be the case, they imposed upon the Chiefs and people, as if it were a Government order, an order invented by themselves, to the effect that actions should not be brought in the Chiefs' Courts of the nature of actions for *crim. con.*, which actions had had influence in restraining immorality, but were also said to be sometimes used oppressively. This prohibition I have very frequently heard stated by Chiefs as being one of the Government rules which they were prepared to obey. Upon inquiry I found that it was not,
1318-9. and never had been, authorised to be promulgated as a Government order,
8590. and its origin was not known. In ascribing it to the Police I am making a conjecture, but a highly probable one.

25. In the oral evidence there is a strong concourse of testimony leading to the like results as do the records, and I find it impossible to avoid the conclusion that there has been in fact much harsh and improper conduct by the Frontier Police, which has been a source of irritation both before and after the Pro-

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tectorate scheme came into operation. I do not wish to convey the impression that the whole of the Frontier Police misbehaved, but instances have been so frequent that they have established a very unfavourable reputation amongst the people. Hence, when in some of the explanations of the Hut Tax it was said the tax was needed for the maintenance of the Frontier Police, it was not wonderful if this argument met with little acceptance. Of the part the Police took in some phases of the collection of the Hut Tax I shall have to speak afterwards.

4. Proclamation of Protectorate.

26. On 31st August 1896 a Proclamation was published setting forth that Her Majesty had assumed a Protectorate over the territories adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone in which Her Majesty had acquired power and jurisdiction.

27. For purposes of administration the Hinterland was divided into five districts, intended to be of about equal size, avoiding severance as far as possible by the district boundary of the territories of Paramount Chiefs. These districts have been named as the Karene, Ronietta, Bandajuma, Panguma, and Koinadugu districts. 8563.

28. In anticipation of the arrangements that might become necessary for the government of the Protectorate, an Order of the Queen in Council had been made on 24th August 1895, under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890, whereby, on the recital that Her Majesty had acquired jurisdiction within divers foreign countries on the west coast of Africa, near or adjacent to Her Majesty's Colony of Sierra Leone, Her Majesty was pleased, by and with the advice of her Privy Council, to order that it shall be lawful for the Legislative Council, for the time being, of the Colony of Sierra Leone, by Ordinance or Ordinances, to exercise and provide for giving effect to all such jurisdiction as Her Majesty may at any time, before or after the passing of the Order in Council, have acquired in the said territories adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone.

29. Sir Frederic Cardew, with praiseworthy zeal to become acquainted with the Colony and Hinterland by personal visitation, made various tours therein in 1894, 1895, and 1896. During these tours he traversed a large extent of country, and held meetings with some of the Chiefs of places which he visited, and explained his intended policy; and it will be well to examine whether or how far what passed at these meetings created a basis of consent on the part of the Chiefs for the future legislation by which Sir Frederic Cardew intended that the country should be governed. During the two first tours his statements and explanations to the Chiefs appear to have been confined to matters connected with Slavery, and only in 1896 were the subjects more fully shadowed out which were afterwards embraced in the subsequent Protectorate Ordinance, including the intended taxation. Sir F. Cardew does not himself seem to have attached importance to the consents of the Chiefs, nor to have thought he obtained any active assents, although he states that apparently there were no dissentient voices. Much more full information with regard to these meetings was given by the Secretary for Native Affairs (Mr. Parkes), and by the 8553–8558. 847, 787–809. 1148–1173. 1307–1316. 7111–7169. 7256–7265.

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interpreter who was the medium of communication between Sir F. Cardew and the Chiefs, and I shall follow the information derived from these sources.

30. On 31st January 1896 Sir F. Cardew held a meeting at Matinafore
7130–7143. in the Kwaia country, at which the intended Protectorate Ordinance was explained in outline, including an outline of the scheme of Taxation. There were no Sovereign or Paramount Chiefs present at this meeting, but only some representatives of the Chief of Kwaia and a Sub-Chief. These Chiefs had no plenary powers, and if they had expressed any consent to the new laws, ratification by the Paramount Chief would have been necessary to establish any binding transaction. It rather appears, however, that what they said was that they would carry the Governor's message to their Paramount Chief, which would be the course in accordance with usage on occasions when any important announcement is made.

31. There was also a meeting at Rokon in the Masimera country, the day after the meeting at Matinafore. There were present Bai Simra the Paramount Chief of Masimera, a representative of the Paramount Chief of Marampa country, and some unimportant Chiefs. The gist of the intended Ordinance, including the Taxation clauses, was explained through the interpreter. There is difficulty in arriving at a quite satisfactory conclusion as to what then followed; the interpreter's recollection and that of Sir F. Cardew being that no answer was
7118–7127. made, whilst that of Mr. Parkes, the Secretary for Native Affairs, was that the Chiefs expressed their acceptance of what the Governor had said. This would be unusual, but a further incident narrated by Mr. Parkes goes to show that the Chiefs thought at least that they had said more than, on mature consideration, they wished to adhere to; for Mr. Parkes stated that the Chiefs who had been at the meeting came to him at night and asked him to inform the Governor that they did not agree to the Ordinance. Mr. Parkes declined to deliver this
787. message unless the Chiefs accompanied him, feeling that as he had previously advised against a Hut Tax, it might seem he had been using undue influence with the Chiefs. The Chiefs said they would go to the Governor in the morning, but Sir F. Cardew left Rokon without this intention being carried out. In an important transaction with natives, it is often a necessary precaution to go over the same ground with them more than once before confidence can be felt that they really understand and are intelligently answering, and more especially so where the matter being dealt with is novel and standing apart from their customary and familiar ideas. A complication occurred at the meeting under consideration, in that a question as to certain boundaries was introduced, respecting which Sir F. Cardew promised to send an officer to make inquiries, and this boundary question may not improbably have diverted attention from the more important business brought forward. The proceedings at this meeting at Rokon seem to have been too informal and fortuitous for the creation of a serious and entirely new set of liabilities. If, however, they are interpreted, so far as possible, as manifesting assent to the scheme of government which was propounded at it, the net result would be that the Chief of the Masimera country had, at the moment, assented to the scheme for his own portion of territory, an assent which of course was of no effect whatever outside of the limits of that territory.

32. Sir Frederic Cardew also held meetings at Karene and at Bumban, in the

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Limba country, at Madina and Bendiboo in Lokko, at Karene near Port Lokko, and at Kambia on the Great Scarcies. The result of these meetings was negative as regards assent to the new laws, as at none of them were there any expressions of assent by the Chiefs; and when no assent is expressed no assent is meant. There was a meeting at Shengay, at which the Governor's announcement of the intended laws was met by silence, only modified by the principal Chief having said, when pressed, that he accepted the scheme, since he had no power to resist, an assent which was only the expression of inevitable yielding to a *vis major*. I have not found evidence of any other meetings at which expressions which could be construed as assent were made use of, so that I cannot come to the conclusion (unless in the problematical instance of Massimera) that any alteration was effected at these meetings in the relations which had previously existed between the Crown and the Chiefs and people of the Hinterland. Assuming that there was assent at Massimera, it could affect only a mere fraction of the area of the Hinterland, affording no basis for general legislation.

850. 7148–7169. 7847.

33. Following upon the Order of the Queen in Council, an Ordinance, entitled "An Ordinance to Determine the mode of exercising Her Majesty's Jurisdiction "in the Territories adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone," was passed by the Legislative Council and Governor of Sierra Leone for the Government of the Protectorate, on 16th September 1896, and it was brought immediately into operation, the enactments as to House Tax, however, not commencing until 1st January 1898. In many of the provisions of this Ordinance—such, for instance, as those limiting the forensic jurisdiction of the Chiefs, those vesting powers in the Governor of the Colony to dispose of waste or uninhabited lands, and subsidiary powers in District Commissioners to determine what lands were waste or uninhabited, those enabling the Governor to unmake and make Chiefs, to banish persons from any part of the territories without any charge and without opportunity of a hearing or defence, and those imposing taxes—the Local Legislature went far beyond any historic basis existing at the time of the enactment; and although the Proclamation of the Protectorate over the Hinterland may have been a political necessity, and although the doctrine that the existence of a Protectorate carries with it whatever of the attributes of sovereignty are required for the due discharge of the duties of a Protector may be found sufficient to validate the Ordinance in its entirety, yet I cannot help thinking that the Local Legislature and the Governor would have acted more prudently if they had taken very much more deliberate and effective measures than they did take for familiarising the minds of the Chiefs with the intended changes in their broad and principal tenor, and obtaining their assent, not merely after the Ordinance was passed and in operation, but in anticipation, as was indeed directed by the Secretary of State in dealing with the proposals of Sir F. Cardew. If that had been done there would have been less of the shock of surprise than, I believe, ensued. It should be remembered that it was not a No Man's Land which was being dealt with, or vast tracts peopled only by a few wandering herdsmen, but a populous territory, which had been for ages parcelled out and under definite government, although the plane of civilisation might be far removed from a European standard.

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5. Reception of the Protectorate Ordinance.

34. The Protectorate Ordinance upon being passed into law was transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. On 5th December 1896 the Secretary of State telegraphed to the Governor of Sierra Leone that Part IV. (relating to lands) would not be sanctioned, and directed an Ordinance to be passed repealing that portion of the Ordinance. In a following despatch the Secretary of State explained the reasons making such repeal necessary, and pointed out that an Ordinance dealing with subjects of so much complexity and importance should not have been passed without having been first submitted.

35. In the meantime, however, measures had been taken for the publication of the Ordinance, including the postponed clauses as to taxation, to the Chiefs
VI. and people of the Hinterland. Under direction of Sir Frederic Cardew, an
VII. explanation or epitome of the Ordinance was prepared and transmitted about October 1896, along with printed copies of the Ordinance, to several of the principal Chiefs in the Mendi country. Instructions were sent to District Commissioners throughout the Protectorate as to the several provisions of the Ordinance and the working of them, and they were directed to give as wide publicity as possible to the Ordinance, explaining its details as far as practicable to the native Chiefs, and these instructions appear to have been well carried
4563–4616. out. Further, a Government Messenger (Renner) was sent with copies of the Ordinance, and instructions to explain it to Chiefs in the Timini countries. He visited Magbena and Mahera in Kwaia, Mabele in the Marampa country, Marforki, Port Lokko, Sanda Lokko, Karene, and Ballam. There were no expressions of approval at any of these places; at some places specific objections were made to the Hut Tax.

36. For some little time the scope of the Ordinance does not seem to have been fully realised, but it was not long after the promulgation when notes of disapproval began to be heard. Captain Carr, District Commissioner of Bandajuma district, founding on his impressions picked up in conversations with the Chiefs, thought that the higher Chiefs in that district received the
266. Ordinance at first favourably, and quotes their saying, "We prefer to be under
268. "the English Government to the old days when there was no peace," but the view of the subordinates he thought on the whole was less favourable. Mr. Parkes, the Secretary for Native Affairs, a much more experienced observer, and who had much wider opportunities of gauging generally the native feelings, stated that the Ordinance, when the provisions became generally known, was
785. unfavourably received. The Chief sent down messengers asking "that the
786. "law should not be put into force. They objected mainly to the Hut Tax, and "to their not having jurisdiction in all cases."

37. Many written petitions to Sir Frederic Cardew against the Ordinance also came in. Amongst the earliest which I have seen on record is one by Bai
IX. Simera, 26th October 1896—the single instance, as I have already stated, of a Paramount Chief who had in a measure previously committed himself to a sort of acquiescence. He stated his apprehensions that the slaves would become free by going before the District Commissioners, that the Chiefs' power of holding their courts would be taken away, that wives would leave them, "and,

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" worst of all, in 1898 tax must be paid on every house from 5s. to 10s., which " will bring down a heavy burden on us, when we consider our poor state in which " we live." This plea of disability from poverty was much dwelt on afterwards.

38. On 20th October 1896 the Chiefs of Bumpe, in the Mendi country, sent a Petition saying they would not be able "to abide to the new instructions, X. " such as the paying of land tax and house tax," stating their poverty as a reason. The same Chiefs, with some others, followed this Petition a year afterwards by sending to the Governor a representative to explain all that they wished to say. "The most principal is the House Tax . . . we are not opposing, but XI. " we are really poor, and not in a position of paying ; therefore we humbly pray that his Excellency will pity our case in this respect."

39. Bai Kompah, Paramount Chief of Kwaia, on 19th November 1896, asked XII. as a special favour, "as the oldest native friend of the Government," that his people might be permitted to take their complaints and appeals to Freetown (which was in immediate proximity to the Kwaia country), as had been the former usage, instead of having to go sixty miles to the Ronietta District Court 5163 at Kwalu. I have met with the same grievance repeatedly in the oral evidence, 5188 that of being deprived of the former privilege of going to Freetown for a hearing, and being obliged under the new system to travel perhaps several VIII. days' journey in order to go before a District Commissioner. This is most likely to be felt where, by the arrangement of districts, members of a tribe are compelled to appear before a Court situated in the country of a different or alien tribe. There would be an especial hardship where a defendant was called before the Court of the native Chiefs or the Court of the District Commissioner and native Chiefs, in which cases he would have to submit to the decisions of those who would not be his natural or proper judges according to native organisation, and which it would be very difficult for him to regard with that respect which is so essential to a ready and faithful obedience. In the view of this difficulty, I think it may well be considered, if the Protectorate shall continue to be worked on the lines of the existing scheme, whether it would not be advisable to substitute a division into districts in which regard would be had to tribal boundaries instead of the arbitrary division which has been adopted. I have had a Map prepared, with the view of showing how this might be done, from which it will be seen that no very large geographical alteration need be made. The Map shows seven districts instead of five. These might not perhaps be all essential, but in the point of view of efficient administration of the Protectorate by Commissioners, the increased number of districts and Commissioners would be advantageous, the present districts being too large.

40. Madam Yoko, Paramount Chief of the Lower Mendi country, sent a letter XIII. to the Governor of the Colony on 3rd November 1896, expressing acceptance of the Protectorate Ordinance, but provisionally and tentatively—"as this " being a new Ordinance which we are not accustomed with, we shall make a " trial of it, for we do not know what it is like yet. . . ." This communication is the only one I have seen in which the Ordinance has been commented upon by a native authority without deprecatory expressions. Madam Yoko has been, and still is, distinguished for her unqualified loyalty and support of the English Government.

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XIV. 41. A Petition, dated 17th December 1896, by important Chiefs, viz., the Alikarli of Port Lokko, Bai Forki, Head Chief of Maforki, Bai Farimah, Head Chief of Saffroko, Bai Shakka, Head Chief of Dibia, Bai Bureh, Head Chief of Kassi, and Bai Kawarie of Tendotufa, was sent to Captain Sharpe, District Commissioner of Karene, for presentation to the Governor. The petitioners complain of the clauses in the Ordinance vesting the disposal of waste lands in the Governor, of the taking away of their power in the Courts, of trade licences, of the difficulties with domestic slaves, and the Hut Tax. They ask Captain Sharpe to beg the Governor to allow their Petition, "and not to be so hard "on us."

XV. 42. A very large meeting was held in December 1896 of Chiefs of the Gallinas, Gbemna, Soro, Magbele, Upper and Lower Kittam, and other places in the eastern part of the country; it resulted in a letter, signed by sixty-four Chiefs, being sent to Sir Samuel Lewis, a member of the Legislative Council and the non-official leader of the Bar in Freetown. The circumstances 6199–6221. in which the letter was written are stated in the evidence of P. G. Williams 2593. and Lamina Lahai. It expresses very strong feeling. The object seems to 6703–6705. have been that Sir Samuel Lewis should put before the Governor, in a constitutional way, that the people were too poor to pay the Hut Tax (Williams, 6204). Sir Samuel Lewis had scruples on personal grounds about acting upon this letter, and after consulting with the Attorney-General of the Colony, did nothing beyond mentioning the letter at a meeting of the Legislative Council.

43. The answers returned to the Petitions I have mentioned held out no prospect of any concession or abatement in any of the matters as to which the petitioners complained.

XVI. 44. On 28th June 1897 a Petition was sent to Acting Governor Caulfeild, Sir Frederic Cardew being then absent from the Colony, with the request that XVII. it might be laid before Her Majesty the Queen. This Petition is important from its having been joined in by Chiefs who very largely represented the Timini and Kwaia countries, and also because it much more fully and articulately than is usual in written communications from natives, expressed the ideas of the petitioners. From the celebration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee being held in Freetown, in which many of the Chiefs took part, a large number of them were brought together, and had full opportunities of meeting and consulting as to the new legislation. The Petition, after stating the substance of the Protectorate Ordinance, as it had been understood by the Chiefs, drew attention to the points to which mainly they objected. Briefly stated, these are as follows :—

(*a*) That the Chiefs being deprived of the power of hearing lawsuits regarding their lands, this is equivalent to taking from them all power over their country.

(*b*) That the country is unsettled, and the Hut Tax will hinder people from returning to their homes; that the people are too poor to pay the Hut Tax, the burden of which must therefore fall on the Chiefs, and that they have not the means of paying, and that their towns and villages will go into ruin.

(*c*) The petitioners call attention to a provision of the Ordinance by which a Chief is declared guilty of an offence if he hears any case in which he is not given jurisdiction by the Ordinance, and adverting to the responsibility which

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by their office lies on them for the conduct of their people, deprecate the severe punishment to which they believe they may be subjected in case they exceed the new statutory jurisdictions.

(*d*) They deprecate the restraint on trading arising from licence duties, and point out that a large share of the import duties falls upon them.

(*e*) They allude to the bad quality of cheap imported spirits; a remark illustrative of the paternal character they ascribed to the Government.

(*f*) The petitioners repudiate emphatically all desire to revert to slave buying or selling, but ask that family slaves should not be encouraged to leave them, and ask the Government to consider the exodus of their slaves into Freetown which is taking place.

(*g*) They deprecate the power given to District Commissioners (Section 83 of Ordinance) of recommending at his discretion the deportation or banishment of persons without the accused person being informed of any charge against him, or opportunity given him of being heard, and without judgment.

(*h*) They deprecate the building of gaols in the Hinterland.

45. And the petitioners pray Her Majesty and Her Government—

(1) To grant them the full enjoyment of their country, their ancient manners and customs, except such as may be deemed inconsistent with the laws of God;

(2) To save them from the ruinous consequences of a tax in the present poor condition of the country, stating their willingness in any way in their power to contribute towards the maintenance of peace;

(3) That they may be granted freedom of trade without licence duties;

(4) That the ancient privilege of appealing to the Governor of Sierra Leone without legal process or formality may not be withdrawn, and there is a further reference to the sentence of deportation, without open accusation and without the accused person having opportunity of defence;

(5) That Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs should not be subjected to the disgrace of being flogged or being handcuffed where there is no resistance.

This Petition began with the assurance of the loyalty of the petitioners, and their hearty desire to remain under the Government of England, and it concludes with a like assurance.

46. On the Petition being transmitted by Acting Governor Caulfield to the Secretary of State, the petitioners intimated their wish to wait in Freetown for the reply, although informed that a reply could not be received for two months at least, only asking that they should be during the time under the Governor's protection. **XVIII.** **XIX.**

47. Under instruction from the Secretary of State, a reply was sent to the petitioners, to the effect that the Hut Tax was necessary for the improvement of the country; that they had taken an incorrect view of the changes made by the Ordinance on their rights and customs; and that the Government will not assume the ownership of private lands. **XX.**

48. On 18th September 1897 the same petitioners sent a further appeal, asking that it should be forwarded to Her Majesty. They dwelt on the Hut Tax, on the right of adjudicating on matters in their own country, and their domestic slaves, which they feared were being taken away from them. The petitioners waited in Freetown until the return of Sir Frederic Cardew from England. **XXI.**

49. During this interval, on 15th October 1897, these Chiefs also addressed

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XXII. a Petition to the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone. They sent it to Sir Samuel Lewis for presentation, who, however, did not present it to the Council, but handed it to Sir Frederic Cardew. In this Petition the subjects are not materially different from those in the Petition sent on 28th June for presentation to Her Majesty, although the expressions are somewhat varied. With reference to the Hut Tax strong phrases are used; the petitioners say that certain reasons have made them "to believe in the possibility of the worst of all news, "namely, that the Government intends to make them to pay for their huts or "sleeping-places." On 26th October the Chiefs sent a telegram to the Secretary for the Colonies, soliciting a reduction of the Hut Tax.

50. On returning to Sierra Leone, Sir F. Cardew informed the petitioners, through the Secretary for Native Affairs, that he intended to make certain concessions, viz., that produce of the country would be received instead of cash where payment in cash was inconvenient; that the Chiefs should have a small commission on the collection of the tax; and that the tax should not be paid for temporary farm-buildings, nor for villages containing not more than twenty houses.

XXV. 51. Upon receiving this communication the petitioners sent a further letter to Sir F. Cardew, dated 15th November 1897, in which, while expressing their gratitude for the concessions he had intimated, they reiterate objections to several of the provisions of the new Ordinance. With regard to the Hut Tax, they submit that under it "the Government will take the country from them, ". . . our own true fear is that paying for our huts naturally means no right to "our country." This is a view of the operation of the Hut Tax which appears also from the oral evidence to have had a widespread influence. The petitioners also point out the difficulty which the owner of several houses—a case which always occurs when the owner is somewhat better off than natives of the lowest class—will have in meeting the tax, and reiterate their request to be relieved from trade licences. They make a strong representation as to the ill-usage which Chiefs and others have suffered at the hands of the Frontier Police, and, by way of emphasising this point, there is appended to the Petition a statement of what may be called specimen instances of ill-treatment. I do not reproduce this statement, since each of the fourteen examples quoted involves a collateral issue, upon which there are not materials for forming a definite conclusion. The statement was referred by Sir F. Cardew to Mr. District Commissioner Sharpe of Karene, in which district most of the cases quoted appeared to have occurred. His report, which he was only able to furnish ten months after the date of the Petition, although contradicting some of the statements, confirms others in substance, if not in the letter, whilst as to several Mr. Sharpe depended mainly or entirely for his information on the memory and accuracy of the Police themselves.

52. Besides communicating with the petitioners through the Secretary for Native Affairs, Sir Frederic Cardew met them personally on 15th November 1897, and, taking up in detail the objections stated by them in their Petitions to Her Majesty and to the Legislative Council, addressed to them, through an
XXIII. interpreter, an exposition of the new laws, the terms of which he has furnished. I may remark that it appears to me that Sir Frederic Cardew, in dealing with the Chiefs' narrative of grievances, scarcely enough grasped that apparently

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they mixed up wrongs which they knew or had heard of as done by the Police —whether of their own accord or under improper instructions—with the operation of the law itself; so that, in omitting to point this out to the Chiefs, he probably left them with the impression that the new laws supported the ill-treatment they complained of to a greater extent than it really did.

53. There was an incident at this meeting which showed that the Chiefs with whom the discussion was going on were still in that wavering frame of mind in which they might have been, perhaps, won over to assent. After the Governor had finished his explanation, one of the Chiefs made a reply, going over the subjects of objection once more, and saying that the Chiefs wished to go and consider the matter. Upon this Sir Frederic Cardew stated that 807.
he would give no further time for consideration, as he was not prepared to make any further concessions, and the meeting then separated without the signification of any assent to the new laws: silence after a great subject has been propounded never implying assent.

54. It was, as far as it went, an unfortunate circumstance arising out of the hasty promulgation of the Ordinance of 1896, that whilst the clauses respecting lands appear to have been grasped and well understood by the Chiefs and people, and to have produced an unfavourable impression, the notices of the abrogation of these clauses, when repealed by order of the Secretary of State, were much less effective than those of the enactment had been. Thus, even in Sir Frederic Cardew's explanation at the meeting to which I have been alluding, the subject is merely glanced at, whilst as to a great number of Chiefs who were not at this meeting it scarcely appears that any intimation of the repeal of these clauses was made at all.

55. The letter of the Chiefs of 15th November, already mentioned, though dated on the day on which Sir Frederic Cardew met the Chiefs, does not appear to have reached him until after the meeting. He addressed a letter XXVI.
to them in reply, dated 20th November 1897, in which he informed them that the whole of the subject had been so thoroughly discussed at the interview that he could not in any way alter the decision at which he had then arrived. He also informed them that the District Commissioners would be fully acquainted with his decision on the points they had raised, and instructed to see that there was no interference with the Chiefs' jurisdiction so far as authorised by the Ordinance. The complaint, however, under this head was of the curtailment of their jurisdiction effected by the Ordinance. Sir Frederic Cardew also stated his desire to assist in introducing new industries and economic plants, and invited the petitioners to visit the Botanic Garden at Freetown. The invitation was not taken advantage of. 808.

56. After these communications, the Timini Chiefs who had petitioned Her Majesty, and had waited so long in Freetown, separated and left for their homes without having in any way signified assent to the new laws. They left in silence. They had shown an open and candid distrust and opposition to the new law, and desire to obtain modification, and as the Chiefs act with the knowledge of and in accordance with the wishes of their people, it may be taken that the people, so far as they realised the effects of these laws, were in opposition likewise.

57. After this, near the end of 1897, or beginning of 1898, a deputation of

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representative Mendi Chiefs came to Sir Frederic Cardew from the Jimi, Imperri, Boom, and Kittum countries, stating their objections against the new Ordinance and the Hut Tax.[1] The same answer in substance was given to them as to the others. Three important Chiefs in the Mendi country—Madam Yoko of Lower Mendi, Nancy Tucker of Bagru, and Thomas Neale Caulker of Shengay—were very staunch adherents of the English Government, and they did not oppose, but did what they could to assist in enforcing the Hut Tax. To this I shall recur, but I may say now that in the result later on Caulker was killed by the insurgents, and Yoko and Tucker escaped through the shelter given them by the English garrison at Kwalu. Foula Mansa of Yonni was also a thoroughly loyal Chief. On 10th November 1897, Madam
XXVII. Yoko sent a letter to Sir F. Cardew, in which she expressed fear of difficulties in collecting the House Tax unless the assistance of Government officials were
XXVIII. granted to her, and on 2nd January 1898 a Petition was sent by Bai Kompah, Chief of Kwaia, for himself and his people, declaring their inability to pay the Hut Tax.

6. Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

58. Instructions for the collection of the Hut Tax, which was to begin with the beginning of 1898, were sent by Sir Frederic Cardew to the District Commissioners of Karene, Ronietta, and Bandajuma, the districts to which, through the interposition of the Secretary of State, the operation of the tax was in the first instance fortunately restricted. These instructions were not objectionable, except that, it may be doubted whether as to the method of collecting, too much was not left to the discretion of the individual District Commissioners, and it was also a defect that there was no instruction whether the tax was to be claimed from the Sub-Chiefs, having immediate jurisdiction over the towns, or from the Paramount Chiefs, ruling over larger portions of territory. There is a similar want of definition in the Ordinance itself. Apart from these defects, neither of which can be considered to have been important in the results, the instructions are moderate and reasonable. How these instructions came to be carried out with an oppressive severity so different from what appears to be their spirit is not a little perplexing. The explanation of this difficulty is not practically of much importance, nor am I under any need of offering one. Whatever it may have been, it is apparent from what took place in all the three Districts in which it was determined that the tax was to be collected, that the District Commissioners charged with the duty, and the Governor of the Colony, all came to the conclusion that the exercise of *force*, peremptory, rapid, and inflexible, was the element to be relied on in making the scheme of taxation a success. I am somewhat anticipating the results.

59. As early as 19th May 1897 Sir Frederic Cardew, in view of the fact that the collection of the Hut Tax would begin in the ensuing January, proposed an augmentation of the Frontier Police to the extent of fifty men, giving as a reason that although he did not anticipate any active opposition to the collection, yet, unless there was "a good show of force in the shape of Police in each of

[1] *See* Note A in Appendix II.

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" the districts in which the collection is to take place, the natives may passively " resist the authorities collecting the tax, and do all in their power to evade it. " I think we should be prepared for such an eventuality." This opinion seems to contrast with that enunciated by Sir Frederic previously, when, in writing to the Secretary of State, on 9th June 1894, he stated: " With regard to a house " tax, this would be the most prolific source of revenue, and as far as I am advised, " its imposition hereafter would not meet with opposition on the part of the " native Chiefs." By this augmentation, the Frontier Police Force was brought up to 548 non-commissioned officers and men, besides officers.

60. Writing again to the Secretary of State on 21st November 1896, Sir Frederic Cardew stated, "The West African has a traditional dislike to " direct taxation, such as a Hut Tax. This dislike is probably owing to the " harsh manner in which such tax has been levied in this Colony[1] in former " days, and, ever since it was swept away by a former Governor, the people have " always evinced great impatience at the idea of its being reinforced. . . . " This dislike to direct taxation has spread, I believe, to all the West African " Colonies, and necessarily into the Protectorate, but, as I have said, it must be " enforced if the administration of the Protectorate is to be carried out, and " therefore it is necessary to have sufficient force to uphold the authority of the " Government for this purpose. I do not apprehend much trouble when the " time comes in 1898 to impose this tax, but the sure way to prevent such " trouble is to have the necessary show of force."

61. I shall state separately the measures taken in the Karene, Ronietta, and Bandajuma districts. Though bearing much general resemblance, they were not identical. From the circumstance of the District Commissioner of Karene being absent on leave in England in the beginning of 1898, it happened that endeavours to collect the tax in that district were begun later than in either of the other two districts, yet it was in Karene that armed collision between the forces of the Government and the natives first occurred. Following, however, the chronological order, which I consider is most convenient in this narrative, I shall now briefly glance at the proceedings in the Ronietta and Bandajuma districts.

Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

(a) *In the Mendi Country.*

62. In Ronietta, Dr. Hood, Acting District Commissioner, sent in December 1897 a notice by letter to the principal Chiefs of that district, to the effect that the Hut Tax would become payable on 1st January 1898, and calling upon them then to make payment. The account which Dr. Hood gave in his evidence before me was to the effect that Madame Yoko paid some Hut Tax and Chief Smart, a Sub-Chief of Bai Kompah of Kwaia, also paid part of his tax, but against the order of his Paramount Chief, and that another Chief was anxious to pay but was not permitted; that he then wrote to the Governor, and Captain Moore was sent up and relieved him of the office of District Commissioner. XXIX. 85.

63. Dr. Hood's official report to the Governor was more ample. He stated that there was a disposition on the part of the majority of the Chiefs in Ronietta XXXI.

[1] NOTE.—This refers to a House and Road Tax formerly levied in the Colony of Sierra Leone, abolished in 1872.

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district to make no effort to pay the Hut Tax, that the Mabanta and Bagru districts were in a very disturbed state, that the Timbi, Bumpe, and Ribbi were quiet, but had done nothing towards payment; that the Sub-Chiefs of Kwaia were more or less prepared to pay, but that the two principal Chiefs were opposing; that the Mendis under Madam Yoko had paid a certain amount, which Dr. Hood thought had been paid by Madam Yoko herself to make the officials think an effort is being made by her people; and that the majority of her Sub-Chiefs were paying very little attention to her orders unless for his assistance, and "if only the Paramount Chiefs could be made to give the "necessary orders to their respective Sub-Chiefs, a great effort would be made "by the people to pay the tax." Upon receiving this report Sir Frederic
XXXII. Cardew placed Captain Moore, an Inspector and the adjutant of the Frontier Police, in charge of Ronietta district, relegating Dr. Hood to his normal position of medical officer, and expressed his views on the situation in a Minute communicated to Captain Moore.

64. Previous to Dr. Hood being relieved some steps had been taken by him. A Sub-Chief of Kwaia—Charles Smart—who much desired to stand well with the Government (who, I recently learned, was convicted of suborning false evidence in trials lately held before Deputy Judge Bonner, and sentenced to twelve months' hard labour) had paid his tax, or part of it, and made charges against his Supreme Chiefs of having intimidated him. Upon this, Bai Kompah, the principal Chief of Kwaia, and Pa Nembana, the second in rank, were summoned before Dr. Hood. Not presenting themselves immediately, an assistant-inspector of Police (Captain Warren), with about twenty policemen, were sent to bring them. Pa Nembana was first apprehended and brought in
1247. handcuffs to where Bai Kompah was. Bai Kompah, who was an old man, and
2345. 5299. then in bed with a cough, was dragged out of bed and from his room by the
7824. officer and two or three men in spite of his struggles. He is said, by a native
7825. 7833. witness and by himself, to have been kicked and a revolver held to his head.
5306. Captain Warren admits giving him a shove with his knee, and Chief Smart, who
8380–8386. was an unwilling witness in this matter, said that Bai Kompah, when brought out of the room, complained of having been kicked, and afterwards he repeated this complaint. Bai Kompah objected very much to being taken to Kwalu, and after a long contention Captain Warren allowed him to go to Freetown to represent matters to the Governor, but virtually as a prisoner, putting him in charge of two Frontier Policemen. He went to Freetown; saw Sir Frederic
1240–1252. Cardew; made his complaint; asked that the stipend which the Government had been in use to pay to him should be retained as against the Hut Tax claimed from him. He was referred to the District Commissioner at Kwalu, and threatened with arrest if he remained in Freetown. He wrote to Sir Samuel Lewis, passionately representing his grievances, and asking him to intercede with the Governor, on behalf of himself and his people. A charge of resisting with arms the authority of the Government was made against him by the District Commissioner of Ronietta district, and the Governor informed him (10th March 1898) that he would hold no communication with him, and that he must surrender himself to the District Commissioner at Kwalu, otherwise he would be arrested. Bai Kompah after a time returned to his country, and shortly afterwards died. Bai Kompah had been a very loyal Chief, and all the

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Kwaia country (which abuts upon the Colony of Sierra Leone) had been very loyal. Amongst his countrymen he was considered a special friend of the English.

65. Captain Moore took charge of Ronietta district on 21st January. He 7749.
tells us that he knew the reason he was appointed was that the tax would have to be collected by force, that there was resistance offered, and that the people were arming. His first act seems to have been to dispose of the case of Pa Nembana, as to which Dr. Hood had said he thought the Governor ought to be consulted.

66. Pa Nembana, who was next in rank to Bai Kompa in the Kwaia, was taken as a prisoner to Kwalu and put upon his trial on the information of Chief Smart. The charge was (1) Intimidating Chief Charles Smart, in that he unlawfully conspired with other Chiefs to prevent Chief Smart in paying his lawful dues, 'the House Tax,' and using his influence with other Chiefs to do the same. (2) Not obeying the orders of the Acting District Commissioner contained in a letter of 31st December 1898. The sentence awarded by Captain Moore, Acting District Commissioner, was (1) deprivation of his Chieftainship, an order the District Commissioner had no jurisdiction to make; (2) twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour, the hard labour being also outside of the XXXIV.
District Commissioner's jurisdiction; and (3) thirty-six lashes. Fortunately the Governor remitted the lashes. It will be seen on looking at the evidence 8008.
which is printed in the Appendix, that there is no evidence of conspiracy, nor of intimidation, what was said by Pa Nembana not being a threat,but a warning of danger. The second count in the charge expresses no offence; the duty of paying the Hut Tax is under the Protectorate Ordinance a civil liability (Section43-49): no order or warning to pay could convert the non-payment into a crime. The District Commissioner's letter is simply in the position of a tax-gatherer's notice.

67. Captain Moore's next act was to call a meeting of the Chiefs. Some sixty or seventy Paramount and Sub-Chiefs attended upon his invitation at 7754.
Kwalu, the headquarters of Ronietta district, about 24th or 25th January. Before 7755.
they met, a statement was made to him by one of the Chiefs, Foula Mansa of Yonni, that all the Chiefs had taken an oath to resist the Government in the 7756.
collection of the Hut Tax. Captain Moore states that at the meeting he demanded from the Chiefs a definite promise to pay the Hut Tax, otherwise he would arrest them, allowing them to answer on the second day, and that as on the second day they still demurred, he arrested ten or twelve of the Paramount Chiefs; and that on the next day after this the Chiefs agreed to pay the tax, and did so, 'after an interval of a month or so.' It does not however appear that they were set at liberty upon giving the promise: they "were told that they "would have to remain at Kwalu till they had paid a certain amount to show 4969.
"that they intended to agree to pay the tax." This was not stated by Captain Moore but by Captain Fairtlough, who took charge of the Ronietta District on 17th March, and who says he found the Chiefs, or several of them, at Kwalu 4975.
when he went there.

68. I glance now at the means adopted in Bandajuma district in initiating 302.
the collection of the tax. After intimating that the time for payment of the tax had arrived, the District Commissioner (Captain Carr) called a meeting of influential Chiefs on 3rd January. After some talk it was adjourned until 10th 4331.
January. At this meeting four important Chiefs were Thomas Bongo (Head Chief of Bandajuma), Baha of Mafwi, Berri of Bongo, and Sissi Koki of Jong 4333.

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7232. (who represented Queen Betsa Gay), and many Sub-Chiefs and others, were present. Captain Carr asked the Chiefs if they were ready to pay the tax. The principal Chiefs said that 5s. a house was too much, and that they could not pay. Captain Carr caused them to be arrested, and they were detained for
2941-2945. two days in the police lock-up, and were then transferred to Bandajuma. At this meeting there was a very large gathering of country people, estimated by
4337. Captain Carr at from 4000 to 5000, but by a witness, Nicoll, at about 8000.
2982. The Chiefs behaved submissively, and by one of their Santiggis (or speakers) admonished the people not to make any disturbance, but each one to go to his own place quietly. There was much angry murmuring. Some days after this the people's talk was that as paying the tax meant that the country was taken
4343. away, they would rather die than allow this, and they greatly resented the
2997.
2991. arrest of the Chiefs, and there was ominous talk as to what might happen. About this time Chief Vandi of Krim arrived by Captain Carr's invitation; he was arrested and placed with the four Chiefs already arrested.

XXXIII. 69. The behaviour of the people, as Captain Carr himself described in an unofficial report, might have given warning of the danger that was impending. After stating that in the week which intervened between the first and second meetings the Chiefs had held several meetings, at which (as he learned from spies) "they all agreed not to pay, or attempt to pay, for their own country." He goes on: "To-day at the meeting there were between 4000 and 5000 men "After arresting the Chiefs I dispersed the crowd, and assembled them in an "open space outside the town. I stayed with them about an hour, taking things "very quietly, walking amongst them, etc. The slightest wavering or half-"heartedness would have acted like a spark, although, of course, I was fully "prepared; but I am glad of a bloodless result. At the same time, I am, I regret "to say, not one inch nearer the collecting of the tax. I am writing officially to "ask how I am to deal with the Chiefs."

70. Some Sierra Leone people at Mafwi, who had paid the House Tax, became alarmed at the threatening appearance of affairs, and made a representation to
4346. Captain Carr, asking him to discharge the Chiefs from prison, believing, from the
4347. rumours that they had heard, that their lives were not safe if the Chiefs were not released. Captain Carr replied that it was absolutely impossible. Shortly after this, on 12th January, the Chiefs were removed under police escort to Bandajuma. They were detained there until Chief Bongo borrowed £10, paid
4355. £5 for his own town and £5 for Berris town, and gave some sort of undertaking for payment by the other Chiefs. After returning to Mafwi Chief Bongo called a meeting of his Sub-Chiefs and also Sierra Leone people. He told them about his sufferings in prison, and the Sub-Chiefs appear to have agreed, under the
4358-4365. pressure that had been used, to pay the tax, although with reluctance. It may be of some interest to mention that two of the Chiefs arrested and imprisoned, Bongo and Baha, were members of the Wesleyan Church at Mafwi. It has been
2281. stated that while the Chiefs were prisoners at Bandajuma a messenger from Chief Animo of Sinkima came to Mafwi at night bearing a burnt leaf (which is a symbol of war) and asked the people to go to Bandajuma and take the Chiefs out of prison by force. In the morning the people went to consult, and then there was a rumour that war would ensue.

71. I have collected the fact of these arrests and the attendant circumstances

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from the oral statements of other witnesses, Captain Carr having forgotten, or not deemed it requisite, in giving his evidence, to communicate the information, or indeed to make it known to me, that there had been any difficulty in the tax collection in his district. Sir Frederic Cardew in his evidence quoted an unofficial report by Captain Carr of the matter, which tallies well with the statements of the witnesses. The arrests and imprisonments were not legal under the law of the Protectorate Ordinance, or any other law under which the District Commissioner was authorised to act.[1]

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XXXIII.

72. During the imprisonment of these Chiefs the acting Attorney-General (Mr. Hudson) was consulted, upon what statement of facts or upon what questions I was unable to obtain definite information, as Captain Carr's official report of the proceedings had been mislaid and could not be traced, nor could the minute of reference by the Governor to Mr. Hudson, nor the instruction to Captain Carr

[1] The clauses of the Protectorate Ordinance, 1897, relating to the Hut Tax, are as follows :—

House Tax

XLIII. From and after the first day of January 1898, every Chief, in respect of every house, other than a house owned or occupied by any person not a native, or a person in the service of the Government, situate in any town or village in which he may have jurisdiction, and every person other than a native or a person in the service of the Government, residing in the Protectorate, in respect of every house owned or occupied by him, shall, save as hereinafter provided, be bound to pay to the District Commissioner, or to some person nominated by him, an annual House Tax. And such tax shall be assessed on all houses owned or occupied at any time during the year next preceding that in respect of which such tax is payable.

Rates of Taxes.

XLIV. The liability of any person for payment of the House Tax shall be computed according to the number of rooms in each house, and they shall be taxed as follows :—

(*a*) For each house with four or more rooms, 10s. per annum ;

(*b*) For each house with three or any less number of rooms, 5s. per annum.

Tax, when payable.

XLV. The House Tax in respect of each year shall become payable on the 1st day of January of that year, and shall be paid on or after that date, on such day as shall be notified by the District Commissioner of each District, or other officer authorised in that behalf by the District Commissioner. Provided always that whenever a Chief shall have paid the full amount of House Tax for which he is liable at the time, and in the manner appointed for the payment thereof, the District Commissioner shall allow him a rebate not exceeding 5 per cent. on the amount so paid.

Tax to be paid in coin.

XLVI. The House Tax shall be paid in coin, unless the officer collecting the same has no alternative but to accept grain, stock, merchandise, or produce, when the value of such grain, stock, merchandise, or produce shall be deemed and taken to be the price current at the nearest available market at which such grain, stock, or produce can be disposed of.

Receipt.

XLVII. A receipt in form of Schedule A hereto, or in such form as the Governor may approve, for the amount of tax paid by each person, signed by the officer receiving the same, shall be delivered to the person paying the same.

Taxes, Recovery of.

XLVIII. If any person or persons liable to pay any taxes under the provisions of this or any other Ordinance shall refuse or neglect to pay the same at the time and in the manner hereinbefore appointed for the payment thereof, the District Commissioner for the time being is hereby empowered and authorised to levy the taxes on the goods and chattels of such defaulters. Provided that in the case of a Chief who is in receipt of a stipend from the Crown, the District Commissioner may, in the first instance, levy the tax on such stipend, and, if such stipend should prove insufficient, then on the goods and chattels of such Chief for the balance.

Goods levied on by District Commissioners to be sold.

XLIX. All goods and chattels which shall be levied upon by the District Commissioner shall be sold by him at public auction to the best bidder, and the sum or sums of money arising from such sale the said District Commissioner shall apply to the payment of the taxes imposed by this Ordinance, and all charges attending such levy and sale, and shall return the overplus (if any) to the person or persons entitled thereto.

. . . . . .

Levying of Taxes.

LXI. The District Commissioner of each District may, from time to time, by writing under his hand, appoint deputies to represent him in the execution of the powers hereinbefore conferred on him for the recovery of taxes, and it shall be lawful for any such deputy to exercise all the powers of the District Commissioner ; and all acts done by any such deputy in the execution of his powers shall be as valid and effectual, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been done by the District Commissioner.

. . . . . .

Limits of Taxation

LXIV. It shall be lawful for the Governor to declare, from time to time, by order, that any district or districts, or any portion or portions of any district or districts, or that any town, village, or house shall be exempt from the payment of House Tax, and to alter, amend, or revoke any such order or orders ; and all such orders and alterations, amendments or revocations thereof, when published in the Sierra Leone Royal Gazette, shall have the same force and effect for all purposes as if the same had been made by Ordinance.

. . . . . .

Fraudulent evasion of House Tax, etc.

LXXI. Any person who fraudulently evades payment of any House Tax, or Licence Duty, for which he is legally liable, or any part thereof, shall be guilty of an offence, and on proof thereof shall be liable to a fine not exceeding treble the amount of the tax or duty which he ought to have paid.

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as to his action towards the Chiefs, be produced. A part of an unofficial report
8580. from Captain Carr was however read by Sir F. Cardew in giving his evidence.
XXXIII. I referred Mr. Hudson's memorandum of opinion to him for the purpose of his making any observations on the subject he thought fit, but he considered it
XXXIV. unnecessary to do so. Mr. Hudson advised that the District Commissioners had power to try the Chiefs under Sections 67, 68, 69 of the Protectorate Ordinance,—a reading of the Ordinance which I am not able to consider in any way relevant to the circumstances which were being dealt with. If, however, the District Commissioner had been guided by Mr. Hudson's opinion, he would have tried the Chiefs on whatever charge he was advised could be supported, and not detained them as he did without trial.

73. On the day after Captain Carr's first meeting at Mafwe (4th January),
XXXVIII. Dr. Arnold was mobbed at Gbah when endeavouring to collect Hut Tax, and the situation seems to have been very serious. A warning of danger might have been read here also.

74. Some estimate may be formed as to the development of opposition to the Hut Tax in Bandajuma, from the fact of Sir F. Cardew telegraphing (about 12th January) for authority to send a company of the troops in garrison at Freetown to be stationed for a few months at Bandajuma, and asking
XXXVI. Captain Carr to report whether he was in a position to maintain order and carry out the collection of the House Tax without this support. Captain Carr's
XXXVII. reply, in which he asked for half a company of soldiers, showed that at this time he did not think the opposition was exhausted.

Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

(b) *In the Timini Country.*

75. Passing for the present from Ronietta and Bandajuma, I turn to Karene district, in which the attempt to collect the Hut Tax was begun latest. The strength and earnestness of the opposition of the Timini Chiefs and people had been manifested by the numerous and persevering efforts made to obtain relaxation of some of the enactments, so that shrewd observers were not unexpectant of resistance in the form of stoppage of trade roads or the like,
6396. modes of passive resistance not unknown in previous history, but that opposition should pass into armed hostility seems to have been utterly unanticipated —at all events by all who stood outside of the secret counsels of the Chiefs.

76. The collection, or rather the attempt to collect, was begun at Port Lokko, a considerable trading town situated on a creek which is tributary of the Rokell river, and which can be reached from Freetown by steamboat in about six hours. Here some natives of Sierra Leone, said to be from forty to sixty in number, were settled as traders, occupying stores and houses which they hired for rents from the aboriginal inhabitants. The District Commissioner (Captain Sharpe) had been, as already stated, absent in England, and on returning to his station of Karene had visited Port Lokko on the way, and intimated that he would return to collect the House Tax a few days afterwards. The traders raised the question whether the tax was payable by them as tenants, or by their landlords, which Captain Sharpe undertook to answer on his return. He returned to Port Lokko on Saturday, 5th February, and addressed himself to the collection. I have made much endeavour to find out

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from various witnesses, as well as from Captain Sharpe, the facts as they really occurred. The situation that he had to meet was no doubt one of some difficulty, but I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that his views, and perhaps his conduct also, as well as his report to Sir Frederic Cardew, written on the spur of the events, were somewhat affected by alarmist reports and statements received too readily from excited and nervous informants. Captain Sharpe, it should also be observed, gave his evidence seven months after the occurrences, after having been with the troops through a large portion of the campaign against Bai Bureh and his war-boys, and whilst he was in poor health, but I think he gave it candidly and justly so far as he remembered. XXXIX.

77. Upon Captain Sharpe asking the traders to pay their Hut Tax, they stated that while ready to pay so far as they themselves were concerned, they feared to do so on account of threats used by their landlords, and reverted to their previous proposal that the landlords and not they as tenants were the proper parties to pay the tax. They also said that if they paid the tax it would give them right to the houses. In order to remove the impediments, Captain Sharpe sent for Bokary Bamp, who was then acting as Chief of Port Lokko—the Alikarli (the real Chief) being then so unwell as to be incapable of attending to any business—and other Chiefs of Port Lokko. He asked Bokary Bamp as to the threats the traders had spoken about. It is apparent that the Chief was in a difficulty. He was no doubt aware that it had been agreed amongst the Timini Chiefs that the tax was not to be paid, and he did not wish to commit himself in a way which would imply that he was using his influence to induce payment; at the same time he did not desire to oppose Captain Sharpe. He said he did not wish to interfere between the traders and their landlords, with whom the matter really rested; that for himself he did not wish to say anything definite until he had consulted Bai Forki, who was Chief over him. "The other Chiefs," "the elders," "the big people," are expressions used by some other witnesses. Captain Sharpe stated that he did not hear Bokary Bamp say he wished to consult Bai Forki. It may easily have escaped him, the conversation being all through an interpreter, but there is very clear evidence that he did say so, and, moreover, it was a most natural wish for him to express in the circumstances. Captain Sharpe then made Bokary Bamp a prisoner, and detained him in his quarters in custody until the Monday morning. The Sierra Leone traders were again before Captain Sharpe on the Monday. They made the like difficulties as before; Captain Sharpe ordered them into custody, and they were shut up on the charge of refusing to pay the Hut Tax. Bokary Bamp was discharged on the Monday, and while the traders were in custody he went with four other Chiefs to ask him "to pity the poor "traders." Captain Sharpe asked Bokary if he was ready to let the people pay the tax. The Chief said, "If I get an order from Bai Forki I will order "the people to pay." On which Captain Sharpe told him he was going against the Ordinance, and that he would make him prisoner, and send him to Freetown. Mr. Crowther says that at this stage Bokary Bamp was charged with "refusing to pay the Hut Tax," and the four other Chiefs with aiding him. Captain Sharpe asked Bokary what he had to say, to which he answered, "I do not say I will not pay; I say I want to consult the other Chiefs." Then

3625.
2188–2192.
7639.
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he asked the other Chiefs what they had to say, and they said they did not aid Bokary Bamp not to pay. I consider Crowther's narrative may be relied on; he seemed to be without bias, and he was not taking an active part in these occurrences, so that he was probably free from excitement or pre-
3707. possession. Captain Sharpe attached much importance to two questions which he stated he put to the five Chiefs (1)—"Will you do your best to order all "your people not to molest the Sierra Leonians for paying their tax?" and (2) "Will you undertake to start collecting the Hut Tax due from you at "once?" and to each of these questions he stated that the five Chiefs separately answered in the negative. I need not point out that the not giving the promise not to molest is not an offence, and thus the only proceeding, if any, which could have been here justifiable, might have been to bind over the Chiefs to keep the peace. Nor was the declinature to promise to collect the tax an offence; a Chief is not by the Ordinance under any obligation to collect tax, but to pay it; he may collect if he chooses, but the Ordinance is silent on the subject, and provides no machinery for his doing so. There might moreover be cases—as for instance where a village or small town consisted only of the houses of a Chief's immediate retainers, in which case not only was it not his duty, but he would have no right to collect from them.
7640-7642. On the Chiefs answering as above stated, they were handcuffed and taken under Police escort to a boat which had been already made ready and carried off to Freetown. Many people were coming as if to rescue them. Bokary Bamp
6286. told them not to make any fight or trouble, and they made none. The five Chiefs were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for terms varying for a year to fifteen months. As far as I can gather, the sentences were for refusing to pay the Hut Tax. Captain Sharpe appears to have had in his
3698. mind, and to have expressed other charges against two of the Chiefs; against Bai Salamansa in respect, it was said, he had interfered with a servant of one of the Sierra Leone traders, who was carrying money for him to pay his tax. The charge does not seem to have been made in any sufficient form so as to admit of Bai Salamansa answering it, or to have been supported by any adequate evidence. Another charge which Captain Sharpe mentioned in his report to Sir Frederic Cardew was against Santiggi Keareh, viz. that he brought "Bai Bureh's war-boys" to rescue Bokary Bamp when detained in custody. Captain Sharpe states that he became informed of this through a
7630. report by Mr. Crowther, whilst Mr. Crowther stated that he could not have so reported to Captain Sharpe, as he had not formed the idea that Bai Bureh's people were in the town at the time in question, but that the people who came into Port Lokko that night were people from the outlying villages, who as well as the people of Port Lokko were excited and displeased on account of
6789 their Chief having been shut up. Mr. Crowther's view on this point is corroborated by separate and independent evidence. Mr. Crowther explained that
7654 after the Chiefs had been arrested and removed, and the tax had been to a certain extent collected, it was rumoured a number of Bai Bureh's people came with the purpose of avenging, if they could, the treatment to which the Chiefs had been subjected, and it seems as if Captain Sharpe may have failed in placing some of the occurrences in their actual sequence.

78. There is some discrepancy in the evidence as to the length of time

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the Sierra Leone traders were under imprisonment. Captain Sharpe stated that they were only bound over to appear in the first instance, and that the actual imprisonment was from Tuesday to Wednesday. This is corroborated by several witnesses, although others allege a longer period. Whilst they were in prison, a sergeant of Police was sent to distrain upon their goods. He reported the goods to have been in many cases removed, and that led to charges being made of "evading the Hut Tax." Some of the traders who Captain Sharpe said "had given no trouble," were discharged on the Tuesday night on making payment of the tax. Others were detained until the Wednesday, and then discharged upon payment of the tax, together with fines of from £5 to 5s., the alternative for the fines having been various terms of imprisonment with hard labour, in allotting which the Small Penalties Ordinance, which ought to have governed the alternatives, was not adhered to. 6300. 3687.

79. The practice in the Courts of the District Commissioners is to send a monthly Return of causes adjudicated to the Governor, and these are submitted for the advice of the Attorney-General. In the Return which includes the proceedings I have been narrating, there is found a statement of three charges against all the Chiefs, purporting to have been duly pleaded to, tried, and determined, viz., "(1) inciting others by threats to defy the law, offence under "Section 67 Protectorate Ordinance; (2) refusing to collect the House Tax "due, offence under Section 68 Protectorate Ordinance; (3) overawing by force "a public officer in the execution of his duty, Section 68 Protectorate Ordin-"ance." If the charge had really been as stated in the Return, it would of course have been bad for multiplicity, the District Commissioners being bound by the Protectorate Ordinance to observe as nearly as possible the law of Sierra Leone, which is English law. The sentences, which are in three cases imprisonment with hard labour for twelve months, and imprisonment with hard labour for fifteen months in two other cases, are bad in respect the offences stated (assuming they had been duly laid and proved) are not punishable with hard labour by any law in force in the Protectorate. When the warrants on which the Chiefs were imprisoned were looked at, I found that they stated a different offence from any of the three mentioned by Captain Sharpe in his Return, viz.: "Resisting and conspiring with others to resist a "public officer in the lawful exercise of his duty." Upon questioning Captain Sharpe, it appeared that he left such matters to his clerk, upon whom he "relied for legal points." XL. XLI. 3729.

Captain Sharpe's action in the matter I have narrated was approved of by Sir Frederic Cardew. XLII.

80. The Chiefs were put to labour as felons in the gaol of Freetown, until, upon the remonstrance of the Secretary for Native Affairs, some mitigation was made on their treatment. 1262. XLIII. (a), (b), (c).

81. Like the other District Commissioners, Captain Sharpe was obviously imbued with and acted on the initial idea that imperative and uncompromising *force* was the factor to be relied on for success in connection with the Hut Tax. He has himself stated that his attitude throughout the proceedings at Port Lokko was that there was a strong opposition to paying the Hut Tax, and that that opposition must be met by bringing the forces of the Government strongly 3751.

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to bear on it. Calmness, patience, and indulgence might have secured a peaceable victory, if a victory could have been secured at all.

82. Apart altogether from the law of the matter, the broad fact that these Chiefs were arrested, sentenced, and afterwards dealt with in gaol as malefactors, in connection with the attempt to collect the Hut Tax, was of the gravest significance. It aroused wonder and bitter indignation. I am tempted to quote a few of the very expressive words used by Bokary Bamp himself in reference
2180. to his position: "Since the time of our ancestors up to the present time there
2191. " has never been such disgrace to one of our Chiefs as this prison dress which I " wear. You can find our character in the records. No Chief crowned by the " Queen has been put into prison without disobeying the law, except this year. " . . . We have had to break stones. As I am telling you now, my heart is " bleeding with tears. . . . We have been brought to prison through the Hut Tax, " and our country is being destroyed." Feelings of the like kind were widely spread amongst a great many persons, who, looking on as sympathetic spectators, knew that they also were liable to treatment of the like character. Captain
3824. Sharpe even says that Bokary Bamp would be looked on as a martyr. I attach hardly any importance, politically, to the errors of law, as such, committed at Port Lokko, flagrant as they were, nor to those which occurred in the Ronietta and Bandajuma districts, but they are significant in another way—as showing how the intentions of Her Majesty's Government become abused and defeated when carefully framed rules of administration are overleaped or set aside by the officers intrusted with their execution. As matter of construction of the Ordinance, and as matter of inference from the manner in which the Queen's Government is wont to deal with aboriginal races, I am satisfied that it never was intended that those who neglected or delayed or even refused to pay the Hut Tax should be treated as felons. Yet that is what was done.

83. Another circumstance that followed immediately after the arrest and removal of the Port Lokko Chiefs tended to deepen the discontent and disaffection. That was the appointment to be acting Headman or Chief of Port Lokko of a person who had no right, according to native law and custom, to the position. The people have great reverence for the hereditary descent of the
6801. Chiefship, and are jealous for the right selection being made within the narrow circle of persons who are in such propinquity as to be deemed capable of succeeding, and all their feelings are outraged when a Chief who has not the requisite qualifications is set up by the *vis major* of the Government. There
6802, 5189. have been several instances of Chiefs created in this way since the Protectorate scheme was inaugurated, and all have been more or less failures. A man named Sori Bunki was selected by Captain Sharpe to act as Headman of Port Lokko
3737-3741. upon the recommendation of some resident traders and a police sergeant. He was one of the leading men of the town, had numerous followers, and was well
6900. disposed to the English Government. He set to work vigorously to collect the outstanding Hut Tax, with the aid of Frontier Policemen. He had none of the hereditary qualifications for his position; the family which had the qualification, and the people were angry or contemptuous. It was somewhat as if the English Government—to take an illustration from a troubled period of our own history—had set over some ancient Highland clan—a Clan Cameron or Clan Macdonald for instance—instead of their own chieftain, some upstart citizen of Glasgow or

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Inverness. The unfortunate Sori Bunki soon found his position so unpleasant and untenable that he deserted his post and started for Freetown, with the purpose of complaining to the Governor of the Colony. He was, however, 6909.
followed and overtaken by people of Port Lokko, and, there is good reason to 6943.
believe, was drowned by them in the Rokell river, although his actual fate had not as yet been positively traced when I left Sierra Leone.

84. Another matter I may mention in this connection, arising out of the troubled state of affairs which succeeded the measures taken for enforcing the Hut Tax, although it did not occur until 25th of February, was the killing of a young lad by the Police. The lad was Morbah Bangura, nephew of Bokary 3588.
Bamp and younger brother of Bai Bangura, who was in the rightful line of succession to the Chiefship of Port Lokko. He was, to use Captain Sharpe's expression, 'practically murdered in cold blood by the Frontier Police for **XLVII (a).**
refusing to give up his sword.' The occurrence caused a great deal of angry and excited feeling. It was not investigated until nearly six months afterwards, when the Police gave their own explanation. No outside witnesses were **XLII (b).**
available—at least none were examined; but it appeared on the statement of the Police that a constable had struck the lad on the back of the neck with the butt of his rifle, so that he died shortly afterwards; the excuse given being that he resisted an order to give up his sword. The policeman was awarded the apparently very insufficient penalty of three months' hard labour, and was afterwards dismissed from the Force.

85. The only other place than Port Lokko in the Karene district at which Hut Tax was collected before the outbreak was Magbele, where Captain Sharpe states that he met with a fair amount of success, the Chief and people having been terrorised by what had occurred at Port Lokko, and warned by a message sent to them from thence. The Chief had to borrow the money from traders at 4477–4482.
interest.

Enforcement of Hut-Tax.

(c) *Attempt to arrest Bai Bureh.*

86. Soon after the arrest of the Port Lokko Chiefs an attempt in connection with the Hut Tax collection to arrest Bai Bureh, Chief of the Kassi country, led to a collision between the Frontier Police and some of Bai Bureh's war-boys, which was the actual beginning of the war, so far as the Timini tribes were concerned in it. Bai Bureh came into much prominence as a war leader during the war between the Timinis and the Susus, when he, fighting for the former in 1873 to 1876, had extraordinary success. He had fought in alliance with the English, but he had not always been on the best of terms with them. On one occasion he refused to come to Port Lokko to meet the Governor unless guaranteed against arrest, to which he had evidently a very strong aversion. 3780.
He came upon the required guarantee being given, and was fined. At the time of the collection of the Hut Tax there appears to have been, however, no outstanding quarrel. Captain Sharpe narrates having had a friendly interview with him about the beginning of 1897.

87. I have very carefully examined the circumstances of the attempted

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XLII. arrest I am now narrating. It was initiated by Captain Sharpe, but was approved by Sir Frederic Cardew, who sent the Inspector-General of Police (Major Tarbet) and a reinforcement of Frontier Police to assist. Captain Sharpe has
3769. stated that his proposal to arrest Bai Bureh was the result of a letter which he wrote to him, and which Bai Bureh sent back to him unopened, with a contemptuous and defiant message. There is very clear evidence, however, that the letter never reached Bai Bureh, and that he sent no message. According to Captain Sharpe's recollection, he had sent the letter by Lance-Corporal Samuel Williams. It turned out to have been sent by Lance-Corporal Stephen Williams, but I examined both these men separately. Stephen
7577. Williams stated that whilst carrying the letter, he had been stopped by Bai Bureh's war-boys at a place called Katinki on the way to the town where Bai Bureh was supposed to be at the time; the war-boys told him they had orders to permit no Police or Government carriers to pass, because Captain Sharpe wanted to send to Bai Bureh to ask for the tax, and that being thus unable to pass, he brought back the letter to Captain Sharpe, telling him what had occurred and what the war-boys had said. Stephen Williams was corroborated by Samuel Williams. The two lance-corporals met on the road
7358. as Stephen Williams was going on his errand, and Samuel Williams stated in evidence that Stephen Williams had told him, as they met, respecting the letter he was charged to carry, and respecting his being stopped by war-boys at Katinki, and not allowed to proceed on to Bai Bureh, just as Stephen Williams had stated in his evidence before me. There was also corroboration from what Bai Bureh himself said to the Rev. Allan Elba,
5643. who had an interview with him afterwards in April, viz. that he had never been asked to pay the Hut Tax. Both Samuel and Stephen Williams were intelligent men. Each gave his evidence straightforwardly, and neither had any conceivable motive for fabrication. It is of course conceivable that as, after the arrest of the Port Lokko Chiefs, the whole air was full, so to speak, of rumours and alarms respecting Bai Bureh, Williams might have been unable to resist the impulse to invent an inflated message as coming from Bai Bureh, but I do not think this is probable: it is more probable that Captain Sharpe misapprehended Williams, taking some rambling talk of the war-boys, which Williams might not unnaturally repeat, as being the answer of Bai Bureh. Be this as it may, it seems clear that Bai Bureh expected to be asked to pay the tax, that he did not mean to pay it, and believed that thereupon endeavour would be made to arrest him and treat
3860. him as the Chiefs of Port Lokko had been treated. Captain Sharpe had intimated that intention in Port Lokko soon after arresting the five Chiefs:
5615. " He was telling the people, 'I will go and arrest Bai Bureh, and you will see
5194. " 'him on his way Freetown.' Another witness spoke of these words having been used: 'Go and tell him I shall go to-morrow and catch him and handcuff " 'him.' He spoke in English. The people standing round heard and understood." No doubt what was said was repeated to Bai Bureh with additions, and Captain
3863–3864. Sharpe himself admits that he may have used stronger expressions—that Bai Bureh would be captured dead or alive.

XLIV. XLV. 88. Captain Sharpe made a report in writing to Sir F. Cardew of the attempted arrest and its failure, and Major Tarbet made also a report. I have

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supplemented these reports by oral evidence from Captain Sharpe, Inspector Crowther; and Sergeant Wilson, etc. I also obtained some evidence from Lance-Corporal Stephen Wilson. Major Tarbet, who was in command of the Constabulary, was out of the Colony on leave of absence, and, I believe, has resigned his Colonial appointment. The facts which I have gathered from the oral evidence are not quite identical with the reports. In brief outline they are as follows: The force consisted of forty-six non-commissioned officers and men of the Frontier Police, a number of whom were recent recruits. Major Tarbet and Captain Sharpe went with this force to Romani, where they expected to find Bai Bureh. He was not there, or chose not to show himself. A large number of war-boys were in and about the town and its approaches. It was a walled town with wooden gates; one gate was closed, but was easily opened, and the party marched through it without any opposition. Having halted the Police on the further side of the town, Captain Sharpe, with a bugler, followed by Inspector Crowther and two Frontier Policemen, went back into the town to make inquiries. They there seized a man and drew him outside to question him. He struggled, was wounded on the head, was bleeding, and made a great outcry. Inspector Crowther mentions that he got the wound by Captain Sharpe striking him on the head with a short stick, having a knob of lead or iron on it. Captain Sharpe did not deny this, although not admitting it in terms. The wounding of this man excited the war-boys. They pressed upon the Police party, threw tufts of grass and some stones, and jeered at them. None of the party were, however, hurt. It marks the want of discipline in the Police that one of them, without any orders, was aiming at the man who had been seized, and was now running away, when Inspector Crowther ordered him not to fire. It became apparent that the intended arrest would not be made, and apprehension was felt for the baggage, of which there was a large quantity. The order was given to march for Karene, and the column set out, apparently in some confusion. The war-boys followed jeering and throwing stones. After they had gone on for some distance in this way, an order was given to the Police to fire. Some discrepancy of statement exists as to this, not unnatural in the excitement and confusion of the circumstances. Captain Sharpe states that they had gone several miles from Romani with the following of war-boys when the firing began, and that the firing was from the rear-guard and independent firing. Mr. Crowther says they had gone about one hundred yards, and that the firing was two volleys from the whole force. Sergeant Wilson says that they had got about five hundred yards from Romani, that about five volleys were fired by the rear-guard, and that there was also firing by the main body. Some of the war-boys made a rush on the baggage and carried off some of it; it is not clear whether before the firing or after it had begun. The number of the war-boys killed or wounded by the Police was not ascertained. A few were seen to drop. The war-boys returned the fire, but only a few shots, and none of the Police were struck.

3788–3811. 7663–7668. 6319–6365. 7364–7384. 6321–6369. 7663. 3838. 6347. 7378–7383. 3965. 3797. 3801. 7663. 6346. 6347-56.

89. Following the facts as they thus actually occurred, it seems hardly to admit of doubt that the gathering of war-boys with which the Police got in collision, was made by Bai Bureh in order to resist his own arrest, which he believed would be attempted on his non-payment of the Hut Tax. Whether as standing

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alone or as one of a Timini confederacy, he had made up his mind not to pay the tax; if he had meant to pay, he would have had no fear of arrest. It may be taken as certain that he knew what had occurred at Port Lokko. It is almost certain also that he knew about the arrest and sentence on Pa Nembana, and the arrest and accompanying insults to Bai Kompah—both these Chiefs being Timinis, as he was, nor is it improbable that he knew also of the arrest and imprisonment of the Bandajuma Chiefs—for it is a well-known fact that every sort of information, especially such as intimately concerns the public affairs of the tribes, travels with great rapidity in the Protectorate. Determined that a similar fate should not overtake himself, if he could prevent it, he put forward such strength as he had at his disposal in order to protect himself. The words which Inspector Crowther reports as used by the war-boys at Romani, which he, being a Timini, readily understood—"If you are going
7663. "to Karene the road is open, if you go to Bai Bureh there is no way," entirely
6339. correspond with the view that the purpose of this force was defensive. That the force followed the Police a short distance on their route to Karene may have been from curiosity, or the unconsidered impulse to jeer at their retreat, or there may have been a more set purpose of seeing that they did not double back in the direction in which Bai Bureh had gone. The firing by the Police on Bai Bureh's men would no doubt confirm his belief of the aggressive measures intended against him, and confirm him in his purpose of resistance by such means as were in his power. As the war thus arose out of Bai Bureh's opposing armed force to the armed forces employed to enforce the Hut Tax against him, it seems beyond controversy that this war may properly be said to have arisen directly from the Hut Tax.

90. One other supposition is not inadmissible, although I think it is less probable, that the 'war-boys' were not assembled with the purpose of resisting the threatened arrest, but for a religious ceremony or for some other unascertained purpose, and that the encounter with the Police was fortuitous so far as Bai Bureh was concerned. But on this supposition the encounter was not fortuitous as concerned the forces of the Government, but occurred as an incident in their endeavour to enforce the Hut Tax. On either supposition it was by this
XLVIII. encounter that the war was initiated. It was followed by the Governor sending a company from the troops in garrison in Freetown to assist the Police. The primary object of the reinforcement was to garrison Karene so as to allow a larger force of Police than in the first attempt, to be available for a further attempt to arrest Bai Bureh; if the Police failed the troops were then to be called on to assist. The passage of the troops and Police through the country was opposed, and a series of operations was carried on whose object was thus stated
3896. by Captain Sharpe:—"The impression that I had was that, being unable to "arrest him (Bai Bureh), we destroyed his country and that of other Chiefs "also, whom we were unable to arrest." After Bai Bureh began to resist the Police and troops, he was joined by other Chiefs with their war contingents, who recognised that he was fighting their battle against the much-detested Hut Tax. It ought to be emphasised that *the arrest of Bai Bureh which was intended, and the attempt to effect which led to the collision, was aggression pure and simple on the part of the authorities.* Even if it were thought that refusal to pay the tax would justify arrest, the evidence clearly shows that when

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Captain Sharpe marched against Bai Bureh no demand had reached him, and that he had not refused to pay. In Sir F. Cardew's minute of 15th February there are allusions to charges against Bai Bureh, of which he is expected to be convicted, whilst as yet he had committed no offence. XLII.

91. The character of the war as on the side of the Native forces, except in two attacks upon Port Lokko and another upon Karene, was defensive, probably the only mode of fighting possible to them as against troops having European organisation. It is well to remember the fact that they waged no warfare except against the troops and Police. There were missionary and trading stations absolutely at their mercy; but there were no plundering raids, and not a trader or missionary was killed, with the exception of the missionary, Mr. Humphreys, who lost his life through persisting in pressing on upon a journey along a particular road against the warnings of the war-men, who told him that they could not permit him to pass, and it even appeared that in killing him the men acted of their own accord, and not by the order of any one in authority. Mr. Elba in narrating his interview with Bai Bureh said that he appeared to be sorry for the occurrence.

92. It would be of no purpose to follow the details of the military operations. A succinct account of these has been supplied by Colonel Marshall, and I refer to his evidence, and to a copy of the despatch which he was good enough to furnish to me. Bai Bureh made repeated overtures for a termination of the war; once in March, another through the Rev. Mr. Elba, who had an interview with Bai Bureh by his invitation, apparently with the purpose that he should be a medium of communication with the Government. Again in May, through Chief Saluku of Bumban. Again in June, Alimami Baba of Robaba and some other Chiefs addressed Sir F. Cardew, expressing desire to effect a peace. Probably this communication was known to and prompted by Bai Bureh. The last overture that I am aware of was a communication to myself on 3rd October, through the Chief of the Muslems of Sierra Leone, to which, after satisfying myself as to its authenticity, I replied. I believe a similar overture reached Sir F. Cardew about the same time. I informed Sir F. Cardew of the communication I had received, and of my reply, and have annexed copies of the correspondence. A reward of £50 was offered on 14th March for the capture of Bai Bureh, which was afterwards increased to £100, without result—evidence of the fidelity of those who were about him. LVI. 5782-5848. 5637. 6751-6772. XLIX.-LV. LVIII.

93. The result of the war operations in the Timini country, not including Kwaia country, was, up to the time the Imperial troops were withdrawn at the beginning of the last rainy season, as affecting the natives, the laying waste of a country of about thirty miles' radius round Karene, and the destruction of 97 towns and villages, having an aggregate population of over 44,000. The number of killed and wounded, and of aged persons, women, and children, who suffered indirectly, is not known. On the side of the Government forces there was a total of casualties of 140. This includes thirteen officers and men killed in action or who died of wounds; five died of disease, fifty-three only slightly wounded, the remainder severely wounded. In addition, the casualties estimated amongst labourers was 137—their nature less particularly ascertained. LVI.

94. There seems to have been no correct information as to Bai Bureh's fighting strength when it was determined to send Imperial troops to the support of

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the Police, and only one company of the First West India regiment was sent up in the first instance for this purpose. This was probably a mistaken policy, likely to give the impression to Bai Bureh and those who joined with him, either that the resources of the Government were small, or that its action was half-hearted. Some valuable time appears to have been lost in conveying supplies into Karene, entailing marches overland of twenty-four miles from Port Lokko, where the transit by sea from Freetown ends. Major Bourke, who was in command of
LIX. Port Lokko, reported on 29th March very strongly on this subject, and against maintaining the garrison at Karene, which was also commented on by Colonel Marshall. There were probably, however, valid political and other reasons
LVI. for keeping Karene safe against any attack that might be made on it, and the military situation was afterwards much improved by the establishment of intermediate posts between Karene and Port Lokko. There seems to have been some want of precaution in marching the troops along bush paths without sufficient flanking skirmishers, and without sufficient information as to the position of the war-boys, through which it happened that from time to time the column was surprised by the fire from stockades near the road, the existence of which was not known until the fire opened.

Enforcement of Hut-Tax.

(d) *Operations in Kwaia.*

95. Aside from the rising in the Karene country, and also from that in the Mendi country, were certain expeditions into Kwaia, inhabited by Timinis, of which mention ought to be made. Besides the occasion on which Pa Nembana was arrested and taken away as a prisoner, and Bai Kompah was taken and allowed to go to Freetown as already narrated, Kwaia was three times traversed by expeditionary forces—in February, March, and April 1898. First there was an expedition which started from Kwalu on 19th February, under Dr. Hood as Deputy-Commissioner of Ronietta, with a sergeant and ten Frontier Policemen with the object of arresting Bai Kompah. He was not found, however, and this expedition returned to Kwalu without apparently having had any hostile collision with the people.

LX. 96. Next there was an expedition under Captain Moore, which started on 1st March, with a force of Frontier Police under a Sub-Inspector, and joined on their march by Captain Fairtlough with a contingent, the force then numbering about forty. Captain Moore reported to the Governor seven encounters with hostile natives: (1) Exchanged shots with the natives at Robia; (2) An attack on his party by natives at Rokonta, repulsed with "considerable loss";
7773. (3) An attack on his baggage at Makompa, repulsed with the slaying of the leader and "numerous others"; (4) Considerable opposition on his march to Ro-Mangeh by war-boys in the bush, effectually disposed of by the Frontiers; (5) Continued attack on march to Maketti, considerable numbers of natives "knocked over by rapid volleys by the Police"; (6) An attack at Robia, repulsed with loss; (7) Night-attack at Robia, determined attempt to rush the town, natives driven off after three-quarter hour's firing, leaving a large number on the field. Finally, he burned Robia and Makompa, and returned to

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Kwalu on 11th March, from which place his report is dated on 12th March. Robia was one of the sacred towns of Kwaia, containing the burial-places of Chiefs. *Only one boy* belonging to the Police was slightly wounded in the whole of these encounters lasting over a week. Captain Moore did not give information as to the number of natives killed in any of them. It appears that Captain Moore undertook this expedition and carried it out on his own responsibility, and solely on the information of Chief Smart, whom I have already mentioned, and who, there is strong reason to believe, was not disinterested. Captain Moore stated that he "heard they were arming" from the Governor, but Sir F. Cardew, when asked whether there was any evidence or information with regard to this expedition outside of Captain Moore's report, stated: "Not that I am aware of; I should always act upon a report of a "District Commissioner. If the District Commissioner makes a report, I "should act on it. I think the Governor should leave the charge of the "district to the District Commissioner, and hold him responsible." It is somewhat curious that Captain Fairtlough stated in his oral evidence that Captain Moore "had virtually to retreat out of Kwaia," whilst there is not the slightest indication of this in Captain Moore's report, nor in Captain Fairtlough's carrier-pigeon despatch of 8th March to the Governor of Sierra Leone, when the work of the expedition appeared to be finished.

7813. LXI. 7771. 8586. 4991. LXII.

97. The next expedition into Kwaia was one under Captain Fairtlough, starting from Kwalu on 5th April, and returning about 27th April. He was accompanied by Captain Warren and fifty men of the Frontier Police. Captain Fairtlough had been desired by the Governor to go to Forodugu, in Kwaia, on a rumour that the trade on the Rokelle river had been blocked. As to the rest he was acting on the information given him by Chief Fulla Mansa of Yonni, and Chief Charles Smart. A considerable number of Fulla Mansa's "war-boys" formed part of the expedition. Captain Fairtlough reported to the Governor a number of the incidents of the expedition: (1) Being attacked at Mafuluma, dispersing the assailants with the loss of six killed and several wounded; (2) Another attack by a further force of natives, driven off with a loss of seven killed—no Frontier Police hurt, but two of Fulla Mansa's natives killed and one wounded, destroyed Mafuluma and Maseraconti; (3) Met war-boys at Batipo, dispersed with loss of several men; (4) Attacked at Mayumera by natives in the afternoon, and again in the night—repulsed mainly by Fulla Mansa, killing the leader and several followers; (5) Marched on Fondo, meeting natives in ambush nearly all the way firing from bush; (6) Natives in force at Fundo, dispersed with loss of Chief and several followers killed and wounded; (7) A village close by was destroyed, a large party dispersed, nine natives killed, one friendly wounded; (8) Night-attack on Fundo, dispersed with loss; (9) Drove rebels from Rofuta and destroyed the village, Fulla Mansa losing two killed; (10) Dispersed a gathering at Marifa, where there was a strong mud fort and watch-tower; (11) Dispersed a large party close to Romabong, which was destroyed; (12) Drove rebels from Robia and destroyed the town—dispersed war-party at Forodugu with five killed and many wounded; (13) Attack on Forodugu, repulsed and followed to Magbene, a headman and twenty-five men killed; (14) Chief and fifteen followers put off to cross the river in canoe, killed

4999. LXIII.

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six of the crew and upset the canoe, the rest only saved by swimming if they could; (15) Party near Majakson repulsed with loss, and destroyed Majakson and Ropolong; (16) At Masengli several boats full of people endeavouring to escape across the river sunk, and fugitives intercepted—destroyed town of Robamp. *There is no report of any of the Frontier Police having received so much as a scratch* during this series of fights and ambushes extending over a period of three weeks. Captain Fairtlough reported that through Fulla Mansa, whom he had appointed acting Paramount Chief of Kwaia, he collected over £200 of Hut Tax on this expedition.

98. In comparing these official reports with the evidence given by inhabitants of Kwaia, it is remarkable that whilst the latter are in accord with the reports
7266. as to the towns burned and destroyed, and indeed mention a further number
7279. of other towns and villages destroyed, they are not at all in accord as to the
7317. warlike opposition which both Captain Moore and Captain Fairtlough report
7411-7435. that they met with. They deny that there was fighting or opposition on the
7394-7406. part of the Kwaia people. They point in corroboration of this statement to the fact that the Chiefs of the country were not taking part in resistance, and that it is not in accordance with usage for the people to organise a resistance without the Chiefs. This is true, and at the time in question, of the two head Chiefs of Kwaia, one was in prison at Freetown undergoing a sentence, and the other was a fugitive in hiding from apprehended arrest. It is a fact shown by both classes of evidence that the greatest loss of life was caused by the native
5355. contingent under Chiefs Foula Mansa and Smart, and the native witnesses
7326. state that in Captain Fairtlough's expedition a number of girls and boys were
5272. taken away from Kwaia as prisoners, a feature illustrative of the character of the warfare apparently unknown to Captain Fairtlough. Even from his report it is obvious that Captain Fairtlough allowed the native contingent to act independently on some occasions. Add that the Paramount Chief Bai Kompah
LXV. had promised, previously to either of these expeditions, that he and his people
7411. had made up their minds to pay Hut Tax, and intended no resistance—although
7416. he said, justly enough, that the collection could not be made all at once. There is evidence also that when Bai Kompah heard of the expeditions going into Kwaia, his order was that there should be no resistance, but that the people should secure themselves, if it should be necessary, by escaping into the bush.
LXIX. It should be added that these expeditions took place when as yet the disastrous rising in the Mendi country had not begun, and that afterwards, when this rising, which would have been the opportunity for the Kwaia people taking effective action if they had intended any such, they not only took no part with the Mendis, but made no attempt to raid any of the outlying villages of the Colony which were adjacent to Kwaia, and had little, if any, means of defence against a rush.

99. The conclusion that appears to me to be most probable is that on the occasion of Captain Moore's expedition there were some "war-boys" in the bush, and that these may perhaps have come together with an idea of opposing the arrest of their Chief Bai Kompah, yet that they had hardly any organisation, that their purpose was most feeble, and that, so far as any attack was made by them, it is not improbable that they were goaded on to attack by the aggressive proceedings of the expedition. Captain Moore, it

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is obvious, entered on his expedition with the expectation of meeting hostility, and he stated in his oral evidence that his men never lost an opportunity. As 7774.
to the supposed hostility with which Captain Fairtlough alleges himself to have been met I have even greater doubt. It seems to be quite within probability that he was misled as to the attitude of the Kwaia people by the Chiefs Foula Mansa and Smart, who had joined the expedition doubtless on the expectation of finding war, and who, as well as all their followers, would have been disappointed if war had not been found. The stoppage of the Roquelle river, if it existed, would have been no evidence whatever of an attitude of more active war. It is a well-known species of passive resistance when no other species of resistance is either thought possible or intended. The Hut Tax was being paid, and a large sum was collected, which does not accord with the notion that there was a determined warlike opposition, but accords far better with Bai Kompah's promise that the tax would be paid, and that there would not be opposition.

100. It is very regrettable that the accusations made by Bai Kompah LXV.
against Chief Smart were not investigated. Sir F. Cardew refused to entertain the charges, and it does not seem that they came to the knowledge of the District Commissioner of Ronietta, except in the vague allusion in the Governor's LXVI.
minute. If he did, he seems to have given no heed to them. This may be remarked as an example of the ill effects flowing from an excessive relegation of absolute discretion to District Commissioners. There is much ground to believe 6001–2.
that Chief Smart had reasons of his own to serve in making up a case against the Chiefs of Kwaia, and it has been proved that he is unreliable. Chief Foula Mansa, like Chief Smart, desired to stand very well with the English Government, and doubtless was willing, without nicely weighing the merits, to join the District Commissioner in an expedition in which he and his war-boys would have opportunity of indulging in some of their old predatory instincts.

101. Whether beyond passive disaffection there was some opposition rising into overt acts on the part of the Kwaia people against either of the expeditions, or whether there was none,—as apart from other evidence the all but total absence of casualty on the side of the Police so strongly suggests —it can hardly be doubted that the vengeance taken by the killing of fifty-eight persons enumerated, and many others not enumerated, in Captain Fairtlough's expedition, and the indefinite numbers not counted in Captain Moore's expedition, besides those wounded, together with the burning and destruction of many towns and villages, went beyond anything necessary in a military or repressive point of view; and taking the form, in the minds of the Chiefs and others, of aggressive acts of devastation, tended to embitter the feelings, not of the actual sufferers only, but of others who heard about the severities which had been used, and were probably not without effect in determining the resolution of the Mendis for the destructive raid which came a little later, and in giving a further impulse to the armed resistance already established by Bai Bureh in the Karene country.

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Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

(e) *The Mendi Rising.*

102. I revert to the outbreak in the Mendi country. I have already mentioned some of the proceedings adopted by the Government authorities in Ronietta and Bandajuma districts to compel the assent of important Chiefs to the Hut Tax.

103. When the Chiefs were arrested and imprisoned after the meeting at Mafwe, they were released on an agreement, as they at least understood, to
4362–4366. pay £5 for each of their considerable towns, instead of paying according to the number of the houses. Afterwards the houses were ordered to be counted, and additional tax was required in respect of the number of the houses. Upon this a great deal of ill-feeling appeared.

104. The knowledge that the inhabitants of the Colony were not required to pay the tax—the tax-paying country being separated from that not paying tax by no intelligible demarcation—helped to create a belief that the tax was being exacted capriciously and unjustly, or even, in some minds, that the law was not the Queen's law, but a bogus one, and that advantage was being taken of their usual easy obedience to deprive them illegally of their property.

2069. 105. In March a powerful Chief, Momoh Jah, was arrested for not paying the tax by a sergeant and twenty Frontier Police. Previous attempts had been
2074. made for his arrest, when he was not found, but the Police seized goats, sheep, and cattle at his town, as many as they could find, and carried them off, some of which, it is said, they appropriated to their own use—an example likely to provoke retaliation.

106. Through the acquiescence of the Chiefs who had decidedly allied themselves with the Government (Madam Yoko, Nancy Tucker, and Neale Caulker), and through the severe measures used against those who showed reluctance, there had been brought about an appearance, at least, of somewhat general assent to the Hut Tax by a large number of the principal Chiefs of the Mendi country. But there was an undertone of grumbling discontent. R. B. C. Caulker, Paramont Chief over Bompeh district, and having great influence in the whole of Lower Mendi, steadily refused to pay. The collection from the Sub-Chiefs and people had to be undertaken. In scarcely any cases did the pure natives pay willingly; when they paid it was under pressure with reservation to take action afterwards. For the purpose of collecting, some of the
98. Paramount Chiefs asked and obtained the aid of Police. Whether they really required the help, or obtained it in order to evade the difficulties and odium which might have fallen on themselves, can only be conjectured. In these cases the Police were entirely under the orders of the Paramount Chiefs, according to some statements, but according to others they had their general instructions from the District Commissioners, but were told the particular places they were
5453, 5963. 5760. 6060. 6238. 6262. 6514. 6545. 6826. to visit by the Chiefs. Great severities undoubtedly were made use of, whether by the orders given, or through allowing the Police to follow their own initiative. The exemption promised by the Governor, of small villages of fewer than twenty houses, was not adhered to, and higher sums were sometimes demanded than the uniform rate of 5s. each house, to which the tax
4878–4881. 6842, 7186. had been reduced as a concession during the first year. Chiefs, headmen,
6465–6474. and others were seized and handcuffed, or tied with ropes, when they

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hesitated to pay, or had not the money ready when demanded; it seems indeed to have been taken as the proper practice to make the Chief or Headman of the town a prisoner in this way until the tax was paid; houses were broken down or burned when the tax was not paid. Sometimes this was done merely because the headman was not present, or was not promptly found on the arrival of the Police, and the fact of sick or infirm persons being in the houses was not a guarantee of immunity. Cases are even related of houses having been broken down or burned after the tax had been paid, and of houses broken down in anticipation of the coming of the Police. Goods were distrained at under values. In many cases where the tax was paid, it was by means of money borrowed at high interest; the Police took whatever they wanted for their own use without payment; they used threats freely, even to use their rifles. The evidence so teems with instances such as I have mentioned, stated by persons having no connection with each other, that it is impossible to do otherwise than conclude that there were very many examples of cruel and flagrant abuse of authority, utterly unsanctioned by the law.

4806–4827. 3025–3053. 3062–3069. 7279, 7387. 6873. 4835. 6862. 4787–4797. 4888. 3199. 7407. 7416, 7822. 4778.

107. In at least two instances there is strong evidence that the rifles were used fatally. One of these cases was one of disarming upon a general order of disarming which had been given. A youth carrying a cutlass or sword was met by a party of Police, who told him to give up his weapon, and tried to take it from him. He did not surrender it, and was endeavouring to run away, when two of the Police fired, and he was killed. The matter is related very circumstantially by Yan Kuba, Headman of Mabobo, where the occurrence took place, who had no conceivable motive for inventing the statement; also by Kanray, who, Yan Kuba says, was present and an eye-witness, and is corroborated by Boroh Cabendah. Murano Carimo also made a corroborative statement, but I do not consider his statement that the shot was fired by Captain Moore correct, which is not in accordance with other evidence, and do not lay stress on it. On the whole of the evidence, although it has of course not been tested as judicial evidence would be, I am satisfied the youth was killed by the Police, and in the manner stated. Yan Kuba gave evidence, bearing the appearance of truth, of another man having been killed on the same occasion. He stated incidentally, with reference to the burning of Kangama, a custom of beating drums and sounding horns when strangers come into that town, in order to call the people who are out in the fields, which it is not improbable led to unfortunate results in other cases besides this one. The Police, believing the noise to be a call to arms, at once burned the town. There is also evidence of a fatal collision between the Police and the country people at or near Sembehu, in which one man was killed and two others wounded. Seven Frontier Policemen had been sent to arrest Kattah, of Sembehu. Not finding him, they began to seize upon property. This led to opposition, and whilst a policeman was struggling with one of the people, another policeman fired at him and shot him dead, and wounded two others. Very soon after this, on 24th of April, two messengers arrived at Mafwe, near Sembehu, and stated that they had been sent by the Chief of Bumpe to complain of the action of the Police. The message was sent specially to the sergeant at Mafwe, and it was part of it that he should go and see the action of his men; with the somewhat oracular close: "If he went, well; if he did not go, they would not

3171–3194. 4047–4056. 4763. 1985–1988. 3198–3212. 4037. 4374. 2028. 4370. 4375. 4376.

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" allow it to remain upon them "—which last words meant that they would seek
4376. revenge for the evil done. The Rev. C. H. Goodman, who was a prisoner
1460. with the Bumpe Chiefs, stated that he heard them complaining as to the Frontier Police having wounded a Chief, and that they tried to show that
4384. the English made war against them. One of the messengers from Bumpe seems to have stated the same idea. " How is it," he asked, " that some " Government come and say we must not make fight, and some other Govern- " ment come and say we must fight ? " Being asked to explain, he went on : " The English come and put law upon us that we must pay tax, and we have " no money ; and now these very Frontiers come and catch and plunder and " shoot men, which shows us that we are to do likewise. The Government is " teaching us what to do, but this thing will not remain upon us." Mr. Goodman appears to think that it was this particular instance of firing by the Police on the people at Sembehu, which, in the final and supreme moment, determined those of the Bompe Chiefs who had been wavering to make war. This can only rest in conjecture ; it is certain, however, that all traditions amongst the West African Natives respecting the attitude of the English towards them have led them to expect kind and considerate treatment at their hands when they have not committed crimes. This has been one of the great sources of English influence over them. They are in proportion surprised, revolted, and alienated when treated with injustice, harshness, and cruelty. I cannot doubt, therefore, that the lawless outrages and severities of the Frontier Police, when they were thus let loose, so to speak, in collecting the Hut Tax, materially contributed to bring about that angry discontent which, pent up and smouldering for a time, at last broke out in massacre and plunder.

108. The outbreak commenced on the 26th of April. Within less than a week the male British subjects in Bandajuma, Kwallu, and Sulymah Districts, with few exceptions, were murdered. A number of women also were murdered,
5213. and after an order went forth from the leaders staying the killing of women, they were treated as captive slaves. All property belonging to British subjects was plundered, except at Bonthe and Yorke Island, which were saved by the arrival of the marines and troops. Two explanations have been given of the almost simultaneous outbreak over so wide an area : the one is that, at the last
3002. meeting of those who formed the plan of the rising, each of the principal Chiefs took with him an equal number of small stones, one of which was to be thrown away every day commencing from the day of the meeting, and that the day on which the last one was thrown away, all of them were to set their forces in motion in rebellion and kill all English-speaking people they could lay hands on. Another statement is that, starting from Bompe as the centre, a number
2046. of messengers bearing a sort of fiery cross in the shape of a half-burned palm-
3151. leaf, sped very rapidly to the different places where the rising was to begin and delivered their message that the time had come. Whichever was the method, it seems clear that there was very definite pre-arrangement. Once started, the rebellious mob grew rapidly ; at every place they came to, they were joined by their countrymen—those who were in sympathy and those who were compelled to join by threats ; those who had paid their hut-tax and those who had not paid. The more resolute pressed on the less resolute to join in the war, and the stronger natures had their way. The police station, which was also the

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headquarters of the District Commissioner at Bandajuma, was attacked, as was also that at Kwallu. The attacks, which seem to have had little system, were repelled with very little casualty on the side of the defenders.

109. A feature that preceded and helps to throw light upon the causes of the rising, was the rumours and half-expressed threatenings, current many weeks before the outbreak, of coming war that would certainly fall upon those who paid the Hut Tax. Such rumours are spoken of by a large number of witnesses. For example, when Chief Neale Caulker, very early in 1898, called his people together and told them that they must pay the tax, besides telling him that they were too poor, they said they had heard that the first who paid the tax would have "war put upon them." The Chief tried to reassure them; but the third week after the meeting the people petitioned the Chief, saying they were afraid of war. After this there was a large meeting of Chiefs with Captain Moore, the District Commissioner at Shengay. The people said that they would pay the tax if the District Commissioner insisted, but they were afraid of war, of which they had heard rumours daily; that they had heard reports from Bompe and Yonni that whosoever paid the tax, war would be brought against him. The District Commissioner assured them there would be no war, and that in any event he had an abundant force for their protection—a rash and misleading assertion. Whilst an enormous amount of irritation was being produced by the abuse of force in the collection of the tax, there was no adequate force for preventing or controlling an outbreak, as was unhappily proved by the event.

4762. 3255. 7847. 3025. 5137.

110. This brings into prominence what was one of the fundamental and fatal errors of the policy pursued. Looking to the large extent of territory sought to be controlled, and the slow means of communication (by foot-messengers) which alone are at present practicable, the District Commissioners and the Police, with their officers, though a larger and more expensive establishment than the financial resources can well support, are but a handful amongst a multitude. The force was large enough to be able to cause great annoyance and irritation, but not enough to successfully overawe, or show that a simultaneous rising would inevitably fail. If the programme sanctioned by the Secretary of State had been carried out, which had for one of its essential features government through and with the assent of the Chiefs, a very different result might have ensued; but even before the Hut Tax came into operation the authorised and unauthorised action of the Frontier Police was such as to offend and alienate the Chiefs, whilst the measures systematically and deliberately adopted to enforce the Hut Tax produced not only alienation, but ranged the Chiefs, with few exceptions, either in active hostility or sullen opposition. The Chiefs, who are good observers and shrewd thinkers, no doubt perceived quite well the inadequacy of the Government forces, and forgetting for the time the practically unlimited reinforcements which could be brought on the scene, felt emboldened to try a coercive and marauding raid. There can be but little doubt, moreover, that they were further emboldened through the success with which Bai Bureh in the Karene country had resisted the English forces in their earlier operations. This success, which was probably exaggerated in oral narrative, had in fact attained its highest point shortly before the time chosen for the outbreak. Just at this time, also, Captain Carr had much weakened the headquarter station of Bandajuma by withdrawing the greater part of the garrison to go on

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a tax-collecting journey into the Damah country, a region which hitherto had hardly seen a white man.

111. Another source of information as to the nature and cause of the rising is the cries and talk of the insurgents themselves, which mingled strangely in their acts of violence. It may seem improbable that there should be any intelligible talk under such extraordinary circumstances, but it is shown by
5074. separate evidence that it is quite consistent with African ways for natives to
3005. talk about the motives of fighting, even in transient pauses of a conflict. All the statements, without any exception, of those who have given evidence on this subject, is that the cause assigned, whether in cries, or songs, or more deliberate talk, which sometimes occurred, was the Hut Tax, or something
6781. immediately connected with it—to "get back the money or the palm kernels
7694. 6774. "paid for the Hut Tax," or because the victim "had paid the Hut Tax," or "had "helped the English Government to bring the Hut Tax upon the country," or the like. There is not a single instance in which it is said the "war-boys" complained that the English had abolished slave-dealing, or taken away the domestic slaves, or abolished fetish, or brought missionaries, or done any of the things which some who have given their opinions have stated to have been the causes of the war. The conduct of the war-boys in forcing others who had paid their tax to join them bears a similar significance. Those who began the rising forced every one of their countrymen they met, who had already paid to repudiate his act, to say that he had paid under compulsion and with pain, and to fall into the marauding ranks, under penalty of immediate
4749. death if he held back. Compliance seems to have been practically universal.

112. Yet one more source of evidence is the spontaneous opinion formed by intelligent onlookers acquainted with the facts. It must be remembered that in the circumstances under which this inquiry was made, interrogation of those Chiefs who had been leaders in the rising, or in preparations for it, was not possible; nor if it had been possible would the answers given, with all the penalties of rebellion hovering over them, have been of much reliability. But the answers
2960. given by the Chiefs whom I have questioned have been almost universally that
824. 5184. the Hut Tax, either in itself, or, as many have understood it, as a mode of taking their country or their property from them, was the cause of the war. I may here quote what was said by Ali, the principal spokesman in a deputation from Suluku, an important Chief in the Biriwa Limba country, not yet under the operation of the Hut Tax, and who thus stood aside from the actual turmoil it had excited. Asked about the causes of the war, he said: "From what we
2124. "have heard, the current complaint was that for over six years Government "had forbidden slave-dealing, and we have agreed to that, and for six years "have sat down quietly; but when Government said we had to pay this Hut "Tax, we are very poor and do not want to pay. The people are grieved about "it; they do not refuse to pay, but if the Government force them, they fight.
2125–2128. ". . . We heard this in connection with the Timini and Mendi people. . . "They had other things, one of which, they are told to clean the roads, they "do that; they (the Police) take them to carry loads, they do that; big Chiefs, "even for a very small offence, are put in irons, although not resisting, in the "presence of their wives, children, and subjects; the Government has pro- "hibited slave-dealing a long time ago, and they agreed; but now they come

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" and tell us five shillings a house. It is too much. They are very poor." Asked, "Does Suluku mean that by paying he puts away the right of " property?"—"That is just what it seems to be. Paying for a thing in our " country means that you had no original right to it; so it seems as if they " had no right to their houses."

113. I may quote also Bai Sherbro, who was treated as a suspect, but against whom there seemed to be no evidence. He said: "When I was told we should 2323-4. " pay tax, I told Dr. Hood that we are not accustomed to paying taxes; " therefore I would only acknowledge the information and consult the other " Chiefs before I decided. . . . If you ask about all the provisions of the " Ordinance, the Hut Tax is the only one we feel. Slavery and women palaver " we do not feel. We have no money." Pa Nambana, who was imprisoned with hard labour as already stated, said: "The ill-treatment we receive from 2368. " the officers; the Government said there is no war with us, but they tie the " Kings; even my own son was ill-treated. . . . We were discouraged to " complain because we never got any redress. . . . Why I have not done so is " because if you complain, and fail to obtain redress, the Police treat you " worse when you come back. The people have the feeling that in paying 2373. " the tax they are putting away the right of property in their houses." Asked as to the causes of the war, he said: "What I know is very short. While I 2378. " was in prison at Kwalu, Chief Fory Vong of Tyama was brought down to " Kwalu and imprisoned. He consented to pay the tax and was let go. " Captain Moore went up and seized all his things and brought them to Kwalu. " I think that one of their reasons is the manner of collecting the tax. . . . I " think it was the Hut Tax. I cannot say whether the people have any " other reason."

114. Momo Kai Kai, a loyal Chief, being asked as to the means by which the war was rapidly spread from one place to another, said, "They despatched 7523. " messengers very quickly from one town to another, that it was on account " of the tax; it was a hard law, and there were plenty of people in every town " who were ready to join; as soon as they knew the purport of the war they " were at once willing to join." Asked, "What was the purport of the war?"— 7524. " The people were not so sensible; they were not willing to pay the tax, and " they joined the others . . . all of them stupidly followed; those who had paid " and those who had not paid." Asked, "If there had been no Hut Tax, do " you think the people of these countries would have wanted to fight the " English in order to drive them away?"—Answer, "No; not for one minute." 7539. Banna Sobole, Sub-Chief of Bembi in Shengay country: asked whether he heard anything as to the cause of the war, answered, "The tax brought the war. " We told Chief Caulker that we heard there was going to be war." Foulah Mordoo, Chief of the Mohammedans in Mohansay Sumanah, asked as to the 4734. events which brought on the war, said, "What brought about this war is " nothing else than the Hut Tax. . . . Chief Caulker told me that Government " had said that Hut Tax was to be paid this year. . . . We heard a rumour " that any one paying the tax would bring war on himself. . . . When Chief " Caulker knew the rumour, he said the English Government was powerful and 4736. " would give protection." Pa Suba of Magbile, who had paid his tax, speaking for himself and four other Chiefs of the Timini country, dwells on the hardship

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of the Hut Tax: "When the Governor told us that we must pay the tax, we
4469. "said, 'We will go and inform our Paramount Chiefs; some of us have some-
"'thing to pay; the most part have nothing. Those that cannot pay are the
"'people that make the war, for if they do not pay they will have to go to
"'prison; the debt is on our necks now,—this is the cause of this trouble. . . .'
"No Timani man came down to the water-side to make war; we heard guns
"and asked the cause. They have insulted us . . . the way the tax commenced
4554. "brought the fighting . . . they bring it with war and a cutlass."

115. Alimani Fodi Silla, speaking for the Mohammedan traders trading from Freetown into the Protectorate, and well acquainted with the feelings of the natives of the interior and of the traders, asked for his opinion, cautiously
6100. answered: "The Government has passed the Ordinance; it did not please; but "we were not able to do anything against it. When the Government says "that it is the law, whatever the Government says we agree to." Further
6101. asked for his opinion, he said, "The first thing, the slavery matter, is already "finished. The Hut Tax is the thing that did not please; but they were "compelled: they had no power."

116. I shall here only cite one more witness of the like tenor, the Rev. Joseph B. W. F. Johnson, whose residence as a missionary of seven years on the Bompe river, and twenty years in all in the same district, entitles his opinion to respect. He went much amongst the people and repeatedly questioned many of them, and came to the conclusion that they considered the Hut Tax oppressive,
7695. and believing that it was through the English-speaking people (including the Sierra Leonians) that the Governor found they had money, desired to kill all such, whom they considered as the instruments who had brought the tax upon them; that those who had paid the tax aimed at getting back the money or money's value they had given for the tax, and that there was no dislike of missionaries as such, nor dread of their subverting the old heathen practices.

117. The Mendi rising, although really war, would be better understood as to many of its practical aspects if considered as a very aggravated riot. The riot once launched, various motives would come into operation. There was doubtless the all-pervading sense of the hostile treatment which had been meted out towards themselves, but it is no ways necessary to suppose there was unity of aim amongst all who took part in the riotous work. Plunder is always an object with a Mendi man when he engages in war, but there is no reason to think it was here a chief motive. Where there was plunder there might also be the desire to put possible witnesses out of the way by killing them. Again, if a rioter had been ill-treated or unjustly dealt with by a Sierra Leone trader he might wreak his vengeance on whatever Sierra Leone people he laid hands on. The attack on the barracks at Bandajuma and Kwalu need have no more significance than the mad rush of a mob on a police barrack, which has occurred in our own country in less happy times than the present, when the mob was only guided by a temporary instinct for mischief or revenge. The diversity of individual aims may very fully account for differences in the statements of different persons as to motives, but the weight of the evidence very clearly points to the general and pervading motive to have been that the rioters, identifying all English-speaking people with the English Government, and believing that in one way or other they had taken part with and aided the

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Government in bringing the Hut Tax, with its concomitant grievances, upon them, were wrought up to the desire of taking vengeance upon them. A circumstance which there is much reason to believe was connected with the murder of missionaries, seems in accordance with this view, and to confirm it. Missionaries had been in the Mendi country for more than thirty years, and the native inhabitants had always been most friendly with them, so much so that in previous risings the mission stations had always been considered safe places of refuge. The animosity, so contrary to precedent, shown in the recent raid, has been attributed to the fact that the missionaries at some of the Mendi stations had preached sermons shortly before the outbreak in support of the Hut Tax, and advising the people to pay the tax. It is beyond doubt that such sermons were preached, nor does it seem improbable that the people considered the missionaries showed by these sermons that they identified themselves with the Government, and had common purpose with the Government in the enforcement of the Hut Tax. There is no evidence that the missionaries were disliked or feared as the introducers of a new religion or the enemies of old superstitions. 5134–5136. 5489. 7905. 4517. 7697.

118. The disturbance in the Mendi country was quelled by two military expeditions. The first of these, under Colonel Woodgate, left Freetown on 9th May, and the second, under Colonel Cunningham, on 31st May. Full details of the operations are contained in the despatches of these officers, copies of which are placed in the Appendix. [1] LXXI. LXXII.

7. Operation of Secret Societies.

119. The principal secret society is the Poro or Purrah. There are several kinds of Poro. The religious Poro, in which boys of twelve to fourteen years old are initiated with certain signs, and taught historic lore respecting their country, seems to have nothing to do with civil or political life. The civil Poro appears to be peculiar to the Sherbro and Mendi countries, and not to be practised at all amongst the Timinis. It is said to have originated in a necessity felt for some method of putting an end to intertribal wars. When two tribes were tired of hostilities, their custom was to ask a neighbouring Chief to become mediator between them. If he accepted the office, he would tell them that unless they ceased to destroy each other and make peace he would send the Poro upon them. Forthwith and so long as this monition was in force there would be a cessation of hostilities. If either party should, notwithstanding, be rash enough to make any attack on his neighbour, the Poro would be launched against him. It seems to have been a band of forty or fifty men armed and disguised. These inspired abject fear. They were believed to be devils, and capable of inflicting any mischief, whilst they themselves were invulnerable. Every one fled or hid themselves. Resistance was unthought of. If any person was so bold as to show himself, he would be cut in pieces. Such seems to have been the Poro in its primitive shape. It retains the power of inspiring terror and obedience, although the armed bands are, I believe, not now seen. Poro is formed for any special purpose. For example, Poro would be put on the palm-trees of a district, the reason of the matter being to compel people to

[1] The loss of life in the Mendi rising, and in connection with its repression, is believed to have been very much larger than in connection with the Timani rising, but there is no information which could be taken as even approximately correct.

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abstain from cutting the nuts, so that they might not neglect the cultivation of their rice, maize, or yams at the proper season; Poro would be put on a river if it were desired to preserve the fish for a period. Its use is to combine the people. The purpose may be beneficial or the contrary. Any
6492–6504. freeman of full age may join. When people join the Poro they are bound to adhere to it whatever be its purpose, and it is said they often join without
7916. knowing the purpose, but are bound to obedience equally as if joining after full inquiry. There is no such thing as disobedience; all the deliberations and orders are secret. A Paramount Chief may make a Poro with his Sub-
665. Chiefs, or several Head Chiefs may combine. Some physical symbol is usually agreed upon in every Poro which all the members recognise. Poro was only connected with the rising in the Mendi country in the sense that it is thought to have facilitated by its organisation the execution of the intention of the Chiefs to bring about a simultaneous rising. It is believed that after Bai Sherbro of Yonni and others had been unsuccessful in Freetown in obtaining a relaxation or reduction of the Hut Tax they banded themselves in a Poro of resistance which had the object of preventing Sierra Leona people and others from carrying on their trade, and that afterwards the Chiefs who were leaders in the Mendi outbreak were united by a "one-word" Poro—which means a Poro of agreement,—binding them together to the hostile action they adopted. Several Poro meetings are supposed to have been held, and it is said that at the last of the meetings preceding the outbreak the manner of action was agreed on. But it is most difficult to procure reliable information, as all Poro meetings are in the strictest sense secret. There is no trace of any Sierra Leone society having been in any way instrumental in the rising.

120. All Poro in restraint of trade was prohibited under penalties by Ordinance No. 14 of 1897. Whether that Ordinance may work beneficially remains to be ascertained; it clearly derogates very greatly from the power of the Chiefs in the Mendi country.[1]

8. Slavery.

121. It is important to ascertain the attitude of the Chiefs concerning the buying and selling of slaves and domestic slavery, as at the time of the inauguration of the scheme for the government of the Protectorate. It may be well for us to remember, in passing, that slave raiding and selling were undoubtedly fostered amongst those very tribes whom some of us are now ready to condemn by the encouragement given by Great Britain when the supply of African slaves was deemed essential for the efficient carrying on of our plantations in the West Indies and in America. That, however, is a thing of the long bygone past, and whatever proclivities may have existed in the earliest times of the Colony, the influence of the English Government has been directed to suppress slave-raiding and slave-dealing for a very long period. Repressive measures have been assiduously and successfully followed by successive Governors, so that when the Protectorate Ordinance came into operation slave-
2722 dealing had practically ceased. Sir S. Lewis, who has much knowledge of the Mendi as well as of the Timini country, said that slave-dealing had been

[1] Poro being practically the means by which the Chiefs govern their country, this Ordinance, with Section 66 of the Protectorate Ordinance, vesting jurisdiction in Poro laws absolutely in the District Commissioners have the effect of taking away the Chiefs power of governing.

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practically stamped out since 1890; Mr. Parkes more cautiously said that 878.
slave-raiding had not wholly passed away in 1896, but the backbone of it had
then been thoroughly broken. Even at any time slave-dealing was rather a
practice affecting particular districts than general throughout the territories, 4523.
and in later times it had ceased to be of material importance, even in what 2110.
may be called the slave-dealing districts. I do not say that isolated cases did 2225.
not take place, or may not be found even down to the present time, or that 1880.
a few of the older Chiefs may not have regretted that a source of wealth or 2345.
influence had been cut off; but such instances were the exceptions, and even
the most conservative looked upon the cessation of slave-dealing as inevitable.
Moreover, it was becoming understood that although the practice of slave-
dealing might enrich a few, yet it tended on the whole towards the impoverish-
ment of the country, and this feeling, combined with the sense of pressure from
the English Government, tended powerfully towards establishing a general
feeling of reconcilement with the change. There are numerous testimonies to
this effect in the oral evidence.

122. The exodus of domestic slaves has been a more fertile ground of com-
plaint than the interference by the Government with slave-dealing. Madam Yoko,
who amongst the native Chiefs may be considered as probably the most faithful 4109–4115.
defender of the Hut-Tax policy, and therefore anxious to find other ground for
the rising, clearly stated that slave buying or selling had long ago ceased, the
only grievance having any freshness being the prohibition of pawning children,
and the facility with which domestic slaves obtain freedom. I may quote,
amongst others, Chief G'Berri of Bongo: "Governor Rowe explained to us that 6249.
"the Queen did not want us to deal in slaves, and we agreed to that, or to sell
"or pawn our children, and we agreed and were willing to abide by that.
"Governor Havelock also told us the same thing, and we were willing.
"Governor Hay said the same thing, and we were content. My people, some
"are gone to the Congo and earn money, and their parents (masters) benefit."
So long ago as 1841 Sir John Jeremie explained to the people the English law
against the return of slaves who came into British territory, so that at that
time it was known the Government would not return slaves. The Protectorate
Ordinance did not give any additional facilities to slaves to leave their masters,
and the provision (Section 31) for purchasing freedom by a money payment seems
a recognition of the status of domestic slavery. It is stated, however, that no
case has occurred of the Section being acted on, and in fact it seems incom-
patible with the later Section 75 prohibiting any claim in respect of a slave
being entertained by a Court. Notwithstanding the law, cases have occurred
in which Chiefs have asked that slaves should be returned to them. When
it has been properly explained that English law did not permit this there
has been acquiescence. But they have earnestly asked that Frontier Policemen
should not be permitted to interfere with domestic slaves and incite them to
go away. The desertion by their domestics has been a good deal dwelt on in
connection with the Hut Tax as one of the reasons making the payment
oppressive and difficult, as with the loss of slaves the means of obtaining money
was also lost. I do not, however, think it was a grievance which bulked largely
in itself or rose into a cause of quarrel with the Government.

123. I consider, therefore, that the representation which has been made,

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that exasperation with the English Government on account of their interference with slavery formed a material factor in the rising, rests on no sound foundation.

9. Divergent Opinions as to Rising.

124. It is only a few of the extremest advocates of the Hut Tax who support the thesis that it was not a material cause, and indeed the exciting cause, of the rising. But, short of a denial that the Hut Tax was a factor in the rising, it has been stated that there were other grounds of dissatisfaction amongst the native Chiefs and people, so potent, that even if there had been no Hut Tax, they would sooner or later, and upon some other pretext, have culminated in an attempt to get rid by force of the English rule. This appears to be the view of Sir F. Cardew, who, in his despatch to the Secretary of State (28th May 1898), wrote in par. 20: "I am prepared to admit "that the House Tax was the exciting cause, or I should rather say the "pretext. But the true causes, in my opinion—and I am well supported in "this by the independent testimony of numerous missionaries, Sierra Leone "traders, and others,—lie far deeper down; and they are the desire for inde- "pendence and for a reversion to the old order of things, such as fetish "customs, and slave dealing and raiding. It is practically a revolt of the "Chiefs, whose authority has been lessened and whose property has suffered "through the abolition of slavery. . . . They see the old order of things "passing away, the fear and reverence paid to their fetish customs and "superstitions diminishing, their slaves asserting their independence, their "children being taught by the missionaries a purer religion and the methods "of civilisation." Several written statements addressed to Sir F. Cardew have been brought before me:—

(*a*) Mr. T. Holloway, or Halliwell, who was a native lay member of the Rotofunk Mission, stated that the "general reason of the war was to clear out "the white man and all civilised, educated people; but this particular rising "was due to their being informed that Bai Bureh had finished the whole of "the troops."

(*b*) Mr. T. Caldwell "believed the country was ready for any excuse to "throw off the British rule, because they complained of having to clean roads "and build barracks, and obey the Government in what they called their "country."

(*c*) Mr. Kingman, of the Soudan Mission (American), attributes the rising "to general dissatisfaction with any attempt to change the existing customs, "and more especially to a decided unwillingness to assist such an effort in a "temporal way." The latter expression appears to be Mr. Kingman's way of denoting the Hut Tax.

(*d*) Mr. Trice, a lay member of the Soudan Mission, says: "The cause of "the rebellion was in the people who rebelled; they imagined many things "would result if they agreed to pay the tax; they imagined many absurd "things to be at the bottom of the motives of the English Government for "desiring to take over their country. . . . They do not wish the English to "rule in their country or influence their customs in any way. They are "suspicious of all foreign elements, and most especially the constables and

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" Government officers. . . . For some years they have apparently been " hesitating between two extremes, rebellion or submission, and the Hut Tax " afforded them quite a pretext to decide one way."

(*e*) Mr. Evans, an American missionary of the Shengay Mission, thinks that " for some years there had been a growing unrest among the aborigines in con- " sequence of the gradual interference of civilisation with original and savage " customs. . . . That it can only in truth be said that the Hut Tax served as " a pretext, and gave in a way the opportunity of carrying into execution a " long-cherished desire, if not really a preconceived plan, of expelling foreign " influence, political, commercial, religious."

(*f*) Mr. John Augustus Abayomi Cole, a resident for seven years in the Sherbro country, attributes the rising to native dislike to English rule, interfering, "since the introduction of policemen amongst them, . . . with their " domestic lives and customs, especially domestic slavery."

(*g*) Mr. S. Ignatius Robinson attributes the rising to "the abolition of " domestic slavery by the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance . . . coupled " with the imposition of the Hut Tax."

(*h*) Madam Yoko states that the grievances of the people were the prevention of the slave-trade, the coming of missionaries into the country, the jealousy of concessionaires digging gold mines, and a special animosity, in her own part of the country, against herself.

125. (*i*) There is a group of opinions by District Commissioners bearing upon the causes of the rising. These opinions were given in response to a circular by Sir F. Cardew, issued to them on 18th July 1898, the day of my arrival in the Colony, requesting them to report on a series of thirteen questions directly raising the points referred to me for inquiry by my Commission. The first of these questions was " the cause of the rising ? " and this question was followed by one which is placed No. 12 of the series : " Had the abolition of slavery and " the desire for independence anything to do with the outbreak ? " LXXIII.

There is a remarkable convergence in the four answers which I now have before me; they all ignore the Hut Tax, even as a concurrent or exciting cause of the rising. The abstention from all mention of the Hut Tax is more particularly conspicuous in the case of the District Commissioners of Karene and Ronietta Districts, seeing that these officers had quite recently before the date of Sir F. Cardew's memorandum, been actively engaged in the measures for collecting the Hut Tax, upon which the risings followed. It might have been supposed that the question whether these measures were in any way connected with the risings in the relation of cause and effect were important and interesting enough for some discussion. The absence of this, I must admit, produces a peculiar impression. The Acting District Commissioner of Bandajuma answered to question 1 : " The desire to get rid of English rule, chiefly because of the " stopping of the slave-trade " ; and to question No. 12 his answer was : " Everything." The Acting District Commissioner of Panguma answered the 1st question : " Rooted dislike to any attempt at civilisation, and a hatred of " the white man settling in their country. This dislike brought about by the " Chiefs." His answer to the 12th question is : " I do not think so." The District Commissioner of Karene answered the 1st question : " Determination " of natives under Chiefs [probably forced by one or two of the leading

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" rebel Chiefs, and probably influenced by bad advice from some enlightened " quarters] to make a last attempt to throw off the allegiance to England." He answered the 12th question: " Most decidedly; probably these are the real " causes—*vide* answer to question one." The District Commissioner of the Ronietta district answered the 1st question: " The cause of the insurrection is " to be directly traced to the growing desire of the native Chiefs to throw off " English rule, with the civilising influences which accompany it"; and the 12th question was answered thus: " Great discontent has existed among the " Chiefs since the abolition of slavery. Nearly all their wealth formerly " consisted of their slaves, and the Chiefs derived a large income from the sale " of their surplus stock. They have often complained to me that they have no " power over their boys now, as the latter recognise that they can be no longer " sold in case of misconduct, as was the custom formerly."

The District Commissioners of Bundajuma and of Panguma do not accompany their answers with any reasons. The District Commissioner of Karene states as the reason of his first answer, " discontent since they have " lost their labouring class by slave-dealing being abolished, and that they have " seized upon the tax as the only excuse for rebelling, and having been per- " suaded that they might expect a sympathetic ear from England in their " opposition to the tax, while they were told they could never hope for sympathy " as regards slave-dealing." I think the theory of an appeal to English sympathy must be classed as one of those merely ingenious suppositions which are not founded on any substantial basis. There is no evidence of English opinion having been considered by the Chiefs, and there is no evidence of the idea of there being a popular opinion existing in England, and capable of influencing events in the Protectorate, having begun to dawn. Accordingly it is not surprising to find, on turning to the District Commissioner of Karene's oral evidence with reference to this point, that he *assumed* the Chiefs were told by the lawyers in Freetown that the people at home would sympathise with them about the Hut Tax, but that he could not support this view by any facts.

3921–3923.

126. The District Commissioner of Ronietta accompanied his answer to the 1st question with a comparative statement of the condition of the Hinterland before and after the proclamation of the Protectorate, very much to the advantage of its later condition, and, I think, much exaggerating the changes that have occurred. The general assertion that " human sacrifices and cannibalism " were practised, together with all the barbarous customs of the savage," put forward without qualification as a description of the state of things which had been put an end to by the Protectorate Scheme is a statement that ought not to have been made without very sure grounds of evidence. So far as I have learned, cannibalism has been known only in one district, the Imperri, and not in the ordinary significance of the term, but as entering into a fetish ceremony which was in use there. To represent cannibalism and human sacrifice as general traits of the people of the Protectorate is contrary to all that is generally known, and to all the evidence which has reached me. The cessation of slave-capture and loss of the labour of domestic slaves is also stated as a cause of discontent, as to which I have stated my opinion elsewhere.

127. The Commissioner of Ronietta also stated that the rising started in a

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district exempt from the tax, viz. the Panguma district. There is more than one inaccuracy here. The district of Panguma is not exempt, but only permitted to have a postponement of one year before the tax was enforced. Further, the towns and the Chiefs with whom it is said the rising began do not appear to belong to Panguma. Bumpe, of which Grubru is Chief, is well within the district of Bandajuma; Baoma and Gerehun, the other two places named, appear from the map to be on the border; but the Chiefs of those places, Fa Kondo and Honno or Wono, and the places themselves, are stated in Mr. Parkes' list as being in the Bandajuma district. Besides this, if even the position had been correct that the insurrection began with the three Chiefs named in an untaxed district, it would need, in order to make the argument of avail in eliminating the House Tax as a cause of the rising, to show also that these Chiefs were the sole or principal organisers of the rising. This does not appear, and on the contrary, as far as can be gathered, the rising was brought about by the common action of a very large number of Chiefs and others, whose country extends over almost the whole of the Bandajuma district.

The other questions contained in the Memorandum, and on which the District Commissioners have returned answers, enter into matters which are dealt with in this Report under other headings.

128. (*j*). The Secretary for Native Affairs states that he does not attribute the insurrection to the Hut Tax absolutely, the principal reasons leading to it being, in his opinion:—

"(1) The attitude of their wives and children and domestics (slaves), who "will not now obey them, as the Chiefs and Headmen have not now the power "of punishment that they had before.

"(2) The conduct, though I say it with regret, of some members of the "Frontier Force, when away from their officers.

"(3) The entire stoppage of the slave-trade.

"(4) The limitation of the jurisdiction and income of the Chiefs consequent "on the District Commissioner being in the district, to whom, in the ordinary "course, most if not all complaints will be made, notwithstanding any Ordin-"ance to the contrary."

129. (*k*). Mr. Alldridge, District Commissioner at Bonthe, uses an argument, which although at first sight it may seem of some force, is not really valid with reference to the facts, namely, that the massacre and destruction and plundering of property spread through the Sherbro country and other places in which, being parts of the Colony, no tax was enforced. On this ground he considers it "clear that the reason of the outbreak did not rest with the imposition "of the tax; but it is quite possible that the tax was the culminating point "of a combination of pent-up grievances, real or imaginary, extending over "a series of years." As regards this argument, it appears to me that if it be true, as is shown in the evidence, that the reason why Sierra Leone people were so cruelly struck at in the insurrection was that the natives associated them as making common cause with the English Government in imposing the Hut Tax upon them, and perhaps other grievances, and if it be also true that Sherbro was the home of many Sierra Leone people, where they had rich factories, and that there was an impulse for destruction and plunder, there was absolutely no reason, under these circumstances, why the exemption of Sherbro

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or other places from the Hut Tax should have withheld the rioters from carrying destruction into those regions; on the contrary, that the inhabitants of those places were exempted from the tax seemed rather to suggest some undue favouritism which would tend to accentuate rather than restrain the anger felt against them. The war or riot was *brought into* Sherbro and the other non-taxpaying places by people who came *from places where the tax was in force*, and if some of the exempted inhabitants joined with those subject to the tax, it seems a most reasonable supposition that they did so in sympathy with their countrymen, or, as doubtless it was in some cases, under the compulsion used by the latter.

130. Mr. Alldridge goes on to detail the grievances, other than the Hut Tax, to which he referred: one of the most important being the interference by Government with the transportation of slaves in the Hinterland, which in 1894 came to be an absolute prohibition of slave-dealing. Coupled with this, "increase in police outposts afforded opportunities for slaves, and particularly "women, to leave their masters and obtain their freedom by surreptitiously "getting to places within the active jurisdiction of the Colony: then followed "the formation of districts, the Protectorate, creation of District Commissioners, "and finally the Protectorate Ordinance, which entirely prohibited the slave-"trade in any shape or form, and unconditionally released all persons who had "been placed in pledge, without giving any compensation to the pawnee. The "police being distributed about the country at great distances from the "Commissioners, enabled persons having complaints against one another to "take them to the police instead of to the native tribunals, which, no doubt, "led to many abuses, and took from the Chiefs much of their power and hold "over their people." The Protectorate Ordinance still further reduced the power of the Chiefs: then an Ordinance passed in December 1897, prohibiting the use of Porro, was yet a further encroachment on the Chiefs' privileges; and then came the imposition of the Hut Tax.

131. Referring to the eight opinions I have cited first, it may perhaps not be unjust to surmise that they are founded on somewhat rapid generalisations. Five out of the eight, however, it will be observed, classify the Hut Tax as a material cause of the rising. The value of the opinions would have been more capable of estimate—and this remark applies also to the statements of Mr. Parkes and Mr. Alldridge and of the District Commissioners—if they had been directed to the Timini rising or the Mendi rising instead of being directed indiscriminately, as they seem to be, to the rising as a whole; the two insurrections having had much that was diverse in their circumstances and character. The Timinis considered that the English had done them wrong, and they resisted; the Mendis too believed that the English had wronged them, and tried to avenge the wrong by reprisals, which, if successful, would have led to the extinction (for the time at least) of English rule in the Mendi country; it may very well be questioned, however, whether their purpose was thus logical, and whether their raid was more than the outcome of the blind rage to which they had been wrought up.

132. With regard to the progress of missionary teaching, I am afraid that missionaries are apt to over-estimate the effect of their work. Missionary efforts have but scratched the surface in the Protectorate, and do not bulk in such a way as to excite any general feeling. The drift of such evidence as there

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is (apart from the atrocity towards missionaries in the Mendi raid, due to causes apart from their proper missionary character) shows that the attitude of the natives towards missionaries was friendly. So far from their being reluctant that their children should be taught by the missionaries, Chiefs and others sent their children to the mission schools, and often themselves attended the preaching of the missionaries.

133. I have not discovered that the reverence for fetish is a strong or leading motive. In the Timini country especially it seems scarcely possible that it could have been a leading motive: a large proportion of the people being Mohammedans, with whom fetish is of no account. In the Mendi country the Rev. Mr. Johnson told me that he was permitted to break down devil-houses without opposition. 7703.

134. As to the effect of the abolition of slave-dealing and the domestic slaves question I have stated my views under a separate heading.

135. I agree with Mr. Parkes and Mr. Alldridge in thinking that the matters enumerated by them were felt as grievances, and I go quite as far as Mr. Parkes as regards the Frontier Police. The taking away of jurisdictions from the Chiefs was felt to be a very serious grievance, not mainly as diminishing income but as taking away their status in the country, and other innovations also were felt to be grievances more or less. But the question of chief practical importance in this connection is whether these grievances were so felt that they would have led to a rebellion, or to an attempt to throw off the English rule, independently of the Hut Tax. It ought to be remembered that amongst Africans, as amongst Englishmen, it is not every cause of discontent or of grumbling which makes the grumblers ready to rise in rebellion: nor ought it to be forgotten, in a comprehensive estimate, that there were causes tending to attach the people of the Sierra Leone Hinterland to the English rule, which, although not coming home to their daily life, would hardly be forgotten if it be supposed they were discussing a plot for driving the English for ever from the country. The Chiefs and people knew that the Government had abated tribal wars, which, whatever might be the views of a few individuals, was generally received as having been a beneficial service: and although there have been no such substantial acts of protection from outside enemies as the English Government has done from time to time for the Fanti tribes of the Gold Coast, yet there have been acts of protection of the natives as against the Susu and Sofa tribes; and the English Government is no doubt looked to for protection in case similar needs should occur again. Moreover, the Chiefs know enough to understand that, should the English leave Sierra Leone, their territories would not long remain under their own Government, but would be controlled by some European Power, who would rule them in all probability with a heavier hand than the English. I am referring now of course to the feeling prevailing at the time the rebellion began: what it may be now is of course more difficult to predicate.

136. With all discussion the question by its nature admits of no absolute answer; that solution however ought to be taken as most reliable which is most in accordance with the weight of the evidence; and that evidence is most weighty which comes from those who speak upon actual knowledge, as the Chiefs do, rather than from residents more or less transitory, who upon a

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slight knowledge of facts work out theories of their own. I have not found it established that either the subject of slavery, even including its more pressing aspect as touching domestic slaves, or the diversion and diminution of the Chiefs' jurisdiction, apart from circumstances of contumely and degradation, much less the diminution of the power of fetish or any other superstition, or the teaching of missionaries, were of that obtrusive and burning character as would have sufficed to bring about a rebellion, but that the rebellion is properly to be ascribed to the Hut Tax with its implied meaning, joined with the severities used in enforcing it: the other causes mentioned being at the utmost incidental and subsidiary.

10. Sierra Leone Press.

137. A very serious impeachment has been brought against the newspaper press and the community of Sierra Leone, viz. that of inciting the natives of the Protectorate to resist payment of the Hut Tax. The accusation has been made by no less high and responsible an authority than the Governor of the Colony. In explaining to the Secretary of State, under date 28th May 1898, his views as to the causes of the disturbances, Sir F. Cardew stated: "I am prepared to admit that the imposition of the House Tax was the "exciting cause of the disturbances, but wish to qualify this by adding my "conviction that if the community of Freetown, the press, and the traders "had loyally supported the Government in its policy, or even remained "neutral, the tax would have been paid without disturbance. But the con-"trary, I regret to say, has been the case; the press has directly encouraged "the natives not to pay the tax." He added that in the files of the Sierra Leone journals for the six or eight months then past, the Government as well as the Governor had been held up to invective, and there were "numerous "incitements to the natives not only not to pay the tax, but it is also, in my "opinion, a moot point whether they had not also been incited to rebellion."

138. As regards the incitement to rebellion, Sir F. Cardew referred to an opinion by Mr. Smyly, the Attorney-General of the Colony, who had examined the files of the local press since 31st December 1897. In this opinion the Attorney-General stated that the question as to the prosecution for incitement to rebellion could only arise in reference to three articles, which he named, two of which appeared in the Sierra Leone *Times* on 9th April 1898, and one in the Sierra Leone *Weekly News* of 16th April 1898; and that these articles, while not, in his opinion, "justifying prosecution for incite-"ment to rebellion, are certainly not calculated to promote peace in the "interior." Writing again to the Secretary of State on 31st May 1898, Sir F. Cardew said: "I am still of opinion that the exciting cause of the revolt "at its commencement was the incitement of the natives not to pay the "House Tax, on the part of the Sierra Leone traders and press."

139. This opinion of the Attorney-General may be taken as disposing of any question of prosecution; but the accusation stated and reiterated, and very strongly insisted on, as it has been, reflects in its general scope so seriously upon the Sierra Leone press that it has been requisite for me to examine fully into the character of the publications during the period which has been referred to. With this view I have myself examined the files of the news-

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papers[1] from 31st December 1897 to the time when I closed my inquiry, and I have also gone back to the first discussion by the press, so far as I have discovered, of the Protectorate Ordinance, of any importance, which occurred in 1897.

140. I have found five references in the Sierra Leone *Times* of 1897 to the Protectorate Ordinance. The first relates to the reply of the Secretary of State to a memorial from the Liverpool and Manchester Chambers of Commerce; afterwards there is a short paragraph with reference to the petition by Chiefs addressed to Administrator Caulfeild; a leading article as to the impossibility of important amendments in the Protectorate Ordinance taking place whilst the Government was being temporarily administered by the Colonial Secretary in the absence of Administrator Caulfeild. Then a letter from a correspondent as to one of the lines of division of the Colony and the Protectorate, and a news item as to the meeting between the petitioning Chiefs and the Governor, and rumours of concessions. This last item was published on the 13th November 1897; and the next item appeared on 22nd January 1898, when there is published a news item as to Bai Kompah's arrival in Freetown: mention is made of some grievances he complained of, a doubt being at the same time suggested as to their reality. I have found no further allusion to the Protectorate Ordinance until 12th February, which referred to the arrest of the Port Lokko Chiefs, who had then been brought to Freetown. After 12th February some items referring to the Protectorate occurs in nearly every issue; most of them being news paragraphs. There are a few letters from correspondents, a few leading articles, and several allusions in a column of short paragraphs after the manner of those in *Truth*—a considerable way after. In the short paragraphs there are a few personal allusions, not in the best taste. The statements of facts bear no appearance of wilful misrepresentation, and, speaking generally, seem to be well founded. In the leading articles the opinions of the journalists are of course expressed. One of the articles cited by the Attorney-General, "A Voice from the West," I would characterise as silly—too silly to affect any one capable of taking a serious view of the situation. The gist of the "Ode to Bai Bureh," also referred to by the Attorney-General, is that, whilst it compliments this Chief on the boldness of his opposition, it dissuades him from perseverance, as opposition to the English power is hopeless. It is a clever production—too clever to be level with the understanding, I would say, of any native of the Protectorate, or to influence any of them.

8207. 8224. 8227. 8231–8252. 8263. 8254.

141. In the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* of 1898 I have not seen any allusion to Protectorate affairs until 19th February 1898, when there is a news item describing the occurrences connected with the arrest of the Port Lokko Chiefs. The article in the *Weekly News*, referred to by the Attorney-General, is really a series of four articles: the first was published on the 2nd April, and the second, third, and fourth, on the 9th, 16th, and 23rd April respectively. The editor of the *Weekly News* stated, in answer to my questions, that when this article was written things had arrived at such a position that the feeling was very strong in the country, and the article was written in order to bring to light what

8331–8345. 8332.

[1] The Sierra Leone *Times* and Sierra Leone *Weekly News* appear to be the only newspapers that could have been referred to by Sir F. Cardew. There are some missionary publications, and a small paper called *City Chats*, which began to be published subsequent to the date of the despatch.

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really had taken place, gathered from a great many different sources; that the article was written by a person on whose accuracy and good faith he could thoroughly rely, and that, according to his judgment, it was a correct summary of events at the time. I do not consider that these articles in substance stated any facts which had not occurred, or that such commentary as they contained went beyond the bounds of permissible criticism. I think that the title was too sensational, and on that account unwise; although it must be remembered that the circumstances existing were such as to cause intense excitement, and the tone of an ordinary newspaper may be expected to reflect the prevailing tone of the community at the moment. A number of other publications in this paper were almost exclusively news items.

8359. 142. The editor of the *Weekly News* was aware that it had been said that the
8362. press of Sierra Leone had directly encouraged the natives not to pay the Hut Tax. He published a denial in the London *Times*, and challenged any one to point out instances where the press had given such encouragement, and repeated this challenge in his own paper. So far as he was aware, or as has appeared, the challenge has not been taken up in any way.

143. I examined the editors of the *Sierra Leone Times* and *Weekly News* at considerable length, with the object of giving them opportunity of offering such explanations as they thought fit, both as to the principles on which their
8187–8366. journals were conducted, and also as to the particular matters which had been published touching on the Protectorate troubles. Their answers seemed to me to be fair and candid, and I refer to the evidence in the Appendix.

144. If a very strict criticism be applied, it might perhaps be said, as to both newspapers, that there may have been some over-readiness to publish matters without sufficient separate investigation of the facts stated by correspondents; at the same time, I must say that I found the facts published remarkably in unison with the evidence which had come to me; and this bears out what was stated to me, viz. that it was the practice only to publish items coming from known and reliable persons. I have not been able to find that there was any other than fair and moderate criticism of the Protectorate Ordinance in its inception. When the Ordinance had become a fact, the newspapers discreetly left it alone for a time. When failure and disaster had resulted, there was strong criticism, not so much of the scheme as of the abuse of power by Police and District Commissioners, and of the policy of unyielding force; some praise of Bai Bureh as a generous foe. In no publication have I found any incitement or advice to the natives not to pay the Hut Tax. The constantly prevailing tone has been that whatever errors might have occurred on the part of the Government, or its officers, the first consideration must be a thorough stamping out of the rising. The idea of reading between the lines, so as to read into a publication something which is not said, or the very opposite of what is said, is, in my opinion, an unfair method of judgment. If it is the proper function of a newspaper press in a colony to support the Government in all its acts, and to smooth over the consequences of these acts, however untoward or unfortunate, then the Sierra Leone press did not fulfil such a standard, as to the second particular; but I believe that it is advantageous for a Government, placed even as that of Sierra Leone is, that its policy and actions should be publicly and freely discussed, so long as facts are not falsely stated and com-

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mentary is not based either on the suppression of facts, or insinuation of facts beyond those which have occurred.

145. The proposition that the exciting cause of the revolt was the incitement by the press not to pay the House Tax, implies, of course, not only that there were publications in the Sierra Leone newspapers of a tendency to incite the natives not to pay, but that these incitements came in contact with their minds at such time and in such a way as to bring about the results, which in their nature they were calculated to produce. Having stated the foregoing views as to the intrinsic character of the writings in question, I need say very little as to the other conditions bearing on the question whether the press influenced the natives to resistance.

146. As far as concerns the disturbance in the Karene district, it seems impossible that the press could have had any share in causing it; the incidents which led up to the war, the proceedings at Port Lokko, had occurred before there was anything published which could be construed as disapproving of the District Commissioner's methods, whilst to assume that after this, and before the first act of the war on 18th February, Bai Bureh was on the point of giving up his preparations for defence, and would have quietly submitted to be arrested if something had not been read to him from a newspaper, is too strained a view to carry any conviction.

147. In the Mendi country there is the same incompatibility as to time, for it has been seen that in the beginning of January the Chiefs, on their own unaided view, were strung up to the point of absolute refusal to pay, and although they bent to force in many instances, there is no reason to think their inward intentions were thereby changed. There is also the problem—How could the influence of the Sierra Leone newspapers, supposing there had been an influence for revolt, have come to bear sufficiently on the minds of the Chiefs and people? There is no evidence that such a thing ever took place.

148. Some of the District Commissioners had an idea that every important Chief kept beside him an English-speaking clerk to read and write for him, and read to him the Sierra Leone newspapers. This is far too hasty a generalisation. The Secretary for Native Affairs, a much more reliable authority, stated that he only knew of one Chief among the Mendis who had a clerk generally beside him; but that other Chiefs, when they wished to have a letter written or read, obtained, when they could, the occasional services of a Sierra Leone trader. That the Chiefs, as a body, could be materially influenced by some of them hearing occasionally a reading of a Sierra Leone newspaper is a very unlikely theory, and does not rest on any basis of fact. No Chief, and no Sierra Leone trader or Sierra Leone clerk has been brought forward to show that a newspaper relating to the House Tax was ever read or listened to in the way supposed. Captain Moore, Acting District Commissioner of Ronietta, related in his evidence that he, on one occasion, found ten or twelve Chiefs 7783.
sitting round a Sierra Leone boy, who had a newspaper in his hand, and was talking in Mendi; what the boy was saying he did not know: but he seems to have come to the conclusion that he must be inciting to rebellion; for aught that appears he might just as likely have been showing its hopelessness. But I am disposed to surmise that some of Captain Moore's attendants played off a joke on him as to the character of the assembled persons, for that

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ten or twelve Chiefs should come together to have a newspaper read by a Sierra Leone boy is so very far removed from the ordinary practice of the Chiefs, as to bear the stamp of an inherent improbability which would require very clear information to bridge over. Captain Fairtlough, who succeeded Captain Moore
5090. as Acting District Commissioner of Ronietta, related having found some thirty copies of a Sierra Leone newspaper stored in a Chief's house. Their dates were about four years old; what were their contents, or whether they belonged to the Chief or some Sierra Leone trader who had been lodged in the house, he did not inquire. Moreover, there is absolutely nothing to show that when the active discussion of the Protectorate affairs began about 12th February 1898, the Chiefs and people were so far disposed in favour of payment of the Tax, that if the supposed incitement had not been presented, they would have paid. Of this there is not only no evidence whatever, but the strongest evidence in the opposite direction.

11. People of Sierra Leone.

149. As regards incitement to the non-payment of the Hut Tax by the Sierra Leone people and traders, similar questions occur as with regard to the press. First, Were such incitements offered? and second, Did such incitements come home to the minds of the Chiefs and the people, and were they in that wavering and uncertain disposition that the incitements determined them not to pay? I have carefully inquired into the evidence touching on these questions.

150. Sir F. Cardew, in his despatch to the Secretary of State of 31st May 1898, already mentioned, stated that he had no doubt advice not to pay the tax was given to the Chiefs who waited in Freetown for several months for an answer to their petition, and that searching inquiries were being made as to this. In the natural course, the result of these inquiries would have been placed before me. Only two such cases were suggested to me for examination. The result in both was entire failure of evidence that any advice or suggestion had been given against payment. The one case was that of Mr. Pittendrigh, the other that of Mr. Marcus, both merchants in Freetown.

151. Again there was the case of Ring, a trader, which case was reported to the Secretary of State as "a strong case of incitement not to "pay the House Tax, and going very near one of incitement to rebellion." I have carefully read the depositions on which this case was founded. Summarised, with reference to the charge, the evidence is as follows:—The first witness said he was present when Ring visited Pa Komp in December 1897; that Ring asked this Chief if he had paid his tax, and on the Chief answering that he had not yet done so, Ring said, "The Governor is only "oppressing the poor people because they are blind: however, let us look to "God and he will pay the Government for you." The Chief asked how the petition of the Chiefs then in town was going on. Ring replied, "The Chiefs "have written to Her Majesty, but we have heard that Her Majesty has replied "that she has no hand in the matter." The witness further said that Ring had met him in February and said that he (the witness) should not assist the Government in levying the House Tax, as it is not "only wrong, according "to the Bible, but would make become unpopular with the people. He

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" advised me to let the Government collect the tax themselves." The next witness gave some evidence as to Ring having said something uncomplimentary to Chief Smart, but nothing concerning the Hut Tax. Three more witnesses gave evidence not bearing in any way on the question of paying the tax. The first witness was recalled, and said, " I have never heard Mr. Ring say the " words, ' Do not pay the Hut Tax,' in those words, but that is what he " meant." A fifth witness said that he heard Ring say to Chief Bai Kompah, " The power of the Government is powerful; you must have to pay the tax, " and afterwards you can complain." Ring was prosecuted on a charge of selling gunpowder before the District Commissioner at Kwallu and convicted. The conviction was, I believe, afterwards quashed by advice of the Acting Attorney-General. He was not prosecuted on any other charge, so far as I have learned.[1]

152. In the District Commissioner's Magisterial Returns for the Karene and Ronietta districts for January, February, and March, there are two convictions under the charge of advising not to pay the Hut Tax, and one conviction under the charge of advising natives to resist the authority of the District Commissioners. Sir F. Cardew must have been misled by some over-zealous official in writing the despatch last mentioned, as in it he reported having found eight convictions in the Returns I have mentioned for inciting natives not to pay the Hut Tax, exclusive of the traders of Port Lokko, who refused to pay. I have not seen that the words actually used by any of the persons convicted were taken down or reported, but assuming that they did address incitements to the natives not to pay the Hut Tax, and were rightly convicted, it is a truism to say that a few such cases no more establish any general incitement to disobedience by the people or traders of Sierra Leone than the speeches of one or two Trafalgar Square orators would prove the general opinion and voice of the people of London.

153. The other evidences of incitement, so far as I have discovered, consist of vague allegations by policemen and others. Against such allegations may well be taken the fact that the Sierra Leone mind does not work in the direction of active resistance to law: the people consider a law made by the Government to be all-powerful, to which resistance is impossible, and any suggestion of relief from a law thought to be oppressive would be in the form of advice to comply with the law, and then to beg or petition the Government.

154. It is to be added that there is a good deal of evidence showing that the Sierra Leone traders in the Mendi country not only promptly paid the tax for

[1] I may here refer to an allegation which has been made, that Sierra Leone Traders sold gunpowder to people of the Protectorate, knowing, or having the means of knowing, that it was meant for use in support of the rebellion. Such cases, if capable of being substantiated, would no doubt have been dealt with by the Police and the Public Prosecutor, and would have reflected heavily on the individuals concerned, but it would have been less than just to deduce from convictions—unless, perhaps, upon a very wide induction—conclusions affecting the attitude or animus of others than the persons convicted. On inquiry, I found there had been, in May 1898, two cases in the Police Court connected with gunpowder—one for having more than 10 lbs. of gunpowder not in a copper magazine, contrary to a local ordinance; the other for stealing a keg of about 3½ lbs. of gunpowder. In the former case the defendants called a clerk of G. B. Olivant & Co., traders in Freetown, who said he had about three weeks previously sold 100 lbs. of gunpowder to some countryman, and that he had kept his powder in kegs, not in a magazine, for about ten years previously. No other cases came under my notice. There were various conjectures as to the sources from which the insurgents obtained gunpowder, but no real information. The Mendis do not appear to have been at any time well supplied with either guns or gunpowder. The local Government put no restriction on the sale or transport of gunpowder until 11th March 1898.

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their own houses, but in not a few cases advised natives to pay, and often lent them money for the purpose—facts which seem inconsistent with any pervading purpose on the part of the Sierra Leone people or traders to advise non-payment and resistance. I may remark further, that if the advice generally coming from Sierra Leone traders had been to resist payment, they would hardly have come under the reproach from the Mendis, which so strongly told against them in the rising, of having brought or helped to bring the Hut Tax upon them.

155. I am thus quite unable to find it established that the Sierra Leone people or traders can be justly charged with having, by their advice to the natives, contributed to bring about the rebellion. Like the incitements by the press, it is a hypothesis not built up by means of any sound induction from facts, and which does not fit in with the facts. There was, it is true, a decided opinion in Freetown against several of the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance, the echo of which may of course have reached some of the Chiefs: but it is shown, by the early stage at which petitions came in from the Hinterland against the Hut Tax, and by other evidence to which I have already referred, that the Chiefs and people had formed very strong opinions of their own; and there is no need, under all the established facts, to go in search of any outside influences, or to suppose that such must have materially concurred in causing the ultimate results.[1]

12. Native Feeling towards Hut Tax.

156. The evidence which I have obtained on this point shows that a tax of the nature of the Hut Tax is unknown in native custom, and that it is highly obnoxious. With a great deal of prevailing loyalty to authority, the native African mind has a strong grasp of the idea of individual liberty, and a tax peremptorily imposed irrespective of the consent of the tax-payer is felt to be derogatory to liberty. Moreover no people has ever welcomed direct taxation or received it even with toleration unless they have become aware that the Government they are required to support brings to them reciprocal advantages worth paying for. We must accept the fundamental fact that the Chiefs and people of the Hinterland of Sierra Leone have as yet only very slight knowledge of the English Government or its beneficent aims. It has been recognised by many of the Chiefs that the English rule is beneficial inasmuch as it has tended to allay and prevent inter-tribal raids, which are condemned by general native opinion. And they probably have some feeling of security from the hope of English protection if threatened by outside enemies. Beyond these advantages nothing tangible or intelligible has as yet accrued. The advantages recognised scarcely suggest to the native benefits of a nature which ought to be paid for by compliance with a tax which they regard as oppressive and unjust in itself, and in the peculiar significance attributed to it, viz.: that it implied a taking away of the right of the people in their own country, and a taking

[1] Sir F. Cardew having insisted much on the influence of the Sierra Leone press and Sierra Leone traders in inciting and encouraging the rebellion, I asked him, whilst giving his evidence, to supply me with whatever information he possessed on these points. He reserved his answer at the time, but has since sent it, along with answers to certain other questions which were reserved, the paper reaching me on the 31st December. I have carefully examined the evidence, in which there is a good deal of argumentative statement, but no new facts requiring particular notice. *See* Note B. in Appendix II.

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away of the right of ownership in the houses, an implied meaning which spread widely and deeply. It is said that those ideas can be got rid of by explanation. That of course depends on the patience, skill, and success of the officer who undertakes to explain; he would start with a strong prepossession against his arguments. It is true that Chiefs occasionally draw contributions from their people, but these are of the nature of free-will offerings for particular purposes known and approved of by the people, as in the characteristic instance mentioned by Captain Fairtlough — the coronation of a Paramount Chief, or other occasion for festivities. I have found no instance of a Chief attempting to raise anything of the nature of a *regularly recurring* revenue in this way. Chief Henry Tucker, a loyal Chief of the Mendi country, said, "The people are not pleased in paying this tax; they do not know what 5426.
"tax is. The place is newly made Protectorate. I think the Government ought
"to have given them a little more time to get used to it. Their houses are
"hardly worth four shillings. . . . To us to pay the Hut Tax is quite a strange
"thing. That discourages them altogether. . . . I knew it would not work
"smoothly. My mother and father never knew what tax was. People said
"whoever paid the tax would be killed. That showed very very strong feeling. 5433.
". . . Chiefs ask their people for contributions. Suppose, for instance, I wanted
"to visit some other Chief; I would leave it to them. They would give what
"they could; but to say they must give the Chief so much each year—no!"
To nearly the like effect are some remarks of Colonel Gore, the Colonial
Secretary: "I should have left them a little longer to see the results of 8529-8531.
"civilisation. They are not enlightened enough yet to understand it. It might
"have been better to wait a little. We are taking all their power away from
"them now. . . . I do not think they were given long enough to understand it.
"I do not think they have grasped it." Chief Hanna Modu: "This Hut Tax
"affair is very great. Our fathers did not know anything about it. If they 5179.
"wanted it, they should have sent a letter to us to meet in one place and say,
"'We wish you to do such a work for us.'" Karene Chiefs: "If you come 4507.
"through the King we will do what we can, but not a yearly payment, for
"that would be the same as a tax. . . . Our forefathers were good friends 4469.
"with the Government. What we hear now as to our own country where
"our forefathers lived, is that if we want to live in this country we must
"pay Hut Tax: we have only mud-houses covered with grass; if we want
"to sleep in that hut we must pay for it. Our forefathers did not sell
"their country to the Government, it was a friendship; what belongs to us
"belongs to you as a friend." "If asked for contributions occasionally, we
"would do what we could." "Government should say, We want you to help 4509
"us with such an amount, 'but not to go and say, You must pay. . . . 5184
"Willing to give as a voluntary contribution; but it would be selling 5185.
"the country if the Government came and peremptorily demanded it.'"
"If Government asks us to give some rice for the Frontier Police; we will
"do what we are able, but to compel us to pay the Hut Tax, we are not 4505.
"able; if we pay for the house it does not belong to us any more."

157. Even if the Hut Tax had not been in itself obnoxious, it would have become so, from being associated with so much that was unwise and oppressive in the methods made use of for its collection, and I fear, if retained, it will continue

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4552. for very many years to be regarded with the most grave hatred. Karene Chiefs said: "If this tax had not been collected so quickly, so rudely, we would not "have had the same objection. . . . The Government hold out hand for tax,
5174. "and shoot you with the other. . . . We are too poor to pay the Hut Tax, and "at the same time the rude and foolish way they collect it; some Kings have
5175. "been handcuffed and some sent to prison . . . to make peace with a gun in
5186. "black man's country! He is your friend, and weaker than you; that vexes us. "If the Queen were to know such a thing she would say 'No.' She is a "peacemaker, and would not ruin anything. But the disrespect we have seen. "The common Frontier Police come and collar us—our own escaped slaves— "but in the Queen's uniform. They simply come to plunder us. . . . My "people can hardly clothe themselves; they have no money. Since the
6249. "Governor came and imposed the tax, they have been troubled in mind and "are not able to pay the tax. This also brought about the rising. The "people have suffered from the Frontier Police and the wicked way they go "about to collect the tax. If things continue in this way the Chiefs feel as "if they would run away that they may be in quiet. They would go to Dakka
6250. "on the Liberian side. . . . The whole country belongs to the Queen, but since "Governor Cardew came he has made us feel that we were wrong to offer "the country to the Queen." I have stated much already as to the conduct of the Police, and need not multiply expressions of feeling.

13. Objections to Hut Tax.

158. Apart from native feeling towards the House Tax, there are inherent objections. Imposed on a primitive people, whom it ought to be an object of policy to raise to a higher level, it tends to impede and counteract that policy. Nothing is more important in the way of physical improvement, and tends more towards moral improvement, than building better houses, and building sufficiently without artificial restriction, and on such a scale as to avoid the evils of overcrowding. The African, whenever his prosperity increases a little, aims at providing better houses and more accommodation, so that as land and materials are easily obtained, a man who is fairly well off will have a number of houses: one for himself, one or more for his wives, one for semi-adult children, one or more for strangers, and others for his servants according to their number. The House Tax restrains all this tendency, and at the same time restrains that increased desire for European goods towards which improved house accommodation would naturally have led, and, as naturally follows, diminishes the motives to industry, in the cultivation and collection of those native products which would be exported in exchange for the goods. Hence the tendency is to diminish the trade on which the Colony depends, both in its imports and exports.

159. One more objection, which indeed seems to be common to all methods of direct taxation collected by a European Government, lies in the difficulty or impossibility of providing adequate machinery for the collection. Judging from past experience, it could hardly be hoped that a sufficient number of subordinate servants of the Government could be found, endowed with such a degree of honesty and discretion as would render it safe to put them in the position of collectors; or to feel any confidence that they would not abuse such

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a trust. For there is the difficulty lying at the root of the matter, which I have already mentioned, but cannot too much insist on, that the native in authority, unless raised above his fellows by education, training and experience, *will* domineer, and that the native under the powers of a Government officer, does not understand their limits, or how to bring excesses under restraint by properly supported representations to a superior. That being so, there remains the District Commissioner, or perhaps the Inspector of Police.

160. The District Commissioner, actual or potential, should be regarded, according to the Protectorate scheme, as the wise man to whom all look up, to whom differences or quarrels may sometimes be referred, and on whose justice, calmness, and moderation all may place reliance. It would be most prejudicial to this character—which it is of the utmost importance should be established and maintained—if it were the District Commissioner's office to go about the country demanding payment of a tax, and enforcing this payment by levies on property, which he would have to conduct personally, or, at least, with personal and close supervision of the assistants he would take about with him. The unsuitable inroads on the time of the Commissioner, all too little for his duties, would in itself be a very strong objection.

161. This leads directly up to a further difficulty in the scheme of the Hut Tax, viz. the method of enforcing the payment provided by the law, which is by levy on the goods and the stipends of the Chiefs in default. The only legitimate alternative for default in payment of a tax is to treat the amount as a debt, and recover it as a debt, not to treat the defaulter as a criminal. Where there is sufficiency of means, and the levy is used as a compulsitor, in cases of wilful refusal to pay, there may be not much objection to the method, but where the defaulter is unable to pay, and the levying officer seizes and carries away the few cooking vessels, or articles of dress, or the little store of rice he can lay hands on; or perchance a few sheep or cattle, or perhaps the Chief's staff of office, it becomes a most miserable remedy, sinking in rough hands, or almost in any hands, into legalised plunder. Then after seizure the next step is a sale by auction to the best bidder of the things seized. One is at a loss to understand how this provision could be carried out in the case of a Chief who was well regarded by his people; and the Chiefs are so regarded, unless in quite exceptional cases. The people would probably make the sale abortive by not bidding, whilst an attempt to carry out sale and purchase by strangers would be very likely to lead to disturbances; besides, the whole of such proceedings would be in no small degree derogatory to the Chief's position and prestige, which I assume is not intended, as government through the Chiefs is ostensibly a leading feature in the Protectorate scheme.

14. Amount of Hut Tax.

162. As regards the amount of the tax, the question has been discussed mainly on the supposition that the one point to be determined was whether the occupant (or the principal occupant where there are more than one) of each hut was in a position to pay five shillings a year—a sum which, estimated by Europeans, may seem small. This appears to be the point of view from which Sir F. Cardew and the District Commissioners of Karene, Bandajuma, Panguma, and Ronietta have discussed the subject. The rates by law are

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five shillings, and ten shillings in the case of houses having more than three rooms. I shall also point out that there are at least two other material considerations. But dealing in the meantime with the question whether the five shillings a year can be paid, it may be quite true—indeed there is no reason to doubt—that some favourably placed persons, those, for instance, living near a District Commissioner's headquarters, or near any well-frequented market, or those who live in a palm-kernel district, or the very small proportion who can earn money on Government works, or with the merchants, might be able to realise the five shillings a year without difficulty. But conceding thus much, it is certain that there must be a very large proportion of the population who are outside of all the suggested modes of industry, every one of which presuppose health, strength, and suitable age. We must take away therefore the aged, the sick, and the infirm. But besides these there are large numbers of the population who live at too great a distance from any employment or species of industry to participate in its emoluments. This class may have *food* for themselves if they succeed in their cultivation, and the locusts and other enemies keep away, and if they can store up sufficiently and safely for the periods between one harvest and another, but their *money* resources for taxation or any other purpose must be very small. It is said they can plant additional rice. It is not in every soil or situation that rice can be produced, and it is necessary to have at least a *machette* and some seed before cultivation can be begun, and we are told that there are many natives who have not the means of procuring these. Moreover, the acceptance of rice in lieu of the five shillings' tax is merely a temporary concession, not a part of the Hut Tax law; and there is no certainty that Government could continue this concession, or accept rice in all places at the present assessed value, and the transport of the rice to the station of delivery may entail days of travel. There is a very large concensus of opinion that five shillings a hut is beyond the ability of the natives, taken generally, to pay, and I do not perceive any reason for thinking that this evidence is not correct. I am therefore of opinion that although those of the natives who are advantageously placed could pay the tax, there is yet a very numerous section who could only pay with difficulty, and a considerable number who could not pay. It is easy to suppose a state of things in which there might be more industry in the Hinterland, when the payment of a Hut Tax or any other tax would be much easier. But we have to deal with what now exists rather than what may come in the future. It is said that the inherent laziness of the natives is the cause of their poverty. I doubt this much. Natives may be seen working very hard in Freetown for ninepence or one shilling a day, and they do very hard work as carriers of loads for small wages; and I am disposed to attribute the natives' poverty far more to the want of incitements and encouragements to work than to any inherent disinclination.

163. Whatever opinion may be formed as to the ability of the people to pay the tax, supposing it to be evenly distributed, that does not conclude the subject. It is not distributed evenly, and never can be unless we suppose a complete social revolution. There is the very large class of family dependents who look to the master or head of the family to make all payments on their

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behalf, and never repay his disbursements, or only partially and indirectly. Hence, instead of each holder of a hut paying five shillings (or ten shillings), the tax would really be paid by a comparatively small number of persons, paying from one pound each year, up to ten pounds or more, in the case of persons having a large number of dependents. It is on the ability and ready compliance of this class of persons that the prompt collection of the tax would in great measure depend, whilst at the same time their resources in money are very small, and they might feel tempted to evade their responsibilities and endeavour to leave the burden to be met by their dependents as best they might, and this again might introduce a new source of friction and disagreement.

164. A further very important question is whether the Chiefs are able to meet the liability which is imposed on them for the Hut Tax by the Protectorate Ordinance. In the taxation scheme, as therein expressed, the Chief having jurisdiction in any town or village is required to pay to the District Commissioner an annual house tax in respect of every house therein, except houses occupied by non-natives or Government officers. It is said to have been understood that the Chiefs were to collect the tax from their people. That is not stated in the Ordinance, nor are the Chiefs invested by the Ordinance with any powers for enforcing payment. Passing by this, however, as a formal matter, which might be amended, there is the substantial question as to the Chief's ability to meet the demand for the Hut Tax. There is an ambiguity, as I formerly pointed out, as to whether the tax is payable by the Paramount Chief or by the Chief having immediate jurisdiction over the particular town in respect of which the tax is claimed. Whichever way this be taken, the evidence shows that most of the Chiefs who paid the tax in 1898 did so with the aid of borrowed money, and in another year their own resources, as well as their capacity for borrowing, will be materially less. The Chiefs are only in a few cases traders, and in the case of those few their trade for the present has been destroyed. Where not traders, almost their only source of income is the fees they receive in their courts, and this source the Protectorate scheme, the more it comes into active operation, would be likely the more to diminish. I believe there are only a very few of the sub-Chiefs, if any, who could meet the taxes claimable in respect of their particular towns, and it is still less likely that the Paramount Chiefs could meet the claims upon their districts. To deal with the Chiefs therefore, peremptorily, as primarily liable for the tax, and to apply against them even those methods authorised by the Ordinance, by levy and sale of their goods, besides the other objections to which such a course is liable, would be radically unjust, as it would be to apply a stern compulsion to force them to do what is really out of their power. A possibly workable arrangement, if it had been adopted at the beginning, whilst matters were yet entire, might have been to require, and encourage the Chiefs by an adequate percentage, to act as Collectors, giving them sufficient time for the collection, and a certain latitude in making returns. They would have known in ways no officer of Government could, who in their towns were able to pay the tax and who could not, and if they had been allowed to use their knowledge and make the collections without interference, it might have been possible to bring a system of direct taxation into operation without the disasters which have resulted from the methods adopted,

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and the sad memories which, I fear, must long embitter all the relations between the people of the Hinterland and the English Government.

165. The Protectorate Ordinance makes the stipend payable to Chiefs by Government applicable for payment of the Hut Tax in case of the Chief making default. Many of these stipends are so small that they would only amount to a partial contribution. These stipends, in the case of Treaty Chiefs, were promised by the Government in return for cessions of territory or specific undertakings by the Chiefs, and it may be questioned whether it is quite in accordance with good faith to appropriate them to a subsequent taxation of the nature of the Hut Tax.

15. Fallacy in Taxation Scheme.

166. I would here draw attention to the fallacy which seems to have been at the root of the scheme of imposing a direct tax on the Hinterland not imposed on the Colony of Sierra Leone—the fallacy of overlooking altogether the contribution made by the Hinterland to the revenues of the Colony. Thus Sir F. Cardew, writing to the Secretary of State, 14th December 1896, says:—"It is obvious that a poor colony like Sierra Leone, which can hardly make two "ends meet, cannot spare any portion of her revenue for the needs of the "Protectorate, so either taxation must be enforced, or the Protectorate left "practically to its resources, merely under police control. . . . We cannot "expect this colony to contribute towards the expenses of the administration "of the Protectorate." Here it appears to be assumed that all the duties upon goods imported into Sierra Leone are paid by the people of the Colony. This will be seen to be quite incorrect when it is considered that only a small percentage of the goods on which duties are paid remains in Sierra Leone for consumption. There are no statistics; but taking the average of five estimates by mercantile authorities, 82·4 per cent. of the whole imports goes into the Protectorate, leaving 17·6 per cent. in the Colony. A portion finds its way through the Protectorate into the territories beyond; it is not possible to ascertain with precision how much, but having regard to the duties and other restrictions on the French frontier, it is probably small. Putting it as high as 25 per cent. of the goods entering the Protectorate, this would leave 57·4 per cent. of the imported goods as consumed in the Protectorate. The consumers pay, of course, as part of the price of every article they buy, the Customs duty and all other expenses which have been laid out upon it. The Customs duties, together with light and harbour duties charged along with them, amounted in 1897 to £87,093. Hence instead of the Protectorate being entirely a charge upon the Colony of Sierra Leone, as assumed, it contributed in 1897 to the Colonial revenue, taking it that 25 per cent. of the imported goods passed into the remoter Hinterland, as much as £49,991 out of a total Customs revenue of £87,093, of which the inhabitants of the Colony only paid as consumers £15,328.

167. The same thing has been going on in greater or less degree ever since Sierra Leone was a Colony, its revenues having all along been dependent in great measure on the duties of customs on goods carried into and consumed in

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the adjacent inland territories. Through the imposition of this direct tax of the Hut Tax therefore this newly-formed Protectorate, with its inchoate organisation, was taxed more heavily than the Colony, with all its advantages of protection of persons and property, regular courts of justice, schools, roads, and the other advantages that flow from long-settled government.

168. If it was advisable to impose a tax of the nature of a House Tax at all, it should not have been imposed in the Protectorate until it was also imposed in the Colony, and until it had been arranged that a Municipal rate in Freetown should contemporaneously come into operation. It was no doubt owing to the fallacy that the Protectorate contributed nothing to taxation that such a course was not taken. But for this error, one, at least, of the causes would have been avoided, which probably aroused amongst the people of the Protectorate the feeling that they were being partially and unfairly dealt with.

16. Summary.

169. The Hut Tax, together with the measures used for its enforcement, were the moving causes of the insurrection. The tax was obnoxious to the customs and feelings of the people. A peremptory and regularly recurring impost is unknown in their own practices and traditions. The English Government has not as yet conferred any such benefits as to lead to a burden of a strange and portentous species being accepted willingly. There was a widespread belief that it was a means of taking away their rights in their country and in their property. That the tax was considered as an oppressive and unjust impost is proved by the unanimous and earnest petitions and representations against its enforcement in the earlier stages, by the general unwillingness to pay reported by District Commissioners in the beginning of 1898, and manifested everywhere by the agreements and oaths of the Chiefs binding themselves not to pay, and their resistance to payment, and by the opinions of Chiefs and others who know their countrymen and their modes of thinking.

170. The amount of the tax is higher than the people, taken generally, can pay, and the arrangement by which liability is primarily placed on the Chiefs to make good definite amounts on demand is unworkable.

171. The mode of enforcing payment provided by the law would probably prove abortive, whether used to meet inability or unwillingness to pay.

172. Repugnance to the tax was much aggravated by the sudden, uncompromising, and harsh methods by which it was endeavoured to be brought into operation, not merely by the acts of native policemen, but in the whole scheme adopted by the Colonial authorities. Before payment of this tax had begun to be demanded, alienation and anger had been produced by vexatious acts and interferences with the Chiefs and people by the Frontier Police, and this anger and alienation were greatly intensified when these same Police were used subsequently to compel payment of the tax by illegal and overmastering force. The inherent repugnance to the Hut Tax would by itself most probably have led to passive resistance in whatever modes that form of opposition might have been capable of assuming. The sense of personal wrong and injustice from the illegal and degrading severities made use of in enforcing the Tax,

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coupled with the aversion to the Tax in itself, produced in the Timinis a resistance enforced by arms, and led the Mendis to venture on an exterminating and plundering raid.

173. The Timinis were hurried rapidly into their hostile attitude through the circumstance that an act for enforcement of the Hut Tax was directed against a war Chief, Bai Bureh, who in his resistance had a considerable fighting force, both of his own people and those of other Chiefs in sympathy with him, ready at his disposal. The hostility of the Timinis produced no other results than resistance against the attempts of the Government forces to make this chief a prisoner, and afterwards resistance, or attempted resistance, against their operations in laying waste the country.

174. In the Mendi country opposition to the Hut Tax showed itself at a very early period. Owing to the fact that in that country there were a few powerful Chiefs shrewd enough to perceive at the beginning that the English Government was too strong to be opposed, and owing to coercive measures taken against other Chiefs, and owing to the forces for resistance being very much less organised than in the Timini country, the tax was paid to a considerable extent, but unwillingly, and the Mendis undertook their raid at what they deemed a favourable opportunity after their injuries had been piled up and brooded over. The hostility of the Mendis found its outlet mainly in killing people who had no means of defence, and in plunder, and little in resistance to armed force, although they made one or two somewhat resolute stands.

175. The different character of the rising in the Mendi and Timini countries is due in part to the different character of the people, in part to the traditions of predatory raids among the Mendis, in part to the different circumstances which preceded the rising in the two regions. The Mendis are more relentless and revengeful than the Timinis; believing that some of their countrymen had been killed, they would seek to kill in return. There was not that long series of severities amongst the Timinis by which, week after week before the outbreak, fuel was being added to the fire amongst the Mendis. It was also a material circumstance that the Timini people were under a strong leader, who held them well in hand, and made them subordinate to his own plan, which has clearly appeared, as I have already stated, to be merely one of resistance to the police and military forces. The Mendis do not appear to have had any strong leader, and each one, or each little group, appear to have been raiding for their own hand.

176. The Mendi raid being for revenge against the English-speaking people for their share in imposing the Hut Tax, and for plunder, abundantly accounts for its spreading into such parts of the Colony as Sherbro, where many of the inhabitants were Sierra Leone people, and there were wealthy trading factories.

177. The insurrection was not in any degree caused by writings in the Sierra Leone press. Neither antecedently nor subsequently to the beginning of the insurrection were there incitements to resist the law. After the insurrection had gained a footing in the Timini country there were criticisms, and in some instances the language may not have been enough guarded. The circulation of newspapers in the Protectorate is so small, and so little do they come in contact with the native intellect, that even if the writings had been inflammatory, their influence with reference to these risings may be put as a negligeable quantity.

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178. I have formed a similar opinion as to the influence of Sierra Leone traders and other natives of Sierra Leone. Instances of Sierra Leone people speaking unwisely may have occurred, but there is very little evidence of such, and none of any general current of incitements to rebellion.

179. Concurrent with the Hut Tax and the mode of enforcing it, there were other causes of discontent felt by the Chiefs and people, amongst which may be reckoned the oppressive behaviour of members of the Frontier Police (apart from the Hut Tax troubles), the diminution of the Chiefs' jurisdiction, the lowering of their status by the arbitrary appointment by the Government of men as Chiefs having no right, according to native law or usage, to the position, the clauses of the first Protectorate Ordinance for the appropriating and giving away of lands, the repeal of which was never sufficiently explained. There is no reason to think that these, or any other concurrent grievances, would have brought about the insurrection, apart from the overmastering grievance of the Hut Tax with its implied meaning and the incidents connected with it.

180. In the course of this Report it has been my duty to point out many grave errors,—errors which, by their joint operation, have been the cause of this deplorable insurrection. I have done so with much regret. If I could have found that the insurrection was the result of an inevitable conflict between ancient barbarism and an advancing civilisation, I would willingly have taken this view, but to have done this would not have been consistent with the faithful discharge of the Commission with which I have been entrusted.

17. Recommendations.

181. Causes of acute irritation should in the first place be removed, so as to give some rest to the fevered and worn body politic. I am strongly of an opinion that an amnesty should be now proclaimed for all who have been engaged, or may be suspected of having been engaged, in the insurrection. If there are any persons who, owing to particular circumstances, should be excepted from the amnesty, they should be excepted by name, but it is undesirable that any fresh informations should now be entertained; for I think it may be taken as certain that all *bona fide* charges have already been made, and any new ones, if such are preferred, may be very strongly suspected of being the outcome of private and personal malice or revenge.

182. It goes as a concomitant of a general amnesty that all punitive expeditions should cease. Enough has been done for punishment. I am well assured that even long before now there has been a very widespread desire to return to peaceful and ordinary life. The continuance of arrests, prosecutions, even military promenades, have the effect of unsettling and terrorising, and the result may be, 1st, an exodus of the more able-bodied towards Liberia or into French territory, of which I heard some intelligence; 2nd, some partial outbreak of renewed hostilities by the people, who might feel that they were being harassed in an intolerable degree; or, 3rd, they may be reduced to such a state of abject fear and depression that they will lurk in the bush, refraining from all industry, and thus the general prosperity which is dependent entirely on the cultivation and collection of the products of the soil, be materially retarded. It is to be added that such expeditions, although

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carried out with triumphant success in the sense of overcoming all resistance will yet leave feelings of distrust and hatred which will make the work of governing in future far more difficult than heretofore.

183. As a further measure towards the restoration of confidence, Ordinance 14 of 1898, called "The Insurgents' Temporary Detention Ordinance, 1898," should be immediately repealed. This Ordinance enables the Governor of the Colony, by a simple order, to cause the arrest and imprisonment of any person for an indefinite period without any legal evidence, without any definite charge being preferred, and without the commitment being examinable by any Court of Justice. I need scarcely say that it is by the abuses of which such a measure is capable that its intrinsic character is best judged. By this law any one having a private pique against another, by making a report, without liability for perjury, without coming face to face with the person he accuses—by a letter, a word to a policeman, handed on through official channels—may cause the accused to be seized without explanation and put in gaol amongst felons, where he may remain indefinitely. If such an enactment be applicable to a period of rebellion, when the public safety might justify very extreme deviations from ordinary principles, it ought not to be maintained a moment longer than the necessity which has given rise to it.

184. In offering any recommendations as to the policy of the future, I begin by saying that the only wisdom is to face the facts as they are. The situation, as it at first and most obviously shapes itself, is, that through the unfortunate action which has been taken the whole of the past system in the Protectorate, as well as the projected new system have been thrown out of gear. The confident and friendly relations which used to exist between the Government and the Timini tribes have been broken. The Mendis, who are at once less civilised and less prepossessed in favour of the English Government, probably see in their action a not fortunate resemblance to their own war-raids of older times, with the difference mainly of the infinitely greater powers of destruction wielded by the English. Throughout the districts even the best disposed are alienated or in craven fear, hiding in the bush, and uncertain whether they may venture to rebuild their ruined habitations and to plant crops, which they know not if they may ever reap. To use the words of one of the Chiefs: "Those who have paid their Hut Tax and those who have not "paid are involved in a common ruin." An expensive police, magisterial, and political system has been inaugurated, for the upkeep of which money is urgently required, but which, by destroying the springs of confidence, dries up the sources from which money should be derived. I am not unaware that circumstances are liable to change. The very facts on which any suggestions I may make must be founded may be changing and developing even whilst I write; but I would say, for my own part, that I am not prepared to receive at present, without a great deal of reserve, reports of rapidly returning confidence, or friendly professions by the tribes, or reviving trade.

185. One recommendation I make without hesitation, as it is all-pervading and of universal application whatever may be the details of the policy adopted, and that is that it should be a dominant principle in dealing with primitive races that they shall be governed by settled laws, or at least according to settled legal principles, and not by mere views of temporary expediency, still

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less by the mere personal will of any officer, however highly placed. There is an idea that complicated legal formulas are not adapted to an uncivilised people, which is perfectly true, and there is a further idea that any kind of law will do for the dark places of the earth—for Africa,—which is utterly untrue. It cannot be too strongly impressed that what are called legal principles are the outcome of centuries of experience in the best methods of doing justice, and at the same time making the minimum of encroachment upon individual liberty. It is one of the best gifts we can bring to people such as the natives of the Sierra Leone Hinterland, to teach them that everything which an Englishman or the English Government does is in accordance with clearly and firmly defined lines of justice. If, on the contrary, we govern them in haphazard fashion, or at the mere will of the ruler for the time, we are acting towards them just as we would expect savages would act. Am I doing injustice if I surmise that there is, even amongst some English officers, a confused, unacknowledged idea that different methods of treatment will do for people with dark skins than would be suitable for white people? Would they think it fitting to treat white people as felons for hesitating or failing to promise payment of a tax? No one would say seriously, if they considered the matter, that savage methods are fit for us to use, even if we are dealing with savages—which the people of the Timini country are not in the ordinary acceptation of the term, although the Mendis have shown themselves to be a long distance behind the Timinis in point of civilisation. They are under the British flag. We impose restrictions and liabilities upon them. Reciprocally, we are morally bound to do no violence to their rights. If the officers dealing with the Hut Tax had kept hold of such rudimentary principles, troubles like those which have been seen would not have occurred. They would not have confounded civil liability with crime. The obligations of the Chiefs would have been discussed and worked out by civil methods, or by possibility it might have been found that they could not be practically worked out by the means the law provided; in that case there would have been a hitch in the scheme; some change in the law might have been found necessary, but then a civil war, with its disastrous and dismal consequences, would not have been the sequel.

186. It would be futile to attempt to discuss any scheme for the administration of the Protectorate in separation from the final purpose which is sought to be attained by it. Is it desired that the administration should be carried on mainly through the Chiefs, in accordance with the scheme allowed by the Secretary of State and stated to the Chiefs themselves by Sir F. Cardew, or is it desired, on the contrary, that the power of the Chiefs should be broken, and the authority they possess transferred to a Magistracy formed on European lines? I believe that administration by the Chiefs is still capable of being effective under certain conditions to which I shall refer later. So, of course, is administration by a Magistracy. The present establishment of District Commissioners and Police is too large, and interferes too much and too unwisely, if the former be the end in view. It is not nearly large enough if administration by a Magistracy is aimed at. Let us imagine five Magistrates put down at five stations in Ireland at about equal distances from each other, with about one hundred policemen under the orders of each Magistrate—this arrangement would be about on a par with the governing power over the Protectorate at present provided. If the

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map of the Protectorate be looked at, it will be seen that persons living on some of the outskirts of districts would have to travel from seventy to eighty miles as the crow flies—and, of course, a great deal more by the roads they would have to traverse—if they wished, or were ordered to appear before a District Commissioner. It may be that the present administration is attempting to do what in the nature of things is impossible—to govern according to English ideas, and yet not incur the responsibility of governing. They say they govern through the Chiefs, and yet by interference, which it is impossible to say is always well-considered or judicious, the Chiefs' power of governing is taken away. No efficient or sufficient Magistracy is provided in their place; the country is thus being prepared for a condition of general lawlessness. It appears to be absolutely necessary that the two alternatives should be deliberately considered by Her Majesty's Government, and a choice made of one or the other.

187. The administration by Magistrates brings us in face of a number of difficulties. There is first the initial one of obtaining a sufficient number of officers having the requisite qualifications; and I may add that a long observation has convinced me that the proper qualifications are not found by any means as a matter of course, even amongst men who, in outward seeming, may be eligible enough for appointments in West Africa. I may mention, amongst other desiderata, good health under the disadvantages of a climate which, to say the least, is trying to the natives of Great Britain, suitable age, sufficient interest in the work for its own sake rather than as a more or less perfunctory performance of the duties of an office, open-mindedness, as well as insight into the minds of others, firmness of character combined with a great deal of patience, courtesy, and consideration. Even if all these qualities are secured, the Magistrates do not know the languages of the Protectorate, and it is scarcely to be expected they should, there being many languages and dialects in use, unless, indeed, there were an African service organised, which I can scarcely anticipate. Not knowing the languages, they are dependent in all their intercourse with the natives on their interpreters—a means of communication always most imperfect, but a most anxious difficulty when we consider the very limited number of good interpreters procurable. Then the Magistrates do not know the native laws, and there would be probably an attempt to apply what would be thought English law—one of the mistakes of the present Protectorate scheme. Moreover, it is to be apprehended that an administration by Magistrates would interfere with native manners and modes of life in ways in which it is impossible to foresee with certainty; but a leading feature would probably be that native improvement and development would be arrested, and the population fall into a poor and imperfect imitation of English civilised institutions. Of this one consequence might be expected to be a diminished production and transport to the shipping ports of the commodities which are suitable for export, and on which the commercial existence of the Colony is entirely dependent. The objection I shall mention lastly as connected with an administration by Magistrates is the increased cost it would entail. This is matter of detail which cannot be here entered on, but would necessarily be very considerable if we consider the salaries of Magistrates, interpreters, clerks, and messengers, and the cost of the new houses and other buildings which

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would be necessary. The Chiefs also could hardly be set aside from their hereditary position without some provision at least for those now existing.

188. I may here quote a few words of Sir Samuel Rowe's, than whom no one was ever of more authority upon West African affairs—"Those most competent "to form an opinion agree that the people of the district" (he was then writing particularly as to Shengai and Bompeh) "are not yet sufficiently advanced in "civilisation for an administration such as prevails in Freetown. . . . Beyond "the result of keeping the peace, such an administration would in no way "increase the production of the country, while it largely added to the cost of "governing. A high-class administration has not yet in any case, so far as I "am aware, increased the production of any district to which it has been "applied in West Africa. . . . Exports from Gambia, from Sierra Leone, "Lagos, and Gold Coast are altogether, or to very great extent, the results of "the industry of districts in which slavery is an established institution. If "settled government is to exist in Africa, it must be over very limited areas, "and maintained by Customs duties on the transit of produce grown in districts "to which it does not apply.

"I admit all the defectiveness of a rule by the native Chiefs, but I still "hold to the opinion that the settlement is not in a position to replace it "by any other; that such rule needs to be restrained in some things, encouraged "in others, and to be influenced in all its notions, and it will probably gradually "give place to something more perfect; but I am quite sure that the time has "not yet come for the substitution, in Bompe and Ribbi, or in any other part of "this widespread area, for this rule of an administration based on the principles "of British law as it prevails in Freetown." Sir Samuel Rowe was not a lawyer, and perhaps was not enough aware of the vast distinction there is behind the principles and the technicalities of law, which latter I believe did, and still do, prevail more than enough in Freetown, but I feel sure that his remarks would have been even more emphatic if he had been referring, not to areas comparatively near the seat of government, as he was, but to the great area of the Hinterland which the question now concerns.

18. Administration through Chiefs.

189. If the scheme of the administration of the Hinterland by Magistrates be discarded, as I think it must be, I come to that which appears to me to be the only practicable alternative,—a regulated administration through the Chiefs, coming back thus to the scheme which was originally proposed and sanctioned. The native organisation is one to which the people are accustomed, and are prepared to pay respect, which is suited to them, and capable, with some guidance and control, of keeping the peace and doing substantial justice. It must be admitted that such a scheme is handicapped in respect that matters are not entire: it would be necessary to go back upon and undo some things as well as to endeavour to guide others into the situation they would have occupied if the measures I advocate had been taken some years ago. But I do not think that the task is an impossible one if undertaken by some one having organising ability, willing to take trouble in building up peacefully, and not biassed by prepossessions drawn from the recent past. The measures to be adopted can now, of course, only be stated in brief outline, and subject to elaboration and

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amendment. The leading principle must be to bring back and strengthen the confidence of the Chiefs in the English government, and theirsense of loyalty and dependence upon it.

190. With this view, in the first place, I would endeavour to remove the causes of irritation connected with the police. At once I would do away with the small police posts or stations, weeding out from the force all but the very best of the non-commissioned officers and men employed at these posts by offering them their discharge and giving them all practicable facilities for employment in the Congo State, or elsewhere, away from Sierra Leone. Thus some reduction on the numbers and cost of the Frontier Police would be effected. The only reservation would be of such police posts, if any, as it might be necessary to retain, to prevent smuggling on the frontiers. The men on such posts should be frequently changed and absolutely prohibited from interfering with questions between natives. I would reduce the force further by discharging all time-expired men, except the very best who might desire to remain, encouraging also these discharged men as much as possible to leave Sierra Leone, unless recruits should be needed for the West African Regiment. If this force is continued to be stationed in Sierra Leone, or if—as would be much preferable in many ways, a Houssa or other force, composed of strangers, were brought to Sierra Leone in place of the West African Regiment, which ought to be stationed at some other part of the coast—the Frontier Police might be wholly absorbed in the West African Regiment. If, and so long as, the Frontier Police is continued, I would prohibit entirely their interfering in the civil and domestic life of the country, and their association with District Commissioners as their emissaries and executors of their orders, their employment in which work has proved so fertile a source of heartburning and discontent. I should then let them be dealt with as a purely military force under the strictest military discipline, to be handled and distributed only in comparatively large bodies. For a time a detachment of fifty to eighty men might be stationed at each headquarter station of a District Commissioner (or Resident) under charge of an Inspector or Assistant-Inspector, but only used under two sets of circumstances, *first*—if absolutely necessary to quell a disturbance of the peace between powerful Chiefs, if the influence of the other Chiefs of the district should fail; *second*, in case of attack from outside enemies. In either case the force should be of preponderating or overwhelming strength with reference to that to which it would be opposed, so as, if possible, to obviate resistance, and in no case should any detachment be used against any Chief of the Protectorate without the previous instruction of the Governor, and on his responsibility, unless in cases of most urgent necessity. But as it became practicable, as with proper management I believe that in a short time it would be, to use the authority of the Chiefs themselves, if necessary, against a recalcitrant brother, it would very soon become advisable to withdraw these detachments from all places within moderately ready access from Freetown, or other centre, where there would always be a reserve of perfectly mobile troops in the highest state of discipline and efficiency. I am not sure whether it would not have a more calming and reassuring effect to withdraw the Police from such accessible places at once or after a very brief interval. This, however, is a detail that need not now be minutely discussed.

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191. The principle of the scheme I suggest, so far as concerns the Frontier Police, is that they should cease altogether from taking part in the ordinary administration of the Protectorate, and that they should be stationed at such places, and kept in such state of preparation and discipline, that a force could be detailed and sent rapidly to any point where their services were required. Perhaps it might be advisable for a time to place garrisons near the Liberian frontier or other parts where there may be risk either of internal disturbance or attack from outside. Since the defence of Freetown, as an Imperial coaling station, concerns the Empire, as does also that of the whole of Sierra Leone, the Imperial Government might arrange that the West African Regiment (or its Houssa or other substitute) might furnish the requisite detachments, and thus the need for the Colony keeping up a large Frontier Police would be still further diminished. The Civil Police work of the Protectorate would be done by the Chiefs, with the help perhaps of a very small number of messengers attached to the establishment of the District Commissioners. These messengers should be picked men for intelligence, honesty, and discretion, and act under carefully drawn up rules.

19. Government Agents.

192. As regards the District Commissioners, I have had some hesitation whether in a reconstruction scheme they might not be dispensed with, restoring and developing, if deemed advisable, the system of Travelling Commissioners formerly in use. But as the organisation of District Commissioners—assuming it rightly worked, and *assuming the right men to be obtained*[1] is capable of aiding materially in the improvement of the Protectorate, and their removal therefore might be a retrograde step, I would suggest that District Commissioners should be retained, but having the character of Residents, Government Agents, or whatever name might be most suitable, whose principal duty would be to assist the Chiefs, rather than that of Magistrates or Deputy-Governors of districts. As Agent or Resident he would become intimately acquainted with all the Chiefs of his district, whose friend and adviser he would become—not their master or tyrant. He would travel much in the seasons when travelling is possible. He would become acquainted with the work carried on by each of them. He would advise as regards measures for the promotion of industry and the advancement of the people. In this way he would exercise a large influence in extending and improving the production of commodities valuable for exportation, and give very valuable help to the Chiefs and people by bringing sellers and buyers together, assisting in organising transport and otherwise. His usefulness would be so much the greater if he had a knowledge of the best methods of cultivating, collecting, and transporting these commodities, a knowledge it would be in no way difficult for him to acquire. He would furnish reports to the Governor as to the occurrences in, and requirements of, his district, in compiling which it would be his duty to present the results of personal knowledge and inquiry. It goes without saying that the Protectorate Ordinance would need to be recast.

193. The natives of Africa, like all peoples in a comparatively primitive stage

[1] Though military men have some valuable qualifications for service as Colonial Governors and District Officers, there is danger in allowing their influence and ideas to be paramount. It is perhaps natural that if exact obedience by the people under their authority is not instantaneous, men of military training consider an immediate resort to compulsion by force the inevitable sequence.

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of development, have too little organised industry, and are too apt to depend for the interests or excitements of life on petty wars or personal or tribal disputes, In a word, they suffer from the evils of idleness. It should be the duty of the Resident to incite the Chiefs to encourage industry, and he should report to the Government as to the means in which Government aid and encouragement could be brought into play. Such Government encouragement need not be expensive.

194. One of the directions in which industry might be promoted would be the encouragement of labour contracts between the Chiefs and their people, by which the latter would acquire direct interest in successful cultivation, and the domestic slave difficulty might be gradually eliminated.

195. I would restore to the Chiefs the privilege they formerly enjoyed, of approaching the Governor of Sierra Leone freely when they desired, independently of the permission of a District Commissioner. The deprivation of this privilege has been one of the grievances, although a minor one, a good deal complained of under the Protectorate scheme. Everything conduces towards good government which fosters a friendly and genial feeling between the Chiefs and the head of the Executive, and, in this respect, the benefits of amicable, even familiar, personal intercourse are not slight. There is, moreover, the substantial aid which the Governor may receive in this way, by being informed, without an intermediary, as to matters material to the well-being of the Protectorate. This principle might receive a further extension by inviting occasionally a great meeting or durbar of Chiefs at Freetown, either at stated intervals or when occasion might arise.

20. Judiciary.

196. As regards forensic jurisdiction, I would propose that District Residents or Agents should have the powers of Justices of the Peace, as I believe they have already. As such they would examine into any capital offences which might occur, and commit the accused, if there was a sufficient case for trial, before the Supreme Court, without distinction as to his being a native of the Protectorate or not a native. I think it is undesirable capital jurisdiction should shift with reference to any class of persons, or that it should reside in any other than the Supreme Court. Probably the Chiefs would be pleased to be relieved of it. Perhaps some other of the gravest species of crime, although not capital, might be dealt with in the same way. As to other criminal causes, and such civil causes as there is any probability would occur, I am disposed to think they might all be dealt with in the Courts of Native Chiefs, which, as the territorial tribunals of each locality, would have competent jurisdiction over all causes relating to reality and over all persons within the local limits of the jurisdiction. The District Agent would probably be given a position as regards the Native Courts which would entitle him to be president of each such Court when he thought fit to take his seat in it. He would have an advisory jurisdiction in all cases, and perhaps a paramount voice in some cases; but he should bear in mind even in these that he would have the most likelihood of doing justice in following the Chiefs' opinions on all questions of native law and custom, unless he saw very clear reason to the contrary. By brief and very clearly drawn rules, which would be explained to the Chiefs by the District Resident

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or Agent, they would be helped where necessary to understand the best methods of hearing cases. The Chiefs' Court would be permitted and encouraged to give effect to the native laws and customs where not repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience. This should be particularly adhered to in cases relating to the holding and transfer of real and personal property, and to inheritance and matters belonging to marriage and family relations. Although the relation of slavery would not be permitted to be recognised, there seems to be no sound reason why a sentence of compulsory service for a period duly ascertained and limited should not be permissible in certain circumstances, just as sentences of compulsory imprisonment or servitude are recognised and permitted in the laws of the most highly civilised peoples. After some experience it might be hoped that by the co-operation of District Commissioners and the Department of Native Affairs, a short code of native laws and procedure could be drawn up, which would doubtless be of much utility to the Chiefs and to Commissioners, and would much conduce towards uniformity in the law and its administration. In the further sketch of this outline, I would say that as now advised, I am in favour of an appeal being open from all decisions, the results of which were of certain magnitude, either as a matter of course or after a preliminary examination by the Resident to ascertain whether there were *prima facie* grounds for appealing. The appeal would be to the Supreme Court either in Freetown or on a circuit visit of the Judge, as might be found most convenient. I do not think that the burden on the Court would be heavy. I expect there would be few appeals, but the knowledge that a decision is appealable removes serious objections that might exist if there were no appeal.

197. As to the causes in which Chiefs are defendants, some special provisions would be advisable. One of the grievances much complained of under the Protectorate scheme has been that Chiefs have been liable to be summoned, or to be summarily forced to attend before District Commissioners upon fictitious or trumped-up grounds. Against this species of annoyance there ought to be some precautions. If a Chief is called before a Court to which, according to native organisation, he is subject, probably no particular difference in the mode of action usual in that Court would be necessary. But if he were not so subject, as in the event of a complaint against a Paramount Chief, no compulsory jurisdiction should be exercised by the inferior tribunal. But if he is willing to submit the matter to the voluntary arbitration of the Chief's Court (with or without the Resident aiding) that course might be taken : if he was not thus willing, an investigation might be had by the Resident, and if there was a *prima facie* case against the Chief, the Resident should report to the Governor, who should have power either to hear and determine the matter himself, or remit it for hearing and decision either to the Supreme Court, in Freetown, or to the Judge on his circuit visit to the district. Especial care should be taken in the case of any charge against a Chief imputing a political offence to secure that, whilst the prosecutor should not be impeded in bringing home the charge if it is valid, the accused should also have complete opportunity of making his defence. No proceeding more tends to destroy confidence in the Government than a decision in which there is the possibility of imputing caprice or personal bias, and to avoid this, I think that any prosecution of this species should be conducted, although I may be here at variance from the traditions of West African Government, only

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at the suit of a high officer of the Crown, as the Attorney-General, and that the trial and adjudication be before the Supreme Court.

198. I am of course only dealing with the judiciary in outline as is alone possible at present. It may seem a bold step to place jurisdiction in the hands of the Chiefs, but it is less so than some may be ready to think it is. After all it is only leaving jurisdiction where native customs and laws have placed it. Very little progress has been made in the system of Courts held before District Commissioners, so that in this respect there is very little that needs to be undone. The system of supervision by the Residents which I propose would operate to prevent abuses to which any tribunals, if not supervised, are liable. Nor would it be correct to suppose that painstaking industry, and even judicial acumen, are wanting in the Courts of the Chiefs. Moreover, they know their countrymen as an official does not, and can far better sift the evidence and detect falsehood if it is put forward than any official can. The Chiefs can also give time, when necessary, to an investigation much more easily than a Commissioner can do, if, as under the existing scheme, he attempts to administer the whole judicial and other affairs of a district. I would expect also that the class of fictitious and speculative actions would be much less numerous under the *regime* of the Chiefs than under that of District Commissioners. I commend some such scheme as I have sketched, therefore, both on the ground of its keeping the Chiefs in their proper place in the country, and much tending to restore their confidence, and also as affording on the whole a better and more effective judiciary than could exist if we suppose the Chiefs reduced to inefficiency, and only the very limited number of District Commissioners whom it would be possible to maintain were in charge of the Districts for all purposes.

21. Missionary Teaching.

199. Contemporaneously with the restoration of peace and tranquillity an increase in missionary enterprise may be expected; I consider it ought to be a part of the Government policy not only to give facilities for missionaries settling in the Hinterland, but to give them substantial encouragement, when financial considerations permit, by grants in aid, but on the condition of their making the teaching of agriculture and handicrafts a prominent part of their programme. The Basle Mission on the Gold Coast has exercised a highly beneficial influence there in this way, and I understand that the Missionary Societies now in Sierra Leone are aware that it is no abnegation of their missionary work, but one of its truest developments, to put out their efforts in this direction. Their work will be of value in proportion as they learn that they must co-operate with the civilising endeavours of the Residents or Government agents, and even with the Chiefs, and not stand apart and isolated.

22. Shall the Hut Tax be continued?

200. No greater mistake could be made than to treat the Colony as having commercial interests independent of the Protectorate. The Colony, as I have already stated, produces scarcely any exportable articles, and apart from commodities brought from the Hinterland, its trade would be almost confined to

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supplying the military garrison and the officers of the Civil Government in Freetown, and the revenue thence derived would not of course nearly suffice even to pay official salaries, let alone other items of Colonial expenditure. The Protectorate is hemmed in on all its landward sides by the territorities of Powers which I understand levy duties on commodities coming from these territories into the Protectorate as well as passing out of it; hence not much increase of trade can be expected to come in from the remoter Hinterlands, and our policy lies in developing and increasing as far as possible the production and trade of the Protectorate. The hope for this lies in the country being tranquillised, freed from terror, confidence in the humane and paternal character of the English Government restored. Will this consist with the continuance of the Hut Tax? I believe the Hut Tax will never be disassociated from the widespread misery which have been concomitant on the attempt to impose it, and I believe there will be no confidence or goodwill towards England if attempts be made to continue or reimpose it. Moreover, I consider the Hut Tax, for the reasons already given, a tax unsound in policy and unsuitable to the situation of the people of the Protectorate. If persisted in, those Chiefs who endeavour to pay will be steeped in debt, and even if there is apparent success in collecting the tax, it will hamper the prosperity of the Protectorate. Under these considerations I do not think that the motive of carrying on a policy because it has been entered upon should weigh as an argument for its continuance where the failure has been so radical and disastrous, nor do I think the natives would misapprehend the reasons for its abandonment. If the Hut Tax and other causes of disturbance were removed, and if the Chiefs, with the help of the Residents, were working harmoniously with the Government, it would be a fair expectation that there would be a rehabilitation of industry and trade, and of Customs revenues. With increased financial resources it would be possible to improve the means of communication, and the improved communication would re-act most favourably upon trade and finance, so that there would be built up on a sure basis an abundant revenue for all purposes. It is from the increase of prosperity in the Protectorate, and not from a tax hardly wrung from unwilling hands, that a permanent improvement and stability in the finances of the Colony, as well as in those of the Protectorate itself, may be hopefully anticipated.

201. After tranquillity shall have been restored, and a period shall have elapsed in which bitter memories may have faded, it may become possible to ask the Chiefs and people to contribute directly to the administration of the Protectorate, if such a course were considered desirable, but it would be most unwise to attempt under any circumstances to institute a rigid or peremptory scheme, or one which did not secure general assent. There would be most probability of a willing assent if contributions were invited in connection with work to be done in the Protectorate, the beneficial character of which would be apparent and generally recognised. A method of collecting a direct revenue in use in the adjacent French Hinterland is said to be successful. Under it the Chiefs have a large latitude as to the extent of these collections, and at the same time have a very substantial interest in the amounts they pay to the Treasury.

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23. Sources of Revenue.

202. It is not to be expected that the effect of so violent a disturbance as that which has convulsed the Protectorate should very speedily pass away. The shock which its industries have sustained may be expected to be felt in a diminished trade for at least a period. I have, however, a good deal of faith in a recuparation, resulting from tranquillity, restoration of confidence, and gradual revival of industry, under a policy which would include much judicious abstention from interference, and it is with hesitation I turn to methods of obtaining money by any sort of taxation, even for meeting a deficit which in the immediate future will probably present itself.

203. According to the opinions of those in positions to form the best judgment, the import duties in Sierra Leone are generally as high as they will bear to be, having reference to the situation of the Colony and its surroundings. A slight increase might possibly, however, be obtained upon tobacco and on salt. The former, with a duty of 4d. a pound, produced in 1897 £21,148. The quantity of this article imported has been rapidly increasing from year to year, and supposing that the quantity merely remained as in 1897 an increase on the duty to the extent of 2d. a pound would add £10,574 to the revenue. The duty on salt was raised in 1898 from 3s. to 8s. per ton, but it is thought to be still capable of increase without enhancing the price materially to the consumer. It is, however, a question mainly for the local experts to determine whether the duties on either of these commodities should be increased. If the result of an increase of these duties should turn out favourably, then the produce would go a considerable way towards meeting the deficit which would result from the non-collection of the Hut Tax, the amount of which in the Estimates for 1899 was placed at £25,000. A further proportion of the deficit may be met by suspending for the present all outlay on new Government buildings in Freetown, and the remaining deficit might be covered by a small draft on the Sierra Leone Reserve Fund. But if the Imperial Government would agree to absorb the Frontier Police, in the West African Regiment, or in any other manner relieve the Colony of the charge on account of the Frontier Police it would very materially benefit the financial situation—the estimate for the Frontier Police during 1899 being no less than £23,821. Having regard to the contributions made by the Protectorate to the Colonial revenue, there would be no unfairness in a portion of the Colonial Reserve being spent for behoof of the Protectorate. Indeed, from this point of view the Colony spends, and has spent far more than its just share of the revenue, if the sources from which the revenue is drawn be taken account of. In the Estimates for the current year, for example, the estimated revenue from the Protectorate is put at £26,650, and the estimated expenditure at £37,093, the Protectorate thus *apparently* receiving £10,443 from Colonial funds, but if the Protectorate receives duty-paid goods in the same proportion as in 1897, instead of receiving £10,443 it will contribute £39,548 to the revenue of the Colony, and if the Hut Tax be not collected, and the expenditure continues the same, the Protectorate will still contribute to the Colony £14,548.

204. Any direct tax on houses or land in Freetown is forestalled by the creation of the Municipality of Freetown, and the law which enables it to

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receive for municipal purposes the proceeds of any tax on real property in Freetown. As regards a tax in the Colony on houses or lands, there are but few houses of any considerable value, and very little land at present yielding revenue, so as to make it a fair subject for taxation. The yield from such a tax in any just proportion to the ability to bear the tax would be comparatively trifling, while the collection would probably be attended with a good deal of friction and difficulty. In point of principle, if the Hut Tax is continued in the Protectorate, to which my opinion is most decidedly adverse, there would seem no reason why it should not be imposed in the Colony; as a source of revenue, however, it would be inconsiderable. Some important statistics respecting the imports and exports of the Colony as connected with changes in the Customs tariff have been supplied by Mr. Elliott, the Collector of Customs, and are printed LXXXVIII. to XCVII. of Appendix II. Information and suggestions upon fiscal subjects have also been given by the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce, by Mr. Johnson the Colonial Treasurer, and by Mr. Elliott, Nos. LXXXII.—LXXXVII. of Appendix II, and by the Colonial Secretary, Colonel Gore, in his oral evidence.

205. A Poll Tax has been suggested instead of a Hut Tax. Such a tax was formerly tried at the Gold Coast, but was so unsuccessful that it was given up. At present the time is utterly inopportune for attempting to impose any species of direct tax, and it should always be borne in mind in addition to the other evils of such taxes, that they ever tend to induce the inhabitants to leave the territories. There is now I am informed a large import and export trade growing up in the adjoining French Hinterland and passing through Konakry, much of which it is believed would have come through Sierra Leone but for the troubles in which the Protectorate has been involved.

24. Conclusion.

206. Summarising in outline the policy I recommend, it would be as follows;—let the causes of irritation be removed, and endeavour be made by every means to restore the confidence which has been destroyed or grievously shaken; let the Colonial Officers, from the very highest to the lowest subordinate, realise that the subjects of a Protectorate *have rights*, and that it should be a work of forbearance and patience, rather than of overpowering force, to instruct them that they also have obligations and duties towards the protecting power; let government be on fixed principles of justice, not by haphazard opportunism; let the Chiefs be restored to their place in the country, a wise supervision being exercised over them with a minimum of interference, and the substitution being encouraged of agricultural and other industries for idleness or tribal or personal contests; let the civilising influences of well-directed missionary teaching be also encouraged; let wise and sympathetic government be the primary object, and we may be assured that with the gradual raising of the level of civilisation, and the increase of population and of industry which such government will bring with it, revenue for all needs will follow, whilst endeavours to compel revenue by short-sighted and unsuitable means must inevitably result in failure. If it is said that my recommendations do not contain practical details, my answer is, that details can only be reached

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when clear lines as to the principles and methods to be followed have been determined on, and my recommendations have been made with the view of aiding in the settlement of such lines.

207. There are matters connected with the Colony and Protectorate which would have invited further observations, but the urgent practical reasons for now furnishing this Report induce me to confine myself to the subjects already dealt with.

I have the honour to be,

Your Majesty's humble and faithful servant,

D. P. CHALMERS.

EDINBURGH, 21*st January* 1899.

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No. II.

SIR F. CARDEW to COLONIAL OFFICE.

(Received May 2, 1899.)

SIR, May 1, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to submit, for the consideration of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the following observations on the Report of the Royal Commissioner appointed to enquire into an insurrection of Natives in the British Protectorate adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone and generally into the state of affairs in the said Colony and Protectorate.

I have, &c.,

To the Under Secretary of State, Colonial Office. F. CARDEW.

OBSERVATIONS by Colonel Sir FREDERIC CARDEW, Governor of Sierra Leone, on the Report by Her Majesty's Commissioner to enquire into an insurrection of natives in the British Protectorate adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone and generally into the state of affairs in the said Colony and Protectorate.

1. PRELIMINARY.

1. The official appellation of the tax recently imposed on the natives of the Protectorate is *House Tax*, but as the Royal Commissioner makes use of the term *Hut Tax*, to avoid confusion I propose to adopt in these observations his appellation, and also to adhere to the headings of his Report for convenience of reference.

2. The Royal Commissioner in his opening remarks reviews the difficulties of travelling in the Protectorate as precluding his going there, and necessitating therefore his remaining all the time of his enquiry at Freetown ; I mention this as he appears to regard it as one of the hindrances to his investigation ; but, while admitting that travelling by land was difficult, though not insuperable, the same objection would not have applied to journeys by water and it was open to the Royal Commissioner to proceed to Port Lokko and Bonthe by steamboat. The former was very near to the seat of origin of the disturbances in the Karene district and the latter to that in the Mendi districts. Besides, there were a considerable number of prisoners awaiting trial at Bonthe, who could have been examined, not to mention over 120 prisoners at Bandajuma, a distance of not more than four days' journey.

3. The Royal Commissioner advances as another reason for his investigation being hindered to a certain extent, that owing to the large powers given to the Governor of the Colony by a temporary Ordinance to detain prisoners, the dread of being seized and imprisoned as accomplices in the rising under the Ordinance probably restrained a considerable number of persons from coming forward to give evidence. I trust this may not have been the case, but if it were so I do not see how it could have been avoided ; however, many persons actually did come forward from the disturbed districts, especially from the Kwaia, persons who, from the nature of their evidence, must have been in actual contact with the Frontier Police during the disturbances ; besides, even if the Ordinance objected to had not been enacted, it is extremely doubtful whether, generally speaking, persons implicated in the disturbances, or in any way concerned in the murders and lootings which had been going on, would have come to Freetown, knowing that there were hundreds of Sierra Leoneans, the relatives of those who had suffered at their hands, ready to denounce them. Perhaps if the Royal Commissioner had been able to go himself into the Protectorate, those whose evidence he sought might have come forward, but I would observe that he did examine at least 272 persons, putting to them in the aggregate 8617 questions, and I believe they fully occupied his time from the day he landed to the date of his departure, and I gather from the oral evidence that there were several influential persons in Freetown in a position to communicate with the Protectorate and get almost any witnesses they liked to make a case against the Government. With regard to the Ordinance which the Royal Commissioner refers to, it is not an unknown thing in times of great disturbance to confer such powers as it contained on a government, and

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as a fact the greater number of persons detained under it were prisoners of war sent down from the front, and natives who were accused by Sierra Leoneans of murder and other offences. The prisoners of war were all released after a short detention.

4. The Royal Commissioner accuses me of placing a restriction on his obtaining the evidence of persons under accusation. The circumstances are fully explained in the reference he makes, and I think, in view of the remonstrance of the Judge—which he made when his court was in session, and found that the prisoners who had been committed for trial were being requisitioned by the Royal Commission—the very temporary and limited restriction which I imposed was not unreasonable. In doing so I assumed he would not care to examine those who had been condemned to death, as their evidence, from the nature of their most unhappy position, must have been tainted.

lxxiv (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), and (*e*).

2. Historical and Geographical.

(*a.*) *The Colony of Sierra Leone.*

5. The only remark I have to make under this head is that the length of the coast line of the Colony is overstated. According to the latest map it extends for about 210 miles, and not 300 miles.

(*b.*) *The Hinterland.*

6. In paragraph 12 the Royal Commissioner states that "in addition there had sprung up by usage a limited consensual and advisory jurisdiction, under which chiefs, as well as persons not chiefs, would bring their differences (mainly as to territorial boundaries) before the Governor of Sierra Leone as a sort of arbiter, and *implicitly follow his award.*" The italics are mine. This view of the case has not been my experience during a period lasting over five years. In the more remote parts of the Protectorate the chiefs most certainly used to settle their differences by the arbitrament of war, without any reference to the Governor, and the records of the Government reveal many instances in territories more adjacent to the Colony where, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of successive governors, notably Sir Samuel Rowe, to maintain peace among the chiefs, by moral suasion and peace palavers, the latter would not follow the award of the Governor. In 1890, there was the case of the coalition of certain Sanda and Lokko chiefs and Bai Bureh against Karimo of Laminaiya, in which the Government intervened again and again to bring about peace, but without effect. The coalition resulted in what is known as the Sanda-Lokko war, the scene of which lay within four days' journey of Freetown, and which lasted till 1894, when it was suppressed by the Frontier Police and peace restored. In the same year (1894) Bai Bureh sent a number of his war boys to help Suri Kata, a chief who was giving trouble in French territory, needless to say without consulting the Government, and in the following year there was a dispute about farms between the peoples of Bunjema and Mokassi, in which the award of the Government was rejected, and the case taken to a leading barrister in Freetown. I cite these few instances to show that the "consensual and advisory jurisdiction" did not exist in practice even in territories quite adjacent to the Colony, and I am in a position to affirm this from personal knowledge. My experience has been that in differences between chiefs the award of the Governor has not been *implicitly* followed, and that either arbitrary measures or the threat of them had often to be adopted to bring about a settlement and thus preserve peace. The policy of moral suasion and peace palavers, of advising chiefs to be good children and giving them presents to make up their quarrels has been tried again and again, and found wanting to bring about enduring peace, and the only successful means to this end has been the establishment, in 1890, of the Frontier Police.

3. The Frontier Police.

7. The conduct of the Frontier Police has been subjected to a most searching ordeal, each act of misconduct which they have committed has been brought to light, and many other acts of which they have never been guilty have been fathered on them, and the sum of them lies as a heavy indictment against the force.

8. The Frontier Police have incurred extreme odium, not only on the part of the native chiefs, but also the Sierra Leoneans, and this feeling is, in my opinion, in a great measure due to the following causes:—(1) Because they represent the authority which has suppressed the cherished institution of the native chief, viz., slavery; (2) because their

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mere presence has done so much to mitigate the acts of oppression and extortion on the part of the chiefs in connection with what is called the "woman palaver;" and (3) because they tend to curb the licence of the Sierra Leone traders, who, by virtue of their superior civilization, are apt to domineer over and oppress the native and take advantage of him, especially in matters of trade. These causes incline both the natives and the Sierra Leoneans to exaggerate not only every act of misconduct committed by the Frontier Police, but even to trump up false accusations against them, in order that by the odium thus thrown on them they may bring about their removal.

9. It is quite possible that many acts of misconduct have been laid at the doors of the Frontier Police of which they were never guilty; there are numerous instances of such acts which have been committed by persons usually Sierra Leoneans, but sometimes educated natives, who have personated Frontiers. Captain Sharpe in his evidence states, 3557.
"Bogus police used to cause us great trouble," and in a recent minute paper Captain Carr, District Commissioner, reports under date 30th January, 1899, that about two-thirds of the crimes in his district consists of impersonating government officials, backmailing and plundering, and within the last two or three months an officer of the Frontier Police reported that he met a Sierra Leone trader proceeding up country accompanied by six or eight men, who were dressed in blue serge and red fezzes, similar to the uniform of the Frontier Police, which party he was, without doubt, taking with him to overawe the natives for his own purposes, under the pretence of being a Government official. Natives are easily deceived by these tricks, as they have not learnt yet distinctions in dress. Such cases of personation as the one last mentioned are very common, and have been so long previous to these disturbances, and they are difficult to deal with under the law as it exists.

10. There are other circumstances to be considered with relation to the allegations against the Frontier Police. I refer to the great temptations to which they are subjected from the action of the chiefs themselves. A chief will bribe a Frontier to take his part in a palaver against another chief, and the latter, if he loses, having a grievance, will proceed to found a very plausible charge against the Frontier. I have warned chiefs again xxiii.
and again against this practice. There is also a practice, which is not unknown, of chiefs offering women to Frontiers, and then charging them with taking the women if they have 2487.
not received as large a present in return for them as they expected.

11. Honest and persistent efforts have been and are being made by the officers of the corps to stamp out the offence of ill-treating natives on the part of the Frontier Police, and I think not without result, as the list of convictions shows there were 27 recorded offences against the Force in 1894, when the establishment was not more than about 300 N.C.O. and men, and in 1897 the number of offences had fallen to 10, with an establishment of over 500. In 1896 there were only two offences recorded of ill-treating natives, one of which was an ordinary theft. Besides, I may mention that the official form of charge,—"plundering a native," or "ill-treating a native woman," which appears in the v.
List of Convictions of Frontier Police, does not always disclose in its particulars an offence so outrageous as the charge would imply; for instance, as regards the first form, one independent witness has stated "that in some cases when Frontiers take fowls or 2485.
palm wine forcibly from natives it is the result of the natives refusing to sell when they are asked to." In explanation of such conduct, I would mention that the Frontier Police, in common with the Constabulary Forces elsewhere on the West Coast, are not rationed, but are allowed three pence a day ration money, and it must be somewhat aggravating to the untutored Frontier, when he has arrived in a town after a long day's march, tired and hungry, to find himself boycotted by the natives refusing to sell him food for which he is willing to pay a fair price. As regards the second form of charge, a number of the instances, as I ascertained from the Inspector-General, were those of Frontiers administering chastisement to their native wives or women—a method of marital correction not unknown in England and other countries.

12. The Royal Commissioner emphasizes the point that some of the Frontier Police who maltreat the chiefs were their former slaves. This may be true in some cases, but as there seems to be a general idea amongst those unacquainted with the Force that aborigines form the bulk of the offenders, and that therefore the Force is to be condemned, I may mention that in 1894, and previously, the majority of the members consisted of Sierra Leoneans, and it was in 1894 that the offences against natives were most rife.

13. The Royal Commissioner, in ascribing to the Police the prohibition of what are § 23.
called "women palavers," adds that he is making a conjecture, but a highly probable one.

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The Government never issued such an order, and I do not for a moment believe that it was invented by the Police and imposed by them on the chiefs, but it is reasonable to suppose that the presence of the Police emboldened many of the natives who were threatened with pains and penalties in these so-called *crim. con.* cases to resent the extortions of their chiefs, but this should surely not be made a ground of reproach against the Force. The Royal Commissioner appears to be of the opinion that these *crim. con.* cases had influence in restraining immorality. This is indeed taking a lenient view of a most nefarious system of extortion on the part of the chiefs. It is a well-known fact, and one which can be vouched for by any one having any acquaintance with the Protectorate, that the chiefs make use of their numerous wives (I knew one who had six hundred) as decoys for the iniquitous purpose of extortion, and the victims are heavily mulcted if they have any possessions, and if not they may be sold into slavery. I attach a copy of a minute (Appendix A (1)) 4–2439 by Mr. Parkes, Secretary Native Affairs, which explains the system of women palavers, and call attention to the evidence of Mr. Price, an American negro and missionary, who has been over eight years living amongst the natives of the Protectorate.

14. Women palavers have been a valuable source of revenue to the chiefs, but the presence of the Frontier Police has happily diminished the tyranny and extortion which resulted from them, hence the former naturally complain, but I trust no Government, whatever may be the outcome of this enquiry, would, without great limitations, sanction the exercise of such powers by the chiefs, notwithstanding that it may be deemed advisable to let them have a general control of their own jurisdiction. Hitherto the Government have never given any order prohibiting the system, but I have always been aware of its abuses, and realized that the time must come when a right of appeal should be given to the District Commissioner against the decision of the chiefs in connction with it.

15. As I have already said, honest and persistent efforts have been made to check the tendency of the Frontier Police to tyrannise over the natives, and that not without success. There are now three European officers per company in the force, besides the staff, and I have every hope that in the future, under the supervision of the present complement of European officers, the offence of ill-treating natives will become a thing of the past. The Frontier Police have done a great work in altogether suppressing slave raids, and but for the courage and tenacity with which they held, under the gallant leading of their officers, the seats of Government of the Protectorate, the whole country would have had to be reconquered at great expense during the dry season which followed on the disturbances. They have suffered severely, for no less than 50 were killed fighting at their posts, and 73 wounded ; and, notwithstanding that they were fighting their own kith and kin, there was not a man that proved himself a traitor in the whole force, but, held together by the bonds of discipline, confidence in their officers, and strong *esprit de corps*, they all did their duty loyally and courageously. As to their officers (and with them I would include the District Commissioners and surgeons), I cannot too highly commend them for their devotion to duty and gallant bearing under very difficult and trying circumstances ; left in isolated positions to act on their own initiative, cut off from all communication and surrounded by numerous and savage foes, there was not one who did not prove himself worthy of the trust imposed on him. They all upheld, from the highest to the lowest, the highest traditions of the British officer for coolness, courage, daring, and resource in danger.

The Royal Commissioner recommends that the Frontier Police should be disbanded, and even that some of its members should be practically exiled, as being deemed unworthy of living amongst their own countrymen. This would indeed be a hard measure, and an unmerited disgrace on a gallant and most efficient corps.

4. Proclamation of the Protectorate.

16. The facts attending the Proclamation of the Protectorate are as stated by the Royal Commissioner. I accept the full responsibility of the imposition of the hut tax, and deeply deplore the loss of life and property which has been concomitant with the collection of it, but the raising of additional revenue was imperative in view of the railway and other developments. There was no other source from which an increase could be obtained than by direct taxation, and it was hopeless to expect the chiefs to willingly consent to a tax of that nature, though they might, as I believed, acquiesce in it, hence it was that I resolved to impose a hut tax, with the concurrence of the Legislature. Further on in his Report the Royal Commissioner has suggested additional sources of revenue which I think, however, are inadequate and illusory, and with regard to the necessity of obtaining the direct

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assent of the chiefs to the hut tax before imposing it, I would mention that the past experience of the colony under analcgous circumstances held out no hopes of such a consummation. In 1885 the question of an increase of revenue by direct taxation in 8589.
consequence of the constantly recurring deficits was broached by the late Sir Samuel Rowe, and he proposed a resolution to that effect in the Legislative Council, but the measure provoked such strong opposition on the part of the unofficial members and other leading natives of the community, not to mention the masses who made demonstrations against it around Government House, that the matter was dropped. Subsequently several attempts were made by the Government in consultation with the leading natives to establish some system of direct taxation, but these all proved abortive, the natives being unwilling to consent to tax themselves. Finally a Municipal Council Ordinance was passed in 1893, which, after considerable amendments in 1894, was enacted, and in 1894 a Municipal Council came into being with powers to levy a rate, exactly nine years from the date of Sir Samuel Rowe's resolution. The city was to have been rated on the 1st April last, and I hope the rate is now being collected, but it has taken a period of 14 years to get the principle of direct taxation put into practice. If there has been all this delay in giving effect to the principle in a community comparatively civilized as that of Freetown, I fear the Government would have to wait a very long time before the chiefs, who are so much less enlightened, would assent even to the principle.

17. The Royal Commissioner condemns the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance on other points than the imposition of the hut tax, as, for instance, for limiting the forensic jurisdiction of the chiefs, for vesting in the governor powers to dispose of waste or uninhabited lands, to make or unmake chiefs, and to banish persons from any part of the territories, and adds that the Local Legislature went far beyond any historic basis at the time of the enactment. If the Royal Commissioner is referring to the past history of Sierra Leone, I would mention that the Government of that Colony have again and again been compelled to exercise arbitrary powers against chiefs in former days, on account of the turbulent behaviour of the chiefs, even to the extent of imprisoning and deporting them, and there are many precedents in other colonies of limiting the forensic jurisdiction of chiefs, for instance, in the territories on the Gold Coast I understand that the chiefs by *law* have absolutely no jurisdiction, and in Zululand in 1884 the jurisdiction of the chiefs there were curtailed in a far more drastic manner than is the case under the Protectorate Ordinance. It may be urged that two wrongs do not make a right, but I question whether it is a wrong for a civilized Government to restrict the iniquities that often take place in the courts of the native chiefs where human beings are "betted" and pawned by either side in a case, the judgment being given in favour of the party who can produce the greatest number, where the ordeal of innocence may be the drinking of a poisoned concoction, or the plunging of the hands in boiling oil, and the punishment may be death, mutilation, enslavement or absolute forfeiture of all property, even including wives and children. To give an idea of native laws and customs as they prevailed in the Protectorate I attach a copy of a report (Appendix A (2)) which was one of many others called for by me in 1894; I believe it was signed by Mr. Parkes, Secretary Native Affairs, but I have not the original by me to refer to, and I would ask whether a civilized Government were not in the right in limiting such forensic jurisdiction as is implied therein.

18. The provisions as regards waste or uninhabited lands were enacted with really the best intentions. In many parts of the Protectorate there are large tracts of land which, having been devastated in inter-tribal wars or slave raiding, now lie waste and uninhabited, and the intention was to re-people them as opportunities occurred with colonies from congested districts, but these provisions have now been repealed. I may mention that I believe there are many precedents in both East and South Africa and probably elsewhere of lands having been alienated from natives by the Government on the declaration of a Protectorate.

5. Reception of the Protectorate Ordinance.

19. In the 39th paragraph of his report, the Royal Commissioner comments on the regulation under which chiefs who desire to see the Governor must first obtain a permit from the District Commissioner. A question of principle is involved here which is common to all Governments, and which is that a subordinate must go through the head of his department to the Government. As far as I know the regulation prevails in all colonies where there are chiefs, and it is obviously necessary for good government, and, I may add, for fair dealing, that chiefs should not be allowed to go behind the back of the District

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Commissioner with complaints or other matters which the Governor could not deal with without hearing as well the other side. The District Commissioners quite understand that they are not to refuse such applications to see the Governor on the part of chiefs, but the fact of the latter applying to them for the permit enables them to submit their observations on the point in question. In ordinary cases it would not be necessary for the chief to apply in person for the permit to the District Commissioner.

20. Another point raised by the Royal Commissioner is the presumed hardship of a defendant having to appear before a Court of the native chiefs, or that of the District Commissioner and native chiefs, in cases in which he would have to submit to the decisions of those who would not be his natural or proper judges according to native custom. This is not a serious objection ; in the first place, only natives of the same tribe, or, rather, I should say, subjects of the same Paramount Chief to which the Court of the native chiefs belong would have to appear before such Court, and in the second, only about half-a-dozen cases have been brought before the Court of the District Commissioner and native chiefs, all of which were for murder, except a recent one of rape, and the offenders have in every case been common people. In causes where paramount or lesser chiefs are defendants it is a simple matter for the Court to be composed of chiefs of the same tribe as the defendants. I may mention that only *criminal* offences are triable by this Court, and it is unlikely, I hope, that chiefs would be offenders.

21. I do not advise the adoption of the Royal Commissioner's suggestion to substitute for the present division of districts one in which regard would be had to tribal boundaries ; no practical difficulties have arisen with respect to the present arrangement,
8563–8565. as I have explained in my evidence. To make the alterations suggested, for at least several years to come, would only produce confusion. The present size of the districts are certainly large, but the Protectorate was sub-divided into districts of such dimensions from motives of economy, and to fit in with the organization of five companies in the Frontier Police. I should certainly advocate the appointment of an assistant District Commissioner to each district.

§ 51. xxv. 22. The Royal Commissioner, quoting from a further petition from certain chiefs, dated 15th November 1897, to the effect that with regard to the hut tax the chiefs submit that under it "the Government will take the country from them . . . . Our own fear is that paying for our huts will naturally mean no right to our country," concludes that "this is a view of the operation of the hut tax which appears also from the oral evidence to have had a widespread influence." I propose to defer discussing the point to the heading, "Divergent Opinions as to the Rising," under which heading in his report the Royal Commissioner again raises it ; in the meantime, I will confine myself to remarking that I cannot concur with him in the conclusion he has arrived at concerning it.

§ 52. 23. Referring to the Royal Commissioner's remark that it appeared to him that I did not, in dealing with the chiefs' narrative of grievances, scarcely enough grasp that apparently they mixed up wrongs which they knew or heard of as done by the police—whether of their own accord or under improper instructions—with the operation of the law itself. I think I follow his meaning, but I would mention that in addressing the
xxiii. chiefs I used all my poor abilities to be as explicit as possible from every point of view. and in doing so I considerably amplified the notes of my address, a copy of which I furnished the Royal Commissioner, and from which he appears to have drawn his conclusion. I am certainly not under the impression that I allowed them to depart with any idea that the acts of misconduct they alleged against the police had any connection with, or were caused by, the operation of the law itself.

§ 52. 24. The incident referred to by the Royal Commissioner as taking place at my meeting with the chiefs did not certainly convey to my mind that they were in a wavering frame of mind, and might, perhaps, have been won over to assent. I had by that time gained four years' experience of the native character, under varying phases, and I am well assured that they only wanted to procrastinate ; moreover, at such a time when the original Protectorate Ordinance had been passed over two years ago, and the provisions regarding the hut tax were on the eve of being enforced, the Government could hardly be expected to stultify themselves by yielding everything then because there was no implied assent on the part of the chiefs. I had already made great concessions to the chiefs.

6. Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

25. The Royal Commissioner, after admitting that the instructions for the collection of hut tax sent to the District Commissioners "were not objectionable," were "moderate and reasonable," is perplexed that they should have been carried out with an oppressive

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severity so different from what appears to be their spirit, and he adds that the explanation of the inconsistency is not of much importance, and that he considers he is under no need of offering one; but in justice to the District Commissioners I consider an explanation is necessary, and I offer the following: The District Commissioners had to deal with a people who were practically savages, who were all armed more or less, however rudely, and who were gathering in large bodies all over the country, with the intention of resisting the collection of the hut tax. Mild persuasive measures at such a crisis would only have been taken for a confession of weakness and scoffed at, and I fail to see what other course the District Commissioners could have adopted under the circumstances than that of repression. The whole country was, in fact, seething in insurrection. On the 10th January, 1898, Dr. Hood reported that the Bagru and Mabanta districts were in a very disturbed state, that a Frontier had been seized, tied, beaten and thrown into a river, that the principal Timini chiefs had decided to pay no tax, and that the majority of the chiefs in his district had made no effort to pay. On the same date Captain Carr reported a large gathering of between 4,000 and 5,000 men, the chiefs of whom refused to pay the tax, and the situation as being so critical that he congratulated himself on a bloodless result. In the same report he forwarded a letter from Dr. Arnold, who describes how he was mobbed by an angry crowd of several hundred armed natives; how that one of his escort was thrashed by the natives, and how that every moment for some two hours an attack on himself and his party seemed imminent, during which he was of opinion that "the slightest untoward action or kindling spark" would have caused their instant massacre, for the Frontiers were all unarmed, a step which had been taken, I believe, to prevent even the appearance of coercion on collecting the tax. On the 19th February, 1898, Captain Sharpe reported the disturbed state of the Karene district, and his attempt to arrest Bai Bureh, which had been foiled by the presence of overwhelming numbers of armed natives, who had for some time past been gathered to resist by force of arms the collection of the hut tax; and on the 12th March, 1898, Captain Moore reported that Dr. Hood had visited the Kwaia country between the 19th and 26th February, and on his return had reported "that armed resistance to the authority of the Government was contemplated," and that "large bodies of armed natives were observed moving up and down." In the face of such a crisis as the above facts reveal, coercive measures were surely not uncalled for.

xxxi. xxxiii. xxxviii. xliv. lx

26. After animadverting on the coercive measures taken by the District Commissioners under the circumstances referred to above, the Royal Commissioner proceeds to contrast the opinion enunciated by me in my despatch of the 9th June, 1894, as to the imposition of a hut tax with those I expressed in my despatches of the 21st November, 1896, and 19th May, 1897, implying thereby an inconsistency, but he appears to overlook, in making this point, the fact that in 1894 I guarded and qualified my opinion by writing "*as far as I am advised* its imposition hereafter would not meet with opposition, &c." At that time I had only known the native for a short while; in my later despatches I wrote with a better knowledge of him.

27. It has been stated that I did not properly gauge the seriousness of the opposition of the chiefs to the hut tax, that in fact I underestimated such opposition. I must admit, speaking after the event, that there appears to be grounds for this opinion. I should, perhaps, have attached greater importance than I did to the strong feeling against direct taxation which had always existed in Freetown, and the influence which would be brought to bear in consequence by the Sierra Leoneans on the chiefs to oppose it in their case. I was certainly not prepared for the amount of sympathy which the chiefs received from the community of Freetown generally, and the Sierra Leone traders in particular in their protests against the hut tax. I may mention that I was at home on leave in 1897 for six months, from the 4th May, during the greater part of which time the Timini chiefs were in Freetown, and I was not aware of the agitation which had been going on there until after my return on the 7th November. It was, of course, then too late to mitigate circumstances, even supposing such a course had been politically desirable, seeing that great concessions had already been made, comprising nearly, if not quite, half the estimated amount of the tax, and that it was evident that the chiefs would not be satisfied till the Government had yielded the whole of it, so as such a surrender was impossible I could but await events in the conviction that there was an ample military force available in Freetown to overawe any forcible opposition on the part of the chiefs, and I may mention that on the first indication of trouble I took the precaution to instruct the District Commissioners to provision their head-quarters with a three months' supply of rice. Unfortunately the operations in the Karene district were unduly protracted, owing to fortuitous circumstances

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which could not, I think, have been foreseen or provided against, and it was this delay which directly encouraged the Mendis to rise. That in a military sense there was ample force available was shown afterwards by the expeditious and completely successful manner in which Colonel Woodgate suppressed the disturbances, even with the few available troops he had in hand upon assuming command.

Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

(*a*) In the Mendi Country.

28. In the sixty-fourth paragraph of his Report the Royal Commissioner deals with the arrest of Bai Kompa and its attendant circumstances. This chief was arrested on a charge of intimidating chief Smart, which charge appeared fully borne out by facts, and there were also good grounds for supposing that he had been purchasing gunpowder and arms to forcibly resist the imposition of the tax. If there was some roughness in the treatment of Bai Kompa, it should be borne in mind that he resisted arrest by a police officer in the presence of a crowd of natives, some of whom were armed. In his statement of the circumstances following on his arrest the Royal Commissioner makes me to appear that I acted in a very harsh manner towards him, whereas it is my impression that I acted with much consideration towards him. Whatever Bai Kompa may have been before he did not prove himself loyal in 1898. The evidence of his wife Ruko, to which a reference is made in the margin of the Royal Commissioner's Report, is an entirely untruthful account of my interview with her husband.

7769. xvi. to xviii.

29. With regard to the conviction of Pa Nembana, which the Royal Commissioner animadverts on, there may have been some technical objections to the charge as laid, but there is no doubt as to that chief's complicity in the conspiracy to resist the collection of the hut tax. Perhaps, if the Royal Commissioner had examined Captain Moore as to the evidence on which he convicted the chief it might have been found that the report of the case, which is a very condensed one, did not represent the evidence in its full meaning.

§ 66.

7789. xxiv.

30. With reference to the arrests of the chiefs at Mafwe the Royal Commissioner remarks that "the arrests and imprisonments were not legal under the law of the Protectorate Ordinance, or any other law under which the District Commissioner was authorised to act," and in a foot-note he sets forth the sections of the Protectorate Ordinance, which he considers relates to the hut tax, but I observe that he omits sections 67, 68 and 69, which are specifically referred to by the Acting Attorney-General in his opinion on the arrests of the chiefs. In this opinion he advises that a severe sentence should be passed on each of the chiefs arrested, on the grounds that the chiefs had committed an offence under one or other or all of those sections. The opinions of the Royal Commissioner and the Acting Attorney-General differ on this point of law, and as a layman it is not for me to question either opinion, but I may say that the Ordinance was drafted by the Attorney-General, Mr. Smyly, under my instructions, that he frequently consulted me while he was engaged on it, and that I fully intended that acts of the nature committed by these chiefs, and for which they were arrested, should be made an offence under the Ordinance, particularly in connection with the levying of the hut tax, for I foresaw that the chiefs might give trouble in that respect. Whether, technically speaking, my intention was provided for in the Ordinance is not for me to determine. The following are the sections of the Protectorate cited in the Opinion of the Acting Attorney-General which have been omitted by the Royal Commissioner.

§ 71.

xxv.

Disaffected Chiefs.

LXVII. Any chief who shall be ordered by the Governor either directly or by a deputy or messenger to do or refrain from doing any public act or acts, and shall either defy or neglect promptly to obey such order shall be guilty of an offence.

Resistance to lawful authority.

LXVIII. Any person who resists or with others conspires to resist the execution of any process of law or to overawe by force or show thereof any public officer in the exercise of his duty shall be guilty of an offence.

Obstructing public officer.

LXIX. Any person who wilfully obstructs or hinders any public officer in the exercise of his authority or refuses to aid in apprehending and securing offenders, when lawfully called upon so to do, shall be guilty of an offence.

31. The Royal Commissioner in section 72 of his Report appears to convey the innuendo that certain documents concerning the arrest of the chiefs at Mafwe were spirited away; there is absolutely no mystery in the matter. Captain Carr's report was a very brief one, and not nearly so full as his unofficial one to myself, an extract of which I read to the Royal Commissioner when giving my evidence before him, and contained no sense or meaning other than that disclosed in his unofficial report, and my conviction is that in the reply to his official report by the Colonial Secretary, Captain Carr was instructed to act in accordance with the terms of the Acting Attorney-General's opinion, of which a copy was sent to him.

xxiii.

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32. The "warning of danger" with reference to the mobbing of Dr. Arnold by the natives was not unread by me, for I immediately telegraphed to the Secretary of State for permission to send a company from the troops in garrison at Freetown to Bundajuma. The permission was granted, but as matters had quieted down in the meanwhile the services of the company were not required. § 73.

Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

(*b.*) *In the Timini Country.*

33. In paragraphs 75 to 78 the Royal Commissioner deals with the proceedings at Port Lokko, where Captain Sharpe commenced to collect the hut tax. The question at issue appears to be whether any of Bai Bureh's war boys did enter Port Lokko on a certain night of alarm, and whether there were reasonable grounds for apprehending an attack from that chief or his followers. All the circumstances point to Bai Bureh having been in collusion with the Port Lokko and other Timini chiefs, and to his having made preparations to resist by force of arms the collection of the hut tax. Captain Sharpe's report of the 12th February, 1898, speaks of his having collected war boys, and, moreover, of his having received a report from Mr. Parkes, Secretary Native Affairs, that Bai Bureh was collecting arms, &c., from the French,* and there can be no doubt that he was with his war boys within a few hours of Port Lokko during the time Captain Sharpe was there. He was one of the signatories to the petition of the 15th October, 1897, of the Port Lokko and other chiefs, and as Pa John says, Bai Bureh was a special friend of the Port Lokko people, and that if they were in trouble he would count it as if it were his own trouble. So under the above circumstance it is reasonable to conclude that he was watching with interest all that was going on at Port Lokko, and that he obtained information of it from his war boys, who must have gone there in numbers, indeed they were recognised by the Frontier Police, who were able to distinguish them from the Port Lokko people. There is a considerable discrepancy between the evidence given by Sub-Inspector Crowther and that of Captain Sharpe, first, as to the duration of Bokari Bamp's arrest, and as to the night of the alarm. Captain Sharpe's evidence is distinct and clear that Bokari Bamp was detained on the Saturday till the Monday when he was released, and that the alarm took place on the Sunday, whereas there is a great incertitude throughout Sub-Inspector Crowther's evidence on these points, and I invite a comparison of the two statements. Again, the Royal Commissioner accepts Mr. Crowther's narrative of the events which took place with respect to the trial of the chiefs in preference to that of Captain Sharpe, the chief actor in the scene, notwithstanding that the former admitted that he was not all the time in Court. Since the Royal Commissioner is of opinion that the evidence of Captain Sharpe is weakened by his ill-health at the time he gave it, I may mention that at the time Sub-Inspector Crowther was examined his retirement was under consideration owing to his suffering from general debility. I only let fall this remark in vindication of the reliability of Captain Sharpe's evidence, and in no way to cast a reflection on Sub-Inspector Crowther, who has always rendered most valuable service to the Government. He received a special reward for his services in suppressing the Sanda-Lokko war, and I much regret that he has had to be invalided from the service.

3648–3655. xxxix. xxii. 6805–6806. 3654–3655. 3644–3655. 7603–7632. § 77. 7632.

34. With reference to the "independent evidence" of Pa John, who is a native of Port Lokko, it is evident from a perusal of his statement that he was a strong partisan, and his assertion that Bai Bureh identified himself with the troubles at Port Lokko, in my opinion, weakens the force of his evidence to the effect that only the people from the neighbouring fakkais and none of Bai Bureh's war boys came into Port Lokko on the night of, or the night after, whichever it may be, the arrest of Bokari Bamp. 6805–6806. 6805–6806.

35. The Royal Commissioner animadverts in strong terms on the action taken by Captain Sharpe, and remarks that I approved of it. I certainly did so inview of the very serious situation of affairs which existed. The authority of the Government, in the person of the District Commissioner, was openly defied by the Sierra Leone traders and the chiefs, and within a few miles of Port Lokko there were large armed parties under § 80–81.

* This report was actually untrue. However, at the time it could not be sifted, as events were taking place so rapidly. I have great pleasure in taking this opportunity to place on record my conviction that the Governor of French Guinea took every precaution to prevent the transit of arms and gunpowder across the frontier, and that throughout the disturbances he acted in every way in a most friendly spirit towards the Government of Sierra Leone, for which consideration I am much indebted to him.

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Bai Bureh, who had, through his war boys, already defied Captain Sharpe to collect the tax in his country. I have no doubt whatever there was an understanding between the
lxix. traders and the chiefs not to pay the hut tax. Captain Sharp certainly writes in his report of the 12th February, 1898, that the traders seemed willing but afraid to pay the tax, but
3622-3623. he qualifies this statement in his oral evidence, and certainly from their demeanour in Court, as narrated in Captain Sharpe's Report of the 8th March, 1898, an extract from which I append (Appendix C), and subsequently (Appendix M), it does not appear that they were actuated by any fear of the chiefs. The Royal Commissioner condemns generally the officers for overleaping or setting aside carefully framed rules of administration, such are adapted to normal circumstances, but for exceptional circumstances exceptional measures are often incumbent; here a grave crisis had arisen through a general conspiracy of the chiefs to resist by force of arms, if necessary, the collection of the hut tax.

36. In Paragraph 83 the Royal Commissioner condemns the appointment, by the *vis major* of the Government, of chiefs who have not the necessary qualifications; that of Suri Boukeh was certainly unfortunate in its consequences, but it was made under very exceptional and pressing circumstances. In ordinary times great care is taken to appoint a man who is the selection of the people themselves. I have no recollection of the case quoted by Alimami Keha, but there is often great difficulty in selecting the right man when there are one or more candidates in the field, with followings of equal strength. These appointments are not ordinarily made in an arbitrary way, as the Royal Commissioner would infer, much care is taken over them; besides the Government never intervenes in these matters unless referred to; the selection of the people, where there is unanimity, is always accepted and the appointment confirmed.

84. 37. With reference to the case of Morbah Bangura, the Royal Commissioner gives great prominence to a report by Captain Sharpe, in which he states that he was "practically
lvii (*a*). murdered in cold blood by the Frontier Police for refusing to give up his sword." As Captain Sharpe afterwards tried the Frontier who had committed the offence for man-
lvii (*b*). slaughter, and not for murder, it is clear from his report of the case, dated May 19, 1898, that such was the nature of the offence, and as he only awarded a light sentence, it may reasonably be assumed that he wrote his first report on the spur of the moment, and without a knowledge of the facts.

38. With reference to paragraph 85, the conclusion drawn by the Royal Commissioner that the chief (Pa Suba) and his people had been terrorised by what had occurred at Port Lokko, is not, I think, in accordance with the real facts. It so happened that Momodu Wakka, a Government interpreter, who was examined by the Royal Commissioner, and who possesses some houses at Magbele, informed me on my return from England, at the time these chiefs were at Freetown, that he had strongly urged on Pa Suba to pay his hut tax, and that he would do so, and he was evidently prepared to do so when Captain Sharpe arrived at Magbele, and did pay a portion of the amount due; and as to his capability to do so, and that of his people, I may mention that he is a trading chief in a considerable way of business, and that in December or January last he actually collected amongst the people of Bai Kobolo, his Paramount Chief, £120 sterling, and handed that amount to the treasurer of the Soudan Mission as part compensation for the property looted or destroyed by Bai Kobolo's people at the Robethel Mission Station during the disturbances. I doubt very much whether he had to borrow any money at all from traders to pay his hut tax.

Enforcement of Hut Tax.

(*c.*) *Attempt to arrest Bai Bureh.*

39. The Royal Commissioner dwells much on the supposed fact that Bai Bureh had not been formally asked to pay his hut tax. This excuse, if it was ever made by that chief, was really a mere quibble. The Royal Commissioner puts the question in a nutshell
87. when he says, "It seems clear that Bai Bureh expected to be asked to pay the tax, that he did not mean to pay it"; and further, it is clear that he, in anticipation of being required to pay it, had gathered an armed force to forcibly resist entrance into his territory. I cannot admit the supposition that he had merely gathered the war boys for the purpose of taking part in some religious ceremony, knowing the character of that chief and his previous history. Twice before, in 1890 and 1894, he had successfully resisted arrest by means of his war boys, and there is really no questioning the fact that he had laid all his plans to resist arrest again on this last occasion.

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40. The Royal Commissioner, by quoting a statement made by Captain Sharpe in his evidence, conveys the impression that the object of the Government was, failing the arrest of Bai Bureh and that of the other chiefs, the destruction of their country; this is not so; the destruction of Bai Bureh's country was an act of war, and the result of his resistance to Her Majesty's troops. The Royal Commissioner adds: "It ought to be emphasized that *the arrest of Bai Bureh was intended and the attempt to effect which led to the collision was aggression pure and simple on the part of the authorities.*" I ask how otherwise could the authorities have acted? Bai Bureh was in a state of rebellion, he had gathered an armed force and had refused to receive a letter which the District Commissioner had sent to him, his war boys turning back Lance-corporal Steven Williams, the bearer of the letter, with menaces if not with actual violence, for we must hold him responsible for the acts of his war boys. Captain Sharpe states that the message he received from Bai Bureh through the corporal was that the first time he set foot in his (Bai Bureh's) town he would be a dead man. The Royal Commissioner is of opinion that "it is more probable that Captain Sharpe misapprehended Williams, taking some rambling talk of the war boys, which Williams might not unnaturally repeat, as being the answer of Bai Bureh." However this may be, such a message was delivered, purporting to come from Bai Bureh, who was with his followers up in arms to resist the Government, and I would maintain there was no other course open than to effect his arrest and disperse his war boys. The authorities could hardly have gone to him as suppliants; the District Commissioner was doing a perfectly lawful act in writing to him and asking him for his hut tax, and, as we know, his messenger was stopped by armed men and turned back; Bai Bureh had openly defied the Government. 7358. 7577. § 87.

41. The Royal Commissioner states that "Bai Bureh made *repeated* overtures for a termination of the war." On two occasions, once through Mr. Elba, and the second time through the Muslims of Freetown, he asked that the war might be stopped; but these were not overtures which the Government could possibly accept, for the reasons which I gave to the Royal Commissioner in a correspondence which I had with him on the subject of the one sent through the Muslims. With regard to the communications from Chief Suluku of Bumban and Alimami Baba of Rotata and some other chiefs, I am informed by the Secretary for Native Affairs that they were not known to or prompted by Bai Bureh. § 92. xlix–lii.

42. In paragraph 94 the Royal Commissioner criticises the military operations in the Kassi country, and it would appear leans towards the views expressed by Major Bourke in his report of the 29th March, 1898, that Karene should be evacuated, but the losses which occurred may be attributable not so much to the fact of holding on to Karene as to the possibly defective manner in which the operations for that purpose had been conducted, and on which the Royal Commissioner comments. It is to be noted that as soon as Lieut.-Colonel Marshall assumed command, by the establishment of intermediate posts between Port Lokko and Karene, the latter place was kept well supplied, the losses of our troops were reduced to a minimum, and Bai Bureh's powers of resistance were broken up. To have evacuated Karene, which was the seat of government of the district, as proposed by Major Bourke, would have so diminished the prestige of Her Majesty's troops and enhanced the renown of Bai Bureh that the whole of the Protectorate would have arisen in arms and flocked to his standard. lix.

Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

(*d.*) *Operations in Kwaia.*

43. The Royal Commissioner in dealing with these operations appears to attach little or no credence to the despatches of Captains Moore and Fairtlough reporting on them, and to accept the evidence of a number of natives, mostly common people, whom seem to have been brought together by a Mr. Lawson, himself a native of Kwaia, and a claimant to the paramount chieftainship of that country, and who all swore that there had been no fighting *whatever*. It is not difficult to get a number of natives to combine to swear to a negative, however untrue it may be, if it is to their interest to do so, as it was in this case. I invite attention to the reports of Captains Moore and Fairtlough. Captain Warren took part in the latter expedition, and would no doubt have corroborated the report of it in all its details had he been invited to do so. The Royal Commissioner makes light of the opposition that was met with on the grounds that "only one *boy* belonging to the Police was slightly wounded in the first expedition, and that "*there is no report of any of the Frontier Police having received so much as a scratch*" during the second. lx–lxiii. § 97. § 99.

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Captain Moore, of whom I made enquiries since receiving the Royal Commissioner's Report, informed me that one native and two carriers were wounded, and it appears from
lxiii. Captain Fairtlough's report that in the second expedition there were three killed and two wounded amongst the friendlies, who accompanied the expedition and did the fighting. Small losses do not necessarily indicate that operations are of a trivial character ; they are often due to bold initiative and skilful leading. Both Captains Moore and Fairtlough have a good record of service ; the former served throughout the campaign in Afghanistan in 1879 and 1880, and in Egypt in 1882 and 1885, being present at Tel-el-Kebir and the operations up the Nile and the latter has had much experience in bush warfare and has been decorated with the Distinguished Service Order. One of the most momentous battles of recent times, in which several hundred men were engaged, was won with a loss of only five wounded on the side of the victors, whereas between two and three hundred fell on that of the vanquished. Though the Royal Commissioner makes light of the character of the fighting in the Kwaia, I think all soldiers are agreed that bush warfare, such as this was, is perhaps more trying to the nerves than any other kind of fighting. Such is the opinion of Lieut.-Colonel G. E. Cunningham, D.S.O., who commanded the troops in the recent operations in the Protectorate, as the following extract from his despatch of 10th March, 1899, will show :—" Though the fighting, looked at from the point of view of pitched battles accompanied by a large number of killed and wounded, may not have been formidable, it was from various causes more trying to the nerves of those engaged than would at first sight be suspected. Firstly, from the nature of the country—narrow paths amidst dense bush—hiding the enemy, and thus precluding the exhilarating effect which the sight of the latter has upon a force ; secondly, from the strain caused by having to march under the constant menace of a sudden attack, with the feeling of being shadowed by an enemy who sees you, but whom you cannot see, and who can choose his own moment to attack you, but whom you cannot attack because he is invisible."

§ 101. 44. The Royal Commissioner in his concluding remarks, considers that the expedition of Captains Moore and Fairtlough " went beyond anything necessary in a military and repressive point of view." While I would receive his opinion with all respect, I would mention that, viewing the theatre of operations as a whole, and from a military point of view, these operations, by subduing the Kwaia, secured the flank and line of communication of the force that subsequently advanced under Colonel Woodgate to the relief of Kwalu.

§ 100. 45. With respect to the accusations made by Bai Kompa against Chief Smart, there had been a long-standing quarrel between these two chiefs ; the former was jealous of the independent position of the latter, and repeatedly endeavoured to assert the rights of a Paramount Chief over him ; all this was well known to the Government, and I regarded the accusations in the light of recriminating charges laid without foundation against Chief Smart in view of the loyal behaviour of the latter in the matter of the hut tax.

Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

(*e.*) *The Mendi Rising.*

§ 103–105. 46. In the opening paragraphs under this heading the Royal Commissioner advances certain conclusions to the effect that (1) a great deal of ill-feeling was caused
4362–4366. by a supposed change in the incidence of the tax from the payment of a round sum to payment according to the number of the houses, (2) that the knowledge that the inhabitants of the colony were not required to pay the tax helped to
2074. create a belief that the tax was being exacted capriciously and unjustly, and (3) that the Police had appropriated to their own use some of the goats, sheep, &c., which they had seized in payment of Chief Momoja's tax. These are not points of great moment, but as they tend to build up the assertion that the hut tax was the sole cause of the rising I think I should refer to them. With respect to (1), it is difficult to conceive how the misunderstanding arose as to a change in the incidence
4362–4366. of the tax, for it is clear from the oral evidence that Captain Carr sanctioned nothing of the kind ; assuming that there was a misunderstanding, in any case it could only have been local. With regard to (2), there is no evidence, or very little, recorded in support of it, but I think it very likely that the knowledge did contribute to make the tax
2074. unpopular, and in case (3), the police officer was only doing his duty in levying on the goods in default of payment, and there appears to be no evidence whatever for the charge that the police appropriated some of the goods to their own use on the occasion. I
4346–4347. would like to take the opportunity of denying the statement of one witness, from whose

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evidence the Royal Commissioner quotes, that the chiefs at Mafwe were arrested under the order of the Government; such an order was an impossibility in their case, nor was any general order issued for the arrest of chiefs.

47. The Royal Commissioner next animadverts on the manner in which the Frontier Police were employed by certain chiefs, particularly Neale Caulker, in the collection of the collection of the hut tax, and he gives numerous marginal references to the oral evidence. It is to be regretted that they were so employed, but I need hardly say that no orders were given to them by the District Commissioner to shoot and burn, as alleged by certain of the witnesses. The Police, acting under the orders of the chiefs who employed them, certainly appear to have committed excesses, and their conduct is indefensible even in such a case, but it is not improbable that the picture has been overdrawn by the witnesses, many of whom only gave hearsay testimony. § 106.

48. I come now to the very grave charge which has been brought by the Royal Commissioner against Captain Moore of, if not of himself shooting a native, at least of condoning that offence on the part of a Frontier. This incident is alleged to have occurred on the occasion of Captain Moore proceeding with a party of Frontier Police from Kwalu through the Mano Bagru, Timdale, Tasso and Shengeh districts, between the dates of 27th January and 12th February last year. The witness examined by the Royal Commissioner swore that Captain Moore not only killed one or more natives himself, but carried, so to speak, fire and sword through the land, fusillading the inhabitants and burning their towns and villages as they passed along, and the Royal Commissioner thus sums up the whole evidence—"On the whole of the evidence, although it has, of course, not been tested as judicial evidence would be, I am satisfied the youth was killed and in the manner stated. Yan Kuba gave evidence, bearing the appearance of truth, of another man having been killed on the same occasion. He stated incidentally, with reference to the burning of Kangama, a custom of beating drums and sounding horns when strangers came into that town, in order to call the people who are out in the fields, which it is not improbable led to unfortunate results in other cases besides this one." As the charges were so grave against Captain Moore, I sent for him and read to him all the oral evidence which has been produced in support of them. Captain Moore indignantly repudiated the charges, and stated to me that the evidence was absolutely untrue in every particular, and he added that not a shot was fired, nor a town or village burned, during the whole time of his expedition. I believe him to be a man of honour, and incapable of telling an untruth, and on the faith of his statement I venture to strongly deprecate the finding of the Royal Commissioner. § 107.

49. Captain Moore's own denial of the grave charges laid against him would be a sufficient vindication of himself in the eyes of those who know him, but as the public do not I will venture to examine the evidence, which appears to me, on the face of it, to be most unreliable and untruthful. The following were the witnesses:—Murana Karimo, Yan Kuba, Kanreh, Booreh Carbunda, J. A. Murray, and J. Branton. Taking them in the order in which they were examined, Murana Karimo stated that when he was at Mabobo a man was holding a sword in his hand, and when asked by the Police refused to give it up. That Captain Moore then told the Police to stand clear of the man and shot him—he fell down dead. The witness, on being asked whether he saw the act done, he replied that he was not present, but saw the body, and added "Yan Kuba saw Captain Moore do it and told me." This witness also stated that Captain Moore burned Makobo and plundered it. Then he gave hearsay evidence to the effect that Captain Moore had burnt Kangama and Mafuri, and that in the latter place a woman, who was sick inside of one of the houses, perished. This witness was examined again on the 31st August, 1898, but as Yan Kuba was examined immediately before him I will take the latter's evidence first. 1985. 1987. 1989. p. 181, Part ii.

50. Yan Kuba, referring to the incident of the shooting of the man at Mabobo, gives a different story to Murana Karimo, and says that *two policemen* shot the man, and not Captain Moore, though he was not on the spot when the deed was done, but one of his boys, named Kanreh, witnessed it; he saw his dead body. He could not identify the police who shot the man. He proceeds to say that after the police had left Mabobo, where he appears to have remained, he heard continuous firing (Murana Karimo mentions nothing about the firing), but did not find out what it was about; that the police went on to Mafuri and burnt it down, and did the same to *all the towns* along the Bumpe, thus considerably improving on Murana Karimo's story. Then he relates further hearsay about the blowing of horns and beating of drums at Kangama, and the burning of that place, but does not think that the people fought there. (I presume it is from this evidence that the Royal Commissioner drew the inference that such a custom probably 3172. 3209. 3176. 3197. 3195–3196. 3197 et seq. 3198.

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led to unfortunate results in other cases besides that of the burning of Kangama. I may mention that I have visited hundreds of towns in the Protectorate, and only in one instance have I known this custom to have been followed. I would not deny that it exists, but I know that it is seldom practised). Yan Kuba goes on improving on Murana Karimo, and relates some more hearsay to the effect that the police destroyed Kangama,
3199. Mafuri, *and other towns*, and that after leaving Mafuri they shot one man dead and wounded another, but did not see the man killed, or the dead body, but thinks Chief Sisi
3200–3205. saw it (this chief was not called in corroboration). He cannot remember the names of the others who were present.

51. Murana Karimo was again examined after Yan Kuba. He alters his story, and
3222. states that he did see Captain Moore fire the shot, whereas in his previous evidence he
3223. said he had not. He also asserts that Yan Kuba saw the deed done, whereas that individual swore that he was not on the spot when the deed was done, but that one of his
8172. boys, named Kanreh, witnessed it, and that the shooting was by two policemen, and not by Captain Moore. Here is a wide discrepancy between these two witnesses, and I have no doubt that both perjured themselves, and it is absolutely clear on the face of his evidence that Karimo did.

4044. 52. Kanreh was the next witness examined, and he is the only one, except Murana Karimo, who perjured himself, who states he saw the man killed at Mabobo, but Captain Moore absolutely denies his statement, as well as those of all the other witnesses. Kanreh goes on to say that he went on to Kangama, where he heard a noise and saw smoke in the town. He passed on to Mafuri, where he met a young man called Lenka, whom some people said was wounded in the heel, but he was not present when it occurred ; he was told that by his little brother, Langbam. (Neither Lenka nor Langbam were produced in corroboration.) He does not say Mafuri was burnt, which Yan Kuba asserts was. Captain Moore denies all this also.

4763 et seq. 53. The next witness is Booreh Carbaudah, who states that he saw Kangamah and Mafuri in flames, but his evidence as to the shooting at Mabobo, the burning of the sick woman at Mafuri, and the shooting of a young man called Simba, is pure hearsay, all of which is denied by Captain Moore. All the above witnesses appear to have been known to one another, and therefore had an opportunity of concocting the story.

pp. 380, 386 Part ii. 54. The remaining two witnesses in this case are J. A. Murray and J. Branton. Their evidence is pure hearsay, but they were directly invited by the Royal Commissioner to state what they had heard. These statements are useful examples of the unreliability of hearsay evidence. Murray states *Captain Moore* shot the man at Mabobo, that not only
6474. a sick woman *but two children* were burnt at Mafuri, and that *Captain Moore* shot another man who had hid himself under the root of a tree and broke his head, but he adds that he didn't see these acts done himself. Branton heard that Captain Moore had shot a man at Mabobo.

55. I have been careful to go through this evidence, as the reputation of a gallant officer is at stake, to show how utterly unreliable it is. As I have remarked before, natives are not restrained by moral influences to speak the truth, and here appears to be an instance in which a number have conspired together to fabricate an untruth, like the witnesses from the Kwaia, who all said there was no fighting whatever there on the part of the natives on the occasion of Captains Moore and Fairtlough's expeditions. It is a well-known fact in legal practice in Freetown that the preliminary depositions in a case are frequently not borne out when put to the test as judicial evidence, and I have no doubt that the evidence in the case of the shooting at Mabobo would also have failed to stand the test.

56. The statements with regard to the collision between the Police and the people at or near Sembehu are *ex parte* and for the most part hearsay. If the evidence of Captain Wallis and some of the police who were present could have been taken, a different complexion might have been given to the event, and it would probably have been found that the collision took place in consequence of the people assaulting the police. The event may or may not have precipitated the rising, which it is generally believed had been concerted by the Bumpe chiefs to take place on a fixed date.

57. In the remaining paragraphs under this heading the Royal Commissioner proceeds to describe the events connected with the outbreak, and to draw his deductions therefrom.
§ 109. He remarks on the inadequacy of the force for preventing or controlling an outbreak, "as was unhappily proved by the event," and further on the insufficiency of the Frontier Police for controlling so large a territory as the Protectorate, adding that "if the programme

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sanctioned by the Secretary of State had been carried out, which had for one of its essential features government through and with the assent of the chiefs, a very different result might have ensued," *i.e.*, that the rising would not have taken place.

58. I must admit that in view of the very protracted nature of the operations in the Kassi country, which could not have been foreseen, the whole of the battalion which was in reserve at Freetown had to be engaged. Had these operations not been protracted, the Mendi rising would probably not have taken place; as it was, however, Colonel Woodgate, C.B., who had been sent out from home to assume command of the troops, was able, with a half battalion 3rd West India Regiment, a few hastily-raised levies of the West African Regiment, and some small detachments of Frontier Police, to suppress the Mendi rising in less than two months, in the midst of the rainy season, and restore peace generally throughout the Protectorate, with the exception of some desultory fighting in the Kassi country. I take it that, from a military point of view, it was not that the garrison of Sierra Leone was insufficient to control the Protectorate as that owing to fortuitous circumstances, which could not be foreseen, as I have said before, the reserve at Freetown had to be used to reinforce the troops engaged in the Kassi country, and was therefore unavailable for operations elsewhere.

59. As to the Protectorate, I admit that in view of the fact that the country had never been conquered by force of arms there was always the danger, whether we governed with or without the assent of the chiefs, of the natives rising, as they had not felt, and were therefore ignorant of, our strength. We, in fact, had been holding the Protectorate with the proverbial "corporal's guard," and, as has happened again and again in our previous Colonial history, when something was done which the natives did not like they rose, and the country had to be conquered. As it was the Frontier Police gallantly maintained their hold of the district headquarter stations, which had been provisioned in anticipation of a rising, until relieved, and had not to withdraw in any single instance.

60. With regard to obtaining the assent of the chiefs to the hut tax, I am of opinion that it would never have been voluntarily given by them, for the reasons I have already stated in paragraph 16 of these observations.

61. The Royal Commissioner was very conciliatory in his bearing to the chiefs, and assured them that they might have no fear in telling him whatever was in their minds, 4308.
so it may be assumed that they, to a certain extent, said what they really thought on the 4469.
subject of the tax. The following, briefly paraphrased, are some of the replies
which they gave to the Royal Commissioner. If the hut tax remains the country will 4315.
be in a ruined state. We will pay what we can, but a yearly payment would be the 4507, 4549.
the same as a tax. We do not like hut tax. We will consult about a hut tax and tell 4559.
you (which, by the way, they never did). If Government asks us to give some rice to 4505.
fill the Frontier Police we will do what we are able, but to pay the hut tax we are not 4554.
able. If Government wants some money we would bring it in a nice way. We would 5175.
not say "No" to one shilling for each house if there is a proper road to the interior to
come down (referring to their desire for trade being opened up with the French
possessions). We are willing to pay one shilling a house as a voluntary contribution, 5182–5185.
but not if it is exacted peremptorily by the Government. If Government came in a
respectable way and said, "I have come, Alimami, to ask you for your hut tax,"
I should say, "I will try what I can get, and say, this is what I am able to give."
It will be seen from the above statements that only two chiefs were willing to pay the
reduced tax of one shilling, and that conditionally to a road being opened in one case
and to its being a voluntary contribution in the other, and I need hardly say that the
amount collected at this rate and at the will of the chiefs would be quite inadequate to
meet the additional revenue required.

62. In the opinion of the Royal Commissioner it was the hut tax, and the hut tax
alone, which brought about the rising, and he quotes the statements of certain chiefs to the
effect that the prohibition of slavery had nothing to do with it, nor "woman palaver." § 112–114.
He further quotes the opinion of the Rev. J. B. W. Johnson, a Sierra Leonian, I believe, to
the same effect. I do not propose under this head to produce the evidence, which is equally
strong on the side of the contention that the prohibition of slavery was the originating
cause of the rising, further than to quote the evidence on this head of the Rev. C. H.
Goodman, a gentleman who holds independent views as to the native policy of the Govern-
ment, and is not at all likely to be biassed in their favour. He is an Englishman, a
minister of the United Methodist Free Church, has devoted nine years of his life in
preaching the Gospel to the natives, and was on terms of intimacy with them, residing, I
understand, during the greater portion of that time at Tikonko, near Bumpe,

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where it is generally understood that the plot of the Mendi rising was hatched. His opinion is "not that the tax has caused the war, but that it has given the people opportunity of trusting each other to make war. There is a desire amongst the young men to go back to the old mode of life, and become big men by trading in slaves, &c"

§ 111. 63. The fact that the war boys, even when engaged in attacking the police, would cry out that the cause was the hut tax, or something immediately connected with it, is not, I think, inconsistent with the theory that the abolition of the slave trade was the prime cause of the rising. They were the pawns, so to speak, of the chiefs, who were the real promoters of the rebellion, and who, realizing how readily they would join the rising under the incentive of the imposition of the hut tax, made it their war cry, whilst they really struck their blow for independence and a reversion to their old customs of the slave trade, women palavers, &c. In every meeting which I have held with chiefs, and they are many, without exception the burden of their complaints has always been the loss of their slaves, and it is to be noted that the rebellion was not confined alone to the taxed districts, but extended to the Panguma district, the Imperri, and Sherbro, all of which were exempted, the two latter then being in the Colony.

§ 117. 64. The attacks on Kwalu, Bandajuma, and Panguma meant far more than "a mad rush of a mob on a police barrack," the communications of all three places were cut, and Panguma was closely invested for weeks, the approaches to it being stockaded for several miles to prevent a relieving force from advancing on it. Nyagwa, the chief of Panguma, had previous to the outbreak been arrested and charged by the District Commissioner with conspiring to overthrow British rule.

65. The Royal Commissioner, in arguing against the theory that "missionaries were disliked or feared as the introducers of a new religion or the enemies of old superstitions," said that in previous risings the mission stations had always been considered safe places of refuge, but he appears not to have been aware that during a disturbance some years ago between the Yonnies and Mendis a mission station at Pettifu, and I think another elsewhere, were completely destroyed by one or other of the contending parties. Chiefs have often shown a great objection to having mission stations at their towns. Bai Bureh is an instance in point; he was three times approached by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society to grant a station at Roballang and refused, saying that he did not want white missionaries in his country; once he gave a partial consent and afterwards withdrew it. It has been asserted again and again that the chiefs object to them, as they believe they are in league with the Government and disclose their secrets to them. This suspicious feeling on the part of the chiefs appears to have existed long previous to the

§ 117. preaching of the sermons alluded to by the Royal Commissioner; for instance, the Rev. J. A. Evans, of the American Shengeh Mission, in a statement dated 20th May, 1898 (Appendix G), says "missions, by their very nature, were reformatory, and by introducing Christianity naturally opposed war and slavery, as practised by the aborigines. As an instance in proof of this, I remember that a strong objection was raised by the natives at Rotifunk against the projection of that mission, as far back as 1876 or 1877; it was that it would interfere with slavery and polygamy." Mr. Holloway, who lived at the Rotifunk Mission for fourteen years, states that "the natives used to say that they were oppressed by the English Government, and that the missionaries were spies for the Government." I believe overwhelming evidence could be produced to prove that missions were disliked by the natives on account of their reforming influence.

7. Slavery.

§ 121. 66. I regret I cannot concur with the views of the Royal Commissioner on this subject to the effect that when the Protectorate Ordinance came into operation slave dealing had practically ceased, and that a general feeling of reconcilement with the change has been established. The Royal Commissioner states that "Sir Samuel Lewis, who has much knowledge of the Mendi, as well as the Timini country, said that slave dealing had been practically stamped out since 1890." I do not wish to appear to carp at this, for Sir Samuel Lewis has given his evidence in a very fair way, but he cannot have much

2553. knowledge *at first hand* on this matter, he says, himself, that, he had not travelled much
2581. in the hinterland, and had not paid much attention to the native law in the Protectorate. When he made the statement to which the Royal Commissioner alludes he may have been referring to the territories quite adjacent to the colony. Now it is an incontrovertible fact that slave raiding was in full force in the Protectorate in 1894, that *it was general throughout the Protectorate*, and that there was an organised system of slave traffic between that territory and the French Possessions. I have reported

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on it again and again in my despatches, and given evidence on it before the Royal Commissioner. A picture of the state of affairs which prevailed in 1894 is depicted in the accompanying extract from my despatch of the 20th September, 1898 (Appendix D), and I would maintain that slave dealing has not ceased even yet, and that far from there being only isolated cases, as the Royal Commissioner finds, an organised system of slave traffic is still in force between the Protectorate and French Guinea. In May 1897 the French Government at Paris complained that slaves were not infrequently taken from Sierra Leone to be bartered for cattle in Futa Djallon, and in January this year the Governor of French Guinea represented to the French Consul at Freetown that a person named Konko, of Kitcham, on the Skarcies river, who had already formed the subject of a previous communication by the Governor, "continues in the Timini country to allure into his meshes free people, whom he afterwards sells for cattle coming from Futa." From enquiries which I made just before leaving Sierra Leone—one of my informants being Alimami Noah, of Tawea, who has given evidence before the Royal Commissioner—it appears that the cattle are driven from Futa Djallon and deposited at certain places in the Protectorate, to which slaves are brought and exchanged for them and then passed across the frontier at night, thus eluding all vigilance on the part of the French police. Captain Sharpe states "there is a good deal of bartering, pledging and selling slaves going on *now*"; "often seen slaves in chains in the old days," *i.e.*, 1894; "Slave dealing goes on with the French territory." The isolated cases of slave dealing are numerous, and some quite recent. Mr. Trice cites two cases which occurred to his own knowledge in 1898, and says there were about 12 cases in the previous year to his own knowledge. This year a slave-dealing case in which a woman was sold to French Susus for two cows was adjudicated on by the District Commissioner at Karene, and just before I left Sierra Leone I gave my *fiat* for the trial of a native from Port Lokko who had kidnapped a boy from Freetown and attempted to sell him on the French frontier. Alimami Noah informed me that slave dealing was very rife on the frontier, that the slaves were brought from about Magbele and taken through Port Lokko and the Kassi country, that they were generally enticed under the pretext of trading, and on arrival at the frontier bartered for cattle. One interesting result of the operation of the Protectorate Ordinance appears to be, according to Alimami Noah, that at Magbele the masters themselves entice their own slaves away and sell them. The explanation given by the Alimami is that, knowing their slaves to be free by law, and fearing they might claim their freedom, the masters desire to realize on them before they can do so. This is at Magbele, the chief of which is Pa Suba, who stated in his evidence: "We have given up slavery; we have forgotten it altogether"!

8550. 3328. 3332. 2421–2428. 4523. 4524.

67. I have gone at some length into this question at the risk of being thought prolix, with the endeavour to show that there is good foundation for a feeling of exasperation with the Government for their interference with slavery. The very efforts that are being made to continue the traffic show how cherished the system is, and, on the other hand, the fact that owners were and are selling their own domestic slaves, a most unusual thing, in order to realize on them, knowing that their authority over them is slipping away, and their source of wealth departing, must tend to a feeling of deep resentment in their hearts towards the Government which has brought them to that pass, and make them eager to seize any pretext to rise in revolt to recover their independence and former status.

§ 123.

68. Slave dealing is ingrained in the nature of the native. The status and dignity of the chiefs are estimated by the number of their slaves, and were they left to their own devices and the supervision of the police removed, they would at once have recourse to their predatory habits of slave raiding. There is really no general feeling of reconcilement with the abolition of slave dealing. Mr. Lawson, a pure Timini native, says that if the English Government were done away with the Timinis would begin again, and on the smallest pretence make war to catch slaves. Mr. Parkes states that he is sorry to say that the natives are not beginning to perceive that the slave trade is contrary to their true interests.

1316. 1820. 1107.

69. During the recent disturbances, in the engagements between the friendlies and insurgents, the prisoners taken on either side were always carried off for slaves. Momo Kai Kai complained that the insurgents had caught and made slaves of two hundred of his people. This tendency to enslave is not confined to the natives of the Protectorate; the instinct is strong, too, in the Sierra Leonean, and when he gets away from the controlling influence of a civilized government he *will* indulge it. The Sierra Leone trader generally attaches to himself a native or two, whom he obtains from the chief for a consideration. Mr. Lawson, when asked by the Royal Commissioner whether Sierra Leoneans were con-

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1879. cerned in the slave trade in any way, replied: "I have heard that some used to give a few pounds to a native to buy for them, and the native goes and buys in his name for them.
280. That is a very common occurrence." Captain Carr states: "Traders have women and children given them by chiefs; it comes very near to slave dealing. All Sierra Leone traders have country wives. The chiefs give them girls belonging to their households."

70. In view of the facts I have narrated and the evidence I have cited, I think it can by no means be concluded that slavery "has practically been stamped out," and that there is "a general feeling of reconcilement with the change."

8. Divergent Opinions as to Rising.

§ 136. 71. The Royal Commissioner, after arguing this question at considerable length, admits that with all discussion the question, by its nature, admits of no absolute, but considers that solution "ought to be taken as most reliable which is in accordance with the weight of evidence; and that evidence is most weighty which comes from those who speak upon actual knowledge, as the chiefs do, rather than from residents more or less transitory, who upon a slight knowledge of facts work out theories of their own." He accordingly accepts the evidence of the chiefs, and absolutely rejects that of clergymen, missionaries, Government officials, and other persons not chiefs, on the ground that they are residents more or less transitory.

72. It is unfortunate that the number of what I may call the independent witnesses are comparatively so few; more could doubtless have been obtained had I been kept informed from time to time of the points in the enquiry which the Royal Commissioner was endeavouring to elicit; but this was not the case. However, I think that the quality of the evidence given by those who have been examined, as well as of that of the Government officials, must strike ordinary persons as entitled to some weight. In the first place, the Royal Commissioner says they are residents more or less transitory; on examination I think this can hardly be said to be the case. Of the missionaries, Mr. Holloway is a native, and states that he has been resident at the Rotifunk mission station 14 years. Mr. T. Caldwell, an European, has, I believe, been about two years in the country, but Mr. Kingman, an American, has been over seven years a resident in the Protectorate; Mr. Trice, a very intelligent and well-educated American negro, and who is now acting as American Consul, rather more than eight years. As to the Revd. J. A. Evans, also an American negro, I am not certain, but I should say that he has a considerable experience of the Protectorate. Revd. J. A. Cole is a native, and has been resident in the Sherbro country for seven years, and I believe him to have an intimate knowledge of native idiosyncracies, manners and customs. Mr. Robinson is a Sierra Leonean and has been in the Sherbro district for 30 years.

73. Turning to the Government officials, Captains Sharpe and Fairtlough each arrived in the colony in 1894, Captains Blakeney and Carr in 1895, but the latter has also served for several years in the Niger Company's territories; Mr. Parkes, Secretary Native Affairs, is a native with many years' experience of his office. The Royal Commissioner, referring to him in his report, says, "Mr. Parkes, I may say, has impressed me as an able, cautious, and conscientious officer," and Mr. Alldridge, an European, has, I believe, been no less than five-and-twenty years in Sierra Leone; he was formerly a travelling commissioner and explored much of the Protectorate, and has since been District Commissioner at Bonthe for at least six years. The independent witnesses are all, with the exception of Mr. Robinson, either in holy orders or lay members of Christian missions, men who have devoted their lives to the evangelization of the natives; they are in intimate association with many of the chiefs by the nature of their calling, visiting them, tending them in sickness, and getting to know them in every relation of life; they have a high moral standard, great rectitude of purpose, and could only be desirous for the truth. With their opportunities, religious training and high character, I can conceive no more truthful, experienced, and intelligent witnesses. As the Royal Commissioner has only given extracts from their respective statements, I attach them *in extenso* as far as I have them, I attach also Madam Yoko's statement on this point (Appendices E, F, G, H, I, J, K, and Z).

74. With respect to the District Commissioners, all are English gentlemen and men of honour; they all possess considerable intelligence, education, and experience, and have unrivalled opportunities, next to missionaries, of studying the natives from all points of view; they are in close touch with them, are constantly hearing their palavers and disputes, and besides get much information of their customs and habits through the police and native officials.

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75. The above are the witnesses whose evidence the Royal Commissioner rejects in favour of that of the chiefs, coming to the conclusion "that the representation which has been made, that exasperation with the English Government on account of their interference with slavery formed a material factor in the rising, rests on no sound foundation," and that the rebellion is properly to be ascribed to the hut tax with its implied meaning, the implied meaning being that in paying a tax at all the native gives up his right of ownership to his house. I cannot concur with the Royal Commissioner, for I venture to think that the weight and quality of the evidence is all on the side of the representation which has been made, for the reasons which I have given. § 123.

76. Whatever may be thought of the evidence of the officials, such as that they are biassed, and that the trend of their mind is to support the view of the Government—though I am not aware how they could have become acquainted with that view—still there should be no possible doubt as to the integrity of the missionaries: they could have no interest in supporting the official view, even supposing they knew it, and would not be likely to advance opinions which they did not conscientiously hold. On the other hand, there is every reason to accept the evidence of the chiefs with considerable reserve, in the first place, as I have said before, because they are not constrained by moral influences to tell the truth, and, secondly, because it is to their obvious interest to conceal it. Though the Royal Commissioner may admit that "with all discussion the question admits of no answer," still it should be allowed we have, as evidence on the one side, a consensus of opinion on the part of educated persons, who are not only capable of forming it, but have had all the opportunities of doing so, and on the other, the evidence of the chiefs who are wedded to slavery, are the holders of slaves, and whose chief grievance it has ever been, and one which they have constantly reiterated and never lost an opportunity of stating, that slavery has been put a stop to, which means to them loss of authority, loss of social status, loss of property, and loss of "wives." I would ask, what is the payment of a light tax like that which has been imposed on them compared with a grievance such as this, with, in their opinion, its accumulation of wrongs? § 136.

77. By the abolition of slavery we have, to a very material extent, deprived the chiefs of their property in the slaves which they possess. They can no longer buy and sell them or make war to acquire more. The slaves know that they can obtain their freedom when they like, and their masters know it too, and the only ties which now bind the former to the latter are those of self-interest, and the affection which they may feel towards their parents, wives, and families, who live in the towns and villages under their chiefs. The iron links of coercion and force have been snapped. The chief knows that he can no longer with impunity sell his slave, flog him, "stock" him, or otherwise coerce or punish him. He knows that within the last year or so this decree has been enacted by a rigid law, and feels that there is now no hope for him. Before that time the law was an unwritten one, and he fancied and hoped that there might have been some change or amelioration in it, but now that last hope is gone; he realizes that his source of wealth in his slaves and in his women is rapidly dwindling, and that his power and authority is slipping away from him, and is it a wonder, then, that he should seize the pretext of the hut tax to try and regain his independence and all that he holds most dear in life?

78. The Royal Commissioner has in several places in his Report referred to what he terms the "implied meaning" in connection with the hut tax, the implied meaning being "a taking away of the right of ownership in the houses." Now, I cannot think that this theory is based on sound grounds. I have gone through the oral evidence, and have failed to discover, except in one instance, that the meaning was ever given spontaneously by a witness. It seems to have been invariably elicited by a leading question. The one instance is that of Bai Sama, and it is not clear even in this whether his reply was not so elicited, as the evidence is not taken down in the form of question and answer. I observe that Rogers, a Sierra Leone trader on the Kittum river, directly states that the natives do not think that the hut tax takes their rights from their houses, and W. W. Cole, also a Sierra Leone trader on the Jong river, when the question was put to him replied, "I do not know." I have already quoted the Rev. C. H. Goodman's opinion to the effect that the hut tax was not the cause of the rising. § 136. 1754, 1962, 1996, 1997, 2210, 2211, 2217, 2129, 2366, 2374, 2663, 4506, 5185, 6926, 6102, 5162, 5173, 5174, 5963. 4505. 1962. 7202. 1462.

79. In all my interviews with native chiefs, and they are many, they never advanced this meaning, and in none of the petitions against the hut tax does it appear, except in the letter of the 15th November, 1897, in which the petitioners are made to say, "our true fear is that by paying for our huts naturally means no right to our country." This xxv.

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petition was written by Mr. W. T. G. Lawson, an educated native of the Kwaia, who has been in the Government service, and was the prime mover in the agitation of the Timini chiefs. He knew better than to suppose there was any truth in the implied meaning
1756. as alleged in connection with the hut tax, and asserts in his evidence that he explained to the chiefs that the tax did not take away any rights to their houses from them, and the Kwaia chiefs must have known that from their own experience, for Western Kwaia had
2332–2356. paid a house tax in former days together with the Colony ; in fact, none of them advanced that meaning in their evidence.

80. Before passing from this subject I would call attention to the remark of the Royal Commissioner in Paragraph 125, on the statements of the District Commissioners in reply to certain questions, which I caused to be put to them by the Colonial Secretary,
lxxiii. in accordance with the instructions conveyed in my memorandum of the 18th July, 1898, on the points referred to by the Royal Commissioner.

81. The Royal Commissioner states there is a remarkable convergence in the replies of the District Commissioners to Question 1 : " The cause of the rising ; they all ignore the hut tax, even as a concurrent or exciting cause of the rising," and then adds, " the absence of this, I must admit, produces a peculiar impression." There can, I think, be only one construction to be placed on the *innuendo* thrown out by the Royal Commissioner, which is that there was collusion between those officers and myself to ignore the hut tax. I beg to give the imputation an unqualified denial, and to strongly deprecate the remark of the Royal Commissioner. I attach copies (Appendix L (1), (2), and (3)) of the reports of Captains Sharpe and Fairtlough, and of my memorandum for reference. I have not the reports of the other District Commissioners beside me. It will be seen that Captain Fairtlough refers to the tax incidentally in his reply, but it was evident that he had it in his mind, for in the last paragraph of his answer he implies that the hut tax was not the cause, for he says, " the insurrection started in the Panguma district, a district exempt from the tax," and Captain Sharpe discusses the question at some length in his answer, and says, " the tax itself cannot be the only cause, &c." My questions were put categorically, and the officers gave their honest and unbiassed opinion, in reply, I feel sure.

82. The Royal Commissioner remarks on Captain Fairtlough's report to the effect that he thinks he has much exaggerated the changes which have occurred in the Protectorate, and points out what he deems to be inaccuracies in his statement that the rising started in a district exempt from the tax, viz., the Panguma district. I would call
8550. attention to my own evidence, and to Appendix D, in corroboration of much of what Captain Fairtlough says, and I have no doubt he can fully support the statements he has made.

83. With regard to the rising in the Mendi district, it is very probable that it was started at Panguma, or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, received its sanction there, for Nyagwa was the most powerful chief amongst the Mendis, and exerted a very paramount influence over all the Mendi chiefs. I believe him to have been one of the principal organisers of the rising, and I would go as far as to say that if he had thrown in his lot with the Government there would have been no Mendi rising. The District Commissioner at Panguma reported on the 9th April, 1898, that he was conspiring against the Government, holding secret meetings of chiefs, and " urging them to give him every assistance in driving the white man out of his country." (Appendix B.)

84. Technically speaking, it may be said that the district of Panguma was not exempt, but practically it was so, for under ordinary circumstances no hut tax could be imposed on it without at least a year's notice, in order to give time for a proper registration of the houses, and as far as I know no such notice had been given, or mention made to
§ 127. the chiefs of the district that they would be required to pay the hut tax. It would not be exact to say that the district was " only permitted to have a postponement of one year before the tax was enforced," in fact the imposition of a tax in that as well as the Koinadugu district had been indefinitely postponed by the Secretary of State.

85. I have already given my views (Section 65) with respect to the influence of Missions on the rising, which point the Royal Commissioner refers to again under this
§ 133. heading. I may add that I have myself heard missionaries, again and again, say that they are identified with the Government by the natives, who suspect them of reporting to the District Commissioners any transgression of the law they may commit.

86. In this connection I venture the opinion that it would be inaccurate to say that a large proportion of the people of the Timini country are Mohammedans, with whom fetish is of no account ; there are, in fact, very few true Mohammedans amongst them, but a certain proportion are what are called *Mushriken*, or persons under Mohammedan influence.

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I think I am right in saying that all of them worship the *Krifi*, or devil, and outside every town or village may be observed a little shrine or temple in which are votive offerings to the *Krifi*. Fodi Silla, who is the head of the Mandingoes in Freetown and a Mohammedan, speaks of Timinis, Limbas, and Lokkos as heathens. 6109.

87. The Royal Commissioner, in support of his opinion that there is not such a strong reverence for fetish as to make it a leading motive for the attitude shown by the natives towards missionaries during the recent disturbances, quotes the Rev. J. B. W. Johnson, who informed him that he was permitted to break down devil-houses without opposition; I think the example may tell equally well the other way, and though the common people may not appear to have resented at the time, through fear or other motive, the destruction of their devil-houses, the devotees, such as medicine men, Poro men and others, may well have been incensed at it, and in the councils of the Poro bush have influenced the minds of the chiefs against the missionaries in consequence. § 133.

9. Sierra Leone Press.

88. As the Royal Commissioner states definitely that he has not found in any publication any incitement or advice to natives not to pay the hut tax, I do not propose to attempt to controvert his opinion, but I think it is important, in view of our relations with the Protectorate, to seek an answer to the question which the Royal Commissioner asks in the following words: "How could the influence of the Sierra Leone papers, supposing there had been an influence for revolt, have come to bear sufficiently on the minds of chief and people?" and, in doing so, I would add to the question the words "not only with reference to the papers but to disloyal or treasonable influence from other directions." The Royal Commissioner's reply is "there is no evidence that such a thing ever took place." In this reply he completely rejects the evidence of the District Commissioners, which is to the effect that most chiefs have their English-speaking clerks who read the papers to them, and accepts that of the Secretary Native Affairs, who he says is "a much more reliable authority," and who "stated that he only knew of one chief among the Mendis who had a clerk generally beside him, but that other chiefs when they wished to have a letter written or read, obtained, when they could, the occasional services of a Sierra Leone trader." But I may here mention that the Royal Commissioner omits to notice another statement made by Mr. Parkes in this connection, which gives a direct answer to his question, and which, paraphrased, runs thus: "The chiefs became aware of the contents of the Sierra Leone papers through the native traders; the native trader sits in his verandah and interprets the news to a crowd, and probably one of the crowd will carry the news to the chief. The chief either comes and asks the traders if it is true, or takes it to be so." § 144. § 147. 717–719,

89. Though I have every confidence in Mr. Parkes's judgment, and his opinion is entitled to every weight, I think that of the District Commissioners is even more reliable; they speak from personal knowledge, they see these things with their own eyes, whereas I believe I am right in saying that Mr. Parkes has not resided for any time together among the natives as they have, and his personal experience is confined only to the occasions on which he has accompanied Governors on their tours into the interior. However this may be, I have no occasion to find fault with his evidence; it is all in favour of my contention that the influence of the Sierra Leone papers or any other influence can be brought to bear sufficiently on the minds of chief and people.

90. The evidence which the Royal Commissioner rejects is as follows: Dr. Hood states that Freetown papers are read by their clerks to the chiefs, and in many cases the chiefs are fully aware of their contents, that they are read also by Sierra Leoneans in the Protectorate who disseminate the news. Captain Sharpe, that "most chiefs have their clerks." Captain Carr affirms that news from outside is conveyed to the chiefs in a wonderful manner; chiefs become acquainted with what is published in the Freetown papers mostly through traders and their English-speaking sons and daughters. Mr. Pittendrigh, an European merchant, states: The Sierra Leone papers "made some very stupid comments on the disturbance in the Port Lokko district, which influenced Bai Bureh a little I think. . . . Many chiefs had educated clerks, Bai Bureh had one. . . . I know him very well. I was his prisoner for a month. He would look out for these articles and put great faith in them, and probably many other chiefs did so also. I cannot say that any of the papers advised them (the chiefs) *directly* not to pay. They can read *between the lines* very well." Mr. Pittendrigh adds that he has travelled a great deal in the Protectorate and that Bai Bureh is a shrewd man. Mr. Lawson says chiefs become 101–102. 106. 3372. 294–295. 425–428. 1788.

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acquainted with Sierra Leone papers, which are sometimes read to them by Sierra Leone
436. men. He has read papers to the chiefs himself. Dr. Berkeley, Acting District Commissioner, stated that he investigated a complaint in which Lamina Lahai, an educated native and trader, was charged by one Joe Metzger with having read extracts from the Freetown press to chiefs to the effect that the Timini war had been very successful. Captain
090. Fairtlough relates having found some 30 copies of a Sierra Leone newspaper stored in a chief's house. The Royal Commissioner, in referring to this statement, adds that these
147. dates "were about four years old," but Captain Fairtlough stated that "*some* of them were about four years old," which is a not unimportant qualification.

91. The above evidence is given not only by official but by independent witnesses, such as Mr. Pittendrigh and Mr. Lawson, neither of whom are too friendly to the Government, and I think it may fairly be received as proving that influence can and has been brought to bear on the minds of chiefs and people by the dissemination of news through educated natives, whether Sierra Leoneans or aborigines, and if I may be allowed to quote the Royal Commissioner himself as an authority, such influence can be brought to bear with great rapidity, as he says: "for it is a well-known fact that every sort of information, especially such as intimately concerns the public affairs of the tribes, travels
89. with great rapidity in the Protectorate."

10. People of Sierra Leone.

154. 91. The Royal Commissioner states that he is unable to find it established that the Sierra Leone people or traders can be justly charged with having, by their advice to the natives, contributed to bring about the rebellion. He states that the hypothesis is not built up by means of any sound induction from facts, and concludes that the Sierra Leone people did not advise or incite the natives of the Protectorate not to pay the hut tax.

92. It is not easy to produce evidence which would be admissible in a court of law to prove that such advice had been given in Freetown to the chiefs, but when the latter knew, as they must have done, that a strong feeling existed against the hut tax on the part of the Sierra Leone people, and sympathy was evinced for them by European as well as native merchants ?—it is, I think, a fair induction that they should be encouraged by such sympathy in assuming that, if they held out and resisted the imposition of the tax, they would have at least the moral support of the community of Freetown, and, very probably, they may have thought, of public opinion at home, as represented by the Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool and Manchester, as well. I invite particular attention to the evidence given by Mr. Marcus, to whom a large number of chiefs came for his advice as to the house tax, and he advised them to "leave things alone a bit, and things will come right in time." In
396. answer to another question he stated, "I talked to them and told them that the Governor
414 might, perhaps, take a half, or something less." In fact he appears to have held out hopes to the chiefs that they would not have to pay the tax. If this cannot be construed as giving advice to them to hold out against paying, it certainly goes very near it. He told them "to leave things alone a bit," which advice they might well construe into postponing payment. Mr. Marcus held a very pronounced view of the state of feeling as regards the house tax in Freetown. In his communication to the *Standard* he says, "every trader in the Colony strongly deprecates the Government putting the hut tax in force." Now, in view of the above facts, I think it is reasonable to suppose that the chiefs were encouraged, if not incited, to resist the imposition of the tax.

92. It is well known that they went from merchant to merchant in Freetown for advice in the matter. Mr. Pittendrigh, when asked by the Royal Commissioner whether
31. he had ever heard of a trader in Sierra Leone saying to a native "You need not pay this tax, it will soon be abolished," replied, "I have never heard of it. I know two people who might say it." In reply to another question he said: "There was a rumour that the hut tax would be abolished before the disturbance broke out." The wish was evidently father to the thought, and those wishing it may well have told the chiefs, who would be doubly encouraged thereby not to pay.

93. The chiefs appear to have been assisted in every way by Sierra Leone people to bring their grievances to the knowledge of the Secretary of State, even to sending a
386. telegram from them to him. Mr. Lawson states that some of the merchants advised them
894. to send this telegram.

94. A strong agitation undoubtedly existed in Freetown against the house tax, and the Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool and Manchester appear also to have taken the matter up. The chiefs could not, I think, be unaware of this, and there is direct and irrefutable evidence in support of this as far as Chief W. Brooks Tucker is concerned, a

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chief who is a pure native, who was educated in an American Mission at Sherbro, and can read and write well. This chief, in writing a letter from Freetown to a friend at Sherbro, says, amongst other matters, "I am also directed to write to the Secretary of State, in place of all the native chiefs, stating our right to our land under Protectorate of Her Majesty's Government, and not a ceeded one, and the inconsistency of licences being imposed on us in Sherbro, and house taxes; also the interior lands, that have never become a Protectorate, much more a cession, to have such a heavy tax and licence imposed on natives and traders, and the Municipality in Sierra Leone, and the Commercial Chambers in England, Ireland, and Scotland, &c., being on our side, the Home Government, or Secretary, will repeal some of this Ordinance, if not all. . . . The people of England are desirous to hear or receive letters from the native chiefs with reference to the Ordinance of Governor Cardew, which will give firm ground to the members of Municipality and the said commercial chambers of commerce in England, &c." p. 681, Part ii.

95. As further evidence in support of my view that the chiefs looked for advice to the Sierra Leone people, Pa Nembana, a Kwaia chief, states: "I went round to merchants and people in the town to beg them to intercede," and "especially the Sierra Leone Coaling Company, and Mr. Marcus and many others." Captain Moore, describing what took place at an interview he had with a large number of chiefs of the Ronietta district, states: "I heard what each chief had to say, and it practically was to the effect that they were not going to pay until they had consulted a big man in Freetown. Fulla Mansa (also a chief) told me this was Lawyer Lewis," and Captain Moore, in his report, which forms one of the enclosures to my confidential despatch of the 20th May, 1898, alludes to this interview in the following terms: "On the 5th February I had a big palaver of all the Timdale chiefs; some 2,000 were present. During the palaver a Sierra Leonean was caught in the act of advising the crowd to resist the hut tax, to fight if necessary, and that they were backed up by all the big men in Sierra Leone. This man had several copies of Freetown papers with him. He had been living in Timdale land for some months, living with the chiefs, and this accounts for the fact that until the end of March no tax was paid by these people." 2353–2355.

96. Turning to further oral evidence and written statements in support of the charge that Sierra Leonean traders advised and incited the natives not to pay the hut tax, Mr. J. H. Parkes, a native member of the Bompeh Mission, states that they used to tell the natives, "When I am at home I pay no tax." Now it cannot be supposed that they told them this merely as an abstract fact, and it is a reasonable induction that they did so with the object of advising them not to pay. Mr. J. H. Parkes, in a deposition taken on the 12th May, 1898, further states: "I know of two Sierra Leone traders who advised the people not to pay as the tax was hard, ... Two other traders going up country said they would not agree to pay the tax in Freetown, and the natives should not agree. At the same time the chiefs were in Freetown last year the country people gave out that the merchants and big men in Freetown had written to the Queen for them . . . ." and the Reverend C. H. Goodman states: "While I was a prisoner at Bumpe, some of the young men round the chiefs spoke freely of Sierra Leoneans having advised them not to pay." 821. 1459.

97. Mr. Pittendrigh stated in effect that the Sierra Leone traders were all against the tax, and that, while "many have advised them to pay, there may have been some small traders who would say, 'why should you pay the tax?'" and Captain Sharpe, that "many of the chiefs would be far more inclined to obey Government if it was not for these clerks and Sierra Leoneans," and he cites a case in which an insulting letter was sent to him by a clerk. 422–423. 3376. 3517.

98. I append a copy of a statement (Appendix M) by Sergeant-Major R. W. George, Frontier Police, showing the attitude of the Sierra Leoneans, not only towards the Frontier Police and on the question of the hut tax, but also the sympathy openly expressed for Bai Bureh. I don't quarrel with the latter sentiment, it is a natural racial feeling for that chief, but I think that at least it may be taken as a link in the chain of evidence in support of the allegation that the Sierra Leone people, by their advice to the natives, contributed to bring about the rebellion.

99. Turning again to Mr. Parkes's statement, it should be observed that a boy called Yonwee told him that he had heard King, a Sierra Leone trader, say to the people that Chief Smart and Pa Kompo (two loyal chiefs who had paid their hut tax) "are the persons who were confusing the country, because they have people who can write for them and the Government love them; that is why they do not care for you but look down on you, and you big men of the country sit down and see these little boys turning you up and down; you ought to drive them out of the country; they are the persons bringing

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trouble into the country." I may mention that Pa Kompo was afterwards murdered by the insurgents. I don't make any apology for referring to this hearsay evidence, as so much has been accepted during this enquiry.

100. The Royal Commissioner mentions incidentally that King was prosecuted on a charge of selling gunpowder before the District Commissioner at Kwala and convicted, and that the conviction was afterwards quashed by advice of the Acting Attorney-General. I should like to explain that the conviction was not quashed by me because there was not sufficient evidence to convict, but because the sentence, one of imprisonment, was illegal, the charge having been proved under the Customs Ordinance, which only imposed, by way of penalty, fine or confiscation, and not imprisonment.

§ 152. 101. The statement in my despatch of the 15th July, 1898, to the effect that there had been eight convictions for inciting natives not to pay was my own error. I believe I counted some natives as distinct from Sierra Leoneans who had been convicted for the same offence, but besides the three convictions admitted by the Royal 5084. Commissioner, Captain Fairtlough mentions in his evidence that proceedings were pending against three Sierra Leoneans, named Macaulay, Taylor, and Jackson, for incitement

§ 153. 102. The Royal Commissioner refers to other evidence of incitement, which he says consists, so far as he has discovered, "of vague allegations by policemen and others." It pp. 527, 528, Part ii. is possible he may be alluding to the evidence of Sergeants Palmer and Coker. It is unfortunate that in their cases their examination appears to have been conducted in accordance with the strict laws of evidence, which was a departure from the rule in all other cases, in which much latitude as to the nature of the evidence was given. Very important evidence in proof of the charge of incitement was therefore declared inadmissible. I attach two reports (Appendix N (1) and (2)) by Mr. D. F. Wilbraham relative to the examination of Sergeants Palmer and Coker, as also a sworn statement (Appendix O) of the latter which I understand he was prepared to make before the Royal Commissioner. It will be seen from the latter that Sergeant Coker swears that a number of Sierra Leone traders, whom he names, had each told him that he had told a certain chief not to pay the hut tax.

§ 153. 103. Against the allegation of incitement on the part of Sierra Leoneans, the Royal Commissioner advances the argument that "the Sierra Leone mind does not work in the direction of active resistance to law ; the people consider a law made by the Government to be all-powerful, to which resistance is impossible, and any suggestion of relief from a law thought to be oppressive would be in the form of advice to comply with the law, and then to beg or petition the Government." I would maintain that this has not been the experience of the Government either in the present or the past. It is on record that the people have again and again made demonstrations against proposed legislation which they consider to affect their interests by holding monster meetings round Government House or elsewhere. I should say that they are an intractable people ; they have successfully withstood until now any attempt on the part of the Government to impose direct taxation on them, and there are laws on the statute book, such as the conservancy of roads in the country districts and the Freetown Buildings Ordinance, which have become dead letters owing to the neglect of their provisions by the people.

p. 65, Part i. 104. In a footnote under this heading the Royal Commissioner refers to the allegation that Sierra Leone traders sold gunpowder to the natives of the Protectorate "knowing, or having the means of knowing, that it was meant for use in support of the rebellion," and adds that "such cases, if capable of being substantiated, would no doubt have been dealt with by the police and the public prosecutor." I would reply that unfortunately the cases could not be technically substantiated, but both the agents of the two European firms who sold the powder knew that the persons purchasing it were natives of the Protectorate, and at the time of their doing so the insurrection was in full force. I may mention in the second case the amount of powder sold was 50 lbs., and the facts are as 8617. stated in my evidence. The Royal Commissioner goes on to say, "there were various conjectures as to the sources from which the insurgents obtained gunpowder, but no real information." There is no doubt that the powder came from the firms in Freetown and Bonthe. for the empty kegs found in several of the towns taken during the disturbance were marked with the initials of several of such firms. However, with the two exceptions referred to above, there is no legal proof that powder was sold to natives during the disturbances, but a large quantity was withdrawn from the Government magazine during the months of January and February, and up to the date of the proclamation restricting its importation into the Protectorate, and it was discovered after the outbreak of the

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disturbances that firms at Bonthe had large quantities of powder stored in their warehouses in contravention of the Fire-arms Ordinance.

105. The Royal Commissioner remarks further, "that if the advice generally coming from Sierra Leone traders had been to resist payment, they would hardly have come under the reproach from the Mendis, which so strongly told against them in the rising of having brought or helped to bring the hut tax upon them." I would differ here from the Royal Commissioner. The oral evidence does not establish by any means conclusively that this was the sentiment of the Mendis. In my opinion, they massacred the Sierra Leoneans because in the first place they classed them, as well as all other English-speaking natives, with the Government whose overthrow they desired—their cry often was, "We do not want any white men," meaning English-speaking people, whether black or white—and in the second place because, I think they bore a real grudge against them.

106. The Royal Commissioner in quoting from my despatch of the 28th May, 1898, in which I summarise the causes which led to the insurrection, omits to mention the passage in it to the effect that the native was disgusted with the encroachments of the Sierra Leone traders and hawkers, with their prosperity, their loud, obtrusive ways, and their contempt for the bush-man. I believe the behaviour of the Sierra Leone traders towards the Mendis in particular did far more to bring about the massacre of the former than the reason that they helped to bring the hut tax upon the natives. p. 54, Part i.

107. That Sierra Leone traders in following their calling in the Protectorate have often behaved towards the natives in a domineering, oppressive, and extortionate manner, particularly in the Mendi districts, has long been known to the District Commissioners and Police Officers, and there is a body of oral evidence on the subject which cannot be ignored. The officials do not appear to have been examined on this point, and, indeed, it is not one of those referred to the Royal Commissioner by his Commission, but it arises out of the enquiry. Captain Carr stated an instance in his evidence as having come before him judicially of a Sierra Leonean having caught a native "and tied him up in a shed for three weeks, giving him three or four lashes every day, burned his beard off, and subjected him to many other gross indignities." 326

108. Many complaints have been made to me personally. At a meeting of the chiefs at Sulima on the 8th November, 1894, they represented that Sierra Leone traders had gone into the interior, and petitioned that they should be cautioned, as they force Mendis to trade with them, which brings about disturbances, and added that they wished action to be taken about stopping them. During my tour in 1895, Suri Kasebbi, the Chief of Rotifunk, complained that the Sierra Leoneans there would not pay him any rent; and subsequently on another tour in 1896, the Chief of Mafwe complained that they took and occupied land for cultivation without either reference to him or any acknowledgment in the shape of rent.

109. Coming to more recent times, the Chief of Lungi, which is on the Bullom shore opposite Freetown, complained to me on the occasion of a visit I made there in January last, that the Sierra Leoneans occupied and cultivated his land without his permission, and shot his cattle if they happened to trespass on such land. Again, during my tour in February last, in the Bandajuma district, the son of a chief, named Tom Smith, stated to me at Kambia that previous to the disturbances the Sierra Leoneans used to flog and stock the natives, take away their women, and interfere in their palavers. He also mentioned incidentally that they advised the natives not to pay the hut tax. On the same day on which this interview took place I met a typical Sierra Leonean, named Hanson, at a little village called Yonga, he appeared to think he, being a Sierra Leonean, had a prescriptive right to control native affairs, and domineered over the whole country side.

110. But passing to more independent evidence as to the state of feeling between the native and the Sierra Leonean, and the behaviour of the latter towards the former, the Rev. C. H. Goodman stated the natives "wanted to get rid of English and traders. They thought that if they could get rid of traders they would get rid of their debts. . . . There has always been a sort of jealousy between the country people and the Sierra Leoneans." 1457. 1501.

Mr. Lawson, the prime mover in the agitation of the chiefs against the hut tax, admits "that the conduct of the traders (Sierra Leoneans) is very bad among natives, and the natives have felt that for some years. . . . The conduct of the Sierra Leone traders was abominable." Mr. Astbury affirms that the Sierra Leonean treats the natives very badly; he "thinks a native is dirt under his feet;" "they are most unjust." 1860. 2246–2248.

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3446. Mr. Trice says that they are not fair and just in their dealings with the natives ; they
3448. do not always pay their labourers . . . They believe it is fair to cheat a man if they can," and so on. This witness has had an experience of over eight years of the dealings of the Sierra Leoneans with the natives.

3243. Mr. Johnson, a Liberian and a farmer at Mafwe, states : " I have seen men (Sierra Leoneans) catch natives and tie them and flog them for debt, and I have seen men take men's wives."

4285. Mr. Tucker affirms that one of the cries of certain warboys was, " There shall be no more Sierra Leoneans as they have need of their lands," the inference here being that the Sierra Leonean used to grab their lands.

Henry Tucker, chief of Kittum, states as a reason for a stoppage of trade in the
5405. Sherbo district that the natives complained of the traders' measures. I may explain here that it is the custom of traders to have two measures, a large one for the purchase of produce and a smaller one for the sale of the same ; at times the size of the former is increased by the addition of a projecting rim round the top, or some other device, and the native when he sees through it naturally protests. To place trade on an equal basis the law should step in and provide an equal measure both for sale and purchase.

111. But besides the oral evidence I have quoted above, it is well known that the immoral behaviour of the Sierra Leoneans has been made a matter of reproach against them on the part of their pastors. I have heard them denounced from the pulpit of the cathedral church at Freetown for their immoralities and extortions in the Protectorate, and the preacher, a native, did not hesitate to attribute the killing of the Sierra Leoneans to their misbehaviour.*

112. In this connection I would call attention to the foot note at page 515, Part ii., Evidence and Documents, which contains an extract from the Sierra Leone *Weekly News* of 8th May, 1898, reporting a sermon by the Revd. W. H. Maude, in which he states that he thinks there are many contributing causes for the rising in the Protectorate ; that he believes the hut tax had something to do with it, but that it was not the sole cause. That he thinks the conduct of the Sierra Leoneans was *largely the cause ;* and he goes on to speak of the treatment they meted out to the country people.

113. I have been at pains to review the above evidence at the risk of being thought tedious, as such prominence has been given by the Sierra Leoneans to the misconduct, much exaggerated, and often fabricated, of the Frontier Police, whereas they themselves have had anything but clean hands in their dealings with the natives, and I have no doubt that their bad treatment of them was one of the contributory causes of the rising.

11. Native Feeling towards the Hut Tax.

§ 156. 114. The Royal Commissioner states that the evidence which he has obtained on the point shows that a tax in the nature of the hut tax is unknown in native customs, and that it is highly obnoxious. I am prepared to admit that the hut tax may have been obnoxious to the chiefs ; they were probably aware of the history of the House and Land Tax in the Colony, of the objectionable manner in which it had been collected, of its abolition, and the successful resistance which had been offered subsequently by the Sierra Leoneans to its reimposition ; they were also aware of the dislike in which they held direct taxation in any form, and of the strong feeling which had been shewn by them in Freetown against the hut tax imposed by the Protectorate Ordinance ; and all these causes may have combined to create in their minds a dislike to it ; but I do not think it would be accurate to say that the hut tax—or, in other words, direct taxation—is unknown in native customs, for there is no doubt that the chiefs gather many contributions of that nature from their people.

649. Mr. Parkes, Secretary for Native Affairs, states in his evidence that amongst other sources of revenue the chief obtains a contribution from his people fixed, by himself ; that this contribution varies, " it may be for a specified object, or it may be for his general funds," and that " there is never any trouble in collecting it." The Royal Commissioner is of opinion that these contributions are of the nature of free-will offerings, but in view of the social system which obtains in the Protectorate, and in which compulsory slave labour forms so large a part, I hardly think they should come under that category.

115. The large majority of the population of the Protectorate are slaves, and besides the contributions referred to above, which are provided by their labour, they have to work

* It came out in evidence during the trials in the Protectorate that many of the Sierra Leoneans were mutilated in certain parts of the body in revenge for their having tampered with the wives of natives.

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either on the farms of their masters or in the building of their houses five days out of every seven, and those who may hire themselves out as labourers or carriers at Freetown or elsewhere on the West Coast are expected on their returning to their homes to contribute a portion of their earnings, whether in cash or in goods, to their chiefs, and sometimes this contribution forms a very considerable proportion of such earnings. Again, it is not an unknown practice for a chief who has supplied boys as labourers or carriers to keep the whole amount of their earnings should it happen to have been paid direct to him. It cannot therefore be said that direct taxation is unknown to the people, though it may not take the form of a hut tax, which after all is only another and more equitable way of computing it. It is the Paramount Chiefs alone of whom it may be said that direct taxation is unknown to them, but they are careful to exact it from their sub-chiefs and people in one form or another, whether it be for a public or private purpose.

116. I have already (§ 78–79) discussed the theory of the implied meaning in connection with the hut tax, so need not dwell further on it here, beyond remarking that it does not appear to me that the chiefs attached any importance to it, *i.e.*, that they really believed they lost the ownership of their houses. The act of the Government in repealing the land clauses of the original Protectorate Ordinance must have convinced them that no forfeiture of houses or lands was intended by the hut tax.

117. With regard to the oppressive methods made use of for the collection of the hut tax, I would point out that coercion was not adopted till it became quite evident from the armed gatherings which took place all over the country that there was to be a determined resistance to such collection. In the Karene district the Kassi country was filled with warboys, and at Port Lokko the chiefs and the Sierra Leone traders had refused to a man to pay. The same was the case with the Timini Chiefs in the Ronietta district, and in the Bandajuma district Dr. Arnold had been mobbed and his life endangered, and at Mafwe there had been a monster gathering of natives, the chiefs of whom all refused to pay. It was only after these events, during which the District Commissioners bore themselves with great patience, forbearance, and nerve, that coercive measures were adopted by them, and I venture to think that in such a crisis, and under such circumstances, such measures were justifiable. § 157.

12. Objections to Hut Tax.

118. The Royal Commissioner raises certain objections to the hut tax which I do not find borne out by my experience. He says that hut tax restrains the tendency to building better houses, and diminishes the trade on which the Colony depends, both in its imports and exports. With regard to the former, it is my experience that a directly opposite effect is resulting, for during a tour which I made in the Bandajuma district last February it was especially observed by myself and my party that in the towns which had been destroyed many of the houses were being rebuilt on a larger scale than formerly; and in view of the fact that the tax is five shillings a house, irrespective of its size, the natural tendency will be for the natives to build larger houses, containing more rooms, with the result that the architecture of such houses will be improved, and with improved dwellings a stimulus will be given to the desire for European goods, in the shape of simple articles of furniture, hardware, &c., a stimulus which will gain increased force from the developments which are now taking place in the Protectorate, resulting from closer contact with civilization through increased facilities for communication with the Colony, the greater influence of Government officials and traders, the rapid advance of the railway, and the adoption of coin as a circulating medium for trade.

119. Thus, far from there being a diminution of trade as regards either imports or exports, I venture to predict that the exact opposite will result, and further, that the hut tax will directly increase trade from the impulse which it has already given and will continue to give to cultivation, and the collection of indigenous products for its payment, thereby inducing motives to industry rather than diminishing them, as the Royal Commissioner predicts.

120. The increased appreciation on the part of natives for European goods in the shape of articles of furniture and hardware is particularly noticeable in the better class of native houses in the districts adjacent to the Colony, and I was much struck during my recent tours in the Protectorate when inspecting the barracks of the Frontier Police, the majority of whom are now aborigines, by the manner in which they had furnished their rooms with curtained beds, tables, articles of crockery and nicknacks. The appreciation of such adjuncts to civilization by the Frontiers must surely be disseminated by contact before long amongst their countrymen in the Protectorate.

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121. That merchants and traders anticipate increased trade from the hut tax is, I think, evidenced by the largely increased value of imports during last year, which amounted to £606,983, as against £457,389 for the previous year, and by the value of imports for the period ending 30th April this year, which amounted to £242,726, as against £194,580 for the corresponding period of last year (Appendix Q.). The value of imports for last year, I believe, far exceeds that of any previous year since the existence of the Colony, with the exception of 1884, when it amounted to £612,745, but only to drop to £306,309 in 1885, and from that to £264,866 in 1886.

122. I attach, for reference, a monthly return of Customs receipts from the 1st January, 1893, to 30th April, 1899 (Appendix P.). The falling off in the receipts for 1896 is due to the duty on spirits having been raised to three shillings on the fluid gallon.

123. One more objection urged by the Royal Commissioner *is the difficulty or impossibility of providing adequate machinery for the collection of the hut tax.* It has always been the intention of the Government that this duty should be performed by the paramount chiefs and not by subordinate officials of the Government, but at the outset of the imposition of the tax the chiefs would not carry out their duty, but, now that their opposition has been overcome by the suppression of the disturbances, they are doing their work with success on the whole;* however, it is evident that the majority of them have not sufficient force of character, and therefore authority with their people, to properly get in the tax, and it will be necessary, in my opinion, to give them the requisite powers by legislation, and this might be done by appointing them collectors and making it an offence punishable by fine or imprisonment if any collector shall wilfully neglect or refuse to perform his duty, and providing that any paramount chief who shall be appointed a collector shall have power, when sitting in the court of the native chiefs, to punish, either by way of fine or imprisonment, any chief appointed as collector under him for neglecting or refusing to perform his duty on any native liable to pay the hut tax for default in payment of the same. To prevent extortion on the part of the paramount chief any fine or imprisonment might be subject to revision by the Governor.

124. I do not think it would be practicable in case of default in payment of a tax to treat the amount as a debt, and recover it as a debt, as preferred by the Royal Commissioner. It should be borne in mind that we have to deal with a people almost wholly uncivilized. It is only within recent years, I believe in 1869, that imprisonment for debt was abolished even in England, and that still imprisonment may be awarded under certain circumstances for default in payment of taxes.

§ 161. 125. I concur with the Royal Commissioner that there are the objections he points out to using the levy as a compulsitor in the case of sub-chiefs and the common people, but I still think it should be enforced on the goods and the stipends of chiefs who persistently neglect or refuse to perform their duty.

§ 160. 126. The Royal Commissioner objects to the District Commissioner demanding and enforcing payment of taxes as prejudicial to his character and position, but I believe in all our colonies where taxes are levied this duty is the particular function of officials holding analogous appointments. For instance, it is the Collector in British Central Africa, the Sub-commissioner in Zululand, and the Resident Magistrate in the Natal and Cape Colonies, and these officers go the round of their districts annually at stated seasons to receive the hut tax from chiefs and headmen of kraals. I can speak from personal experience as regards Zululand.

127. If the District Commissioners were not to demand and enforce payment of taxes, I fail to see on whom that duty should fall. From my knowledge of the chiefs such a functionary is absolutely necessary, for if left to themselves, they would rarely voluntarily, and never punctually, make their payments. I quite concur that the going about of the District Commissioner for the collection of taxes makes great inroads on his time, and is for that reason objectionable, but I would give him an Assistant Commissioner to help him in his duties.

13. Amount of Hut Tax.

128. Under this heading the Royal Commissioner discusses the question of the amount of the hut tax and the ability of the natives to pay it, and arrives at the conclusion that "although those of the natives who are advantageously placed (*i.e.*, those,

* Since these observations have been written I have received information up to the beginning of May that the hut tax for the current year is being collected in coin without difficulty. This information refers particularly to the Karene and Ronietta districts.

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for instance, living near a District Commissioner's headquarters or near any well-frequented market, or those who live in a palm-kernel district, or the very small proportion who can earn money on Government works or with the merchants) could pay the tax, there is yet a very numerous section who could only pay with difficulty, and a considerable number who could not pay." I venture to think that the arguments on which the Royal Commissioner bases his conclusion are fallacious, and I propose to examine them in detail.

129. In commencing I may mention that it was well understood by the natives at the time the tax was imposed that it was to be five shillings a house, irrespective of the number of rooms in a house, and not ten shillings in the case of houses having more than three rooms. As the Royal Commissioner admits, there is no doubt the advantageously placed could realise the five shillings a year without difficulty. Now such natives are numerous and form a very considerable portion of the population of the Protectorate, I should say at least one-half, for they comprise the inhabitants of the belt of territory along the coast line for a depth inland of from 50 to 70 miles, or nearly half of the whole area of the Protectorate, and as this belt is more densely populated than the remainder of the Protectorate, we may, I think, put its population down as equal to that of the remainder.

130. In this area there are the well-frequented markets of Freetown, approachable by short voyages in canoes from Samu and Bullom, the riverain towns, the district head-quarters of Karene, Ronietta, and Bandajuma, and the trading stations all along the Bum Kittam and other numerous waterways in the Sherbro district, not to mention Bonthe, which is easily accessible, not only from these waterways, but the creeks and rivers of those extremely rich districts of the Imperri, Bagru, Bumpe, &c.

131. Palm trees abound in every part of the southern half of the Protectorate, *i.e.*, south of an east and west line drawn through Freetown, and there are considerable belts of palms in the western half of the Karene district. Rubber abounds in the three southernmost districts, and in a large portion of the Koinadagu district; kola is grown everywhere, and rice, which is the staple article of food, is cultivated to such an extent that there are now relatively small areas of virgin forest within the Protectorate which have not been cut down for its cultivation, only in the northern portions of the Karene and Koinadagu districts can it be said that rice is not abundant, and the visitation of locusts, which the Royal Commissioner refers to, only comes at long intervals, the last which did any appreciable damage took place early in 1894.

132. It is true that the eastern portion of the Protectorate is "more remote from well-frequented markets," but every day as it passes weakens the force of the argument, owing to the developments which are so rapidly taking place.

133. During the late military expeditions large quantities of rice were bought by the Commissariat for the use of the troops in the remoter districts as well as those nearer the Colony, and the garrisons of the West African Regiment retained in these districts, together with the Frontier Police and other Government officials, furnish ready markets, not only for rice, but for cattle, sheep, goats, fowls, &c., for which the natives are paid liberally in cash.

134. Again it is, I think, a mistake to suppose that large numbers of the population have not access to the labour markets at Freetown and elsewhere. It is a well-known fact that the Mendis, Timinis, and Limbas come from the remoter parts of their respective territories to seek employment in Freetown, and down the coast to Congo and elsewhere, from whence they return every two or three years, and even oftener, with large savings. At present the Konnos, Korankos, and Jallunkers do not participate in this species of labour (inhabitants principally of the Koinadugu and upper Panguma districts), but there is no reason to doubt that they will soon follow the example of the other tribes.

135. With respect to the concession under which the Government accept rice or palm kernels in lieu of the five shillings, and the cessation of which the Royal Commissioner would deplore, I may mention that the experience in other Colonies has been that the natives soon prefer to pay their tax in cash rather than in kind. In Zululand, after the first year of the imposition of the hut tax, in which some of the Zulus paid in cattle, they always paid in cash. The chiefs used to send their young men to the labour fields at Kimberley and in Natal to earn the fourteen shillings--not five—per hut, which they had to pay; and again in British Central Africa, where the hut tax was first paid in wood for fuel and by labour, the latter at the rate of three shillings *a month*, the chiefs are now paying in cash in preference.

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136. In the Karene and Ronietta districts the bulk of the hut tax has been paid in cash. Captain Sharpe collected in the Karene district, after the disturbances had been quelled, over £3,000 in coin in less than three months. Such a large amount as this I am convinced was not borrowed, as the Royal Commissioner appears to think, but was collected by the chiefs from their people. I may mention in this connection that in round numbers £12,000 was collected for last year as hut tax, of which amount, however, about £2,000, the value of produce paid in kind, was looted during the disturbances ; the estimate for the tax was £8,000.

137. The labour market in Freetown and elsewhere is in no sense limited, as the Royal Commissioner would urge, and the native begins to realize his value as a labourer, and only a few weeks ago struck for the higher wage of one shilling a day instead of ninepence on the railway works in the Protectorate, and got it.

138. The native is not poor ; there is no real poverty in the Protectorate. I cannot agree that he works very hard ; that is not the opinion of the employers. The other day when travelling in the Protectorate I found the greatest difficulty in getting carriers, and many of those obtained abandoned their loads before the day's march was completed, preferring to lose their wage rather than complete the distance. They would have been paid at the rate of one shilling and threepence a day, but as chief Momo Kaikai said when I asked him how it was the men wouldn't work, "The Mendi man doesn't want money," and there is great truth in this. Nature supplies him with food in abundance ; he cannot starve, his wants are few, therefore, why should he work ? But in the payment of the hut tax he has an incentive to do so, and it is my contention that it will induce in him to a great extent habits of industry, in a way which nothing else can do, and these, when acquired, will create in him wants which such industry can alone satisfy ; then trade will develop and increase, and the native will emerge from his present mere animal existence and rise to a higher order of being.

139. The Royal Commissioner argues that the tax will be unequal, but the conditions of life in the Protectorate are in a sense similar to those which obtain in more civilized communities—it is the head of the family that pays the tax—but the advantage is really on the side of the Protectorate. There the chief or head of the family can make his dependants work, they are his slaves, the women and girls to till the fields, harvest the rice, express the oil from the fibrous covering of the palm nut, crack the nut and extract the kernel ; and the men to build the houses, cut down the forests for cultivation, and keep open the roads ; but if the men will not work for him and prefer to go to the labour markets, he can exact their *quota* of the tax when they return with their wages, which they usually do every year or two to revisit their relatives and wives, who have been sheltered the meanwhile by the chiefs or heads of their families, and the latter have already begun to exact from the absent ones their quota of the tax on their return in the same manner as those in the same positions do under analogous circumstances in other colonies, and I have no doubt the practice will soon become universal in the Protectorate.

140. I have endeavoured to show that the five shillings can be easily paid by the native, and in support of this opinion I beg to quote the following extract from my confidential despatch of the 9th January, 1899, in which I have estimated the amount of cash, or its equivalent, in circulation annually in the Protectorate, with a view to showing the resources of the natives :—

"I submit the following figures, which represent annual values, as a gauge of the capacity of the natives to pay the small amount of hut tax which has been imposed on them :—

Value of produce shipped to Europe from the Protectorate		£300,000
Value of rice imported from the Protectorate for direct consumption in the Colony of Sierra Leone		£10,000
Administration, salaries of Government officials, &c.	5,300	
Frontier Police—pay, &c.	12,200	
West African Regiment—pay, &c.	11,500	
		£29,000

"12. The last three items represent the amount of cash actually paid in the Protectorate for articles of consumption and other local purchases, and are computed at the low rate of one-fourth of the salaries of the white officials, and three-fourths of those of

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the native officials, non-commissioned officers and men. Further, it is reckoned that only one-half of the West African Regiment will be in the Protectorate at one time.

"13. From the above figures it will be seen that there is a gross annual amount of about £339,000 out of which the house tax can be paid, but these figures do not nearly exhaust the paying capacity of the chiefs.

"14. The products of the Protectorate are only just now beginning to be developed by the construction of a railway, by improved roads and other means of communication, and by the introduction of capital in the form of trading and development companies. There is every possibility, therefore, of the resources of the Protectorate being doubled within a reasonable time, and in the meantime, as an additional source from which to pay the house tax, there are increasing demands for labour—which the natives furnish, and for which they are paid at a high rate—not only in Freetown, where many hundreds are daily employed, but for the carriage of provisions and supplies for the troops, Frontier Police, and other Government establishments in the Protectorate; for the construction of the railway which is now advancing into the Protectorate, the annual wages account of which is at least £16,000; and lastly, for the trading and other companies that are in course of being formed for the development of the Protectorate."

141. I have hitherto dealt with the resources of the Protectorate in order to prove that the native is well able to pay the five shillings, and there is another way of arriving at a judgment on this question, which is by comparing the amounts of hut tax paid in other Colonies, and the resources of those Colonies.

142. In French Guinea, which lies adjacent to the Protectorate, and to the north of it, the tax is ten francs (eight shillings) a house. The indigenous products of that Colony are principally rubber in the interior and palm nuts in the coast belt. No rice is grown, but cattle are numerous, as there is good grazing, especially in Futa Djallon. The tax was imposed in 1898, and paid without trouble.

143. In the Upper Niger territories there is a poll tax of two francs (one shilling and seven pence), a system which prevails, I believe, in all French Colonies under direct taxation, with the exception of French Guinea, where, owing to the difficulty of arriving at an exact census of the population, it was computed on the house, at the rate of ten francs, each house being supposed to represent a family of five persons. lxxvi.

144. In the negro Republic of Liberia every male of 21 years and upwards, whether citizen or aborigine—the latter only as far as the authority of the Government extends into the hinterland, which is practically limited to the fringe of the coast—is required to pay in direct taxes at least one and a half dollars, or six shillings and threepence in British currency, and I may add that the people of Liberia have to pay in addition an *ad Valorem* duty of twelve and a half per cent. on all goods imported, and specific duties, more or less high, on all articles of consumption, besides export duties on products.

145. In British Central Africa Protectorate, where there are no indigenous products, except a little vine rubber in the West Nyasa District, the natives appear to have no difficulty in paying a tax of three shillings per hut, and the Administrator contemplates raising it to six shillings per hut, as will be seen from the following extract from his Annual Report for the year 1897–98.

"*Taxation.*—The question of an increase in hut taxation is one which is bound to arise sooner or later; the present rate (3*s.* per hut) is so easily paid in most districts in the Shiré Highlands that even were the amount of the tax increased to 6*s.* no hardship would be felt.

"The price of commodities necessary to Europeans are, in the Blantyre district particularly, comparatively higher than elsewhere. Fowls will fetch 6*d.* each, and six fowls will pay a hut tax. The native, therefore, has no difficulty in paying his year's taxes, and, consequently, is little inclined to do a month's labour for his tax. Undoubtedly as the wealth of the country increases, other districts will be in a similar case, and this will somewhat affect the cheapness of labour, as the natives from the out districts now come into the Shiré Highlands to obtain their 3*s.* wherewith to pay their hut tax, and to obtain this they are compelled to do one month's labour, whereas with the necessary cash for the hut tax more easily obtainable, the natives would naturally prefer to pay in cash."

This extract is interesting as it refutes the supposition that the hut tax is not an incitement to work, for here we have the native giving his labour at the rate of three shillings a month. Compare this with the rate of wages in the Protectorate, where a man

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can earn a shilling a day ; also compare the price of commodities in the Protectorate ; often a fowl cannot be purchased for less than eighteenpence each, as against sixpence in British Central Africa, goats from eight to ten shillings, and cattle from two to four pounds and upwards. The above prices are paid not only by Europeans, but most readily by men of the West African Regiment and Frontier Police.

147. Turning to the South African Colonies, there much higher rates of hut tax obtain. In Basutoland the rate in 1885 was ten shillings ; it may be higher now ; in Natal and Zululand the rate is fourteen shillings. The Natal Kaffir not only pays his hut tax, but what is termed a squatters' rent, which, I am informed, amounts to from £1 to £3 a hut, but I cannot be certain of this. The higher rates are paid where kraals are situated on private lands, in consideration for which the Kaffir has certain rights of cultivation and grazing. In some cases in lieu of rent he gives his labour to the owner of the land on which he is settled. This, I think, is the practice in the Transvaal. The tax was first imposed in Zululand in 1883, I believe, and the Sub-Commissioner there found no difficulty in collecting it. Though there were considerable arrears in 1884, these were got in without trouble, and in 1886 there was not a single hut out of many thousands on which the tax had not been paid.

148. I have only mentioned the Colonies about which I know, but I believe in all the Colonies of South Africa, as well as the independent States, a hut tax is exacted, and I would particularly point out in comparing these territories with the West African Colonies that there are practically no indigenous products in South Africa ; there the resources of the native consist in good grazing for the cattle which he rears, and his labour.

149. I may mention also that the Zulu or Natal Kaffir has not only to pay a hut tax, but if he moves out of his Colony he must have a permit, for which he pays one shilling, and if he drives cattle or horses he has to pay a further sum, varying from threepence to one shilling for each animal.

150. I trust I have advanced sufficient reasons to show that the natives of the Protectorate—whether you consider his case in relation to the natural wealth of his country, or his opportunities for earning money, or compare it with the higher rates of taxation, with fewer such advantages for the native, which obtain in other colonies—is well able to pay the very light tax which is demanded of him.

14. Fallacy in Taxation Scheme.

151. The Royal Commissioner quotes an extract from my despatch of the 14th December, 1896, which is to the effect that a poor colony like Sierra Leone, which can hardly make two ends meet, cannot spare any portion of her revenue for the needs of the Protectorate, and calls it a fallacy in the taxation scheme.

152. I confess the expression of opinion which I conveyed in my despatch is perhaps loosely worded, but if the figures which the Royal Commissioner gives are examined it will, I think, be admitted that my argument is not so fallacious after all, and that if heads are counted, the amount contributed by the Protectorate is not nearly so large in proportion as that paid by the Colony ; in other words, the Sierra Leonean pays a higher tax than the native of the Protectorate.

153. Taking the Royal Commissioner's figures, and estimating the population of the Colony at 100,000, and that of the Protectorate at 1,000,000, the proportion of the revenue paid respectively appear to be £15,328 and £49,991, which is at the rate of a little over three shillings a head for the Colony, and a little under one shilling a head for the Protectorate, that is to say, the Sierra Leonean pays more than three times as much as the native of the Protectorate, but I venture to think that practically the proportion is even higher than this on the side of the Sierra Leonean, for relatively speaking a far larger proportion of spirits—the duties on which, collected last year, were 33 per cent. of the total Customs receipts for that year (Appendix W. (1)—is consumed in Freetown with its 40,000 inhabitants, and its numerous licensed houses, than in the Protectorate ; for instance, it was anticipated that when the taxation on spirits was altered in 1896 from three shillings on the proof gallon to the same amount on the fluid gallon, irrespective of its strength, there would be a proportionate rise in the revenue on the same volume of trade, but practically there has been no increase, and I attribute it to the fact that the spirit dealers in Freetown and in the peninsula of Sierra Leone now import their spirits at proof strength and over, instead of from 50 or 60 below proof as formerly, and water it down so as to supply their customers with the same quality of spirits

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as when the duty of three shillings was on the proof gallon, whereas spirits imported direct into the Protectorate cannot be so tampered with, for the native is very suspicious, he carefully examines the capsules of the demijohns of rum and the cases containing the gin, shaking the latter to see that they have not been tampered with, or any bottles broken, and if he finds such to be the case the trader loses a customer.

154. Thus it would appear that notwithstanding the alteration in the method of charging the duty on spirits, the adulteration, which is confined, as I am informed, to Freetown, is alone sufficient to neutralise the increase in the revenue which was anticipated, and goes a long way to support, as I think, my view that the greater proportion of spirits is consumed in the Colony, *i.e.*, Freetown and the peninsula of Sierra Leone.

155. I am aware that it has been stated that on the West Coast the farther up country the demijohn of rum travels the weaker becomes the liquor from the watering down it gets *en route*, this may be the case elsewhere but it is not so in the Protectorate, as I have personally ascertained again and again during my visits to it. The Protectorate native is awakening to the little ways of the trader and is becoming an adept himself in the tricks of the trade.

156. I must admit that on the face of it the Royal Commissioner's contention that the Colony should have been taxed contemporaneously at least with the Protectorate has much to commend it, but I did not anticipate that the Municipal Council, which came into being in 1894, would take so long to strike a rate, and in the meantime the arrangements for the taxation of the Protectorate, the large revenue derivable from which was a pressing need, had to be proceeded with ; to tax the remainder of the Colony at the same time would have been to risk the success, as I then thought, of the Protectorate scheme, but when the latter had been put into operation it would have been a comparatively easy matter to impose a tax on the remainder of the Colony.

15. Summary.

157. Under this heading the Royal Commissioner summarizes his views of the measures used for the enforcement of the hut tax, and of "the moving causes of the insurrection." As I have already traversed in detail the points raised by him in the preceding part of these observations, it is not necessary for me to discuss them further here, but I venture very respectfully, in the interests of justice to myself and the officers of the Protectorate, whose character and reputation have been called in question, to express my opinion that some of the methods adopted by the Royal Commissioner in his enquiry did not always do them full justice.

158. In the first place, I may observe that the enquiry was held at a time—unavoidably, I admit—when there was intense excitement prevailing in Freetown consequent on the recent disturbances and their concomitant horrors of the massacre of missionaries and Sierra Leoneans, and only those who know the emotional and excitable character of the negro can realise how it would affect evidence given by him ; how, carried away by his emotions and the sense of injuries he has sustained, whether in his own person or that of his relatives and friends, he would be likely not only to distort and pervert facts but even to imagine or invent them, for it is no libel to say that he has the failing of not being able at all times to adhere to the truth. As the Acting Solicitor-General has stated in his oral evidence, "a dreadful amount of perjury is committed in the Courts." 8947.

159. To give a few instances which are pertinent to the enquiry : Mrs. Thomas, a Sierra Leone trader, reported that she had seen her daughter murdered by a chief called King Tom, and she went into details and described how he had cut off her daughter's head ; but on being confronted with the chief she prevaricated, and subsequently her daughter turned up alive and well with a new-born babe in her arms. At the trial of the Rotifunk murderers three witnesses deliberately perjured themselves while others had made affidavits which were glaringly untrue. In a case, Regina *v.* Caulker, three witnesses swore to the prisoner having killed a Mr. Roberts with his own hand, whereas it appeared, on looking up another murder case which had been held by the Deputy-Judge, that Roberts was killed by an entirely different person, and so the prisoner was fortunately acquitted.

160. Turning to the oral evidence there is the case of Captain Moore who was accused of having shot a native with his own hand, and of afterwards proceeding through 1985, 3223.

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the country firing volleys, killing other persons, and burning towns and villages. To this accusation Captain Moore has given a most unqualified denial, and an examination of the oral evidence will show that it is altogether unworthy of credence.

pp. 181, 231, 271, 380, and 386. Part ii. 7805–7811.

161. I have remarked on this case at length under the heading "The Mendi Rising," at page 12, *et seq*. This case is an instance of a wholesale fabrication, and I think others might be gleaned from the oral evidence, though perhaps of not so gross a character.

162. I think it follows that where an enquiry is held under circumstances such as I have depicted and evidence is taken from a class of persons so emotional and generally untruthful as the negro as he is found in West Africa, that many gross exaggerations and falsehoods must gain currency.

163. Further, the nature of a large portion of the oral evidence was not such as would have been admitted in a Court of Law, in fact the Royal Commissioner advisedly would not limit it to what is customary in forensic proceedings, and explained his reasons when the Draft Ordinance, which was to confer on him his powers, was referred to him.

164. This draft was modelled on "The Dominica Ordinance, No. 1 of 1893. To make enquiry into and report on the state of affairs in the Island of Dominica," and provided, in accordance with the terms of the Dominica Ordinance that "the law of England relating to witnesses and evidence shall be applicable to all witnesses appearing, and to all evidence taken before the Commissioner," but these words were struck out by the Royal Commissioner for the reason that "the law of England relating to witnesses might be construed to mean that the law as limited in forensic proceedings, and would thus impose a restriction not contained in the commission and tending to defeat its true intention."

165. I am quite prepared to admit that where an enquiry concerns the policy and conduct of a Government such as this one did, a wide latitude should be given to witnesses to obtain their views and opinions, but when it occurs that the character and reputation of persons who are parties to the enquiry are involved, as in the case of Captain Moore, I venture to think that in such an instance *ex parte* or hearsay evidence should not be admitted, and that the law as limited in forensic proceedings should be strictly adhered to. Again, I can't help thinking that it was unfortunate for the Government that the Royal Commissioner was not able to get about the Colony and ascertain for himself the truth of affairs instead of remaining at Freetown all the time. The enquiry was also practically speaking held *in camera*, and with the exception of the two witnesses, Sergeants Palmer and Coker, the Government was not represented by counsel, and none of the witnesses were therefore subjected to the test of cross-examination. (Appendix N (1) and (2).)

pp. 527 and 528. Part ii.

166. I venture to offer these remarks, not with any view of impugning the sense of justice of the Royal Commissioner, or intending in any way disrespect whatever to his high office, for I do not doubt for one moment that he was actuated by the highest motives in the faithful discharge of his commission which he carried out with every courtesy, much patience and research, but in defence of my officers and myself, on whom he has passed some very severe personal strictures, based on evidence the greater part of which would not have been admissible in a judicial enquiry.

16. Recommendations.

167. In the first three paragraphs under this heading the Royal Commissioner makes certain recommendations :—

(*a*.) That a general amnesty should be proclaimed. This was done on the 17th January last, only a few persons being excepted, such as the murderers of the late Rev. W. J. Humphrey, Santiggi Suri Bonkit, and Pa Gumbo, all of which were very flagrant cases ; besides, a large number of prisoners, all implicated in murders, have been discharged.

(*b*.) The discontinuance of arrests and prosecutions. The adoption of this naturally followed on the proclamation of the amnesty, except in the case of the persons excepted.

(*c*.) The discontinuance of "military promenades." These have taken place with the most useful results, both political and military, for the troops were able to drive back a formidable raid made into the Protectorate by the Kissis, a powerful Liberian tribe.

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(*d.*) The repeal of "The Insurgents' Temporary Detention Ordinance, 1898." This Ordinance has served its purpose and could now be repealed, but the necessity for it was, in my opinion, amply justified, in view of the grave crisis which existed at the time of its enactment.

168. The Royal Commissioner next reviews the state of affairs as he assumed they would exist after the suppression of the rebellion, such as the hiding in the bush and general alienation of the natives, and though he admits that the circumstances may be changing and developing as he writes, he is not prepared to receive, "without a great deal of reserve, reports of rapidly returning confidence, or friendly professions by the tribes, or reviving trade." At first there was the natural feeling of alienation, or hiding away in the bush, through fear on the part of the natives, but I am glad to say that during my tours in January and February last, in the lately disturbed districts, there was the evidence everywhere of restored confidence in the Government in the rebuilding of their towns and villages and the cultivation of their farms. § 184.

169. The native of the Protectorate has his faults in common with other people, but I do not think one is to nourish feelings of distrust and hatred for long. He is in many respects but a grown-up child, has the same quick, passionate impulses, but as quickly repents, and puts his trust in the authority of those over him, when he knows they are strong, as the child does in its father. I do not apprehend that there will be any increased difficulty in governing him in the future, as long as he believes in the firmness of the Government, and still less that he will seek protection under either the French or Liberian Governments—he has not done so yet—to avoid British rule.

170. In the concluding paragraphs under this heading the Royal Commissioner discusses two schemes for the administration of the Protectorate, viz., one through the chiefs, and the other through a Magistracy on European lines, and definitely rejects the latter, on the grounds, amongst others, of expense and the initial difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of officers having the requisite knowledge.

171. I am quite of opinion that the latter scheme should be avoided as long as possible, but I cannot disguise from myself the feeling that it must come about in the not very distant future, owing to the pressure of circumstances brought about by the contact of the forces of civilization with the native chiefs.

17. Administration through the Chiefs.

172. The Royal Commissioner advises: (1) A regulated administration through the chiefs; (2) The entire withdrawal of the Frontier Police, and the merging of that force in the West African Regiment; and (3) The civil police work to be done by the chiefs, with the help, perhaps, of a very small number of messengers attached to the establishment of the District Commissioners.

173. From the time of the inception of a Protectorate it has always been the idea of the Government to rule through the chiefs; the Ordinance was framed on this basis, and the principle has been put in practice, but with the necessary supervision by the District Commissioners and Frontier Police, for if this were not done and the chiefs left to carry out their own administration without interference, the Police being entirely withdrawn, I think it may be safely predicted that there would be a return of intertribal squabbles which, however much they might be kept from resulting in acts of war on any large scale by the military force proposed by the Royal Commissioner at the headquarters of each District Commissioner, would be constantly occurring, and occasionally leading to the raiding of some town or village by one party or other of the combatants, besides slave dealing would certainly become more rife, even extending it may be to slave raiding, and the extortion of the chiefs through the woman palavers would increase.

174. I think it would be a very retrograde step to relegate the administration of the Protectorate to the chiefs without supplying proper supervision over them, which I do not think the scheme of the Royal Commissioner sufficiently provides. The history of West Africa under the administration of its chiefs has been all along one of slavery, oppression and wrong. In saying this I do not wish to be hard or unjust towards the chiefs of the Protectorate, of whom I know nearly all, and of whom I have many kindly recollections, but they will follow the bent of their natures,

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as we have seen it examplified in the Frontier and the Sierra Leone trader, who are in much closer touch with the authorities than the chiefs, they *will* domineer and oppress if left to themselves, and that particularly in the remoter districts.

175. As an example of the situation of affairs which would most probably occur again on the withdrawal of the police, I may quote the following extracts from a report, dated 12th March, 1899, by Lieut-Colonel J. W. Marshall, 1st West India Regiment, of complaints which had been brought to him as officer commanding the column which marched through the Karene and Koinadugu districts during the recent military expedition in the Protectorate.

"Complaint by Alimami Sattan Latai, Chief of Katiri, 21st December, 1898. That Samori, Alimami of Kamaloh, has built a town called Katata, on the Limba side of the stream Mawalloko, which forms the boundaries between the territories of Samori and Sattan Latai. The latter sent a boy there ten days ago to ask why this town was being built without permission; Samori had the boy flogged and sent back without further answer."

"Complaint by inhabitants of Yairiwadu, 14th January, 1899. That the chief of the village had been seized the day previously and taken off prisoner to Farakoro, for failing to comply with enactions of a French soldier." (In this case representations were made on the spot to the nearest French authority and the chief was at once returned with an apology.)

"Complaint by Chief of Kundewa, 14th January, 1899. Chief Souroko complains that persons purporting to be French soldiers frequently levied contributions in the town and neighbourhood, and that some had come only four days previously."

"Complaint of Chief of Simbaria, 13th February, 1899. Chief Yemba Konleh stated that he had built the town three years before, when he came out of Kruto. That the Kuniki people made war on him three months' ago, led by Jawa, Bundu and Banakonko; they killed one man and ransacked the town, returning to Foura Benea."

The events recorded by Lieut.-Colonel Marshall took place in the Upper Karene and Koinadugu districts, owing to the Frontier Police having been withdrawn in order to send reinforcements to the more disturbed districts during the recent rising. In the cases of the flogging of one chief's messenger by another chief, and the raiding the Koranko town of Simbaria by the Kunikis, there were the elements of serious tribal fights, and in those of the outrages committed by French soldiers, the promise of serious political and international complications. Under the above circumstances I think we should be very careful how we withdraw the Frontier Police. I am quite prepared to admit that they are very liable in some cases to oppress and bully the natives if distributed in small detachments at isolated stations, or sent about in small parties to patrol, but I have every hope of their complete reform in these respects now that there is an increased complement of officers.

176. The system of outposts was adopted, in the first instance, for the purpose of watching the slave markets and preventing the transit of slave caravans, but now, since the disturbances, small posts are as far as possible being withdrawn, and one or more larger detachments, under trusted non-commissioned officers taking their place; but, as the Royal Commissioner admits, isolated posts along the frontier must still be used for Customs preventive duties, besides they will be required to watch the boundary to prevent intrusion by our neighbours, also the transit of slaves, and to see that the beacons are kept in repair.

177. The only alternative for the patrolling system must be larger patrols under an European Officer, or a well-tried non-commissioned officer, but this constant travelling will be a great strain on the few officers available, and there should be more of them, which would entail increased expense.

178. I cannot from my experience of the Protectorate regard the suggestion that the Civil Police work should be done by the chiefs as practical, or indulge the hope that in the near future the chiefs will combine amongst themselves to bring their authority to bear against "a recalcitrant brother," they lack cohesion for such a purpose, even if they could be got to see the force of it, and there are too many jealousies and dissensions amongst them.

179. As a substitute for the Frontier Police, and in addition to the police work to be done by the chiefs, the Royal Commissioner suggests the help of a *very small number* of messengers. In the first place, the difficulty will be to obtain the men of "intelligence,

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honesty, and discretion " whom he requires as messengers, and in the second a *very small number* of these will not suffice, for it should be borne in mind that a scheme of administration has to be provided not only for the native but for persons not native, viz., for Europeans and Sierra Leoneans. The Sierra Leoneans are rapidly increasing in numbers, and commencing to trade all over the Protectorate, and the Europeans though relatively very few at present, may be expected in the future to form a settled portion of the community of the Protectorate as trading stations get pushed further inland by the advance of the railway and other facilities for communication, and as concessions of land obtained from the chiefs commence to be prospected and worked—already one Development Company is in the field and working. This new and rapidly changing condition of affairs must be provided for, and as cases in which persons not native, such as Europeans and Sierra Leoneans, are concerned, cannot possibly be dealt with in the Courts of the native chiefs ; the staff of messengers would have to be increased, and in a short time another police force would by force of circumstances be created.

180. It is objected that a chief should be subjected to the indignity of being summonsed by the District Commissioner, but apart from political offences, cases are becoming frequent of actions being brought by persons, not native, against chiefs for debt and other causes, and in the near future they may be expected to become increasingly numerous, so chiefs must necessarily have to attend and appear before the Court of the District Commissioner.

181. I have said that I think it would be a retrograde step to relegate the administration of the Protectorate into the hands of the chiefs ; it is retrograde, for it is a reversion in their full force and meaning to the barbarous manners, customs and jurisdiction of the natives, in a word to their constitution, if I may use such a term in connection with government by the chiefs. History has proved that this constitution has only resulted in slavery and oppression ; the chief will enslave, it is in-born in his nature by the tradition and custom of many centuries, and unless his jurisdiction is limited in respect of slave causes as provided for in the Protectorate Ordinance—and this will hardly square with the scheme of the Royal Commissioner on account of its interference—there will be betting and pawning and gambling in slaves in the courts of the native chiefs such as used to take place before the enactment of the Ordinance, so there must be this limitation at least to his jurisdiction.

182. The Royal Commissioner in recommending his scheme anticipates a time in the near future when the chiefs will all be living in accord, and so bound together in one common sentiment of loyalty and interest for the peace and good government of the Protectorate that they will not tolerate a turbulent or recalcitrant brother, but suppress him of themselves. I wish I could hold this view, I would gladly strive after its attainment if I thought it were at all possible, but the whole of the past experience of the Government is against it. Noble and self-sacrificing efforts have been made by previous Governors to bring about harmony, friendship and peace between chiefs and their warring tribes, but without practical result. That able and experienced Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, whom the Royal Commissioner so highly and deservedly commends, wore his life out in the Bush striving to attain this end and without avail. Since then, by the unanimous opinion of all in authority who knew the native, force has had to be applied in the shape of the Frontier Police, instead of moral suasion which had failed, and it has beneficially resulted in gradually bringing the whole Protectorate into a state of peace, but it is a peace which can only be maintained by the presence of police or troops, and by certain limitations of the jurisdiction of the chiefs.

183. The scheme accords a certain independence and a measure of self-government to the chiefs for which I think they are quite unfitted from their almost total want of civilization and their habits of slavery, which has been the curse of the negro race. It will take generations to so civilize and educate them as to enable them to govern properly their own affairs, in the meantime they need a paternal and just government to regulate and order them.

184. Even the most enlightened and educated negro communities cannot be said as yet to have reached such a state of advancement as to acquit themselves well under self-government—there are more than one notable failures in this respect in the world as object lessons—how much less can the untutored and uncivilized natives of the Protectorate be fitted for even the partial measure of self-government which is now recommended for them, a measure too, which if not regulated—and that would involve an interference with the jurisdiction of the chiefs, which is much deprecated by the Royal Commissioner—would reinstate the barbarous criminal code of the natives which permits such cruelties and

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tortures as the ordeal of dipping the hand of the offender in boiling oil and the drinking of poisoned concoctions, which I have already referred to.

185. There are strong political and military grounds too for not extending the independence of the chiefs, such as the scheme if worked out would involve, for by the withdrawal of police supervision at any time complications might arise on the frontier through dissensions of chiefs or their slaving propensities, which it is most important to avoid in view of the bearing which the Protectorate has on Freetown as an Imperial coaling station.

186. The Royal Commissioner would provide against this by stationing troops at the headquarters of the various districts, but without outposts or patrols. I may mention that the area of these districts are wide, the distances long and communication slow owing to the difficult nature of the country, and that if timely information were not brought of actions tending to disturbance, which could best be done by detached posts and patrols from the police or the troops, the disturbance itself might break forth and spread dangerously before the troops could be pushed up to the scene of action for its suppression.

187. In concluding my observations under this heading, I would submit that if the Royal Commissioner's scheme were adopted any hope of collecting revenue direct from the chiefs or natives, such as hut tax, or tribute, or voluntary contributions, would, in my opinion, be utterly futile, for the withdrawal of the police would be immediately construed by the chiefs as a surrender, and I doubt whether all the coaxing in the world would get anything out of them, and then it would become a problem as to what is to be done for a revenue to meet the growing expenditure of the Colony, a problem which the Royal Commissioner has, I think, by no means solved in his report.

18. Government Agents.

188. The Royal Commissioner suggests that District Commissioners should be retained, but recommends that they should have the character of Residents or Government Agents rather than that of Magistrates or Deputy-Governors of districts; but I observe that under the next heading, that of Judiciary, he assigns to them magisterial functions as well, I will therefore reserve my observations on his proposal for that heading.

189. I would mention here that under the existing organisation of District Commissioners these officers have always had inculcated on them the desirability of promoting industry and fostering trade amongst the natives, and I have every reason to believe that they advise them on these matters, and recently they have been instructed to plant rubber trees at their stations in order that they may instruct the natives in this industry, an object lesson of this kind being worth more than mere advice, which the native does not, as a rule, take in and act upon. I have always made it a rule whenever I meet chiefs to try and impress on them the exceeding value of the indigenous products of their country and the desirability, in their own interests, of their cultivating them, pointing out how they would add to their material wealth thereby; but I fear my words have fallen on deaf ears, and again and again I have received the reply to the effect that if they do plant rubber or kola how are they to know that they will reap the fruit of their labours; others have said with a laugh, "But we shall be only doing it for our children." By these remarks, however, I do not wish it to be inferred that I despair of converting the native to habits of industry, but I think the better way of doing so is by object lessons.

190. I do not quite follow the Royal Commissioner when he advises that industry might be promoted by the encouragement of labour contracts between the chiefs and their people, something of this kind, however, already exists under the domestic slave system, under which it is usual for the slave to work five days in the week for his master and for the remaining two days on a farm of his own, the land for which the master allots him.

191. The recommendation that the privilege which chiefs formerly enjoyed of approaching the Governor direct instead of through the District Commissioner should be restored to them, would not, I think, work satisfactorily. I have already given my reasons for this, and I don't think any Colonial Government elsewhere has ever sanctioned such a procedure.

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19. Judiciary.

192. It is with extreme diffidence that I hesitate to accept the dictum of the Royal Commissioner on the Judiciary, but I see so many practical difficulties which might arise if his proposals were carried out, that I venture to make some observations on them.

193. With regard to transferring all murder cases to the Supreme Court, instead of trying those in which natives alone are involved by the Court of the District Commissioner and Native Chiefs, I may mention that the latter procedure was adopted on the score of the great expense which would be involved in sending the prisoner and witnesses to Freetown to appear before the Supreme Court, and it was also thought the prisoner would get full justice in a Court of native chiefs as members, with the District Commissioner, as President, to advise; but if it is considered desirable to refer such murder cases and some of the gravest species of crimes in which natives alone are concerned to a higher tribunal than that of the Court of the District Commissioner and Native Chiefs, then I think it would be better, from an executive point of view, that they should be tried by a Judge on Circuit, who might be called Judge of the Native High Court. A similar appointment existed a few years ago in Natal, but, I think, has since been done away with.

194. I infer from the Royal Commissioner's suggestions that all other criminal causes, in which not only natives, but persons not natives, as, for instance, Europeans and Sierra Leoneans, are concerned, should be dealt with in the Courts of the Native Chiefs. If I am right in my inference, I have no hesitation in saying that it would never act. In the first place, the idea that an European should be tried by a semi-savage is monstrous, and it would be most impolitic to allow it, and I feel convinced no Sierra Leonean would submit to such a tribunal, except under the strongest protest, but I may have mistaken the intention of the Royal Commissioner, though I observe that he does not make any provision for causes in which Europeans and Sierra Leoneans are concerned, except those of murder and the gravest species of crimes. Moreover, it is not clear how he proposes to deal with the lesser species of crimes and civil causes in which persons not native are concerned, whether among themselves or with natives. They should certainly not be dealt with by the Court of the Native Chiefs for the reason I have already given, they could not all of them be heard by the Judge in his Circuit, for they would be occurring simultaneously in different parts of the Protectorate, and the expense involved in bringing them before the Supreme Court at Freetown would be out of all proportion. I see no other course, therefore, than to give the District Commissioner or Agent the necessary judicial authority to deal with them, as is already provided for in the Protectorate Ordinance.

195. The Royal Commissioner has deprecated the limitation of the forensic jurisdiction of the chiefs under the above Ordinance, but it appears to me that in recommending the District Agent should have advisory jurisdiction in all cases, and, perhaps, a paramount voice in some, he goes far beyond the limitation imposed by the Protectorate Ordinance, and I can fancy nothing more intolerable to the chief, or more subversive of his authority, which we wish to maintain, than for the District Agent to intrude in his Barri and judge his palaver. The consummation of such judicial supervision is truly to be desired, but the object sought, of interfering as little as possible with the jurisdiction of the chiefs, would surely not be attained.

196. An appeal from the decision of the Court of the Native Chiefs is not provided in the Protectorate Ordinance, on the ground that it is advisable not to weaken the authority of the chief more than absolutely necessary, but I have been urged, more than once, to provide it, by those who are intimately acquainted with native customs, especially with respect to woman palaver, on account of the injustice that is done to innocent persons by extortionate chiefs, and I feel the right of appeal must be granted sooner or later, and if so, I believe, from what the District Commissioners tell me of the number of causes that natives desire to bring before them rather than take to their chiefs, that the burden thrown on the Supreme Court in Freetown, or on a Judge in Circuit, would be far greater than the Royal Commissioner apprehends.

197. I should suggest that the District Commissioner should deal with the purely native causes on appeal, and the causes in which persons not native, or a native and a person not a native, are concerned, should be dealt with either by the Supreme Court or the Judge in Circuit, but preferably the latter. At present, under the Protectorate Ordinance, such causes are taken before the Supreme Court on appeal.

198. The recommendation that in certain circumstances a sentence of compulsory service should be permissible—which is practically condemning a criminal to slavery—would not, I think, commend itself to the Anti-slavery Society or be consistent with British

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traditions. The difficulty appears to me to be as to what master to assign the condemned criminal and at the same time to ensure his proper treatment. In a prison these points are properly regulated, but that I assume is not the intention ; a native, however, would gladly take him and work him for the required time, but I think he would construe the sentence as a general government sanction of slavery.

199. As to causes in which chiefs are defendants, I cannot help thinking that the developments going on in the Protectorate will tend to make such causes more numerous, and I see no reason why chiefs should not be made as amenable to the law as common persons, as is the case in all civilized communities. To report every petty debt case or say abuse of power on the part of a chief, in which a person not a native is concerned, to the Governor either for him to determine himself or remit to the Supreme Court, would be a very cumbrous and long process, and would tend to defeat the ends of justice, besides the Governor has really no time with all his other multifarious duties to give to judicial functions.

200. In conclusion, I am of opinion that the scheme for a judiciary does not properly provide for the rapidly changing circumstances of the Protectorate, in which an increasing influx of Europeans and Sierra Leoneans is taking place, and that a few amendments of the provisions under this head in the existing Ordinance, such as the appointment of a judge to try capital offences and the graver species of crimes, in which natives alone are concerned, and also to deal with causes on appeal, would answer the purpose required.

20. Missionary Teaching.

201. I cordially concur with the Royal Commissioner in his recommendations as regards missionary efforts. I may mention that provision has been made in the estimates for the last two years for a small grant in aid towards mission schools ; unfortunately the disturbances last year prevented its being expended, but I trust that this year the sum will be applied to the purpose for which it has been voted.

202. I venture to take this opportunity of placing on record the good work that is being done by missionaries in the Protectorate, not alone in preaching the Gospel to the natives, but also in teaching them industries. I have always found missionaries to be the very best pioneers of civilization in every sense of the word, and they have always given their ready co-operation in the civilizing endeavours of the District Commissioners. As a testimony to the valuable and useful work which they have done, I may mention that whenever in my travels in the Protectorate I have met a carpenter or builder at work and asked him where he got his training, the invariable reply has been at such and such a mission. The American Mission at Rotifunk exercised a highly beneficial influence, the school education was on the most approved system with all the newest apparatus, and the natives acquired there, besides training in brick-making, a knowledge of building and carpentering. Some of the members of the Soudan American Mission have done valuable work in the survey and even construction of roads, for which they have received a grant-in-aid from the Government, and at Tibabadugu, one of the stations of this mission, the missionaries have established a considerable plantation of rubber trees, and are teaching many of the natives the habits of industry, and further, under the auspices of the late Bishop of Sierra Leone, an excellent technical school has been established at Freetown, and that good work is being carried on most energetically under the present Bishop.

21. Shall the Hut Tax be continued ?

203. The Royal Commissioner practically answers this question in the negative, based on the following hypothesis :—

(*a.*) That there will be no confidence or goodwill towards England if attempts be made to continue or reinforce it.

(*b.*) If persisted in, the chiefs who endeavour to pay will be steeped in debt,

(*c.*) It will hamper the prosperity of the Protectorate.

(*d.*) If abolished, the natives would not misapprehend the reasons for it abandonment.

(*e.*) If hut tax removed there would be a fair expectation of a rehabilitation of industry and trade, and of customs revenues.

(*f.*) With increased financial resources it will be possible to improve means of communication, and improved means of communication would react so favourably on trade and commerce as to build up on a sure basis an abundant revenue for all purposes.

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204. I have been careful to pick out and set forth each hypothesis, for each should be carefully weighed and considered, for an authoritative answer to the questions in the negative would, in my opinion, most seriously prejudice the financial position of the Colony :—

(*a.*) The tax is being continued, and there is no sign of want of *confidence or good-will towards England*, and no alienation such as would show itself in a quitting of the Protectorate and emigration to adjoining territories. I am able to vouch for this from personal observation and enquiry, having made, during January and February last, two tours through three of the districts, where I found, with but few exceptions, the towns and villages being rebuilt, farms cultivated, confidence being restored, and the hut tax accepted by the chiefs as an accomplished fact.

(*b.*) In no instance did I hear of a complaint, either addressed to myself or any of my party, or the District Commissioners, of a chief being in debt from having had to borrow money to pay his tax. I have already mentioned that Pa Suba, Chief of Magbele, having paid his hut tax in full, was able to go round and collect £120 from the people of Bai Kobolo, his paramount chief, as compensation for damage done by them to the Robethel mission station, and that Captain Sharpe was able to collect from the Bullom and Samu chiefs in the Karene district over £3,000 in less than three months. It would be difficult to suppose that such a large sum as this could have been borrowed.

(*c.*) My personal observation, and the information which I gathered during my recent tours, and the monthly returns of customs' receipts, imports and exports are directly opposed to this hypothesis. The Customs' receipts and imports this year for the period ending 30th April (Appendix P and Q), far exceed in value those of the corresponding period of any previous year, and the value of exports for the same period (Appendix R) gives a confident expectation of a rehabilitation of industry and trade in the near future.

(*d.*) They would rightly apprehend that the policy had been reversed by the Home Government, and I think it may be safely predicted that if the tax were once abolished it could never be re-imposed without very serious disturbance, and that its abolition would so encourage the natives of the other West African Colonies as to render it impossible without coercion to levy a similar tax in those Colonies, however pressing might be the need for additional revenue. There are great developments taking place in those Colonies, and it is not difficult to foresee that the time must come when they will require additional revenue to meet increasing expenditure.

(*e.*) The reply to this is that there is already a fair expectation of a rehabilitation of industry and trade, notwithstanding the non-removal of the hut tax, as shewn by the returns referred to in (*c.*).

(*f.*) The Royal Commissioner does not specify the nature of the improved communication he recommends ; if he means the opening up of the Protectorate by keeping clear of vegetation and brush wood the bush tracks and native trade routes, there has, since 1894, been a remarkable improvement in such communications throughout the length and breadth of the territory by means of the Frontier Police. In 1894 a way had sometimes to be cut for days together through the bush along paths which had been overgrown, and even in the more frequented parts it was often very difficult to use a hammock ; now these difficulties have disappeared for the most part, and the tracks and roads are kept regularly cleared by the chiefs, but these improvements have not yet supplied the necessary abundance in the revenue to meet the increasing expenditure, though there has been a marked increase in the revenue since 1893.

205. So long as trade is hampered by the present expensive system of transport, I mean the carriage on men's heads of all kinds of merchandise and produce, and by the extreme difficulty experienced by travellers and traders in getting carriers at almost any price, no great increase in trade or revenue can be looked for in a colony like Sierra Leone with its very limited *hinterland*. Light railways appear to me the best practical solution of this most important question of inland transport. The difficulties attending the use of oxen or mules for draught purposes seem insuperable. In the first place, there is the absence of indigenous food for such animals—forage would have either to be

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imported or grown in the country, involving considerable expense for transport and cultivation, and in the second there is the difficulty and expense of obtaining suitable animals. The oxen of the country cannot be adapted to draught, further, it is extremely doubtful whether imported oxen could stand the climate, and I think it is almost certain that mules would die from climatic causes. For instance, the beginning of this year two officers went on a three months' shooting excursion in the most healthy part of the Protectorate, viz., in the direction of Falaba; they took with them four mules and one donkey, of these, three mules and the donkey died. Again, the agent of a development company took with him, the end of last year, several camels and a number of mules and donkeys, and established himself in the Ronietta district—I am informed that all these animals have died. But given that such animals could live and work, they cannot pull vehicles over soft roads, through mud and dirt and swamps, and across streams and rivers, so metalled roads would have to be constructed on scientific principles, gradients eased, causeways constructed over swamps and morasses, culverts erected, streams bridged and ferries established across the large rivers. The construction and keeping open such roads would entail, as regards first cost and maintenance, an expenditure perhaps little short of the construction and maintenance of light railways. But as an auxiliary to the light railways I think motor cars, when they become more perfected, will be practicable for traction purposes, but they would require metalled roads, these could be commenced at convenient points along the railway and form trunk roads into the most productive parts of the Protectorate, and the feeders to these roads would be the native bush tracks; also, such metalled roads might be constructed from the navigable heads of rivers which are beyond the influence of the railway; but to make wide roads without metalling and on which no vehicles could travel, as was done the other day to Kumasi, would, in my opinion, be a useless and most unproductive expenditure. The Kumasi road, I understand, is now represented by a narrow track meandering along it formed by natives, with the rest of the surface overgrown with jungle. At Konakry, I understand, there are very light tramways in all the streets, on which little trucks run propelled by hand—these might be used for transport for short distances and local purposes. I think I have said sufficient to show that improved communications, such as are imperatively required in the Protectorate, as distinct from well-cleared and numerous bush tracks and native roads, which have existed for the last few years at least, means a considerable expenditure, which could not be met merely by "a rehabilitation of industry and trade, and of customs' revenues."

§ 200.

206. In his concluding paragraph, under this heading, the Royal Commissioner after throwing out the conjecture that in the future the chiefs and people may possibly be willing to contribute directly to the administration of the Protectorate—a consummation which I cannot but think is extremely doubtful—makes favourable mention of the method of collecting a direct revenue in use in the adjacent French colony. This method has certainly proved most successful, but, as the two witnesses examined by the Royal Commissioner on this point appear to have held it up the method as a model to be adopted in the Protectorate, and the Royal Commissioner to have given a measure of preference to it, I should like to submit my views regarding it. In the first place, under the French method there was no consulting the chiefs, and no obtaining their assent either to the principle or fact of direct taxation. The Protectorate Ordinance was before the chiefs for over *two* years before the tax was imposed, the French Ordinance under *four* days. Governor Ballay assented to it on the 28th December 1897, and the law came into operation on the 1st January following. As to the method—and I obtained my information from a French official who was in a position to know—the chiefs were summoned to Konakry; they demurred at paying, and were detained till they promised to do so, which they did in due course; then they were sent back to their people and told to bring down produce, which they did in the shape, principally, of rubber, which was sold by public auction and realised, so I am informed, £16,000. The fact of the detention of the chiefs seems to square with the fact that early last year it was reported to me that a French chief had taken asylum in the Isles de Los in order, if my recollection serves me, to escape the tax.

lxxx. 6448.

207. As to the proportion paid and the latitude given to the chiefs in collection, Mr. Marcus's evidence, which is referred to, should, I think, be received with some reserve. He was in England during the greater part of last year, and certainly during the occurrence he refers to. It goes without saying that his evidence is hearsay, and appears a little gossipy in style This is what he affirms: "The great man, Alimami Dowla, is supposed to collect the tax and he brings the money to the Government and says, 'This is what I have been

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able to collect,' and the Government says, 'Thank you.'" Mr. Lemberg states, in a letter addressed to the Royal Commissioner, "The chief of each town was to collect this and receive one-half of whatever he did collect. The chiefs said that they would not be able to get much, but they were told to go and collect what they could. The tax was in no case severely pressed or oppressively collected, and as long as a chief brought in anything, however trifling it might be, he was discharged and received one-half of whatever he brought in." I need hardly remark that it does not appear that Mr. Lemberg is speaking to his own knowledge of the facts he states. lxxx.

208. I would compare the statements of these two witnesses with the French Ordinance, dated 8th March, 1898, and Monsieur Consturier's despatch of the 12th October, 1898. The distribution of the tax is set forth in Article i., and Article ii. provides that the commission to chiefs on collecting the tax shall only be awarded if the full amount of the tax is paid in. In the case of French Guinea this commission is 2 per cent. to the Paramount Chief (chef de province), and 2 per cent. to the headman (chef de village); but I observe from a marginal note in the Ordinance that the scale for Futa Djallon, which is much higher, had been adopted for a large number of the provinces of French Guinea. I may mention here, for the sake of comparison, that the commission in the Protectorate is 5 per cent. to the chief who collects the tax provided the full amount due from him is paid in. lxxix. lxxvi.

209. Turning to the scale of Futa Djallon the commissions to chiefs are as under :—

10 per cent. to the Alimami of Futa Djallon.
10 per cent to the Paramount Chief.
20 per cent. to the headman of a village.

This scale is very high, but the reason for it is explained in Article iii., and that is that the portions assigned to the chiefs take the place of the stipends and rebates of customs' dues, the payment of which was provided for in the treaties drawn up between them and the French Government, but they also include the commission, presumably 2 per cent., as in the case of French Guinea, for the collection of the tax ; so it would appear, therefore, that the large percentage of the tax paid back cannot be regarded in the light of an exemption of that proportion of the tax, but only as a more convenient way of fulfilling the obligations of the treaties with the chiefs.

210. M. Consturier, in his despatch, states that the commission varied according to the provinces, but the basis was as fixed in the Ordinance—this may explain the marginal note I have referred to above. He adds that the collection of the tax was effected without difficulty throughout the whole Colony, and that at the time he was writing there were very few villages of those still to pay which were really so poor as to be unable to do so, and which should have the tax reduced. Comparing the exemptions by the Government of French Guinea with those by the Government of Sierra Leone, which consisted of all towns of 20 houses and under, and the tax on which was estimated at about half the gross amount payable, I think it must be admitted that the latter dealt considerately and generously with the natives. I have gone at length into this matter to qualify the impression which appears to prevail in the minds of some, especially the merchants, that the French chiefs "have a large latitude as to the extent of these collections and, at the same time, a very substantial interest in the amount they pay to the Treasury." After reading M. Consturier's despatch it does not appear that the chiefs had a very large latitude, for with the exception of a very few villages, all have paid the full amount, and they seem to have been tied down pretty much to the terms of the Ordinance.

211. I regard the application to French Guinea of the high scale of commissions prevailing in Futa Djallon as a temporary arrangement, or it may be that the high commissions were paid in lieu of treaty obligations with the chiefs as to stipends and rebates of customs' dues, as in the case of the Futa Djallon chiefs. However this may be, the exemptions do not appear to have equalled in amount those allowed by the Government of Sierra Leone.

212. With respect to the interest of the chief in the amount he pays into the Treasury, the commission for collection paid by the French Government is 4 per cent., as againt 5 per cent. by the Sierra Leone Government, but the interest of the Paramount Chief under the latter is far more substantial than that of any chief under the former, being as 5 per cent. against 2 per cent., but under the French Government all the chiefs participate in the commission. Each receives 2 per cent., but under the Sierra Leonean only the

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Paramount or head chief who collects. This was done to recognise and maintain in every way the *status* of the Paramount Chief.

213. It is a matter for consideration whether the French system should not be adopted. I think it might, but as it would be impolitic now to reduce the interest the Paramount Chief already has in the collection of the tax, viz., a 5 per cent. commission, I would recommend that each chief of a town, with its group of dependent villages, should get a commission of 2½ per cent. on the amount he collects, besides the 5 per cent. to the Paramount Chief, or 5 per cent. if there is no Paramount Chief.

lxxx. 214. The doubt expressed in Mr. Lemberg's letter as to the repeal of the hut tax in French Guinea may be considered as set at rest, as a leading French merchant informed me before I left Sierra Leone not only that it was not repealed, but that the payment of it *in cash* would be insisted on in future.

215. The collection of the hut tax in French Guinea was successful because the Governor there has autocratic powers, and has not to reckon with a public opinion so utterly opposed to direct taxation like that of the community of Freetown, who have had all the rights and privileges of the most advanced civilization conferred on them, without any of its responsibilities and obligations, or the opposition of such powerful bodies as the Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool and Manchester, who naturally regard any innovations in the administration of the Colony from the point of view of their trade interest, rather than that of the financial well-being of the Colony, and the advancement in civilization of its people, which so much depends on a replete exchequer.

216. *Shall the Hut Tax be continued?* If this question were addressed to me, I could only reply, "Yes." I have already traversed the objections to the hut tax raised by the Royal Commissioner, under the heading in his Report of "Objections to hut tax," also, I have endeavoured to prove that the native is fully able to pay the amount of hut tax required of him, under the heading, "Amount of hut tax," and further, under the present heading, have replied to the reasons advanced by the Royal Commissioner against a continuance of the hut tax, and in discussing all these points have incidentally mentioned that the obligation to pay the hut tax will induce habits of industry in the native, and promote trade by the increased impulse it will give him to collect the products of his country for the payment of the tax. I need not, therefore, go over all this ground again, and it only remains for me to give any further reason I may have for the continuance of the hut tax.

217. My further reason is that it is of paramount and pressing importance that additional revenue should be raised for the very urgent financial needs of the Colony by direct taxation, as all the sources of indirect taxation are practically exhausted. Although there has been a rise in the revenue during the last four years, there has been a more than corresponding increase in the expenditure, involving annually recurring deficits during that period. These deficits have not been large, but they remain constant. The difference between the assets and liabilities amounted on the 31st December last to about £15,000 in favour of the asset side, so there is a very limited reserve fund to come and go upon.

218. The customs' receipts, which comprise eight-tenths of the gross revenue, attained last year the highest figures on record since the formation of the Colony, and no further expansion to any appreciable extent can be looked for until the developments which are taking place near their completion. I refer particularly to the railway, which appears to be, as I have endeavoured to show above, the only practical solution of the most important question of inland transport, without which trade with the interior cannot be largely increased. In the meantime, the interest on the necessary loans for the construction of that railway must be an increasing charge on the revenue of the Colony. For the current year a sum of £10,500 is provided in the estimates to meet this charge, but it is to be borne in mind that this is a productive work, and will give hereafter a return for the present expenditure.

219. Foremost among the pressing needs of the Colony are :—The re-construction of public buildings, the advancement of primary education, the standard of which is very low indeed and non-progressive, through the almost entire absence of qualified teachers, and a trigonometrical survey of the peninsula of Sierra Leone in order to define Crown lands and register and determine titles to private lands which are in a hopelessly chaotic state. All these most necessary reforms cannot be carried out through want of funds, and one serious consequence has been that the Public Works Department has been so

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starved for several decades of years that the principal buildings are now in a most dangerous state of deterioration. I may mention that less than three per cent. of the gross revenue has been spent on the re-construction of public buildings during the past nine years. The requirements I have named necessitate extraordinary expenditure which cannot be met from revenue and should, I am of opinion, be provided for by a loan of at least £100,000, the interest and sinking fund on which would entail a heavy charge on the revenue of the Colony.

220. In view then of the present charges on the revenue and those impending, additional funds must be provided, and in my opinion the only sources from which these can be obtained are the existing hut tax in the Protectorate and a house tax in the Colony, which should be imposed as soon as practicable. In Freetown there is a municipality which has powers to levy a house rate.

221. On the above grounds, therefore, I would deprecate a discontinuance of the hut tax, but I think there are further and higher reasons why this question should not be answered in the negative. The Government is under a moral obligation to civilize, educate and raise to a higher standard of life these natives of the Protectorate, and this can best be done by facilitating communications by means of railways and roads, encouraging missionary enterprise by substantial grants-in-aid, not only for the education of the natives in the three R's but for giving them industrial and technical training, and by opening up the country to trade, but at the same time by being careful to protect the native from its corrupting influences, such as the liquor traffic, which should be restricted as far as possible by imposing heavier duties on alcohol, by charging the highest rates for its transport by rail in order to prevent its being poured into the Protectorate in an increased volume, owing to the cheapened means of transport, by regulating and limiting its sale by licences, and, finally, by prohibiting altogether, as has been done by the Protectorate Ordinance, the observance of the widely prevailing trade custom of giving spirits to a native, one form of which was to keep rum on tap at the stores in the Protectorate and give free drinks to native customers, thereby creating in him a taste for the liquor, and another of sending presents of gin and rum for the purpose of opening up trade relations with him. All the above innovations and reforms require considerable expenditure to carry out, and it appears to me only just and reasonable—other means failing—to call upon the native to contribute towards the work since he will be directly benefitted by it.

222. With respect to the argument that the benefits should first be instituted and made apparent, and then the native asked to contribute towards their expense, I would reply that this is not the procedure in civilized communities ; with them when a work is to be undertaken capital is raised and the people taxed concurrently to meet the expenditure ; but it may be urged that the tax is raised by the will or consent of the people who are represented in the Government, which is not the case with the native, this may be so, but the will of the former is a discerning, discriminating and educated will, which has been under training for centuries, whereas that of the native is not so, he is only just emerging from barbarism, and is obviously not fitted for representative Government at present. In many respects he is but a grown-up child, and requires the Government to think and act for him.

223. Apart from this kind of reasoning it is surely desirable for the moral welfare of the native that he should pay something for the benefits he is receiving, whether he realizes them in their inception or not ; it will at least give him an incentive to work, and quicken, in some degree, his intelligence, and, let us hope, that later on his interest in the Government will be awakened when he realizes the benefits that are accruing.

224. I think nothing tends less to the creation of true manliness and self-respect in a people than for them to live on the charity, as it were, of a Government, receiving all the benefits of civilization and contributing nothing in return ; this has been the mistake of the Government with respect to Sierra Leone, and let us not repeat it in the case of the Protectorate ; we have a virgin soil there, as it were, to begin on, and the future, for the good or evil of the people, will much depend on the initial steps in administration now taken.

225. I would respectfully urge the continuance of the hut tax, and not call it by any other name than a hut tax. If it were called, say, " Tribute from the Chiefs," it might be construed to imply a perpetuation of the rule of the chiefs, a rule which I feel sure must be abolished sooner or later, in view of the advancing civilization, and the diminishing authority of the chiefs, consequent on their lessening hold on their peoples through the abolition of slavery ; besides, the tribute would have to be computed on some fixed basis,

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such as the number of huts or heads, otherwise the tax would be unequal in its incidence. The alteration, therefore, would only be in name, but with the disadvantage that the new name would have a compromising effect in the future, under the circumstances I have predicted. To make the contribution a voluntary one would be to defeat the object of the tax altogether, for the chiefs would never bring in any adequate amount, only trifling sums, it may be only a bushel or two of rice.

226. I have omitted to mention above that as the hut tax reaches its full amount, which I estimate will be from £50,000 to £70,000, by the time that it has been imposed on all the districts of the Protectorate, a considerable reduction can be made for the direct benefit of the native on the duties for the commodities which he most requires, such as salt, unmanufactured tobacco and cotton goods, and this reduction might gradually be introduced even sooner.

22. Sources of Revenue.

227. The sources of revenue have ever been made a careful and anxious study by the Government; in view of the annually recurring deficits, I do not think any further manipulation of them would have any useful result at present. The raising of the duty on salt and tobacco might, after the first year or two, increase the revenue, but not, I think, to the extent the Royal Commissioner calculates. Any increase in duties always inflicts a shock on trade at first, and from experience in other commodities it has been found that the volume of trade for the first year or two falls very considerably, and there is a loss instead of increase in the revenue. When there is a sudden and marked rise in price in any commodity, owing, say, to an increase in duty, the natives always for a time refrain from buying it. They are very suspicious, and cannot understand the fluctuations of prices in trade, and usually impute it to wickedness on the part of the trader. Besides, the raising of the duty on the articles—salt and tobacco—mentioned by the Royal Commissioner, would fall directly on the native, who is the principal consumer.

228. A house tax imposed in the Colony would, I believe, at least pay for the local or municipal needs, such as erection of market places, lighting, water supply, maintenance and improvement of roads, streets, and bridges, &c., the expenditure on which is at present defrayed from the general revenue.

229. I attach for information comparative returns for 1897 and 1898 of quantity and value of exports, and quantity of and customs' receipts on imports (Appendices S. T.). It will be seen from the former that there was a falling off in the value of exports (African produce) last year of £47,559, owing to the disturbances, but there has been a considerable increase in the value of imports (Appendix Q.), and though the value of exports has fallen there are good grounds for anticipating a decided recovery during the current year (Appendix R.). I also attach statistics regarding spirits, tobacco, salt and rubber (Appendices W. (1), (2), (3), (4) and (5)), and a comparative statement of revenue and expenditure for the years 1897 and 1898 (Appendix X. (1)), and a comparative statement showing the total receipts and expenditure for January and February in the years 1898 and 1899 (Appendix X. (2)).

230. In his concluding paragraph under this heading, the Royal Commissioner remarks that he is informed that there is a large import and export trade growing up in the adjoining French hinterland, and passing through Konakry, much of which, it is believed, would have come through Sierra Leone but for the troubles in which the Protectorate has been involved. This may be a fair inference, but the bulk of the loss of trade is, I think, more properly attributable to the action of the French Decree of the 4th April, 1897, which imposed differential rates as against English goods imported from Freetown. For example, it will be seen from the figures in Appendix W. (5), that the falling off in rubber, which is the principal article of trade imported from the French hinterland, commenced as early as October, 1897, *i.e.*, some months before the outbreak of the disturbances. The months in which the caravans from the Upper Niger territories arrive in Freetown are from October to the following April, both months inclusive.

24. Conclusion.

231. In making these observations the thought has ever been in my mind that the two points most pertinent to myself are: (1) Whether I took sufficient steps to make the coming change known to the chiefs; and (2) whether in view of it I correctly gauged the

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opposition which might be aroused to the actual imposition of the hut tax. I have already explained myself at length on the latter point under the heading "Enforcement of the Hut Tax" (page 7); and with respect to the former, I may mention the steps taken by me were examined into by the Royal Commissioner under the heading, "Proclamation of the Protectorate," in his Report, but I should like to add that I did not spare myself to make the provisions of the coming Ordinance known to the chiefs, for, in 1896, a few months before it was passed, I travelled nearly 700 miles in the Protectorate, and wherever I could get the opportunity I explained to them fully the provisions of the coming Ordinance. Subsequent to my tour I visited Bonthe and Shengeh. At the latter place I addressed a large gathering of natives, who had been purposely collected for me, and at the former a number of traders if not natives. Besides, the machinery of the Department of the Secretary of Native Affairs was used to disseminate information regarding the Ordinance, and I have no doubt Mr. Parkes availed himself of opportunities to make its provisions known both before and after its passing.

232. I do not desire in any sense whatever to shift the burden of the responsibility for all that has passed on any shoulders from my own, but at the same time I hope it may not be thought that I lightly or recklessly entered on the task before me. I had ever given to the policy initiated by me my most anxious and careful consideration, and it was in the sense of my deep conviction that it was absolutely necessary for the financial prosperity of the Colony that induced me to apply it. The thought of the many valuable lives which have been lost, of the gallant officers and men who have fallen, of the devoted missionaries who have been sacrificed, of the Sierra Leoneans who have been massacred, and of the many natives who have been killed, must ever remain to me a sad regret, the recollection of which can never pass away. I humbly trust that good may at least come out of all the evil that has happened, and that whichever policy may be adopted in the future for the Protectorate, whether that of the Royal Commissioner or mine, it may conduce to the best welfare of its peoples.

233. The two policies are widely divergent in their methods, but they both aim at the same ends, viz., the civilization of the people, but whether the one or the other, or some modification of either or both be adopted, I venture to submit it should be definitively determined, and when this has been done I would suggest that the chiefs, including Bai Bureh, who are now political prisoners, might be allowed to return to their people. Bai Bureh has fought squarely and well, as also Alimami Lahai, his ally, and though the same cannot be said of all the others, some of whom played the baser part of instigating others, whilst they themselves kept out of the danger, still I think the offences of all might presently be condoned, as in a measure it may be said they acted in ignorance, but, I think, to do so before it has been finally decided whether the hut tax should be abolished or not would produce great incertitude and confusion.

234. If it were abolished and the chiefs then returned, they, as well as all West Africa, would know that they have scored a victory, and the result would be that the future government of Sierra Leone would be rendered most difficult through the natives becoming intractable, and the Colony would, I fear, struggle on living from hand to mouth with recurring deficits as in the past, unless heavily subsidised from Imperial funds.

235. In the event of the hut tax being continued I beg to offer the following suggestions:—

(*a.*) That a commission of 2½ per cent. be given to each headman of a town with its group of villages for collecting, in addition to the commission of 5 per cent. already given to the paramount chief.

(*b.*) That chiefs be made collectors with powers to punish by fine or imprisonment any of their people for default of payment, subject to revision by the Governor.

(*c.*) That in consideration of the fact that the chiefs have to an appreciable extent lost their property in their slaves through the abolition of slave dealing, they should each receive a stipend in addition to any they may now be in receipt of. This stipend need not be large, and might be computed on the relative number of houses which the people under each chief possess, the maximum being, say, £50—it would be a recognition of the fact that the chiefs have lost something through the operation of the Protectorate Ordinance. This stipend should not be hereditary by any means, and confined to paramount chiefs.

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(*d.*) That the import duties on those commodities, such as cloth, tobacco and salt, which the natives most require, should be reduced for their direct benefit as soon as the hut tax brings in the estimated revenue.

236. In concluding this Report I beg to say that though I have ventured to controvert many points which the Royal Commissioner has raised, and even to deprecate several of his findings, in doing so I trust it may not be considered that I intended any disrespect whatever to his high office, but I have only thought it my duty to do so in vindication of the Government of Sierra Leone, which I had the honour of administering, and of the character of the officers on whose conduct the Royal Commissioner has, in the discharge of his Commission, considered it necessary to reflect.

F. CARDEW,
Governor of Sierra Leone.

APPENDIX A. (1).

WOMEN PALAVERS (CRIM. CON. CASES).

Women palavers are really nothing more than crim. con. cases. It often happens that men who have a lot of wives use them as what has been termed "prostitute decoys," and used to make capital from the system of allowing them to tempt the weak and then indignantly protesting and claiming compensation for the injury which they pretended had been done them.

Since the establishment of the Frontier Police this evil has abated and many men saved from ruin.

21 March 1899.

J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
S.N.A.

APPENDIX A. (2).

NATIVE LAW IN DISTRICTS WITHIN THE SIERRA LEONE PROTECTORATE.

In most of the native states within the Protectorate where native law prevails, the Court is formed of the King as Paramount Chief and his sub-chiefs and santiggies, or in small towns by the sub-chief and his principal men, who assist in threshing out the matter, and may make remarks on, and offer suggestions concerning the cause, but have no voice in the final decision, the King or Paramount Chief's word being absolute and final.

II. He may, however, delegate his supreme power to some other member of the assembly, who upon this being done exercises the functions belonging to the King during the enquiry.

III. An appeal may be made from the decision of a sub-chief, but from that of a Paramount Chief there is no appeal, excepting an appeal to arms.

IV. In these Courts crimes of murder, arson, adultery (commonly called women palavers), theft, assault, debt, and other criminal and civil causes are enquired into, and the decision is generally arrived at after consultation between the King and those of his principal men who sit with him.

V. The punishment meted out for offences differs considerably, in purely pagan countries fines being more generally adopted than any other form of punishment, whilst in districts under Mohammedan influence corporal punishment is adopted in many cases instead of fines.

The following table gives, succinctly, the punishments adopted in districts under different systems :—

Pagan.

Murder.—Penalty, a heavy fine as the price of blood.
Theft.—Flogging, restitution of property or its equivalent, enslavement.
Witchcraft.—Burning to death and the confiscation of the property of accused.
Rape.—Fines according to position of offender.
Arson.—Rebuilding of house and restitution of equivalent value of contents, fine, and, in serious cases, enslavement of offender and family.
Assault.—Fine according to gravity of offence.

Mohammedan.

Murder.—Death.
Theft.—In places where there are no prisons, for first offence flogging; second, loss of right hand; third, loss of left.
Witchcraft.—Not recognised amongst strict Mohammedans.
Rape.—Death.
Assault.—Fine according to gravity of offence.
Arson.—Flogging, imprisonment.

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Mushrikeen or Professing Mohamedans.

Murder.—Death or fine, according to the position of the parties and the circumstances of the case.
Theft.—Flogging, restitution of property stolen or its equivalent, enslavement, and for old offenders loss of limb.
Witchcraft.—Enslavement of the accused and all of his family and the confiscation of his property.
Rape.—Fines according to position of offenders, flogging.
Arson.—Same as Pagan.
Assault.—Fine according to gravity of offence.

V. There is no recognised scale of fees, but they are received in kind, in proportion to the position and wealth of the parties concerned, coupled with the importance of the case under enquiry.

VI.—The parties opposed to each other in civil causes generally stake a certain amount on the issue, and this amount is given to the party who obtains the judgment of the Court besides any fine that the Court may choose to impose.

VII.—It sometimes happens that a fine is imposed on one not able at the time to pay it. Should such person have any friends of influence they sometimes "buy the palaver," or really assume the responsibility of the guilty one.

VIII.—Should anyone be guilty of a Contempt of Court, or the breach of some local custom, or of insulting any person of influence, it is customary to give him *Kassi*, that is, to fine them, and upon any one being apprised by the Paramount or sub-chief or principal man that he has been so "Kassied" he has to acknowledge his offence and pay the fine imposed before any further steps are taken in any cause in which such person may be engaged.

IX. There is, however, always a right of appeal from the decision of a sub-chief to the Paramount Chief of the country, but the costs attending these appeals generally make them impossible to anyone excepting wealthy litigants.

X. In cases where the decision of the Court is not carried out by the party who is given wrong, that is against whom an adverse decision has been given, his property, and very often, if there is not sufficient property, his family and sometimes himself, are taken to satisfy the judgment given.

XI. The most frequent palavers which occur in the native States are "women palavers," really "crim. con." cases, in which the fines are imposed in proportion to the position of the petitioner and the co-respondent, and sometimes results in the enslavement of the offender. The rigid manner in which this law is enforced certainly serves to maintain a purer morality in those States which have had but little contact with the vices of civilization. They are, however, sometimes based on very slender evidence. A husband who has left his harem for some time, on his return questions his wives as to their several movements, and if he has any reason to suspect any unfaithfulness, he tries them by the ordeal of putting their hands in boiling oil, and if they are burnt he at once commences to flog them until they mention the name of their suspected paramour, who is pounced upon and made to pay heavily to the injured spouse, excepting he is fortunate to prove an alibi, or bring very convincing evidence to prove that it was impossible for him to be guilty of the charge.

XII. In cases of witchcraft, or where the accused pleads not guilty, and the evidence is doubtful, trial by ordeal is adopted, and generally takes the form of drinking the poisonous decoction of the sass wood, putting the hands in hot oil, swearing on the Tillang (a fetish which is supposed to have the effect of disfiguring the nose if anything false is uttered after taking an oath on it), and in States professing Monhamedanism, eating the Alafatia balad, which is supposed to result in death to the wrongdoer who dares to eat it.

XIII. Two of the most important institutions of the Mendi and Yonnie countries in particular are the *Porro* and *Bondu*, the former for the men, and the latter for women. They are both of them secret societies, and their members generally meet in the bush, which is called, after the institution that uses it, the *Porro* or *Bondu* bush. The approach to it is generally marked by a large clearing, and the exhibition of a good many charms and fetish signs of all descriptions. Each institution is said to be presided over by a devil, and all women have to betake themselves to their houses and keep up a constant clapping of hands at any time when the Porro devil honors a village by a visit. These devils are generally attired in garments made out of palm leaves, dyed black, and their heads covered with a mask. None but members of the Society are permitted to enter the sacred grove, and it is against their laws for any member of the male sex to enter the Bondu bush, and *vice versa*. The *Porro* may be divided into two branches—the general Porro, to which a very large number belong, and at which the rites of circumcision are performed, and the back and chest tatooed with small marks, and the special Porro, which is generally formed for some specific object, and breaks up as soon as that object has been attained. For instance, a *Peace Porro*, in which several chiefs combine to go and make peace in a disturbed area, under the condition that if their porro is refused (*i.e.*, their advice not followed) they will form an alliance to fight the parties refusing to follow their advice.

XV. Then again, there is the Porro on palm nuts, which in former years was a law passed by the chiefs and principal men that palm kernels should not be cut before a certain time, so as to prevent the cutting of the nuts before they became ripe, but which has now degenerated into a selfish dog-in-the-manger rule, adopted by some chiefs to prevent others having what he cannot possibly reap himself, as a result of which the nuts are sometimes allowed to fall off the trees and rot.

XVI. If anyone dares to pick any nuts, or to reap any land on which a Porro has been placed, he is made to pay a kassi, or fine.

XVII. It is somewhat difficult to obtain any positive information concerning the sister institution beyond the fact that its members usually have to submit to the clitoris being cut, it has been said by some, in order to lessen the carnal desire in the female doomed to be one of many wives.

XVIII. All fines and payments are calculated by the bar, which ranges from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* in merchandise; head money, which is supposed to be equal to three pounds in merchandise; a ton, equal to 4 bars; and a Binki, which contains about 25 bushels.

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XIX. The rates of exchange for a head money vary in different parts. In the Timmani country, for instance, a head money would generally consist of 12 pieces of cloth, at 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* per piece, 1 keg powder, 1 gun, 4 bars tobacco, and be probably *really* worth about £1 15*s.* 0*d.* in Freetown, whilst in some parts of Mendiland 10 pieces of cloth, at 1*s.* 6*d.* and 2*s.* 6*d.*, and 1 cutlass.

In Freetown, worth about 25*s.* would be taken as a head money.

In these calculations much depends on the distance of the place where the barter is being made away from the coast, as a large allowance has to be made for transport.

APPENDIX B.

From the ACTING DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, Pangoma District, to Honourable COLONIAL SECRETARY, Freetown.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, that there is a considerable amount of secret meeting amongst the chiefs of this district. My first suspicion was aroused by the fact of nearly all the chiefs round visiting Chief Nyagwa of Panguma. These chiefs would arrive at midnight, when they would hold a seeret meeting, and then leave again. After a few days interval other chiefs would arrive and depart again in the same way.

I therefore determined to watch their movements carefully. In the meanwhile an escaped slave arrived at Panguma, and informed me that there was a large number of chiefs and warboys assembled at a town called Kenama, and that they were always holding secret meetings and were collecting large supplies of arms and gunpowder, so I sent two Frontiers to this town who disguised themselves, and on their arrival there found the report to be true.

They also found that there were about 17 chiefs in this town, and that large quantities of powder and arms had come up. They were informed by the natives that they were all in a conspiracy to fight the Government, and make an attack on Panguma. Consequently I have had Nyagwa closely watched, and on assembling his people the other night to a secret meeting, he was followed by two Frontiers, disguised, who have made a statement to me upon oath that Nyagwa was urging them to give him every assistance in driving the white man out of his country. To-day a patrol surprised about 400 warboys assembled at a town called Kamboema, about two hours' march from Panguma.

I consider it necessary to arrest Nyagwa immediately, before things get serious. I wrote to the District Commissioner, Bandajuma, to ask him for a temporary reinforcement. It would be of great assistance if His Excellency the Governor would send a reinforcement to this district.

I will make a further report in a week's time.

I have, &c.,
J. E. C. BLAKENEY,
Acting District Commissioner.

Pangoma,
April 9, 1898.

APPENDIX C.

EXTRACT from CAPT. SHARPE'S Report, dated 8th March, 1898, on Cases tried by him in February, 1898.

"In answer to summonses of yesterday, all the non-natives of Port Lokko were brought up in Court, and each one asked separately to pay the 5*s.* house tax, and each one flatly refused to do so, with a few exceptions. They made a laughing stock of the D.C.'s authority, and of the dignity of his Court. The men were extremely insolent, laughing and clapping at each one as he was called upon to pay his tax. Six of the men, when called upon, replied by jabbering in an unintelligible way, pretending they could not understand English or any of the usual native languages current in the place, and some pretended they could only speak and understand the Aku language, knowing the D.C. had no interpreter for this language. The women, with a few exceptions, as each was called upon to pay, doubled themselves up, pretending to be convulsed with laughter, and backing each other up by clapping."

APPENDIX D.

EXTRACT from Sir FREDERIC CARDEW'S Despatch of 20th September, 1898.

19. When I arrived in 1894 and made my first visit to the Protectorate, traversing its whole breadth, the following was the condition of affairs:—A military expedition had recently returned from Waima after chastising a party of Sofas, who, having split off from Samadu's army at Herimakono, where it had been broken up by the French, had raided through the Koranko and Konno districts in British territory, carrying with them numerous captives as slaves, the majority of whom, however, they had to kill at Keragemma and Teckwiama because they were pursued by a party of French troops, who did not hesitate to follow them into British territory; and it was this party that Colonel Ellis came accidentally into collision with as he was also on the quest after these same Sofas.

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20. At the time I went up, almost every town was stockaded and fenced, as much for a shelter for the weak as a fastness for the strong; slavery was rife. I encountered three caravans of slaves in the ordinary course of my travels; there were many natives who had never left their towns for the nearest village for fear of being kidnapped; slave-raiding was going on in four different directions—along our border on the Mano river, in what was called the Tehwa disturbances, in the intertribal warfare between the Golas and Mendis across the Morro river, in the Kuniki and Koranko districts owing to the feuds between those tribes, and in the Sanda Lokko district, where Fumbo and Susa, two leading war-boys, had been committing depredations for over four years; and, as I approached Pangoma, Chief Nyagwa was then on the point of raiding the Sanda Konnos, the country of the Sauer Konnos having just been devastated by a fighting chief, called Bundo, and his followers, who had swept off all the remnants of that unfortunate tribe which had been overlooked by the Sofas. In consequence of these intertribal wars, of others which had preceded them, and of the raids of the Sofas, vast areas of the Protectorate were devastated and untenanted, including nearly the whole of the Konno country, all that large area west of a line drawn from Kerra Yemma to Koinadugu to as far as the Seli river and a large tract in the Sanda Lokko country. And, in addition to all these wars and raidings, French soldiers were wandering about at their own sweet wills in the remoter parts of British territory and without scruple levying taxes in our border towns.

21. The above is a picture of what was occurring in 1894, and, if I may judge by the records of this office, it is but a faint one in comparison with what the imagination can conceive of the horrors that must have prevailed in previous years, when slave-raiding with its accompaniments of bloodshed, robbery, pillaging, and devastation, was the normal condition of the whole land.

APPENDIX E.

An interview with Mr. T. CALDWELL, Church Missionary Society, of Rogberi, May 12th, 1898.

1. How long in the country?—Nineteen months.
2. Who is your king?—Bai Farina of Safroko.
3. Did he help Bai Bureh?—Men from his country are fighting with Bai Bureh.
4. Name any special men of his assisting.—Pa Mana Saspo, known to the officers as Saspo or Mana, superintending the building of stockades on the Kareni road. He has a French rifle, which I had in my hands, when he was passing through Rogberi. (Messrs. Hensley and Castle saw the rifle too.) (Englishmen.)
5. Did he assist in any other way?—Yes, he carried messages to us from Bai Bureh.
6. To what effect?—That Bai Bureh would give us a passage through his country to Magbeli, which we declined, and put him in communication with Bai Farina and the headman of our town.
7. What was the end of the matter?—The Colonel's letter and subsequent advent did not enable the palaver to proceed.
8. Were there stockades at Rogberi?—No, but they were erecting one when we interfered, and the work ceased through our influence and the influence of the headman of our town, Pa King.
9. Who gave the order to build the stockade?—Pa Katchewa of Ro Mashene.
10. Why did you not leave Rogberi?—I tried to go, but was prevented.
11. By whom?—Bai Farina indirectly, for he refused to let me go, and took away my porters.
12. Did you start?—Yes, with Rev. Castle and two servants.
13. Where were you stopped?—After we passed Bankro three armed men asked us to turn, but we wouldn't; when we came to Robaka these same boys asked us to salute the King, which we expressed willingness to do, only the King was not there. Leaving Robaka we were followed by armed men who professed to be friendly, but as we approached Gbani I noticed a messenger being sent on to the King, and afterwards the drum was beaten, and when we reached the town war boys were pouring in from all sides. We saw the King, who asked us where we came from; after telling him, he asked "Where are you going?" and we told him Port Lokkoh. He asked if I knew that white man were killing many Timinee? I said I know nothing except I hear there is war, hence my desire to leave the country till it is finished. The King then refused to let me pass, to eat, or sleep.
14. What happened next?—He compelled us to return immediately, though it was late, and we had walked from early morning till afternoon.
15. From the conversations heard and your own observations, do you think the hut tax is the prime cause or a cause of the disturbance?—I believe the country was ready for any excuse to throw off the British rule, because they complained of having to clean roads, build barracks, and obey the Government in what they called their own country.
16. Do you think slavery has anything to do with it?—Yes; and I can give you an instance of a slave woman being flogged whilst pregnant. Her relatives were enabled to obtain her freedom by paying the amount mentioned by the Government Chief, Brai Masanda, for failing this she would have been freed by the D.C. The man who flogged her got great palaver, for the big men in the Bari said such a thing, if noticed by the Government, would spoil their slave trade.
17. Does slavery still exist?—Yes; I with Rev. Hensley have saved a boy from being pledged by paying money. I saw a freeborn boy taken by force owing to the war, and the order was given to kill any man (even his father) who dared to rescue him.

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APPENDIX F.

Soudan Mission,
Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa,
May 18, 1898.

DEAR GOVERNOR CARDEW,

As I am about leaving the Colony for a few months, it may not be out of place to leave with you some of my thoughts regarding the rebellion of the native chiefs which is troubling the Protectorate so much.

It seems to me that the opposition to the house-tax is only one of several causes, and that the present condition of affairs is owing to a general dissatisfaction with any attempt to change their existing customs, and more especially to a decided unwillingness to assist such an effort in a temporal way.

The general feeling has been increased in several ways; among others may be mentioned the influence of the people of Sierra Leone. The chiefs were encouraged to resist the payment of the tax, and the long letter addressed to the Queen by the chiefs a year ago was undoubtedly not only written by Sierra Leone men, but was in a large measure an expression of their sentiment. A careful reading of that article shows that they had virtually decided to resist the Government, even at that time. Since the beginning of the year, when the first efforts were made towards collecting the tax, the attitude taken by the Sierra Leone press and by nearly all Sierra Leone people has greatly inflamed the native people, who have, at least, a general idea of the sentiments expressed in the papers. Their natural resistance to good government, and the strengthening it has received from those who have received everything from the Government, is also increased because the people understand that slavery must be put away—at least, eventually; they already feel the effect of the announcement of the law to that end. The effort to suppress their secret societies has also offended them, also the taking from them, in a large measure, the power to decide more important cases in their courts. The present extreme warlike attitude of the people has doubtless been increased by the unsuccessful efforts to quiet Bai-Bureh. I have no sympathy with those people who claim that this chief was never asked to pay the tax. It was known that he said he would not pay, and also that he was gathering war-boys and guns and ammunition to resist the Government, and had threatened anyone who should come to collect the tax. Such a man could be met in but one way. As to the tax being excessive, I do not think it is, and the reports of the valuation of country houses are absurd in the extreme, if any value whatever is placed on labour. We have built native houses in six different villages; our experience extends over a period of eight years. In some cases we have contracted with native chiefs for the work, in other cases we have hired native workmen and directed the work ourselves; these houses have cost us from £3 to £30.

At Magbele, in 1892, we paid Pa Suba £10 for building the old mission house; this did not include doors, windows, nor floors.

In 1894 we paid £3 for a house for our boatmen, then at Mange; in 1893 we offered the chief £20 to build a house similar to his own, and he declined.

From £3 to £10 is a fair valuation of native houses, but this tax for houses really includes their farms, for nearly every house has a farm. As for benefit derived, the people already receive more than the cost of the tax in the protection from tribal wars and the consequent losses.

And if the country is ever to be improved, it will require strong effort along well-defined and unaltered lines, for I have never yet seen a single effort towards the public welfare in the interior on the part of the natives. And it is a matter to consider that the wealthy people of Freetown pay no tax for the protection of their property and the efforts of Government on their behalf. Underneath and behind the surprising resistance of the more enlightened class is, undoubtedly, the fact that they have received so much at such little cost. A town like this in any frontier country under self-government would have cost the blood, energy, and continued effort of its founders and citizens, and could not be maintained without some kind of taxation, and this country cannot be developed unless the people will decide to pay the cost. If they do not do this willingly, they must be compelled, until they see the benefit and do it willingly.

* * * * * *

Believe me, &c.,
E. KINGMAN,
Superintendent Soudan Mission.

APPENDIX G.

Freetown, Sierra Leone, May 20, 1898.

Statement.

My views of the cause of the uprising, so general all over the country from the Ribbee River to the Manoh River:—

First. That for some years there had been a growing unrest among the Aborigines, in consequence of the gradual interference of civilization with original and savage customs. War with many had been a cherished means of livelihood; being compelled to desist from the practice without anything else to engage their time and attention, they were not pleased. Slavery offered to many a living of comparative ease as long as they had full power to use and dispose of the slaves as they wished. But under the Protectorate traders were rapidly pushing their way into every part of the country, and wherever trade was introduced, it more or less brought free labour into competition with slave labour, and produced unrest among domestics, by causing them to desire to earn wages. And even

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where traders hired slaves from their masters, the slaves as conveyers of traffic, became intelligent by travel and contact with persons about the places where their loads were disposed of.

Second. Missions by their very nature were reformatory, and by introducing Christianity, naturally opposed war and slavery, as practised by the Aborigines. As an instance in proof of this, I remember that a strong objection raised by the natives at Rotifunk against the projection of that mission, as far back as 1876 or 1877, was that it would interfere with slavery and polygamy.

Third. The introduction of police into the country met with disfavour on the part of natives at Shengeh in 1882, and, in fact, I believe, their dissatisfaction continued as long as the police were there. Nor was this feeling confined to Shengeh, but was common throughout the hinterland. In 1896 I heard expressions of dissatisfaction against the English-speaking people in general, and at times it was strongly hinted, that they ought to be driven out of the country. And I felt sure of their determination to do this, but thought they would not get the opportunity; nor do I believe they could have succeeded so far as they have, had it not been for the manner of gathering the hut tax, rather than the tax in itself, but in any wise, I am too sure the insurrectionary spirit existed long before the hut tax was attempted, and that at most it can only in truth be said that the hut tax served as a pretext, and gave in a way the opportunity of carrying into execution a long cherished desire, if not really a preconceived plan of expelling foreign influence, political, commercial, and religious.

Most humbly submitted, Yours,

J. A. EVANS,

American U.B. Missionary of Shengeh Mission.

APPENDIX H.

My name is JOHN AUGUSTUS ABAYOMI COLE, American Wesleyan Methodist Minister of the Gospel, at present Superintendent of Gospel Banner Mission, and Member of the National Medical Herbalist of Great Britain.

I was for over seven years a resident of the Sherbro country, and have a wide knowledge of the manners and customs of the tribes in the Shaingay, Bompeh, and in the interior of the Mende countries.

From the experience then obtained, and reliable information now collected from persons rescued from these places during the outrages, many of whom (14) are now staying in my premises, I give the following as my statement of the cause of the present disturbance in those districts.

Cause of disturbance.

Some time in December, 1897, after the interview of the native chiefs with His Excellency the Governor *re* the Protectorate Ordinance and the hut tax in particular, Bai Sherbro collected the other chiefs around his country and established the "Go-yella" which is "one word" or "one resolution" society. It is a secret society, more secretive than the Purroh, and the internals of which a Purroh man who is not a member thereof will not know. The same was established by other chiefs in other districts.

The "Go-yella" is a circle within a circle.

The place where it originates is called its "birth-place," the name of that place is sacred, and is used as a password during hostilities, being the only evidence that the person that knows that name is a member of the society, hence in the last raid at Sherbro the pass-word was "Bompeh." Bompeh! Every member from that "birth-place" is to establish one in his own town, and every member of the one in the various towns is to establish one in the town of his friend or relative, and so on until the fire takes the whole country.

The purpose is always determined on some very dreadful oaths, which every member swears to. It has also its missionaries who go through the woods with painted bodies—

1st. For the purpose of always keeping the initiated mindful of their purposes and obligations.

2nd. For watching at opportunities, giving timely notice of impediments, and determining the possibilities of executing their plans on the time fixed.

They appear suddenly in a town and rush back into the woods. The reason for these curious and strange appearances are known only to the initiated who support them privately: and a king may not know if he is not a member. Every meeting is convened in the woods. In this manner every section of a country has the opportunity of carrying out their original purpose as sworn in the "Go-yella," and at the same time avenge itself of its private or public enemies, or punish those against whom each may have harboured some old grudge: for in the administration of oaths, every other town or district (and even a private individual) can give as the only condition of joining the "Go-yella" that in addition to the purpose to be determined upon, or that has been declared in the "birth-place," they should also have the privilege of avenging themselves of their enemies, or execute in conjunction an independent private purpose of their own.

Thus, amongst the Timinees, the purpose mainly was to withstand the collection of the hut tax or arrest of their chiefs.

Amongst the Mendes, to revenge the ill-treatment all along suffered from District Commissioners and frontier policemen, by killing all of them together with every white man, which includes all English-speaking people, native or Sierra Leoneans in their territories, and to plunder all their goods.

Original native dislike to English rule an incentive.

It must here be mentioned that the Sherbro as well as the Mende people, since the introduction of policemen amongst them, have been quite displeased with the interference of the English Government with their domestic lives and customs, especially domestic slavery. As early as the year

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1877, Mr. Thomas Crogba Caulker told me that the English Government are interfering with their rights, it took their country by force, deprived them of their servants, and adding insult to injury have made the son of a slave to become their (chief) king because he happens to be in their favour and that one day their liberty will be wrested.

I mention the above, because a letter was by this ex-chief written to the Governor at that very period, which may be referred to for the confirmation of the statement.

The outcome of this was the last Shaingay war. The execution by the Government of William Caulker and Thomas Croba Caulker (the ex-chief referred to above). Alexander Doomabay had a private grudge with some of the Caulker family at Shaingay, and was also dissatisfied with the treatment of the missionaries against him as their agent, hence he readily became a leader in the "Go-yella" to Shaingay, and assisted in destroying the town and mission premises, churches and school buildings.

Francis Caulker took the war-boys to Shaingay for the purpose of "crying" for his late brother, William Caulker, who was there executed.

Chief Neale Caulker has been (by a section of the Caulker family) always looked down upon, and regarded as the "son of a slave;" his elevation to the Chieftaincy of Shaingay is always an eyesore; more sore his support by the English Government, and his loyalty. He was, therefore, a marked man. He was killed by his own countryman, native of Shaingay, and one of his own relatives, by the name of Gbannah Bome. I have now in my premises a young man, Peter Londing, who with Chief Neale Caulker had secreted themselves in a creek of the Cockborrough river, and whose life was saved only by his climbing to the top of a tree before the near approach of the war-boys. He saw Gbannah Bome, the chief's own cousin, chopped and killed him. This was not done by a Mende man.

The system displayed and the simultaneousness of the actions.

The missionaries of the "Go-yella," as explained above, are scattered over the country two or three months before the time fixed upon, and they travel from one to the other to ensure discipline and unity.

Time is always marked by the age of the moon, either the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd days of the moon or the new or full moon, hence the simultaneous actions.

J. A. ABAYOMI COLE,
Percival Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone,

June 6, 1898.

APPENDIX I.

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR F. CARDEW, K.C.M.G., GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF, &c., &c.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour most respectfully to state at the request of your Excellency my opinion to what is the cause of the present rising and outrages in the Sherbro' district, in fulfilment of my promise made to your Excellency at the interview you were good enough to grant me:—

1. That I am a native born of the Colony of Sierra Leone, but had to leave this place for Sherbro', as trader and farmer for about thirty years.

2. That in the year 1890, I started business at Suntooke, Kawmendi, and Mattro, in the Jung territory of the Bandajuma district, as agent for Messrs. Fisher and Randall, Ltd.

3. That the unfortunate outrages and massacre of the Europeans and Sierra Leoneans in the Sherbro' and Bompeh district commenced at 7 a.m. on Wednesday, the 27th ultimo, by a general attack and ruthless destruction of lives and property, including the murder of women and children. My factories in the towns Suntooke and Mattro were also attacked and destroyed, and I had to run to Gambia to assist Captain Wallis, the Inspector of the Frontier Police, in repelling the attack. My wife and two daughters were captured and evidently killed; and also my coffee plantation, containing 6,000 trees of five years old, 200 kola-nut trees, and 200 cocoa trees have been completely destroyed.

In my opinion the causes of the present rising are:—

a. The abolition of domestic slavery by the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance. A general dissatisfaction of the chiefs was shown by the expressed determination not to permit the traffic in palm kernels and other products of trade in the whole of the Sherbro' district, and

b. Coupled with the imposition of the hut tax, although the majority of the people in the Bandajuma district have paid.

I come to the above conclusion from conversation I had with several of the principal chiefs and headmen in the Bandajuma district.

I have, &c.
S. IGNATIUS ROBINSON.

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APPENDIX J.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WITH reference to our conversation of yesterday, I have the honour to submit the following observations in regard to the historical sequence of events preceding the recent outbreak in the hinterland.

2. Previous to the year 1885 the hinterland was overrun by bands of marauding war boys, trade was at a standstill, and the merchants interested in the commerce of the colony agitated for the re-appointment of the late Sir Samuel Rowe to this government, so that a more vigorous and active policy might be pursued, in order to develope and improve trade. Soon after his arrival, at a mass meeting convened by the merchants and principal residents of the colony, it was resolved that he should be given a free hand in dealing with matters relating to the hinterland, and in their memorial urged—

(*a.*) That peace should be maintained by force of arms.
(*b.*) That steps should be taken to stop the inter-tribal slave trade.
(*c.*) That adequate protection should be given to traders.
(*d.*) That the high roads leading to the interior should be protected by detachment of troops and police. (*Vide* Blue Book, C. 4642, pp. 21, 23, 30 to 38.)

3. Acting in a measure on this suggestion, Sir Samuel Rowe, on his return from his tour in the hinterland, recommended the appointment of three Commissioners and staff, at a cost of £6,012 10*s.* per annum, and the clearing of the roads connecting the navigable heads of the rivers, at a cost of about £2,000.

4. This scheme remained under consideration, and the Yonni disturbances broke out in 1887, immediately after which Sir Francis de Winton recommended the establishment of districts under the command of an Inspector and Sub-Inspector. A copy of his despatch on the subject may be on record at Government House, and I forward herewith a copy of his map showing the districts he proposed, which would have been concentric circles.

5. This scheme also remained in abeyance, but on Sir James Hay's assumption of the government, steps were taken to carry out the late Sir Samuel Rowe's ideas—

(*a.*) As to clearing the road connecting the navigable heads of the rivers.
(*b.*) It was also decided that a Frontier Police Force should be established.
(*c.*) That two *Travelling* Commissioners (Mr. Garrett and Mr. Alldridge) should be appointed.

6. The memorandum for the guidance of Commissioners and Inspectors of Police given at the time will be found at p. 71 of the "Sierra Leone Royal Gazette," dated 8th April, 1890.

7. Frequent complaints arose after this as to the seizure of domestic slaves and others by the Frontier Police, and, in order to prevent friction between the natives and police on this account, the Circular, dated 10th August, 1893, annexed was issued.

8. Still complaints of the liberation of slaves kept pouring in, the expedition against the Sofas took place, and Sir Francis Fleming had under consideration a scheme for the appointment of Commissioners to assist the chiefs in their government, when, he having been obliged by ill-health to leave the Colony, Your Excellency arrived and took over the reins of government.

9. Your Excellency proceeded on your distant tours to the hinterland, and decided, after your experience, to establish the form of administration the necessity of which had already been advanced, with little difference as to form, by the late Sir Samuel Rowe, Sir Francis de Winton, Sir J. S. Hay, and Sir Francis Fleming; you then recommended your Protectorate scheme.

10. Before its introduction, whilst you were in England, I took the liberty (which you have always kindly allowed me) of writing to you *privately* to advocate a poll-tax instead. This, you pointed out to me, was objectionable, and on your return here, before the Protectorate Ordinance was passed, you held meetings at several centres and explained the probable provisions thoroughly, and I can most positively avow that at none of them were any objections taken, excepting at Rokon and Kruton, where there was some murmuring over the slave question.

11. The Ordinance was passed during my absence on leave, but on my return the first intimation of disaffection that came to my knowledge was just before the chiefs of the Timmani clan, belonging to the Karene district, came to wait on Administrator Caulfeild with their petition, which was forwarded to the Secretary of State and replied to by despatch from Secretary of State of the 28th August, 1897, the purport of which was communicated to the District Commissioners, for the information of the chiefs, and to the chiefs themselves.

12. They sent in a further appeal and said that they would await in Freetown Your Excellency's return, although they were advised that such a course would necessitate their having to stay in Freetown a considerable time. They, however, notwithstanding this, elected to stay, and they did.

13. Your Excellency arrived here on a Sunday. On Tuesday morning you intimated to me the concessions which you would be prepared to make to them in regard to receiving produce instead of cash for the taxes. I saw them on the same afternoon, and they went away to "hang head" or consider the question. They returned to me on Wednesday and we had a long palaver over the question. They came again on Thursday and went over the same old ground.

14. Your Excellency desired to see them on Friday, but, as that was the Muhammedan Day of Prayer, you were good enough to postpone your interview until Monday.

15. Before that date a letter was addressed to Your Excellency thanking you for the concessions you had made in regard to exempting villages with less than twenty huts, and also as to your consenting to accept produce in lieu of cash.

16. A 56-lb. instead of the ordinary mercantile 84-lb. bushel was sent up to every district for measuring produce, although I ventured to point out to Your Excellency that you would not derive the revenue under the system proposed; but, as you said, you merely wished to establish the principle of something being paid by the people for a stable form of government.

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17. The chiefs returned home, everything appeared quiet, when suddenly the insurrection arose. Some people have attributed it to the hut-tax absolutely. *I do not*, for the following reasons :—

(*a.*) Many towns which have risen have already paid their hut-tax.
(*b.*) Many places, such as the Imperi, Sulima, Lavana, Mano, Turner's Peninsula, &c., were not taxed *at all.*

18. Personally, I am of opinion that it might have impressed the aboriginal natives that, considering that we pay nothing in the shape of a land-tax for the superior advantages we enjoy, it was manifestly unjust that they should be expected to do so; but, in my opinion, the principal causes leading to the rising have been—

(i.) The attitude of their wives, children, and domestics (slaves), who will not now obey them, as the chiefs and headmen have not now the power of punishment that they had before.
(ii.) The conduct—though I say it with regret—of some members of the Frontier Force when away from their officers.
(iii.) The entire stoppage of the slave trade.
(iv.) The limit to the jurisdiction and income of chiefs consequent on a District Commissioner being in the district, to whom, in the ordinary course, most, *if not all*, complaints will be made, notwithstanding any Ordinances to the contrary.

I have, &c.,
J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
Secretary, Native Affairs.

Department for Native Affairs,
Sierra Leone, 31st May, 1898.

APPENDIX K.

MY GOOD FRIEND, Scharme, Kwalu, 21st June, 1898.

I TAKE the opportunity of explaining to you that it is not the hut-tax alone that brought the war into the country. To my own idea the people have several old griiviance in their minds that they daily talk about it. First, that the Government had prevented them from doing slave trade in their lands, and they are compelled to agree. Secondly, that the missionaries came in their country through the Government, and I supported the missionaries by giving them lands to build, and thereby cause them to destroy their fetish place and breaking stones to build churches in their lands. Thirdly, that the Government next press on them to pay tax for huts, and make strong ordinance against them in their own country which their forefathers had never been made. Fourthly, by seeing the Concessioners coming to the country and dig gold mines at Kogbotuma, &c., increased their griviance the most; and it is no other person that cause all this kinds of troubles upon them but me; therefore, if they cannot get me to kill, they must drive me and my strangers from the country in one way or the other. I have send down the report at different times so that steps should be taking to wipe off such ideas from their minds, but it was silent. I even state about Chief R. C. B. Caulker's expression and his messenger, Murray Saidu, who is one of the head warrior that kill most of the Sierra Leone people at Patifu.

Even Chief Foray Vong said plainly that he won't pay the hut-tax without the consent of Chief R. C. B. Caulker, according to their arrangement. If you remember well from the words that Foray Vong used the River Bartiyama, when you was taking him to Tiama, is quite sufficient to prove that they were altogether against us. But as you do not understand the natives' cunningness, as they always speak in parables, cause you not to take it to be anything worth while. That young man, by name Moranna, of Bellamah, that take those Concessioner to Kogbotuma is one of those who are connected in the arrangement. He came here once together with his brothers, Sallifu and Baimber, to ask respecting the hut-tax. When they return to Bellamah they instruct all the people not to pay; who ever venture to pay must be killed. When he find that the war is about to take place, he ran down to Freetown leaving his two brothers, Baimber and Sallifu, to act in the war affair with Benjeh and Murray Sid, of Paitifu.

I am,
MADAM YOKO.

APPENDIX L. (1).

From Captain E. D. FAIRTLOUGH, D.S.O., District Commissioner, Ronietta District, to the COLONIAL SECRETARY, Sierra Leone.

SIR, Kwalu, August 4, 1898.

I HAVE the honour to report on the following points connected with the late disturbances, for the information of His Excellency.

1. The cause of the insurrection is to be directly traced to the growing desire of the native Chiefs to throw off English rule, with the civilising influences which accompany it.

Prior to the proclamation of the protectorate over the hinterland, the greater part the natives lived in stockaded towns guarded by armed men night and day, each Chief was in mutual dread of his neighbour, and intestinal broils and organised raids for the purpose of obtaining slaves and plunder were common. The roads, except a few main ones, were in bad condition, and were unsafe for travellers unless accompanied by an armed escort.

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Human sacrifices and cannibalism were practised, together with all the barbarous customs of the savage. Most of the Chiefs had signed treaties with the British Government, but these do not appear to have adequately provided for the suppression of offences, civil or criminal. The trade, more especially in the interior of the Hinterland, was in the hands of a few favoured traders, who had conciliated the Chiefs by presents and aided and abetted them in their evil practices.

After the augmentation of the Frontier Police and the enactment of the Protectorate Ordinance, comparative peace and order were established throughout the Protectorate. Slave-dealing, raiding, and the barbarities of savagery, were put down, and due provision was made for the punishment of crime of every description. The stockades of the natives were demolished and they were encouraged to open the roads and turn their attention to industrial pursuits. The captives taken in the late raids made their own way back to their respective countries, and the domestic slaves, finding the roads open and that they could no longer be sold, flogged, or tortured at the will of their owners, began to proceed in large numbers to Freetown and other towns on the coast in search of work, and there accumulated a certain amount of money, with which they returned to their native places and settled down. The Chiefs, finding their revenues diminished, as almost all their wealth consisted of their captives or was derived from the forced labour of their domestics, became discontented, and this discontent, privately encouraged and fostered by short-sighted and disloyal natives of Sierra Leone culminated in the present outbreak. The country had never been conquered, and the natives' experience of British power was limited to the sight of a few small parties of Frontier Police, hardly ever 100 strong, marching through the country, and I consider that an outbreak of some kind was inevitable.

Owing to the protracted resistance made by Bai Bureh in the Timini country and the belief that this had absorbed all the resources of the Government, the Mendi Chiefs considered the time had now arrived to throw off English rule and drive all English-speaking people into the sea.

The insurrection started in the Pangoma District, a district exempt from the tax, and the prime movers in it appear to have been N'yangwa of Pangoma, Fa Kondo of Baoma, Honno or Wonno of Jerihun, and Grubroh of Bompeh, all formerly "great warriors," that is, notorious slave-raiders, in the old days.

2. The tax is not peculiarly obnoxious or opposed to the habits and customs of the people, inasmuch as their own Chiefs levy similar contributions on their subjects when they wish to raise money for any big event in the country, such as the coronation of a paramount Chief or similar occasion for festivities, or, like N'yangwa of Pangomah, when they consider that there is too much money amongst their people.

3. The collection of the tax was carried out in accordance with the Protectorate Ordinance and with special instructions from His Excellency, by which the officials were particularly enjoined to avoid anything like irritating or hurting the feelings of the natives in any way. I have seen no instance of brutality or insult on the part of the officials engaged in collecting the tax.

Some of the insurgent Chiefs in this district have now been arrested, and Foray Vong, one of the most prominent of these, has stated, since he was brought in, that it was not on account of the Hut Tax he rebelled, as he had paid a great portion of the amount assessed on his towns, but because the war, having for its objects the expulsion of the English and the return to savagery, was started outside this district, and he thought that if the whole of the Mendis combined the Government would be powerless; he joined in, as he considered it an excellent thing to attain these ends.

4. The amount of 5*s*. per house does not appear unnecessarily high. The natives have never complained that it was excessive, and it is not nearly as much as the natives Chiefs levy on their own subjects annually.

It has been proved that Bai Kompa of Kwaia imposed a tax of 10*s*. per house on his subjects in January last, for the purpose of making sacrifice according to the country custom and procuring arms and ammunition to fight the Government. When Bai Kompa and the other Chiefs of Kwaia broke out in rebellion and it was necessary to proceed against them with an armed force, and when the people found that the Government were determined to enforce the tax, they came secretly and paid it in to the Fula Mansa of Yonni, who was assisting me. They stated that they had gathered the money for the tax and were quite willing to pay, but that the Chiefs had forbidden them to do so. Over £300 were collected in this manner alone in about ten days.

In the upper portions of this district, that is, in the Tana and Kolifa countries, and around Mongherri, there is not much trade and cash is scarce, and, although there are considerable quantities of rubber, gum, and other valuable native stuffs, the difficulties of transport prevent these being utilized as much as they might be, and it would perhaps be difficult at present to collect the whole amount for which the towns are liable. On the other hand, in the Kwaia, Masimera, Ribbi, Bompeh, Bagru, Shengeh, and Timdale districts, coin is plentiful, and, owing to the excellent waterway provided by the numerous creeks and rivers, a considerable amount of trade is done with Freetown and other towns on the coast. In the Yonni country and around Taiama there is a large trade in gum and rubber carried on at present, and it could be developed to a much greater extent. In these districts the tax of 5*s*. per house certainly entails no hardship upon the natives.

There is also another point to be noticed with reference to the tax for the present year. Every large town, like Kwalu, Moyamba, Senahu, or Taiama, has a number of small villages or "farkies" belonging to it, usually from 10 to 20 in number and each consisting of from 5 to 15 houses, which the retainers of those living in the large towns inhabit, and as for this year villages of under 20 houses were exempt from the tax, these "farkies" were not assessed, but their inhabitants contributed to the tax levied on the larger towns, so that the amount of 5*s*. per house does not represent anything like 5*s*. per adult male of the population, but rather a few pence, which, in a country where valuable natural products abound and where the most primitive methods of cultivation produce enormous results, can scarcely be considered exorbitant.

5. There is no doubt that the Sierra Leone traders have largely contributed to the agitation against the Hut Tax. Numerous complaints of their inciting the natives not to pay have been brought to my notice, but, owing to the difficulty of obtaining direct evidence, and the disinclination of the natives to prosecute, a great many offenders of this class have escaped. Nevertheless, four

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convictions have been obtained in this district, and warrants were issued for the arrest of four more Sierra Leone traders who appear to have directly incited the natives against the Government. Three of these have been killed in the raid, but, according to the information I have received, had done an incalculable amount of mischief in the lower Mendi.

6. The Sierra Leone traders have been strongly opposed to the Protectorate Ordinance, as it is to their interests to retard the progress of civilisation as much as possible to prevent the circulation of coin and knowledge of its value spreading amongst the natives. The traders invariably pay the natives for produce or labour in goods, the value of which they estimate at enormously increased rates according to the distance from town. For instance, cloth which can be brought for 15*s*. per dozen pieces wholesale in Freetown is retailed to the natives at the rates of 4*s*. or 5*s*. per piece. For carrying a load from Freetown to Pangomah the Government rate is 21*s*., the trader only pays two pieces of cloth, costing about 1*s*. 3*d*. each in Freetown. Several traders in Pangomah, where I was stationed last year, have asked me not to pay labourers in cash but in goods, as the circulation of coin amongst the natives spoiled their markets. In May, 1896, I was passing through Mafweh and several traders came to see me, and talked about the proposed Protectorate Ordinance. They gave it as their opinion that the Ordinance would ruin the traders, as the natives would no longer deal to such an extent in goods when they found that they would have to pay a certain amount of coin annually to the Government, and that when the natives learnt the value of coin they would send to Freetown and purchase goods for themselves. Latterly the traders have not discussed the Ordinance with me, but there is no doubt that they have a very strong feeling against it, and only appreciate that section of it which provides for the collection of debt.

7. From what I have indirectly heard, it appears that a large trade in powder, caps, &c., has been carried on between the traders in the Rokelle river and the Timini insurgents. At present proceedings are pending against the traders in the Rokelle on this account.

A large consignment of powder and arms arrived in Taiama a few days before its capture by Colonel Woodgate's force, and these, it was stated, were sent up by a Sierra Leone trader and Justice of the Peace.

8. The "Sierra Leone Weekly News" circulates freely through the lower portions of the Protectorate, and is read and explained to the natives by the traders. Usually every Chief of importance employs a Sierra Leone clerk to write his letters and advise him generally on official business. As these are generally men of indifferent character, who have left Government or commercial employ with a bad record, the amount of harm they do in helping to disseminate the disloyal sentiments of the native Press can be better imagined than described, especially as the natives regard a piece of written or printed matter with almost superstituous awe. When Forodugu was captured in April last, I found about thirty copies of the "Sierra Leone Weekly News" carefully stored in the house of Almami Senna Bundo, one of the most notorious rebels in the Protectorate.

9. The outbreak was arranged to take place at the beginning of May, as before troops could be sent up country the rains would have set in and the movements of large bodies of men would be rendered difficult. The Bompeh people rose first, and as soon as they started, the signal for the outbreak was handed on from town to town by messengers carrying the sign of a twisted bracelet of green palm leaves.

10. The rising is not to be attributed directly to "Poro" laws and customs, although the "Poro" organisation appears to have been made use of for the purpose of arranging the details of the raid. It is reported that meetings were held in the "poro-bush" at Bompeh; and Fa Kondo of Baoma, N'yangwa of Pangoma, Honno of Jerihun, and others, arranged the nature of the outbreak. The "Poro of the raid" was then handed down to the Lower Mendi, and similar meetings were held at Jama in the Jong river, at Robanna in the Bagru, and at Maforeh.

11. "Poro" is a secret society to which all the Mendis, Timinis, Konnos, and Kissis belong. It does not exists in Mohammedan countries. There appear to be very few laws or customs belonging to it. The members are sworn not to divulge any of its secrets or to give any information about the matters which are discussed in the "poro-bush." Any violation of this oath is punished with death. There are three kinds of "Poro":

1. The circumcision of young men, carried out in the poro-bush with great ceremony;
2. Poro for peace; and
3. Poro for war, by which the natives are sworn to assist one another for either object, in the case of No. 2 on receipt of a green leaf from another poro-chief, and in No. 3 on receipt of a similar leaf half-burnt.

The whole system is wrapt up in a mass of superstition, trickery, and fetish, which appears to be merely intended to impress the native mind and so give importance to the craft.

12. Great discontent has existed amongst the Chiefs since the abolition of slavery. Nearly all their wealth formerly consisted of their slaves, and the Chiefs derived a large income from the sale of their surplus stock. They have often complained to me that they are unable to live now that the sale of slaves is forbidden. They also state that they have no power over their boys now, as the latter recognise that they can be no longer sold in case of misconduct, as was the custom formerly.

13. The missionaries appear to have been murdered partly to strike terror into the other English-speaking people and partly because the missionaries used to give information about the malpractices of the natives. There was also a stong feeling against the missionaries on account of their being opposed to the native customs of sacrifice and fetish, and because of their educating the children, of whom the natives appear to have become very jealous.

I have, &c.,
E. D. FAIRTLOUGH.

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APPENDIX L (2).

From the DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, Karene District, to the HON. COLONIAL SECRETARY, Freetown.

REPORT ON EVIDENCE TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE SPECIAL COMMISSIONER.

SIR, Karene, August 10, 1898.

IN answer to your letter on the above subject, dated 18th July, 1898, I have the honour to submit the following answers to the respective questions you ask :—

Question 1.—Answer : The determination of the natives under certain Chiefs (probably forced by one or two of the leading rebel Chiefs, and probably influenced by bad advice from more enlightened quarters) to make a last attempt to throw off their allegiance to the English. Since the cattle-trade from Foutah-Jalon has been closed by the excessive French export duties, and since they have lost their "labouring class" by slave-dealing being forbidden, they have been more than discontented in different parts. It was by means of their slaves or domestics that they cleaned the roads, repaired bridges, built barracks, made their farms, and built their houses. They seized upon the tax as the only excuse for rebelling, having been persuaded that they might expect a sympathetic ear from England, in their dislike to the tax, while they were told they could never hope for sympathy as regards slave-dealing. The tax itself cannot be the only cause for the rebellion, as other Chiefs have paid at once, on being asked, and some have even paid without being called upon.

Question 2.—Answer : No. I think they would far sooner pay a hut tax than a poll tax. But they resent having to pay a hut tax, while the houses in Freetown are exempted.

Question 3.—Answer : Never.

Question 4.—Answer : Certainly not. *First*, there is plenty of money in the Protectorate. About £300 per *month* comes up to this district alone as pay. Also about £700 a year is paid in this district in stipends and presents. Lastly, all Government work, such as barracks, &c., is paid for. Total, about £4,500 per annum. Almost all this money eventually finds its way to the natives. *Second*, the tax can easily be earned. There is always a ready market at the headquarters and different out-stations, Customs stations, and large towns. A person has only to bring in a hamper of rice, half a dozen pine-apples, yams, kassada, milk, eggs, firewood, &c., and a year's payment of tax is easily secured. We offer for any of the above the same and sometimes a higher price than can be obtained in Freetown. In more remote parts of the district, where there is not such a ready market, the women are generally seen wearing half-crowns and 5 franc pieces round their necks, and the men use silver coins to be turned into rings and other ornamental purposes. Engagements as carriers or "boys," can always be secured.

I consider the amount of tax, five pence a month, is not beyond the means of a single individual in this district.

Question 5.—Answer : In my opinion the natives have been, in many cases, incited by Sierra Leoneans against the tax, but I cannot give instances, as I have only collected tax from Sierra Leoneans in three towns, and only in one of these, Port Lokko, did I meet with any difficulty.

Question 6.—Answer : Against it generally, and especially as regards their pay for licences, and their paying the tax direct to the District Commissioner. In some cases they have availed themselves of it, as regards recovering debts.

Question 7.—Answer : Without doubt the natives have procured most of their gunpowder from Sierra Leone traders up till the rebellion. There was a good deal of powder in Port Lokko in the traders' shops, just before the outbreak. This they were ordered not to sell for the present without permission. I believe this found its way into the hands of the insurgents, but I cannot give instances of powder actually being supplied to the insurgents after the outbreak.

Question 8.—Answer : Yes, especially along the coast towns and trading towns. It is more than probable that "news" was regularly and freely circulated amongst the natives by means of the traders.

Question 9.—Answer : That the rising had been planned previously, and that a general rising was ordered when the news and reports of officers being killed and columns meeting with reverses, &c., &c., reached them, in many cases, I should think, through the Press.

Question 10.—Answer : Very difficult to say. But the stopping of trade, canoes, and Government officials was clearly caused by a "porro" order being issued to this effect.

Question 11.—Answer : Most difficult to obtain, as those who know are bound to secrecy. My experience makes me believe there are two kinds of porro. *One*, the ordinary porro-bush, which is a semi-religious ceremony presided over by the "medicine men," by which they extract fees from parents and guardians for performing circumcision, and placing a "porro" on their farms and houses, by which they believe thieves are kept away ; and *two*, the Secret Society porro, or meeting of elderly men and big Chiefs only. This meeting is always called before any decisive step is to be taken, such as an attack, a raid, a joint remonstrance, or the stopping of trade, imposing new laws, or revoking former laws, &c., &c.

Question 12.—Answer : Most decidedly. Probably these are the real causes. Vide answer to question one, herein.

Question 13.—Answer : That in their attempt to gain independence and to resort again to slave-dealing, and in revenge for having been deprived of these, they ordered a general massacre of all English-speaking people, whether official or otherwise, or black or white, looking upon all such as friends of the Government, and, as such, partly responsible for their grievances, real or imaginary.

I have, &c.,
W. S. SHARPE,
Captain,
District Commissioner.

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APPENDIX L (3).

From HIS EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR to the Honourable the ACTING COLONIAL SECRETARY.

July 18, 1898.

IN view of the enquiry to be made by Sir David P. Chalmers into the circumstances which led to the insurrection in the Protectorate and generally into the state of affairs in the Colony and Protectorate, be so good as to request District Commissioners to report on the following points, which will form the subject of the enquiry, and hold in readiness, in case of their being summoned to attend the enquiry, such witnesses as can be obtained to throw light on the various points to be enquired into :—

The cause of the insurrection.
Whether the tax is peculiarly obnoxious to the manners and customs of the natives.
Whether the collection of the tax was carried out in a brutal and insulting way.
Whether the amount was unnecessarily high.
Whether the natives were incited or encouraged in any way by Sierra Leone traders and others to refuse to pay the tax. If so, give instances.
What has been the attitude generally of Sierra Leone traders towards the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance.
Whether there are any instances of powder and arms being sold to the insurgents by Sierra Leone traders.
Whether the Sierra Leone Press has any circulation in the Protectorate, and, if so, how the intelligence it contains is disseminated.
What explanation is there for the simultaneousness of the outbreak in the Mendi Districts ?
How far is it attributable to "Poro" laws and customs ?
Obtain evidence if possible of the nature of Poro laws and customs.
Have the abolition of slavery and the desire for independence anything to do with the outbreak ?
How can the savage murders of missionaries, who have done nothing but kindness to the natives, be explained ?

F. C.,
Governor.

APPENDIX M.

From REGIMENTAL SERGEANT-MAJOR ROBERT W. GEORGE to the ADJUTANT, FRONTIER POLICE.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour most respectfully to state for the information of His Excellency the Governor, that during the period of two and a half years of late, the Frontier Force is subject to great insult from our Sierra Leone people in the most disgraceful and unbecoming manner.

Some time in 1896 last, some of our men (Frontiers) were sent up by the authorities to settle a dispute about land mark between the Bonjama and Mokasseh people. The Chief of Mokasseh and his people resisted the police in the execution of their duty, although they knew full well that the police was sent by the Governor, yet they say that Sir Sam is their Governor, and they came straight to Freetown to Sir Samuel Lewis and claimed damage against the Frontiers in the due execution of their duty, then they go back to their country laughing and looking us as fools; since then the Frontiers are nobody in the eyes of these native people, as they got their own Governor and we have our own Governor.

Since the Protectorate Ordinance came to force and we commence to gather the hut-tax, the attitude of the Sierra Leoneans is hot against us, calling us all ill names; even before the natives, we are looked upon anywhere we go (to do our duty) as robbers and pickpocket; better discipline are maintained in the various district. Since the white officers took over the country was in a most settled state until that turbulent Chief, Bai Bureh, broke the peace.

The Sierra Leoneans says that they sympathise with Bai Bureh, in one of their local papers there they laid heavy charges against the Frontiers and their officers, calling them plunderers and many other charges which no organised force could do, even uncivilised people, only to make our name odious before the public, our own families are being laughed and scoffed at when passing the streets, only because we are Frontiers, and even intelligent ministers preached against us in their class-rooms to bring discomforts whilst in the house of God.

I left Freetown on the 16th of February last with the Inspector-General to arrest Chief Bai Bureh. When marching from Port Lokkoh, the Sierra Leone traders there commenced to threaten us, saying God go pay O'nar, God go make Bai Bureh kill O'nar so that he, Bai Bureh, has all the Sierra Leoneans at his back to fight us, and by their foolish talking lead Bai Bureh to take up arms against the Government, they being ignorant people and hearing all sorts of words against the District Commissioner and Frontiers making tax for their own accord and only for their own profit, and these ignorant people taking Sierra Leoneans or looking upon them as they do to white people, however tame a people may be, must sure to take up arms; the attitude of the people in this Colony since the hut-tax is very unbecoming, and their daily conversation is against the Frontiers, to prevent the natives to pay the hut-tax which they had began to pay. If your Worship look at their local papers since the commencement of the hut-tax, is full of invectives, false reports throughout the whole paper. I am now over 17 years in the Force.

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I never had any such complaint made by natives, all what they can gather to put in their papers is to prevent the natives paying the tax, most of the bad Frontiers turned out from the force are Creoles born in this country, although they put in one of their papers that some runaway slave from their masters are admitted in the Force and sent back to do duties in their master's country always take advantage of them is false, the men are in such a strict discipline under white officers.

The rising at Sherbro' is caused by the Sierra Leone people. As soon as any of their local papers arrives they commence to read it and tell the natives that Bai Bureh done dem white people. Bai Bureh nar man, Bai Bureh kant pay tax as you do, and so they always make things more than what it is, so these Mendi people take courage to fight, and before fighting the Government they fall on the Sierra Leoneans, first the natives were unwilling to pay the tax, if not for these Sierra Leone people, as soon as the news arrived here about the massacre of Sierra Leoneans at Sherbro', they say it is Frontier who brought the war, fighting for a sword from a native man who refused to give it up, so it is put down in one of their papers, which it is a lie, and lots of other things spoken against us only to rouse the feelings of the community against us, anywhere the men quartered, were no Sierra Leone traders resided, the natives are ready to obey and clean their roads, and do every other duties connected with them, but no sooner any traders arrives than the peoples begin to look upon us as nobody, and don't care even to clean their own roads; your Worship can remember how the natives themselves clean their roads from Sanmuyah to within seven miles of Kambia, where no Sierra Leone traders resides, a distance of over 50 miles, and the natives at Kambia, although warned by the Frontiers to clean their roads, are not able to do so, owing to Sierra Leone traders resides amongst them. His Excellency the Governor pass and noticed this very roads from Samaya to Kukuna, when I was in charge of that district, and also noticed the state of Kambia roads.

The disloyalty of our people is proved in the way and manner they always acted when any steamer arrives from Port Lokkoh with wounded men; as soon as they commence landing them in the wharf they commence to say Bai Bureh nar man, Bai Bureh nar big black General, they fill it a pleasure to see our men wounded, they don't wish us any success and no sympathy on there part at all.

When we started on the 16th of February last for Bai Bureh's country, Inspector-General give orders that he wanted to see Bai Bureh, and if possible to make good with him, provided he has no war boys. As soon as we get to Romeni we met him well prepared for war with over 2,000 of his war boys along the roads to Rogballang. If not for the skilful movement of the Inspector-General, there might have been a great loss on our part, all the Sierra Leone traders at Port Lokkoh knew then the force that Bai Bureh has to await us, hence they are threatened us when leaving Port Lokkoh.

I don't know how are we going to do our duty in the future with this native people whom the Sierra Leoneans has made to believe that we are robbers, pick-pockets and wicked, and all other bad behaviour too numerous to mention which the natives themselves cannot do, the eyes of the whole force are now looking upon you as our head in spite of our doing all our very best with our officers in the front, and even more than once face death for our country, our Sierra Leone people are making us a laughing stock.

I have, &c.,
R. O. GEORGE,
Regimental Sergeant-Major,
Frontier Police.

APPENDIX N. (1.)

From the Honourable the ACTING SOLICITOR-GENERAL to the Honourable the COLONIAL SECRETARY.

In obedience to instructions received from His Excellency the Governor contained in his minute of 23rd November, 1898, I have the honour to submit the following report relative to the examination of Sergeants Palmer and Coker, of the Frontier Police, before the Royal Commissioner.

Sergeant Palmer attended before the Royal Commissioner on Saturday the 19th instant. After I had examined him, the Commissioner questioned him as to some trouble he got into with regard to a chief sometime in the years 1894 or 1895. The witness denied at first that he had got into any trouble of this kind, but on the Commissioner pressing him, he admitted that he had got into trouble for ill-treating and back-biting a chief, that it had been reported to the Governor, that he had received a reprimand from the Governor through Captain Sharpe, and that he was told that if ever he did such a thing again he would be dismissed the Force.

On Monday the 21st instant I examined Sergeant Coker before the Commissioner.

After a few preliminary questions, I asked the witness whether a Sierra Leonean, named S. B. Macaulay, had, in December last, informed him that he had advised a chief, whose name I cannot now recall, not to pay the hut tax. The Royal Commissioner stopped me, and said that was not an admissible question. After some discussion, the Commissioner ruled that I could not put the question.

I then asked leave of the Commissioner to put to the witness a question to the following effect:—

Was it a matter of general statement among the chiefs of the district where the witness was stationed that the Sierra Leoneans had advised them not to pay hut tax?

The Commissioner remarked that was going too far. I reminded him that on a previous occasion he had allowed me to put a similar question to Sergeant Palmer. The Commissioner admitted it, but said it was going too far, and gave me to understand that he had allowed me a latitude I was not entitled to. He eventually allowed me to ask the witness whether chiefs had told him that Sierra

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Leoneans had made certain statements relative to the payment of hut tax. The witness said chiefs had told him so, but when I proposed to ask the witness what those statements that the Sierra Leoneans had made were, the Commissioner ruled that the question was inadmissible.

After a few questions put by the Commissioner to the witness, calling for no particular comment, the examination closed.

D. F. WILBRAHAM,
Acting Solicitor-General.

Crown Law Officers' Chambers,
Freetown, Sierra Leone,
24th November, 1898.

APPENDIX N. (2.)

From the Honourable the ACTING SOLICITOR-GENERAL to the Honourable the COLONIAL SECRETARY.

In reference to my letter of the 24th instant, I have the honour to state that I wish to make an explanation.

The question I put to Sergeant Coker as to what S. B. Macaulay said to him, appears to be a leading one. I am not quite sure that I put the question in such a leading form. I don't think that I did. But assuming that I did put it in such a leading form, it was not on account of the leading nature of the question that the Royal Commissioner objected to it. He ruled it inadmissible on the ground that the answer would be but the repeated statement of a man who could not be called to give evidence.

In this letter, and in my letter of the 24th instant, I have stated what, to the best of my recollection, took place.

D. F. WILBRAHAM,
Acting Solicitor-General.

Crown Law Officers' Chambers,
Freetown, Sierra Leone,
25th November, 1898.

APPENDIX O.

Sergeant Edward R. Coker, Frontier Police, being duly sworn, makes the following statement:—

In the month of December, 1897, I was ordered by the District Commissioner, Ronietta District, to take the number of houses in the Bargroo District. On my going round, Mr. S. B. Macaulay, a Sierra Leone trader, told me (that) he told Headman Gperewah and Farmer Robomp, of Temgeh, not to pay the hut tax. Mr. T. W. George, of Bemdumah, told me that he had asked Humper Salon not to pay the hut tax. Mr. Solomon Johnson, of Gpangbye, said that he told Kyoh Tamoh not to pay the hut tax. Mr. Job Macfoy, of Chaileh, said that he told Sehe Taibah not to pay the hut tax. Chief Komosai informed me that he was ordered by Mr. J. A. Taylor, trader, of Mafangi, not to pay the tax.

During the time I was in the Bargroo District, a trader called Lewis, brother to lawyer Lewis, gave me much trouble. He had great influence with Sia Palimah, and when the District Commissioner visited the district he kept out of the way.

Trader Lewis had a daughter of this chief as his wife. Whenever I visited Mannah or the Makasah country, the sub-chiefs and others told me that Lawyer Lewis was the big man in Freetown. Much harm was done by the Sierra Leone papers publishing letters attacking chiefs who had paid the hut tax, Madam Yoko, and Madam Nancy Tucker.

E. R. COKER.

Sworn before me the Twenty-fourth day of November, 1898.

S. MOORE,
Captain Frontier Police.

APPENDIX P.

CUSTOMS RECEIPTS.

——	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
January ...	7,242 5 7	8,276 11 5	9,629 5 2	6,571 16 2	6,478 3 9	6,962 10 4	10,082 1 9
February ...	6,688 15 6	7,118 0 3	7,821 8 4	7,121 4 7	5,987 6 10	6,982 2 2	9,524 15 6
March ...	7,470 13 11	8,205 3 9	6,120 1 11	6,183 7 4	9,732 7 3	9,690 13 6	10,079 15 11
April ...	5,880 5 11	8,769 14 3	5,885 4 3	6,817 1 9	6,873 16 8	8,530 0 5	12,969 19 3
May ...	5,522 4 4	10,095 16 2	6,358 2 6	6,013 0 8	7,217 4 3	4,536 14 10	
June ...	6,744 19 2	4,676 19 3	7,334 9 3	5,129 1 0	7,790 2 6	3,996 19 5	
July ...	4,759 0 0	6,136 3 3	6,891 13 3	8,576 0 6	6,977 5 0	7,766 8 9	
August ...	4,921 6 2	5,324 1 2	6,250 17 8	5,102 7 6	6,045 4 7	6,486 18 10	
September ...	5,838 13 1	6,625 12 6	5,574 2 3	5,361 6 6	5,484 1 4	7,017 14 10	
October ...	7,218 18 6	6,351 17 6	7,158 11 8	5,528 15 3	6,272 12 7	9,207 4 10	
November ...	7,313 7 9	6.508 13 1	7,136 2 5	9,050 4 11	9,771 4 10	7,971 15 5	
December ...	6,781 0 9	6,719 17 9	11,358 15 11	7,873 5 0	8,463 9 4	10,385 16 2	
	76,381 10 8	84,808 10 4	87,518 14 7	79,327 11 2	87,092 18 11	89,523 10 5	

The receipts for 1892 were £73,969 10*s.* 4*d.*

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APPENDIX Q.

RETURN showing the total Value of Imports during the undermentioned years :—

Month.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
January	29,623	34,717	40,319	44,344	36,552	41,143	55,971
February	31,261	44,880	33,735	46,225	32,362	41,397	56,984
March	35,804	38,939	28,672	48,664	42,692	40,970	57,188
April	29,252	49,088	31,756	39,428	35,028	71,070	72,583
May	37,467	41,411	36,073	36,333	36,852	47,717	
June...	32,994	25,933	28,472	30,023	30,393	26,917	
July	25,556	28,028	32,120	38,402	28,383	52,485	
August	22,183	25,506	27,919	31,882	29,806	50,665	
September	25,586	39,140	25,730	31,756	49,360	45,940	
October	29,128	41,854	33,003	27,767	32,962	51,424	
November	41,058	29,504	34,038	40,709	41,560	63,965	
December	36,117	38,021	48,976	50,270	43,886	73,288	
	376,029	437,021	400,813	465,793	439,836	606,983	
Less value of goods ex warehouse.	62,399	71,818	58,455	42,576	32,191		
Direct consumption	313,630	365,203	342,358	423,217	407,645		
Goods warehoused...	103,836	112,821	84,978	71,471	49,744		
Total imports ...	417,466	478,024	427,336	494,688	457,389		

APPENDIX R.

RETURN shewing the total Value of Exports during the undermentioned years :—

Month.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
January	23,823	47,337	53,800	54,545	36,788	33,532	35,573
February	43,141	27,724	53,159	37,671	53,115	39,448	34,054
March	50,713	42,688	43,401	45,135	36,944	28,800	34,804
April	31,511	46,552	30,860	33,461	32,964	26,563	23,810
May	42,155	34,756	32,104	37,172	34,314	18,028	
June...	28,935	27,894	25,268	20,674	29,961	21,671	
July	20,391	29,992	31,519	33,135	23,586	8,728	
August	35,400	29,072	29,073	35,333	40,166	13,730	
September	29,548	26,285	32,015	33,813	25,731	19,952	
October	34,009	37,739	42,075	34,163	25,407	20,045	
November	24,370	39,438	40,922	32,612	25,536	20,065	
December	34,667	37,021	38,409	51,318	36,236	40,316	
Total ... £	398,663	426,498	452,605	449,032	400,748	290,878	

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APPENDIX S.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the Quantity and Value of Exports of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the years 1897 and 1898 :—

Articles.	1897.		1898.		Increase.		Decrease.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
AFRICAN PRODUCE.								
	Tons. cwt. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.	Tons. cwt. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.	Tons. cwts. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.	Tons. cwt. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.
Benni-seed	647 1 0 8	7,555 6 4	464 19 3 1	5,259 19 10	—	—	182 1 1 7	2,295 6 6
Cola-nuts	635 16 1 16	46,551 18 5	539 15 1 21	49,670 11 3	96 0 3 23	3,118 12 10	—	—
Ground-nuts	25 19 2 6	201 6 11	4 4 3 19	35 7 11	—	—	21 14 2 15	165 19 0
Gum	188 7 0 20	13,141 19 0	253 1 3 1	9,058 7 10	64 14 2 9	—	—	4,083 11 2
Hides	33,753	5,030 0 11	4,917	602 0 0	—	—	28,836	4,428 0 11
Palm oil	181,647 gallons	9,148 15 9	54,939 gallons	3,465 16 5	—	—	126,708 gallons	5,682 19 4
	Tons. cwt. qrs. lbs.		Tons. cwt. qrs. lbs.				Tons. cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Palm kernels	17,671 11 2 5	129,910 3 0	14,646 11 0 5	112,063 6 5	—	—	3,025 0 2 0	17,846 16 7
Ginger	926 4 3 5	13,505 15 4	1,004 19 0 27	11,935 1 2	78 14 1 22	—	—	1,570 14 2
Rubber	582 18 2 11	79,786 17 5	290 1 0 5	52,504 6 9	—	—	292 17 2 6	27,282 10 8
Rice (African)	24,499 bushels	6,735 17 0	12,330 bushels	4,382 4 8	—	—	12,169 bushels	2,353 12 4
Other articles not enumerated...	—	5,096 16 11	—	5,490 6 8	—	393 9 9	—	—
		316,664 17 0		254,467 8 11				
EUROPEAN MANUFACTURES.								
Cotton	—	28,148 5 5	—	4,232 19 3	—	—	—	23,915 6 2
Guns	1,460	551 11 4	8	85 3 0	—	—	1,452	466 8 4
Gunpowder	32·66 barrels	61 15 1	8 barrels	17 11 0	—	—	24·66 barrels	44 4 1
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.		Cwt. qrs. lbs.		Cwt. qrs. lbs.			
Hardware...	1,148 3 4	1,758 18 9	1,194 0 20	1,719 7 8	45 1 16	—	—	39 11 1
Spirits	19,551·5 gallons	1,068 5 7	247 gallons	17 17 3	—	—	19,304·5 gallons	1,050 8 4
Tobacco	103,082·8 lbs.	1,802 5 7	28,339 lbs.	607 18 6	—	—	74,743·8 lbs.	1,194 7 1
„ manufactured	273·5 lbs.	40 11 4	7 lbs.	6 10 0	—	—	267·5 lbs.	34 1 4
Specie	—	39,001 7 6	—	23,834 19 9	—	—	—	15,166 7 9
Other articles not enumerated...	—	11,649 14 10	—	6,001 7 8	—	—	—	5,648 7 2
		84,082 15 5		36,523 14 1		£3,512 2 7		113,268 12 0
								3,512 2 7
		£400,747 12 5		£290,991 3 0			Nett decrease...	£109,756 9 5

N.B.—Cola-nuts—Increase in value due to greater demand,—higher prices being offered.
Ground ginger—Decrease in value due to fall in market prices,—demand being small.

Custom House, Sierra Leone,
6th February, 1899.

W. J. P. ELLIOTT,
Collector of Customs.

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APPENDIX T.

COMPARATIVE RECEIPTS of the Imports of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the years 1897 and 1898.

Articles.	1897. Quantity.	1897. Duty.	1898. Quantity.	1898. Duty.	Increase. Quantity.	Increase. Duty.	Decrease. Quantity.	Decrease. Duty.
		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Ale and porter, per gallon	1,350 gallons	33 15 0	1,491 gallons	37 5 6	141 gallons	3 10 6	—	—
„ „ per dozen	8,495$\frac{10}{12}$ dozen	424 15 10	13,308$\frac{8}{12}$ dozen	665 8 3	4,812$\frac{8}{12}$ dozen	240 12 5	—	—
Guns, at 2*s.* 6*d.*	982	122 15 0	60	7 10 0	—	—	922	115 5 0
„ „ 4*s.*	3	0 12 0	4	0 16 0	1	0 4 0	—	—
„ „ 5*s.*	1	0 5 0	—	—	—	—	1	0 5 0
„ „ 10*s.*	37	18 10 0	65	32 10 0	28	14 0 0	—	—
„ „ 20*s.*	15	15 0 0	38	38 0 0	23	23 0 0	—	—
	Brls. lbs.		Brls. lbs.				Brls. lbs.	
Gunpowder, per barrel	1,024 99	307 11 7	181 73	54 10 5	—	—	843 26	253 1 2
„ cartridges, R.B.	1,850	4 12 6	6,304	15 15 3	4,454	11 2 9	—	—
Lumber	368,528 feet	147 8 4	905,875 feet	362 7 0	537,347 feet	214 18 8	—	—
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.		Cwt. qrs. lbs.		Cwt. qrs. lbs.			
Hardware of all kinds	152,210 0 5	2,283 11 3	17,896 1 19	2,683 18 9	2,675 1 14	400 7 6	—	—
	Tons cwt. qrs. lbs.		Tons cwt. qrs. lbs.				Tons. cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Salt	4,620 6 0 8	1,848 9 10	4,343 15 0 20	1,737 8 10	—	—	276 10 3 16	111 1 0
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.		Cwt. qrs. lbs.		Cwt. qrs. lbs.			
Sugar, unrefined	4,438 0 1	555 6 1	4,527 1 22	566 6 5	89 1 21	11 0 4	—	—
„ refined	2,889 0 3	1,082 18 9	4,053 1 10	1,520 1 2	1,164 1 7	437 2 5	—	—
Oil, kerosene	141,833·6 gallons	3,545 16 9	190,137·1 gallons	4,753 8 6	48,303·5 gallons	1,207 11 9	—	—
Cordials	1,434·4 „	215 4 8	1,835·6 „	275 6 10	401·2 „	60 2 2	—	—
Brandy	2,437·6 „	365 12 0	3,082·6 „	462 6 11	645·0 „	96 14 11	—	—
Geneva	43,703·6 „	6,556 3 0	53,645·7 „	8,046 16 11	9,942·1 „	1,490 13 11	—	—
Rum	85,812·3 „	12,872 18 2	110,200·1 „	16,529 19 7	24,387·8 „	3,657 1 5	—	—
Whiskey and other spirits	30,246·0 „	4,537 0 0	33,777·3 „	5,066 12 0	3,531·3 „	529 12 0	—	—
Tobacco, manufactured, and cigars, &c. ...	9,128·55 lbs.	912 17 11	11,713·63 lbs.	1,171 7 1	2,585·08 lbs.	258 9 2	—	—
„ unmanufactured	1,268,900·55 „	21,148 7 1	882,584·3 „	14,709 14 8	—	—	386,316·25 lbs.	6,438 12 5
Wine not claret	5,191·7 gallons	389 8 11	4,747·6 gallons	357 1 7	—	—	444·1 gallons	32 7 4
„ claret	12,373·8 „	618 14 5	12,523·5 „	626 3 8	149·7 gallons	7 9 3	—	—
Bread in barrels and half barrels	345,711 lbs.	88 6 9	598,379 lbs.	151 18 0	252,668 lbs.	63 11 3	—	—
Flour in barrels and half barrels	1,572,750 „	393 8 9	1,946,040 „	486 18 6	373,290 „	93 9 9	—	—
		58,489 9 7		60,359 11 10				
ARTICLES LIABLE TO AD VALOREM DUTY.								
Cotton goods	£140,801 8 9	14,080 14 6	£126,190 11 8	12,619 1 2	—	—	£14,610 17 1	1,461 13 4
Other goods	£103,048 6 1	10,305 4 9	£116,259 4 2	11,625 18 5	£13,210 18 1	1,320 13 8	—	—
		82,875 8 10		84,604 11 5				
PORT DUES.								
Light and harbour	—	3,367 5 0	—	3,473 11 0	—	106 6 0	—	—
Fees of customs, warehouse and treble rent	—	850 5 1	—	1,445 8 0	—	595 2 11	—	—
		£87,092 18 11		£89,523 10 5		£10,842 16 9		£8,412 5 3
						8,412 5 3		
					Nett increase ...	£2,430 11 6		

W. J. P. ELLIOTT,
Collector of Customs, 17/1/99.

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APPENDIX W. (1.)

RETURN showing Value of Total Imports, Quantity and Duty on Spirits, and Total Revenue for the undermentioned years.

Year.	Value of Total Imports.	Spirits.		Total Customs Receipts.	Percentage of Duty on Spirits to Total Customs Receipts.	Remarks.
		Quantity.	Duty.			
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
1891 ...	453,378 2 9	235,217 gallons	23,521 12 3	74,427 12 4	31	
1892 ...	413,117 5 0	243,702·4 „	24,370 7 8	73,969 9 8	32	
1893 ...	417,465 14 4	207,506·8 „	27,603 2 2	76,381 10 8	36	Duty on spirits raised from 2*s.* to 3*s.* per proof gallon on 1st March, 1893.
1894 ...	478,024 12 1	222,463·3 „	33,369 1 2	84,808 10 4	38	Duty on spirits under proof altered to 3*s.* per imperial gallon on 1st January, 1896. Salt raised from 3*s.* to 8*s.* per ton. Sugar, refined, reduced from 10*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. Sugar, unrefined, reduced from 5*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* Flour and bread, in barrels, liable to specific duty of 3*d.* per 50 lbs. Flour and bread, in packages other than barrels, *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. Potatoes and onions, formerly liable to *ad valorem* duty, now free, from 26th June, 1896. *Ad valorem* duty raised from 7½ per cent. to 10 per cent. on 1st August, 1896.
1895 ...	427,337 15 4	246,676·8 „	36,992 15 10	87,518 5 1	42	
1896 ...	463,761 13 10	138,743·1 „	20,812 14 7	79,327 11 2	26	
1897 ...	443,128 6 5	151,178·2 „	24,545 5 3	87,092 18 11	28	
1898 ...	606,983 0 0	202,924·7 „	30,348 13 6	89,523 10 5	33	

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APPENDIX W. (2).

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT showing the Quantity of SPIRITS entered for Home Consumption in the undermentioned periods, and the amount of Duty paid thereon.

	1895.		1896.		1897.		1898.		1899.	
	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.
	Galls.	£ s. d.	Galls.	£ s. d.	Galls.	£ s. d.	Galls.	£ s. d.	Galls.	£ s. d.
January	21,029·3	3,154 14 2	14,784·6	2,189 6 7	8,045	1,544 0 0	15,135·4	2,270 5 2	21,469·6	3,220 1 2
February	22,619	3,392 17 2	7,005·2	1,079 2 8	14,647·8	2,197 3 4	15,792·2	2,368 16 11	15,974·1	2,396 8 2
March	19,340·1	2,900 9 3	8,821·9	1,323 6 3	14,459·8	2,169 19 2	19,371·9	2,905 16 4	30,636·7	4,604 6 5
April	15,285·2	2,292 15 11	11,157·2	1,673 11 10	9,799·5	1,469 16 5	21,072·8	3,160 17 8	23,875·9	3,581 10 10
May	16,835·8	2,525 7 5	13,155·9	1,973 9 2	16,548·9	2,482 6 11	9,304	1,395 11 10		
June	17,645·6	2,646 17 8	9,852·8	1,477 17 11	19,777·3	2,966 12 3	11,306	1,695 17 9		
July	18,522·9	2,778 9 6	20,025·9	3,003 17 4	10,518·7	1,577 16 0	15,021·7	2,253 5 5		
August	14,657·3	2,198 11 10	7,401	1,110 19 0	13,477	2,021 14 2	13,884·6	2,082 14 4		
September	18,499	2,774 15 11	10,818·2	1,622 14 11	12,238·3	1,835 15 4	14,216·1	2,132 8 1		
October	15,159·1	2,273 18 0	11,345·7	1,701 17 3	12,623·8	1,893 12 4	23,551·1	3,532 13 6		
November	21,669·5	3,250 8 6	11,524·8	1,729 2 8	14,606·5	2,191 0 0	17,812	2,671 16 3		
December	45,414·1	6,803 10 6	12,849·9	1,927 9 0	14,636·8	2,195 10 2	25,856·9	3,878 10 3		
Totals	246,676·8	36,992 15 10	138,743·1	20,812 14 7	151,178·2	24,545 5 3	202,924·7	30,348 13 6		

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APPENDIX W. (3).

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT showing the Quantity of TOBACCO entered for Home Consumption in the undermentioned periods, and the amount of Duty paid thereon.

	1895.		1896.		1897.		1898.		1899.	
	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.	Quantity.	Duty.
	lbs.	£ s. d.	lbs.	£ s. d.	lbs.	£ s. d.	lbs.	£ s. d.	lbs.	£ s. d.
January	181,994	3,033 4 8	67,626·5	1,127 2 2	95,255·8	1,587 11 11	67,294·5	1,121 11 6	142,036·4	2,367 5 10
February	91,061	1,517 13 8	104,728	1,745 9 4	65,361	1,089 7 0	67,423	1,123 14 4	137,940·7	2,299 0 3
March	24,346·75	405 15 7	88,448	1,474 2 8	148,155·5	2,469 5 2	141,517·2	2,358 12 4	71,914·5	1,198 1 6
April	57,961	966 0 4	124,338	2,072 6 0	120,800·2	2,013 6 9	68,012·5	1,133 10 10	204,386·5	3,406 18 10
May...	82,420	1,373 13 4	62,707·8	1,045 2 8	51,343·5	855 14 6	26,729·1	445 9 8		
June	113,779	1,896 6 4	75,174·5	1,252 18 2	76,081	1,268 0 4	13,342	222 7 4		
July	81,784	1,363 1 4	87,687·7	1,461 9 1	163,635·5	2,927 5 2	85,197·5	1,419 19 2		
August	117,731	1,962 3 8	91,539·5	1,525 13 2	85,946·5	1,432 8 10	91,022·5	1,517 0 10		
September	42,351	705 17 0	78,475·4	1,452 15 1	67,672·55	1,127 17 6	110,541	1,842 7 0		
October	128,090·5	2,134 16 10	58,758	979 6 4	89,486	1,491 8 8	67,312	1,121 17 4		
November	33,940	565 13 4	148,621·5	2,477 0 6	185,478·75	3,091 6 3	84,742	1,412 7 7		
December	66,264·5	1,104 8 2	75,527·5	1,275 9 2	119,685	1,994 15 0	53,568·25	926 2 9		
Totals ...	1,021,722·75	17,028 14 3	1,064,632·4	17,743 17 5	1,268,901·80	21,148 7 1	878,701·55	14,645 0 8		

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APPENDIX W (4).

RETURN showing the quantity of SALT imported into the Colony of Sierra Leone, and the Duty collected thereon, during the undermentioned periods :—

	1897.								1898.								1899.					
	Quantity.				Duty.				Quantity.				Duty.				Quantity.				Duty.		
	Tons	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	£	s.	d.		Tons	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	£	s.	d.		Tons	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	£	s.	d.
January	724	15	2	0	289	18	4		403	4	3	27	161	6	0		872	19	3	18	349	3	11
February	129	9	2	9	51	15	10		810	15	0	10	324	5	11		713	17	3	20	285	11	1
March	748	11	3	13	299	15	6		435	13	2	25	174	4	4		263	0	3	19	105	5	7
April	251	15	1	17	100	14	1		690	0	1	9	276	0	2		506	17	3	4	202	15	1
May	893	11	3	5	357	8	9		139	10	2	0	55	15	9								
June	88	2	1	16	35	5	0		0	0	3	0	0	0	4								
July	312	1	1	7	124	16	8		4	13	1	13	1	17	5								
August	24	15	0	23	9	18	2		151	3	2	13	60	9	6								
September	173	17	0	0	69	10	11		217	0	2	10	86	16	3								
October	223	14	0	22	89	9	9		664	4	1	22	265	14	1								
November	760	3	1	6	304	1	3		352	12	3	5	141	1	2								
December	289	8	2	2	116	2	7		456	11	0	16	182	12	5								
Totals	4,620	5	4	8	1,848	1	10		4,324	11	1	10	2,730	13	4								

The quantity of Salt imported, and Duty collected thereon, during the years 1893–96, were as under. On the 25th January, 1896, the Duty was raised from 3*s.* to 8*s.* per ton.

	Quantity.				Duty.		
	Tons	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	£	s.	d.
1893	5,984	9	0	15	897	14	3
1894	6,018	18	2	12	904	14	0
1895	4,901	7	0	21	735	4	0
1896	5,684	6	1	26	1,198	15	10

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APPENDIX W (5).

RETURN showing the Quantity and Value of RUBBER exported during the Years 1895, 1896, 1897, and 1898, and the Four Months ending 30th April, 1899.

—	1895.		1896.		1897.		1898.		1899.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	£ s. d.
January	1,553 1 24	11,803 5 7	1,875 2 5	11,759 3 4	1,576 3 3	10,508 14 11	783 3 17	5,821 15 8	703 0 1	5,942 8 8
February ...	1,575 2 23	10,114 11 3	1,380 2 14	7,857 9 3	1,943 0 19	13,053 8 11	597 1 4	4,207 16 2	766 2 3	6,445 15 5
March	1,967 1 0	13,050 0 4	1,963 3 13	12,267 7 6	1,607 2 5	10,109 10 11	440 3 17	4,130 2 0	1,157 1 21	8,047 10 10
April	1,035 3 16	7,321 3 7	1,280 2 19	8,091 4 3	1,169 0 23	8,363 9 6	721 2 13	6,481 14 6	339 3 7	3,177 11 7
May	943 2 10	6,018 13 3	908 0 8	5,242 11 0	1,074 1 7	6,508 5 3	233 3 3	2,370 0 3		
June	644 3 11	4,086 10 8	617 2 12	3,599 3 7	868 1 24	5,823 0 10	589 3 16	5,689 3 5		
July	414 3 7	3,066 5 1	1,005 2 0	5,623 0 11	441 1 1	3,203 4 5	154 3 14	1,292 6 0		
August	617 3 23	4,533 11 1	464 1 2	2,468 16 8	545 2 14	4,072 5 6	422 2 21	4,507 1 4		
September ...	695 1 17	4,655 7 0	742 2 23	4,266 8 5	685 1 22	4,338 2 9	248 2 19	2,679 4 1		
October	1,104 3 8	7,233 16 0	731 3 6	4,330 17 6	805 3 21	5,175 16 4	249 2 27	2,937 18 1		
November ...	1,243 1 18	9,477 16 0	1,035 3 25	6,041 19 9	447 3 1	3,840 1 0	472 1 16	4,715 9 4		
December ...	968 0 3	5,578 16 9	1,310 0 21	7,647 17 5	543 0 11	4,788 17 1	496 1 0	5,768 2 3		
Totals ...	12,765 0 20	86,939 16 7	13,316 3 8	79,195 19 7	11,708 2 1	79,724 17 5	5,411 3 27	50,600 13 1		

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APPENDIX X. (1.)

COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE.—Comparative Statement showing the Total Receipts and Expenditure in the Years 1897 and 1898.

RECEIPTS.	Amount Estimated, 1898.	Amount Received in 1898.	Amount Received in 1897.	Increase.	Decrease.
HEADS OF SERVICE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Customs	86,033 0 0	84,592 14 6	82,887 5 9	1,705 8 9	—
Port, Harbour and Lighthouse dues.	3,650 0 0	3,473 11 0	3,367 5 0	106 6 0	—
Licenses, Excise and Internal Revenue not otherwise classified.	5,382 0 0	5,263 3 9	4,728 4 1	534 19 8	—
Fees of Court or Office, Payments for Specific Services and Reimbursements in Aid.	2,262 0 0	2,106 2 5	2,249 16 3	—	143 13 10
Post Office and Telegraphs ...	5,142 0 0	4,916 11 4	4,884 3 5	32 7 11	—
Rents of Government Property	131 0 0	237 17 6	199 18 8	37 18 10	—
Interest	3,200 0 0	2,071 17 10	2,763 2 2	—	691 4 4
Miscellaneous Receipts ...	400 0 0	6,971 11 3	2,809 6 2	4,162 5 1	—
Land Sales	50 0 0	294 10 0	—	294 10 0	—
Colonial Steamer	—	—	—	—	—
Protectorate	10,150 0 0	7,753 18 8	2,119 15 6	5,634 3 2	—
TOTAL ...	116,400 0 0	117,681 18 3	106,008 17 0	12,507 19 5	834 18 2

PAYMENTS.	Amount Estimated, 1898, including Votes.	Amount Paid, 1898.	Amount Paid, 1897.	Increase.	Decrease.
HEADS OF SERVICE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Charge on account of Public Debt.	6,000 0 0	6,138 16 10	3,968 5 3	2,170 11 7	—
Pensions	3,499 0 0	3,563 17 1	3,314 14 6	249 2 7	—
Governor and Legislature ...	3,517 0 0	3,400 9 8	3,688 5 8	—	287 16 0
Colonial Secretary's Department.	2,518 0 0	2,520 4 4	2,464 2 6	56 1 10	—
Provincial Administration ...	1,816 0 0	1,561 17 10	1,810 15 10	—	248 18 0
Native Affairs...	770 0 0	731 9 8	2,561 1 7	—	1,929 11 11
Treasury	1,882 0 0	1,668 0 1	1,799 17 1	—	131 17 0
Customs Department... ...	9,082 0 0	9,690 15 0	8,706 8 10	984 6 2	—
Audit Department	1,159 0 0	1,138 13 3	820 0 3	318 13 0	—
Port and Marine Department	833 0 0	762 7 5	849 13 1	—	87 5 8
Legal Department	5,246 0 0	5,619 6 3	4,157 16 4	1,461 9 11	—
Police, Frontier	21,321 0 0	20,634 3 7	21,229 14 5	—	595 10 10
Do. Civil	8,429 0 0	9,033 16 10	8,603 9 3	430 7 7	—
Prisons...	3,974 0 0	4,886 18 1	3,643 6 1	1,243 12 0	—
Medical Departments ...	3,541 0 0	3,385 7 10	3,558 4 10	—	172 17 0
Hospitals and Dispensaries ...	4,465 0 0	4,582 6 6	3,499 10 5	1,082 16 1	—
Sanitary Department ...	30 0 0	9 4 7	20 0 3	—	10 15 8
Ecclesiastical	—	—	133 10 0	—	133 10 0
Education	2,609 0 0	2,254 17 0	2,259 12 3	—	4 15 3
Transport	1,517 12 1	1,744 15 4	2,548 17 6	—	804 2 2
Miscellaneous Services ...	5,186 1 1	7,025 10 1	5,634 12 6	1,390 17 7	—
Post Office	4,645 0 0	4,175 15 10	4,327 17 2	—	152 1 4
Public Works Department ...	1,874 0 0	1,854 18 0	1,691 1 0	163 17 0	—
Do. Extraordinary	3,355 12 4	2,479 11 8	1,848 10 6	631 1 2	—
Do. Recurrent ...	4,665 0 0	4,818 0 6	7,085 3 7	—	2,267 3 1
Colonial Steamer	3,279 0 0	3,280 14 0	3,027 11 0	253 3 0	—
Botanical and Agricultural Department.	769 0 0	713 1 9	736 12 4	—	23 10 7
Freetown Municipality ...	2,098 0 0	2,098 0 0	1,800 0 0	298 0 0	—
Sierra Leone Railway ...	—	—	—	—	—
Protectorate	9,959 0 0	10,454 12 7	5,789 4 2	4,665 8 5	—
Do. Military Expeditions.	—	884 16 7	—	884 16 7	—
TOTAL ...	118,039 5 6	121,112 8 2	111,677 18 2	16,284 4 6	6,849 14 6

E. O. JOHNSON,
Acting Colonial Treasurer.
20th February, 1899

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APPENDIX X (2).

COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE.—Comparative Statement showing the Total Receipts and Expenditure for the period to 28th February, 1899.

RECEIPTS.	Amount Estimated for 1899.	Amount Received to 28th February, 1898.	Total Receipts to 28th February, 1899.	Increase.	Decrease.
HEADS OF SERVICE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance on 1st January ...	—	1,389 9 9	9,170 2 2	—	—
Customs...	87,200 0 0	13,141 1 1	18,801 17 4	5,660 16 3	—
Port, Harbour and Lighthouse dues.	3,400 0 0	624 4 0	501 4 9	—	122 19 3
Licenses, Excise and Internal Revenue not otherwise classified.	5,315 0 0	2,156 2 5	2,289 2 7	133 0 2	—
Fees of Court or Office, Payments for Specific Services and Reimbursements in Aid.	2,430 0 0	350 18 9	632 14 5	281 15 8	—
Post Office and Telegraphs ...	3,910 0 0	847 0 8	273 1 7	—	573 19 1
Rents of Government Property	179 0 0	35 1 6	74 18 6	39 17 0	—
Interest	1,870 0 0	875 8 6	416 17 3	—	458 11 3
Miscellaneous Receipts ...	1,010 0 0	624 17 3	595 4 9	—	29 12 6
Land Sales	100 0 0	—	14 0 0	14 0 0	—
Colonial Steamer	—	—	—	—	—
Protectorate	26,650 0 0	957 11 5	2,563 5 6	1,605 14 1	—
		19,612 5 7	26,162 6 8	7,735 3 2	1,185 2 1
TOTAL ...	132,064 0 0	21,001 15 4	35,332 8 10	—	—

PAYMENTS.	Amount Estimated for 1899.	Amount Paid to 28th February, 1898.	Total Payments to 28th February, 1899.	Increase.	Decrease.
HEADS OF SERVICE.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Charge on account of Public Debt.	10,500 0 0	1,405 15 0	2,767 1 8	1,361 6 8	—
Pensions	4,100 0 0	442 15 11	555 14 0	112 18 1	—
Governor and Legislature ...	3,870 0 0	564 9 4	425 17 0	—	138 12 4
Colonial Secretary's Department.	2,620 0 0	377 19 8	401 16 10	23 17 2	—
Provincial Administration ...	1,482 0 0	291 7 9	206 13 7	—	84 14 2
Native Affairs...	714 0 0	150 14 2	126 14 11	—	23 19 3
Treasury	1,909 0 0	286 17 9	226 12 5	—	60 5 4
Customs Department... ...	9,375 0 0	1,328 16 4	1,882 15 11	553 19 7	—
Audit Department	1,183 0 0	140 18 9	132 7 7	—	8 11 2
Port and Marine Department	827 0 0	73 17 5	54 11 1	—	19 6 4
Legal Department	5,385 0 0	945 4 7	1,012 7 1	67 2 6	—
Police, Frontier	23,821 0 0	2,635 14 6	4,498 7 11	1,862 13 5	—
Do. Civil	8,927 0 0	1,243 10 7	1,268 10 5	24 19 10	—
Prisons...	4,225 0 0	475 1 7	422 10 3	—	52 11 4
Medical Departments ...	3,617 0 0	618 15 7	548 19 0	—	69 16 7
Hospitals and Dispensaries ...	4,515 0 0	1,170 13 3	1,018 13 0	—	152 0 3
Sanitary Department ...	—	1 10 0	—	—	1 10 0
Ecclesiastical	—	—	—	—	—
Education	2,584 0 0	136 11 4	167 12 11	31 1 7	—
Transport	1,235 0 0	451 15 8	115 9 11	—	336 5 9
Miscellaneous Services ...	6,216 0 0	1,798 2 5	534 7 1	—	1,263 15 4
Post Office	4,743 0 0	925 7 7	692 4 4	—	233 3 3
Colonial Surveyor's Department.	1,778 0 0	323 6 1	293 5 7	—	30 0 6
Public Works Extraordinary	6,011 0 0	11 0	195 15 6	195 4 6	—
Do. Recurrent ...	4,645 0 0	271 9 5	133 10 3	—	137 19 2
Colonial Steamer	3,299 0 0	1,016 2 7	1,067 10 0	51 7 5	—
Botanical and Agricultural Department.	745 0 0	48 16 6	125 7 10	76 11 4	—
Freetown Municipality ...	—	—	—	—	—
Sierra Leone Railway ...	—	—	240 0 0	240 0 0	—
Protectorate	13,272 0 0	1,344 9 3	1,825 4 1	480 14 10	—
Do. Military Expeditions.	—	—	10 2 0	10 2 0	—
Telegraphs	—	—	18 5 0	18 5 0	—
TOTAL ...	131,598 0 0	18,470 14 0	20,968 7 2	5,110 3 11	2,612 10 9

A. G. LLOYD,
Acting Colonial Treasurer,
5th May, 1899.

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APPENDIX Z.

NOTES OF A STATEMENT by MR. J. T. NICOL, a Merchant of Magbelli.—Has resided there over 11 years.

Mr. W. Lawson sent to Alimami Seco, Chief of Rokelle, to say that they should leave off quarrelling amongst themselves and come to Freetown to talk about the tax and their country, so that they might get their country back. He also sent to Pa Suba for the Masompa Chief a similar message. These messages were sent in a letter. Did not see the letter, but the messenger who took it told him its purport. The messenger told him that the message was to the effect that the Chiefs should come down to Freetown, talk together of the whole of the Protectorate affairs, especially the slave trade, and then unite together to overthrow the Government because the Government had abolished slave trade and now it had imposed the house tax. The Chiefs on their return from Freetown met at Forodugu ; they remained there a week, and agreed together to fight rather than pay. Does not know anything about Mr. Ring and his attitude with respect to the tax. Ring lives at Rokon. The Sierra Leone traders at Port Lokko used to tell the natives that the people in Freetown did not pay taxes, and that they in the bush should not pay either. The Sierra Leone traders used to introduce the natives to the lawyers in Freetown. The traders at Port Lokko used to advise natives to get lawyer Hebron to write a letter home to the Secretary of State about the tax. Hebron was recommended because Johnson, who was the head man or Chief of the Sierra Leone traders at Port Lokko and their general adviser, was his uncle. Captain Sharpe was very kind in his treatment of the traders at Magbele. The Mahomedans believe that the Mahdi the Prophet was coming and did not want to see any black creatures. Pa Suba and others are beginning to trade without a licence. What hurts the natives most is not the house tax but the abolition of slave trade. They say the French do not prohibit dealing and selling in slaves and why should the English do, especially this Governor, meaning Sir F. Cardew. Bai Bureh used to be of great assistance in passing slaves from Magbele through his country to Mellakuri for the purchase of cattle. It was the general opinion among the natives that Bai Bureh was getting the best of the war, also the opinion is that the Governor is going to be superseded and that someone else is coming out in his place ; also, from not seeing Captain Sharpe, whom they feared, they are under the idea they have prevailed. Kwaia should not select Fula Mansa as a Paramount Chief. The Kwaia people look down on the Yonnies now ; used to see lots of powder going up from Magbele for Suluku of Bumban, and plenty of powder sold at Waterloo by Crowther and others. (Soldiers, on the representation of Pa Suba, were sent to Rokella instead of at Magbele.)

Freetown,
11th July 1898

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No. III.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to the OFFICER ADMINISTERING THE GOVERNMENT, SIERRA LEONE.

SIR, Downing Street, July 7, 1899.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you, for your information and for record in the Colony, copies of the Report* of the Commissioner appointed by Her Majesty to enquire into the recent Insurrection and generally into the state of affairs in the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone, together with copies of a letter† from Governor Sir F. Cardew enclosing his observations on the Report.

I. PRELIMINARY.

2. I desire to express my appreciation of the care with which Sir D. Chalmers inquired into the subject. The task which he undertook was a peculiarly difficult one. So great a diversity of opinion existed at the time when he was appointed that it appeared necessary to send out an Officer, not committed to any view of the matter, to take evidence from all parties and make independent recommendations. Sir D. Chalmers examined some 272 witnesses, and must have been fully occupied in this work during the whole period of his stay in the Colony. The subject matter leaves much room for differences of opinion, and, if I have not been able altogether to accept his conclusions, I gratefully acknowledge the services he has rendered.

II. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL.

3. In the historical and geographical description of the Colony and its "hinterland," which is given by Sir D. Chalmers in section 2 of his Report, he has pointed out that the Colony proper comprises only a comparatively small area on the Coast, and that its trade and revenue depend almost entirely on the "hinterland"; but he has not fully explained the state of the "hinterland" before the proclamation of a protectorate in 1896, and I think that it will be convenient to add a short review of the circumstances which led to that step being taken and of the conditions which had to be studied in drawing up a scheme of administration.

4. For many years back, as shown in the volumes of "Correspondence respecting disturbances in the native territories adjacent to Sierra Leone," which were presented to Parliament between 1883 and 1889, there had been frequent and widespread disturbances in these territories. Thus in 1885 it was represented in a memorial submitted to the Governor by a considerable number of merchants and inhabitants of Freetown that, while the Colony was entirely dependent for its trade upon the resources of the surrounding countries, those countries were then devastated by wars extending along the whole length of the coast from the Rio Nunez on the north to the Manoh River on the south. The memorialists stated that they regarded the policy of non-interference adopted by the Government as highly impolitic and increasing the dangers of the situation. They urged that authority should be given to the Colonial Government to establish and maintain peace by force of arms if necessary, and that immediate measures should be adopted to stop the slave trade, which (they said) was carried on under the eyes of the British authorities, and was the real secret and explanation of all the predatory wars, depopulation, scarcity of produce, and general depression. They pointed out that by the General Act of the Conference which had just been held at Berlin, the signatory Powers had recognised the obligation to ensure the establishment of authority in the regions occupied by them on the Coast of Africa sufficient to protect existing rights and freedom of trade and transit; and that they had bound themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, to take care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well being, and to help in suppressing slavery and especially the slave trade. And they asked that the roads leading to and from the interior should be protected by the appointment of Government Agents, who should be supported either by small detachments of the troops stationed in Sierra Leone or by a large addition to the armed

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* No. I. † No. II.

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police force of the Colony. In the same year (1885) the Yonnies attacked and plundered Songotown, which is within a short distance of Freetown, and the forbearance with which they were treated on that occasion only had the effect of emboldening them to undertake further depredations. In 1887 they made another raid and attacked Sennehoo, burning villages, killing men, and taking women and children into slavery. This compelled the Government to take action, and in 1887 the Yonnies were defeated by an expedition under the command of Colonel Sir Francis de Winton.

III. The Frontier Police.

5. Upon the conclusion of the Yonnie expedition, as stated by Sir D. Chalmers in section 3 of his report, Sir F. de Winton recommended the establishment of the Frontier Police, and the occupation of certain advanced posts beyond the border line of the colony, as the only means of securing peace and tranquility along the frontier. The then Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, concurred in this recommendation, and after his death it was carried into effect by his successor, Sir James Hay, in 1889.

6. There need, as Sir D. Chalmers observes (paragraph 19 of his report), "be no doubt that the Frontier Police, with the system of outposts and patrols, has done some good service. The districts in the Sulymah and Yonnie countries, and in other parts which had been the scene of much desolating strife, became tranquil, partly as the result of the frontier scheme, but partly also from the firm measures which recently before its institution had been taken for the punishment and repression of aggressive raids. The police exercised some check also on the carriage of slaves into the interior, and to that extent cut away a powerful incentive to these raids." Sir F. Cardew has dealt very fully in his observations with the remarks which Sir D. Chalmers felt it his duty to make with regard to the conduct of the Police, and I need only add that, while it is admitted that some instances of serious misconduct on the part of the native members of the force occurred, especially in the years previous to 1894, I am glad to notice that Sir D. Chalmers expressly states that he does not wish (paragraph 25 of his report) to convey the impression that the whole of the Frontier Police misbehaved, and I cordially endorse the terms in which Sir F. Cardew refers to the courage and devotion with which the whole force, both officers and men, discharged their duties during the recent insurrection.

7. But, although (as Sir D. Chalmers observes) certain districts became tranquil after the Yonnie expedition and the establishment of the Frontier Police, there were others in which disturbances continued when Sir F. Cardew made his first tour in the interior in 1894. There was war in the Tehwa district of Liberia, which unsettled the natives on the British side of the boundary, and necessitated the employment of a number of Police to watch the passage of the Manna river, and prevent the prisoners taken in the war from being run across for sale as slaves. Chief Kailundu, of Kanre Lahun, was in a chronic state of war with a sub-chief named Kafara, and with the Sofas from Bandema, making another area through which it was impossible for trade to come down. The armed attitude of Chief Nyagwa, at Bandajumah, was not favourable to the development of trade in that district. Another area of disturbance was found in the districts of Sanda and Lokko and the adjacent territory, where the war had been going on for over three years, and not only were the districts themselves closed to trade, but the people in the adjoining territories had lost confidence, and were afraid to go out from the towns to cultivate their farms; and in Samu there had been raids by French natives into the British sphere of influence, by which the people had been obliged to abandon their cultivation at the time when it was necessary to plant their fields or lose the ensuing harvest.

8. The source and origin of all these native wars was, in Sir F. Cardew's opinion, the slave traffic. If that could be prevented, peace would be assured: the people would return to cultivate the land, which he then saw lying waste and desolate; trade would revive, and an unprecedented increase in its volume would result. As to the process by which the slave traffic could be stopped, Sir F. Cardew expressed his belief that this could be effected without any rupture of friendly relations with the chiefs, provided that there were a sufficient force at hand to insist upon the orders of the Government being carried out, which would require a substantial augmentation of the Frontier Police, with an additional outlay of £7,000 a year. He also expressed the opinion that, to maintain peace in the interior, it was essential that a Protectorate should

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be declared, and that, as soon as the slave traffic had been suppressed, the country should gradually be brought under a settled system of administration. The leading principle in any such scheme should, he said, be the administration of the country, as far as possible, by native law and through the chiefs.

9. With regard to this report, my predecessor (Lord Ripon) observed, in a despatch to Sir F. Cardew, that the account given of the country shewed clearly how impossible it was that any development or improvement should take place until peace and order were restored and maintained. He agreed with Sir F. Cardew in thinking that the slave traffic was the root and cause of all the disturbances, and said that, this being so, the Government were bound, not only by the interests of the Colony but by the obligations incurred under the General Act of the Conference held at Brussels in 1889–90, to take whatever steps might be practicable to put a stop to it. He, therefore, approved of a scheme submitted by Sir F. Cardew for the increase and better organisation of the Frontier Police ; but, while saying that he was disposed to think that the system of administration through the Chiefs assisted by District Commissioners was a sound and reasonable one, he pointed out that it could not, of course, be carried out until the boundary between the British and French spheres had been delimited, and that, when that had been done, he would consider what steps should be taken in the matter.

10. By this increase in the strength of the Frontier Police, the annual cost of the force was raised to £19,000, and, when Sir F. Cardew came to this country in 1895 on leave of absence, he represented that the finances of the Colony could not bear the strain of so large an expenditure, except at the sacrifice of many useful works and reforms in other directions which were urgently required. To relieve the strain on the Colony and at the same time obtain funds to carry on the work which had to be done in the interior, he suggested that a Protectorate should be proclaimed, and that the funds required should be raised by means of direct taxation imposed on the inhabitants of the protected territories. He accordingly proposed a House Tax and Trading License, but suggested that such taxation should be imposed gradually, that is to say, in the first instance only in the districts nearer Freetown which have been longest under British influence, and afterwards in those further off as they became more settled. The rate which he proposed was 10*s*. a year for a single-roomed house, 15*s*. for a two-roomed house, and 20*s*. for larger houses.

11. In the meantime a step had been taken which materially affected the responsibilities of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the interior. This was the conclusion, on the 21st of January, 1895, of an agreement with the French Government fixing the boundary between the British and French territories to the north and east of Sierra Leone, which was followed in the next year by the actual delimitation of the boundary on the ground. It is no doubt the case, as observed by Sir D. Chalmers, that the agreement made no alteration in the "existing relations between England and the native Chiefs, who were not parties to the agreement in any sense" ; but the exercise of Her Majesty's jurisdiction in the interior has been brought about to a large extent by circumstances arising out of the necessity which falls upon a civilized Power claiming influence in such localities to put down gross disorders and inhuman practices in the places within its sphere, and the agreement with France made that sphere a definite and recognised one. It thus became more than ever incumbent on Her Majesty's Government to repress native wars in these regions, as they were not only responsible, under the engagements entered into at Berlin and Brussels, for keeping peace and order and promoting trade and industry in the countries under their control, but they were also under an obligation to the French Government to prevent raids across the frontier into French territory.

12. These duties were accentuated by the fact that, as already mentioned, there was good reason to believe that these native wars arose to a large extent from the slave traffic, and were accompanied in some cases by human sacrifices and cannibalism. I observe that Sir D. Chalmers makes no mention of or allusion to the slavery question in his historical account, so that its practical importance in moulding the policy of Her Majesty's Government is not sufficiently taken into account in his narrative of events. Under section 8 of his report he states that "repressive measures have been assiduously and successfully followed by successive Governors, so that when the Protectorate Ordinance came into operation slave dealing had practically ceased." I have no doubt that at that date slave raiding and dealing had greatly diminished, for the Frontier Police had then been established for some six years and had done much to stop the wars upon which the slavery system was dependent ; but, even if the statement above quoted is

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correctly founded, the existence in former times, and up to a very recent date, of slave raiding, and the necessity of taking measures to repress it, must not be ignored.

13. After his further tour through the Protectorate in 1896, Sir F. Cardew proposed a scheme of administration providing for five District Commissioners, each to take charge of a district, for five District Surgeons, and for the construction of roads and other requirements; the estimate of expenses for the year 1897 being £9,244. To meet this expenditure he proposed a house tax of 10s. a year for each house with four or more rooms, and 5s. for a smaller house; and he estimated that in the first year or two this would yield about £12,500, but that as the Protectorate got opened up, the revenue would increase and would soon reach £20,000, and in future years would be between £20,000 and £40,000. In reply to this despatch I observed that, when agreeing in substance to his proposals in the previous year, I had had in mind the condition that the proposed taxation should be imposed gradually, and that I could not satisfy myself that it would be prudent to bring the proposals into force in all five districts, viz., the whole of the Protectorate, simultaneously; that for various reasons it was impossible to say with any approach to certainty what proportion of the tax would be recovered; and that there was danger in attempting to collect a tax unless the natives understood and acquiesced in the reason for demanding it, for, unless they did so, they would be strongly tempted to evade or resist its payment. I accordingly pointed out the necessity of commencing the new system in a tentative manner and on a comparatively small scale, and stated that a beginning might be made by instituting courts and taxation in Karene and Ronietta, and possibly in Bandajuma, or in so much of those districts as Sir F. Cardew considered could be managed; and I added that the important points were that the natives should be familiarised gradually with the new duty of paying taxes, and that the first operations should not be so extensive as to make it impossible to guard against oppression or evasion.

14. In reply to my despatch on these points, Sir F. Cardew suggested, as a modification of his scheme, that it should be put into full operation at first, in compliance with my request, only in the Karene, Ronietta, and Bandajuma districts; and he estimated that the expenditure for those reduced proposals would amount to £7,106, showing a saving of £2,209. He contended that the tax was a just one, for the inhabitants of a country are bound to contribute towards the maintenance of their Government, and it was within the ability of the people to pay it; and, if the Government remained firm in its intention to enforce the payment, he anticipated no risk of failure, for it had the means at hand in the Frontier Police to compel them to do so, and in making use of this force he did not anticipate that there would be any oppression, as the force was now under thorough discipline. He added that he thought the crime of ill-treating the natives, which at one time was very prevalent amongst the force, had within the last two years been effectually stamped out; that thirteen men had been dismissed in 1895 for such offences, but that in the year then expiring (1896) there had been only one conviction of the kind. In a further despatch Sir F. Cardew justified the judicial powers proposed to be given to the District Commissioners in the Protectorate on the ground that the people were quite illiterate, and very degraded by ignorance and gross superstition, the mass being slaves and accustomed to the most despotic sway on the part of their chiefs, who, till then, had had the power to sell, pawn, flog, deprive of their property, and mutilate and kill at pleasure.

15. In view of these representations I approved of the scheme being put into operation in the three districts specified, subject to a condition as to the exemption from the tax of houses the owners of which were too poor to pay it, and of the collection of the tax being postponed in the Pangoma and Koinadugu districts for two years at least, at the end of which time the question could again be considered in the light of the experience which would then have been gained.

16. Subsequently Sir F. Cardew recommended that the Frontier Police should be increased by fifty men in view of the intended collection of the tax at the commencement of the following year. In doing so, he stated that he did not anticipate that there would be any active opposition to the collection of the house tax, but that, unless there was a good show of force in the shape of police, the natives might passively resist the authorities collecting the tax, and do all in their power to evade it. I accordingly approved of the proposal.

17. In the meantime Sir F. Cardew's proposals had been embodied in the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896, but on receipt of this Ordinance I found myself unable to agree to some of its provisions, particularly those which related to lands and which

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appeared to assume (what was not the case) that the soil of the Protectorate was vested in the Crown. I accordingly directed the repeal of this Ordinance and the enactment of another Ordinance to take its place. The Protectorate Ordinance, 1897, was then passed. To sum up its provisions shortly, it provided for the establishment of three kinds of courts of law in the Protectorate, and discriminated between (1) the jurisdiction which should be left to the native Chiefs, (2) that which should be allotted to the native Chiefs and the District Commissioners jointly, and (3) that which should be given to the District Commissioners solely ; the general principle being to leave to the Chiefs all civil cases arising exclusively between natives other than cases involving a question of title to land, and all criminal cases arising exclusively between natives other than those of a very serious nature, which were assigned to the joint court ; while the court of the District Commissioner was to take cases, generally speaking, in which persons not natives were concerned, and matters of slave dealing and the like. It enacted that slave dealing is unlawful, and that slaves in the Protectorate might purchase their freedom for a fixed sum. It imposed from the beginning of 1898 on every Chief a house tax of 10*s.* a year for each house with four or more rooms, and of 5*s.* for every house with three or less rooms, with a rebate of 5 per cent. when the full amount was paid by the Chief.

IV. and V. Proclamation of Protectorate and Reception of Protectorate Ordinance.

18. In section 4 of his report Sir D. Chalmers has given an account, in which Sir F. Cardew concurs, of the circumstances attending the proclamation of the Protectorate, and, in section 5, he has described the manner in which the Protectorate Ordinance was received. While admitting (paragraph 33) that the proclamation of a protectorate may have been (as I hold that it was) a political necessity, and that the doctrine that the existence of a protectorate carries with it whatever of the attributes of sovereignty are required for the due discharge of the duties of a protector may be found sufficient to validate the Ordinance in its entirety, he expresses a doubt whether the measures taken for familiarising the minds of the Chiefs with the general scope of the intended changes and for obtaining their assent to them were as deliberate and effective as they should have been. He states, however (paragraph 35), that the District Commissioners "were directed to give as wide publicity as possible to the Ordinance, explaining its details as far as practicable to the native Chiefs, and these instructions appear to have been well carried out" ; and it appears to me, having regard not only to these instructions but also to the explanations given by Sir F. Cardew to the Chiefs personally during his journeys through the interior, that great pains were taken by him to make all those concerned understand the meaning and objects of the policy which Her Majesty's Government had authorised him to carry into effect.

VI. Enforcement of the Hut Tax.

19. In reviewing the proceedings taken to collect the tax, Sir D. Chalmers speaks (paragraph 58) of the "oppressive severity" with which the District Commissioners carried out their instructions, and observes that "the District Commissioners charged with the duty, and the Governor of the Colony, all came to the conclusion that the exercise of *force*, peremptory, rapid, and inflexible, was the element to be relied on in making the scheme of taxation a success" ; and, with reference to the arresting of certain Chiefs for non-payment of the tax, he states (paragraph 71) that "the arrests and imprisonments were not legal under the law of the Protectorate Ordinance or any other law under which the District Commissioner was authorised to act."

20. As to the arrests, Sir F. Cardew has pointed out that the acting Attorney-General advised that they were legal, and that Sir D. Chalmers, while quoting certain sections of the Ordinance, has omitted to quote those on which the acting Attorney-General relied.

21. The question of undue severity seems to me to depend largely on the conduct and attitude of the natives. There is nothing to show that the Government expected to have to use force at first, and Sir F. Cardew had more than once stated that he did not anticipate resistance. The arrests were only made after refusals to pay, ineffective distraints, and what appeared to be conspiracies to resist collection. Sir D. Chalmers himself states that the natives had fully made up their minds to resist the tax, and refers to several "warnings of danger"; and, as Sir F. Cardew points out in paragraph 117 of his observations, it was only after there had been armed gatherings and disturbances all over the

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country, during which the District Commissioners exhibited great patience, forbearance and nerve, that coercive measures were adopted. In view of these circumstances, I do not think that the District Commissioners can properly be blamed for the measures which they took to enforce the payment of the tax.

22. I need not refer in detail to the account given by Sir D. Chalmers (paragraphs 62 to 118) of the proceedings in the several districts of the Protectorate, or discuss each one of the grave charges which he has made against the District Commissioners and other European officers. Sir F. Cardew has dealt very fully with these charges, and I shall confine my remarks to those which seem to require special notice.

23. Sir D. Chalmers argues (paragraphs 96-101 of the report) that the expeditions in Kwaia were unnecessarily aggressive, and helped both to bring about the Mendi rising and to prolong the fighting in the Karene district. This contention is largely based on the supposed absence of casualties in the force employed. But I agree with Sir F. Cardew, that in African warfare small losses do not necessarily indicate that the operations are of a trivial character; and, having regard to the wide-spread character of the outbreak, I see no reason to doubt that these expeditions were necessary, nor can I find any evidence to indicate that they had any influence in exciting disorders elsewhere.

24. A very grave charge is suggested against Captain Moore, in paragraph 107 of the report. The Royal Commissioner refers to a statement by a native witness that this officer killed a youth carrying a cutlass, although he adds that he does not lay stress on it; but when he examined Captain Moore, which was done after the native evidence referred to had been given, he put no question to him on the subject, and did not even mention that evidence to him of which Captain Moore himself at that time had no knowledge. I regret that Sir D. Chalmers omitted to give this officer the opportunity which he has since had of denying the charge, and thereby satisfactorily exculpating himself from a most serious imputation. It will be seen, on reference to Sir F. Cardew's observations (paragraph 48), that Captain Moore indignantly repudiates the charges, and states that the evidence was absolutely untrue in every particular.

25. Again, there is a reference in the report (paragraph 88) to evidence that Captain Sharpe wounded a native by striking him on the head with a stick. Sir D. Chalmers adds that Captain Sharpe did not deny this, although not admitting it in terms. Captain Sharpe, I observe, gave evidence that the man was very roughly handled, but that he was not wounded in any way. The evidence referred to by Sir D. Chalmers was given subsequently, and Captain Sharpe was given no opportunity of denying it.

26. In paragraph 71, Sir D. Chalmers states that he had collected information as to the arrests in the Bandajuma district from other witnesses, "Captain Carr having forgotten, or not deemed it requisite, in giving his evidence to communicate the information, or indeed to make it known to me, that there had been any difficulty in the tax collection in his district." It is not alleged that Captain Carr answered any question incorrectly, and I observe that he was not asked about the arrests, either specifically or under a general question, for the Royal Commissioner passed directly (questions 307 and 308) from the amount collected before the rising to the rising; but to other witnesses the matter of the arrests was put specifically (*e.g.*, question 2,978).

27. It appears to me that, in an enquiry such as this, much depends on the character of the questions put to the witnesses by the Royal Commissioner, and that Sir D. Chalmers laboured under a great disadvantage in not having the assistance which would have been afforded him if the officers into whose conduct he was enquiring had been represented by counsel. I do not doubt that he used every effort to elicit all the available information on the points which he considered material; but, in view of the additional facts and explanations which are now before me, I am satisfied that the grave charges which he felt it his duty to make, both against the officials whose cases I have specially noticed, and against the others whose cases are dealt with by Sir F. Cardew, cannot be sustained.

VII. Operation of Secret Societies; and VIII. Slavery.

28. I have no remarks to make upon section 7 of Sir D. Chalmers's Report, relating to the operation of secret societies; and it will be more convenient to deal in subsequent paragraphs with section 8 of his Report, in which he discusses the attitude of the chiefs concerning the buying and selling of slaves and domestic slavery.

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IX. Divergent opinions as to the Rising.

29. The conclusion at which Sir D. Chalmers arrived as to the causes of the insurrection is stated in section 9 (paragraph 136) of the Report as follows :—

"I have not found it established that either the subject of slavery, even including its more pressing aspect as touching domestic slaves, or the diversion and diminution of the Chiefs' jurisdiction, apart from circumstances of contumely and degradation, much less the diminution of the powers of fetish or any other superstition, or the teaching of missionaries, were of that obtrusive and burning character as would have sufficed to bring about a rebellion, but that the rebellion is properly to be ascribed to the Hut Tax, with its implied meaning, joined with the severities used in enforcing it ; the other causes mentioned being at the utmost incidental and subsidiary."

30. I am unable to agree with Sir D. Chalmers as to the share which the house tax and the measures taken to collect it had in causing the disturbances. The tax was clearly the immediate or exciting cause ; but there were other factors at work which were much more than "incidental and subsidiary," and, as I have already pointed out, coercive measures were not adopted until there had been a general refusal to pay. It seems clear that the serious political and social changes which were gradually and steadily being brought about by the extension of civilized influences into the interior, and especially those affecting slavery, by which the wealth and power of the chiefs were being diminished, had induced a wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction and resentment, and so prepared the way for a general outbreak whenever there arose a reasonable pretext and common cause, such as was afforded by the imposition of the tax. I do not base this opinion solely on the authority of Sir F. Cardew, or on the evidence of the District Commissioners, although I entirely endorse the remarks which Sir F. Cardew has made (paragraph 74) as to their character and intelligence, and the value of their evidence. It is also the opinion of Mr. J. C. E. Parkes, the Native Secretary for Native Affairs, of whom Sir D. Chalmers speaks as "an able, cautious, and conscientious officer ;" and in the petition of Timini Chiefs, dated the 28th of June, 1897 (Appendix XVII to the Report) a great point is made of the ruin which was being brought upon them by the facilities which their slaves had for escaping. I am also particularly impressed with the fact that the missionaries, who have the best opportunities of judging in such a matter, appear to be unanimous in the opinion that the grievance felt by the chiefs, owing to the interference of the Government with slavery, was a very material factor in the rising. Sir D. Chalmers, as he explains in his first paragraph, confined himself to taking evidence at Freetown, and, valuable as is the material which he has gathered together, an enquiry thus limited could not lead to so true an appreciation of the actual feelings of the natives as if it had been conducted in the Protectorate.

X. and XI. Sierra Leone Press and People of Sierra Leone.

31. Sir D. Chalmers, in sections 10 and 11 of his Report, and Sir F. Cardew, in the corresponding sections of his observations, discuss the question whether the Sierra Leone press or the people of Sierra Leone can justly be charged with having, by their advice to the natives, contributed to bring about the rebellion. That they sympathised with the opposition to the tax is undoubted ; but, as Sir F. Cardew observes (paragraph 92), it is not easy to produce evidence which would be admissible in a Court of Law to prove that such advice had been given in Freetown to the Chiefs, and, in the absence of direct evidence, I refrain from forming any judgment on the matter. So far as the press is concerned, Sir David Chalmers states distinctly (paragraph 144) that he had not found any incitement or advice to the natives not to pay the tax.

XII. Native Feeling towards Hut Tax.

32. Sir D. Chalmers proceeds, in section 12 of his Report, to discuss the feelings of the natives with regard to the house tax. It is, of course, obvious that there was a serious opposition on the part of the Chiefs to the tax, and that that opposition was underestimated before the outbreak. But although opposition to a tax is a matter which should be taken into account from the point of view of political expediency, it cannot be allowed to constitute by itself a fatal objection. Not merely the tax, but civilised control generally, is obnoxious to a considerable party of the natives, and it seems to me that it would in reality be unfair both to the natives and the British administration to judge this matter as if the former were capable of fully appreciating

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the needs of civilisation. If the views of the insurgents were acted on, the whole idea of administration of their territories would be dropped, and the country left to relapse to its former state. This, however, cannot be allowed to happen, and whatever is necessary to prevent it must be done. Sir D. Chalmers states (paragraph 156) that "with a great deal of prevailing loyalty to authority, the native African mind has a strong grasp of the idea of individual liberty, and a tax peremptorily imposed irrespective of the consent of the tax-payer is felt to be derogatory to liberty." I cannot say that I see in the history or habits of the Sierra Leone Protectorate any trace of a strong grasp of the idea of individual liberty, seeing that even now the large majority of the population are slaves; and, although it may be correct to say that direct taxation is unknown to the chiefs, this is so only in the sense that they have never paid it themselves, for there is clear evidence that, as stated in the Report (paragraph 156) "Chiefs occasionally draw contributions from their people," and I notice that Sir D. Chalmers subsequently remarks that "the native in authority, unless raised above his fellows by education, training, and experience *will* domineer" (paragraph 159).

XIII. Objections to the Hut Tax.

33. A further objection to the tax which is mentioned by Sir D. Chalmers in section 13 of his Report, is that it will restrain the tendency to improve house accommodation (paragraph 158). This might be so if the tax varied according to the size of the house, but, although the Ordinance provided for two rates according to size, that actually imposed was only the lower rate, viz., 5s., irrespective of size, and villages of less than 20 houses were exempted.

34. It may be the case that the natives in some cases did not understand the nature of the tax, and saw in it an attempt on the part of the Government to claim the ownership of the houses. I have noticed that much stress has been laid on this point in some quarters. The statements of the witnesses to this effect were, however, only made in reply to leading questions, which may have been accepted as suggestions, and I am disposed to think that the natives saw in the tax an attempt to interfere with their property, but that they had no clear notion of the matter beyond this. Whatever misapprehension there may be on this score, it seems to me that it would soon become perfectly clear to the natives that all that the Government wanted was the payment of the tax. Possibly it would be difficult, as suggested by the Royal Commissioner (paragraph 156), to get rid of these ideas by explanations, but experience of the actual working of the scheme will be the real lesson.

That the aversion of the natives to the payment of the tax is not insuperable may be inferred from the fact that a similar tax is levied without difficulty from similar races by the French in the neighbouring territory.

XIV. Amount of Hut Tax.

35. I propose to deal in a subsequent paragraph with the question of the amount of the tax, which is discussed by Sir D. Chalmers in section 14 of his report.

XV. Fallacy in Taxation Scheme.

36. Sir D. Chalmers rightly observes, in section 15 of his report, that the customs revenue of Sierra Leone is largely derived from the duties on articles which are consumed in the Protectorate. He argues that, when the house tax was imposed in the Protectorate the "fallacy" was committed of "overlooking altogether the contribution made by the hinterland to the revenues of the Colony," and, although Sir F. Cardew shews that the point was not overlooked, I agree in thinking that it would have been better if the arrangements for imposing direct taxation had been brought into force contemporaneously in the Colony and the Protectorate.

XVI. Summary.

37. In section 16 of his report Sir D. Chalmers gives a summary of the preceding paragraphs, and in the 17th and following sections he states and explains the recommendations which he has to make as to the future administration of the Protectorate.

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XVII.–XXIV. Recommendations.

38. Hitherto I have dealt with the different points under consideration in the order adopted by Sir D. Chalmers, and followed by Sir F. Cardew, but in discussing his recommendations and stating the conclusions at which I have arrived, I think that it will be more convenient to adopt a different arrangement.

39. In considering what form of administration is desirable for the Protectorate, it seems to me that the foremost consideration must be the character of the people. It is undoubtedly sound policy in West Africa not to disturb native customs more than is necessary, but to endeavour, as recommended by Sir D. Chalmers, to effect improvements and reforms through the native Chiefs whom the people have been accustomed to obey. The extent, however, to which this can be done obviously depends on the extent to which the Chiefs and people generally are amenable to the influence of a civilising government, and open to and receptive of humanising ideas; and I may add that the native populations of West Africa differ so much in race, religion, and customs, that great care has to be taken in questions of native character not to use inferences from particular cases as if they were of general application. It frequently happens that neighbouring towns present striking differences of habits and beliefs.

40. As regards the Sierra Leone Protectorate there is, unhappily, abundant evidence that the natives have to a very large extent been accustomed to slave raiding and warfare, and that in some parts the most inhuman practices have, at all events till a recent period, been prevalent. There is a general consensus of opinion on this point on the part of all those persons of different nationalities who have been labouring from purely disinterested motives among the people, and who have been engaged in efforts for their moral advancement and welfare; and, although in the Timini country, Bey Bureh and other Chiefs fought fairly and well against the British native troops in the late disturbances, the natural cruelty of the Mendis was exhibited too clearly in the many brutal murders which occurred, and particularly in the murders of the women belonging to the Mission Stations, from whom they had received nothing but kindness. Clearly, if this state of things prevails, or, did prevail until it was forcibly stopped, it has an important bearing on the question of the administration which is required.

41. Taking into consideration the past history of the territories in question, and the general body of the reports upon them, I cannot entertain any doubt that the character of a large proportion of the natives is such as to require firm and direct control by the Power which undertakes, as I conceive this country has undertaken, to rule them by civilised methods; and in this opinion I am confirmed by the nature of the disturbances and outrages on the occasion of the last outbreak.

42. The logical result of this view is that the framework of the scheme of administration which has been adopted is sound, *i.e.*, that the Protectorate should be controlled by a Frontier Police, a staff of District Commissioners with both executive and judicial powers, and that local taxation to meet these expenses is justifiable. But a policy which is sound in its general character may fail of its object if the details are inadequately worked out or if it is unskilfully executed; and, it seems to me especially important to bear in mind the difficulty of making the uneducated native understand the views and aims of a civilized Power. I have already observed, with reference to sections 4 and 5 of Sir D. Chalmers's report, that it appears to me that Sir F. Cardew took pains on various occasions to prepare the minds of the Chiefs for the intended changes and to explain away their misapprehensions; but it may very well be the case that some of them remained under an exaggerated impression of the extent to which the Government intended to interfere with their prerogatives and customs, and that Sir F. Cardew failed to realise the depth of their distrust and dislike of the new policy. It was largely in anticipation of this difficulty that I wrote, as explained in paragraph 13 of this despatch, in favour of a gradual and tentative progress.

Conclusions.

43. I proceed to indicate the views at which I have arrived with regard to the three heads above given, viz., the Frontier Police, the District Commissioners, and the question of Taxation.

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Frontier Police.

44. After carefully perusing section 3 of Sir D. Chalmers's Report and Sir F. Cardew's observations on it, I have come to the conclusion that, although the system at one time adopted, under which the police were scattered in small parties over the country, was radically faulty, yet, as Sir D. Chalmers points out (paragraph 20) this was not integral to the scheme in its main purposes. I am convinced, from the reports which I have received from Officers commanding native troops in other parts of West Africa as well as from the occurrences in Sierra Leone, that it is dangerous to allow such troops to exercise authority unless they are closely supervised by white officers; but, provided that such supervision is secured, I see no reason why the Frontier Police should not render valuable service, and acquit themselves as well in the peaceful administration of the Protectorate as they did in the recent military operations. Sir D. Chalmers advises (paragraph 191) that they should cease altogether from taking part in the ordinary administration of the Protectorate, and that the civil police work should be left to the Chiefs. I should be unable, however, to agree, even if I took, which I do not, the most unfavourable view of the record of the Frontier Police, that that of the Chiefs is better, or that they could be more safely entrusted with the work for which the force was created. That would indeed be equivalent in many cases to setting up the offenders to deal with their own offences, and it would be unreasonable to expect the old native abuses of slavery and inter-tribal wars to be put down in that way. There is practically no alternative for these purposes but the employment of a native police force organised and commanded by white officers; but in future, with the view of preventing any recurrence of irregularities or abuses, the force should be kept in comparatively large detachments, and care should be taken, when dealing with a Chief, to guard as far as possible against the employment of any policemen who have been his slaves. I have learnt with satisfaction that steps have already been taken to concentrate the police at the headquarters of districts, and that, except on the frontier, there are now few detached posts under native Non-Commissioned Officers. It will, no doubt, be necessary, in order to prevent any recrudescence of slave-raiding, that patrols should constantly be sent out in place of the former detached posts, and, if possible, they should always be under white officers. If any further appointments are required to enable this to be done, I trust that there will be funds sufficient to admit of their being made.

District Commissioners.

45. Proceeding to the question of the powers to be given to the District Commissioners, I would first observe that the Protectorate Ordinance is based on the principle, recommended (paragraph 189) by Sir D. Chalmers, of a regulated administration through the chiefs. The provisions as to jurisdiction are framed on the basis of leaving to the Chiefs all cases arising between natives except certain specified crimes of a very serious nature, and this again is in accordance with Sir D. Chalmers's view, as he suggests that capital offences and some other of the gravest species of crime (paragraph 196) should be exempted from their jurisdiction. He would even go beyond the Ordinance in the direction of derogating from the jurisdiction of the Chiefs since he recommends that an appeal should be open from all decisions by them, "the results of which were of certain magnitude," but this seems to me to be scarcely necessary. It should also be noted that in every case the tax is imposed on the Chief, who is thus left to collect the amount or reimburse himself from his people, and that the latter are not interfered with by the Government unless at the request of the Chief.

46. I agree with Sir D. Chalmers in thinking (paragraph 192) that the District Commissioners should be retained, and (paragraph 196) that they should have the powers of Justices of the Peace as they have already. As such they would, as he observes, examine into any capital offences which might occur, and commit the accused, if there was a sufficient case, for trial before the Supreme Court, without distinction as to his being a native of the Protectorate or not a native: and he suggests that some other of the gravest species of crime, although not capital, might be dealt with in the same way. But, when he proposes, as to other criminal cases and such civil cases as would occur, that the District Commissioner should have advisory jurisdiction in all cases and perhaps a paramount voice in some cases, I do not find myself able to agree with him. The phrase "advisory jurisdiction" is an elastic one; but, if such jurisdiction were made effective (as it would certainly have to be sometimes) by the means which Sir D. Chalmers

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suggests (paragraph 190) should be used by the Colonial Government on necessary occasions, there would be no material difference of principle, as regards this question of governing through the Chiefs, between his scheme and that of the Ordinance. The interference would be equally real in either case, while under the Ordinance the respective powers of the Chiefs and Commissioners would be more clearly defined. This would, I think, be in the long run an advantage, whereas I am of opinion that the presence of an adviser on the footing recommended by Sir D. Chalmers would be more likely to cause irritation and resentment than the existence of a separate court.

47. There is also another reason for having a separate court under the District Commissioners, which must be taken into account. The opening up of the country is already leading to the presence in the Protectorate of numerous Sierra Leoneans (that is to say, natives of the Colony as distinguished from natives of the Protectorate), who are accustomed to British methods of justice, and who would resent, and with reason, being subjected to the peculiar process of a native court. There is also a small but growing number of Europeans in this country. It may not be expedient to scrutinise too closely the manner in which the Chiefs of the interior dispense justice to their own people, but it is quite another matter when other persons who look for a civilised standard are in question.

48. In view of these considerations, I am of opinion that the general lines of the Protectorate Ordinance as regards Courts of Justice should be retained. Under it the powers of the District Commissioners are confined, as regards civil jurisdiction, to determining cases involving persons who are not natives, and cases involving natives only, as to titles to land or debts claimed by the holders of store licences ; while, as regards criminal jurisdiction, they have to deal with cases involving persons who are not natives, together with certain offences, such as slave dealing, which experience has shewn would not be adequately punished by native Chiefs, for the sufficient reason that they represent practices to which the Chiefs have for ages been addicted, and which would certainly continue but for the control of a civilised Power.

49. I should be willing, however, to consider whether questions of title to lands in which natives only might be concerned could be left to the Chiefs. The exclusion of these cases from the jurisdiction of the Chiefs gave rise to the complaint made in the petition of Timini Chiefs (Appendix XVII. to Report), in which they said—

" Your petitioners are to have no more power over their country. They are not to hear any cases relating to their lands, farms, and the boundaries of their country. This your petitioners take to mean nothing short of total dispossession of their country."

50. This statement is, of course, based on a misconception ; but, at the same time, it is not difficult to see how the misunderstanding arose. The native, failing to understand the motive of the Government, naturally substitutes another more after his own mind, and, although, no doubt, justice in these matters would be better dispensed by the District Commissioners, I am disposed to think, having regard to the aspect in which the provision presents itself to the native eye, that it should be altered, and that such cases should be left to the native Chiefs. There is no finality in legislation of this character, and, if it were found that serious abuses arose from allowing the Chiefs to deal with such cases, the matter could be reconsidered.

51. The same petition refers to the supposed enactment by the Ordinance that "any Chief hearing any case not in his jurisdiction shall be punished by fine, imprisonment, and flogging." This statement is based on the sections assigning to the District Commissioners the trial of all matters declared by the Ordinance to be offences (section 10), making such offences punishable by fine or imprisonment, with or without the option of a fine, or by a whipping, not exceeding 36 lashes (section 11), and enacting that any Chief who determines any matters other than those in which jurisdiction is expressly given to the Courts of the Chiefs by the Ordinance, shall be guilty of an offence (section 76). Thus, in a somewhat roundabout way, such action by a Chief becomes punishable with flogging ; but such a procedure was never contemplated for exceeding the statutory jurisdiction. The Ordinance is, however, open to such a construction on a technical interpretation, and it must be at once amended, so as to remove all doubt as to its real meaning. It would, I think, be sufficient to provide that a judgment given by a Chief in a matter in which he has no jurisdiction shall be void and of no effect. If a Chief is found to wilfully abuse his position in this or in any other matter, he can be effectually dealt with under the power of deposition contained in section 73 of the Ordinance.

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52. Subject to these modifications, I think that the judicial scheme contained in the Ordinance rests on strong grounds, and should be retained. Much, however, depends on the tact and discretion with which it is administered, and, in particular, care should be taken not to incur the complaint mentioned by Sir D. Chalmers (paragraph 197), that Chiefs have been "summarily forced to attend before District Commissioners upon fictitious or trumped up grounds." This grievance will be largely obviated if the direction is followed, which I gave in 1896, that the District Commissioners should be constantly travelling through their districts, and should, as far as possible, pay personal visits to the Chiefs in their own towns rather than summon the Chiefs to wait on them. No steps should ever be taken, unless circumstances leave no option, which would diminish the dignity of a Chief in the eyes of his people. The scheme of administration rests largely on the influence of the Chiefs so far as it is not objectionable, and their influence, therefore, must not be weakened unnecessarily.

Taxation.

53. I come now to the matter of taxation, as to which three questions arise :—

1. Whether direct taxation is necessary ;
2. If so, whether it should be levied in the shape of a house tax ; and
3. If the house tax is retained, whether any alteration should be made either in the amount or in the manner in which it is levied.

54. As to the first question, a substantial increase of revenue is a matter of financial necessity. Since 1893 there have been recurring deficits, and in the Estimates for the current year the revenue is only made to balance the expenditure by crediting it with the sum of £26,650, at which the receipts from the Protectorate are estimated. It is impossible to effect any considerable reductions in the expenditure. It has been suggested to me by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce that the cost of the colonial steamer and of the police might be reduced, and that a reduction might also be effected in the number, though not in the rates of pay, of the Customs officers. These representations should be carefully considered, and, if possible, carried out. But the savings would be comparatively small, and would be far from meeting all the requirements of the situation. Sir D. Chalmers suggests (paragraph 203) that part of the deficit might be met by suspending for the present all outlay on new Government buildings in Freetown ; but, as a matter of fact, so little has been spent in late years on the public buildings that many of them are in a most dilapidated state, and it is not practicable to postpone any longer the expenditure necessary to repair the old buildings or replace them by new ones. The reserve fund, on which he suggests that a draft might be made, only amounts to £15,000. I agree, however, with the suggestion, which has been made both by Sir D. Chalmers and by the Chambers of Commerce, that increases of the duties on tobacco and salt should be considered. The duty on the latter article was raised in 1896 (not 1898, as stated in paragraph 203 of Sir D. Chalmers's Report) from 3s. to 8s. per ton, and as, in spite of this very large increase, the importation does not show any large diminution, there seems to be reason to think that such articles could be more highly taxed to the advantage of the revenue. But, on the whole, the Customs tariff of Sierra Leone is sufficiently high. The special increases suggested would not alone bring in the amount required, and I fear that any large and general increase of duties might have a disastrous effect on the trade and defeat the object in view. Sir D. Chalmers further suggests that the Imperial Government should absorb the Frontier Police in the West African Regiment, thus saving the cost of that force ; but the West African Regiment is an Imperial force which has been raised for the defence of the Coaling Station, and the effect of this proposal would be to charge the taxpayer of this country with the cost of the policing of the Protectorate. On the other hand, there are, as Sir F. Cardew has pointed out in paragraphs 218 and 219 of his observations, many needs of the most pressing character which must be met and for which funds are urgently required.

55. I conclude, therefore, that some form of direct taxation in the Protectorate is necessary ; and, whatever the name of the tax may be, it must in practice be based on the number of houses, which, in default of a census, afford the most convenient means of computing and levying it. The tax, however, is not really on the house, the value of which has little to do with the question whether the owner is able to pay. It is in its real incidence a poll tax, being, at the present rate of five shillings a house, equivalent to about one shilling a head, and must be estimated according to the general ability of the native to pay, and not according to the value of any particular item of his property.

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56. Taking a general view of the evidence, I think that the broad effect of it is that the natives do not absolutely object to a tax of this kind, but only to the amount and the mode of collection. Thus the deputation of Sherbro traders said that "they considered that there should be some sort of hut tax, but that the present rate was too high" (answer 3134); and this view, though not universal, was certainly a very general one. I have also consulted representatives of the Chambers of Commerce in this country who are interested in the West African trade, and I find that, although they adhere to their opinion that it would have been better not to have had recourse to this mode of taxation, they are not prepared to say that the house tax, having once been imposed, should now be abolished. I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the house tax should be continued.

57. I proceed now to consider the amount of the tax.

58. The conclusions at which Sir D. Chalmers arrived on this question are not expressed in positive terms. He says (paragraph 162):—"There is a very large consensus of opinion that five shillings a hut is beyond the ability of the natives, taken generally, to pay, and I do not perceive any reason for thinking that this evidence is not correct." He also says:—"It may be quite true—indeed there is no reason to doubt—that some favourably placed persons, those, for instance, living near a District Commissioner's head quarters, or near any well-frequented market, or those who live in a palm-kernel district, or the very small proportion who can earn money on Government work or with the merchants, might be able to realise the five shillings a year without difficulty. But, conceding thus much, it is certain that there must be a very large proportion of the population who are outside of all the suggested modes of industry."

59. It has, therefore, been necessary for me to consider the evidence very carefully, as well as Sir F. Cardew's observations, in order to form a definite opinion upon the point at issue; and I have also had to take into consideration the fact, which was not known to Sir D. Chalmers when he wrote, that the tax is now being readily paid.

60. The information before me appears, in short, to amount to this—that the natives generally are well able to pay the tax of 5s. per house, but that, while this is so in most cases, there are some who would under present conditions find it difficult to pay, the difficulty varying according to the fertility and accessibility of the place in which they live. This was recognised by the Government before the tax began to be collected, and in order to meet such differences in the circumstances it was arranged that farm villages, and villages of less than twenty houses, should pay nothing (*see* Mr. Parkes's answer to Question 807). It was also explained to the chiefs that they could pay in kind by rice or palm nuts, each bushel being accepted as the equivalent of the tax for one house, no matter what might be the selling price at the time, and that they would receive a commission of threepence on each bushel collected.

61. After fully considering all the circumstances, I am of opinion that the amount of the tax should not be reduced, but that the Governor should have power to remit it, either wholly or partially, in special cases; and the suggestion which you have made, and which has also been made to me by the London Chamber of Commerce, that work on roads and useful works should be accepted in lieu of payment in money or produce, appears to me to deserve careful consideration, as it would be in accordance with native custom, and would help to relieve those who might have difficulty in collecting sufficient produce to enable them to pay the tax.

62. The proposals made by Sir F. Cardew, in paragraph 235 of his observations, should also be adopted. His proposal that a commission of 2½ per cent. should be given to each headman of a town with its group of villages for collecting the tax, in addition to the commission of 5 per cent. already given to the paramount chief, carries out a remark made by Sir D. Chalmers (paragraph 164) that "a possibly workable arrangement, if it had been adopted at the beginning, whilst matters were yet entire, might have been to require and encourage the chiefs by an adequate percentage to act as collectors," and I entirely agree that it is desirable to enlist the chiefs more fully in support of the tax by making it worth their while to collect it.

63. In coming to the conclusion that the house tax should be maintained, I have not failed to bear in mind that Sir D. Chalmers foreboded mischievous results from its continuance. But actual experience, so far as it has gone, is all the other way. Sir F. Cardew points out that the tax is now being collected without difficulty, and that the latest statistics show a satisfactory revival of trade. Up to the end of April the sum of £3,000 had been collected this year on account of house tax. The fighting in the

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Timini country was brought to an end, by the capture of Bey Bureh, before the conclusion of the rains, and when the rains were over there was no recrudescence of disturbances either in the Timini or in the Mendi country. A general amnesty has been proclaimed, subject to a few special exceptions, and all the reports from the Protectorate are to the effect that confidence has been restored, and that the natives are rebuilding the towns which had been destroyed, and attending to their crops.

64. I deeply regret the loss of so many lives in the disturbances, and in view of what has happened it is evident that, in the measures which were taken with my approval to carry into effect the policy embodied in the Protectorate Ordinance, some mistakes were made. But I see no reason to doubt that the policy is right in its main outlines, and I am convinced that the scheme of administration as revised in the light of experience will, notwithstanding the unhappy incidents attending its first introduction, prove a valuable instrument for the peaceful development of the Protectorate and the civilisation and well-being of its inhabitants.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

The Officer Administering the
Government of Sierra Leone.

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REPORT

BY HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONER

AND

CORRESPONDENCE

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

INSURRECTION IN THE SIERRA LEONE PROTECTORATE

1898.

PART I.—REPORT AND CORRESPONDENCE.

(NOTE.—*The evidence taken by Sir David Chalmers and the Documents annexed to his Report are printed separately in Part II.*)

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APPENDIX I.

(ORAL EVIDENCE)

Dr. T. Hood, Acting District Commissioner, Ronietta.

Dr. T. Hood.

1. My name is Thomas Hood. I am M.R.C.S. and L.R.C.P. London. I have acted as District Commissioner for different periods—altogether four months as District Commissioner, and one and a half month as Deputy. I first acted as District Commissioner at Kwalu on 20th October 1897, and continued to do so till 21st January 1898. I have also acted as Deputy District Commissioner for short periods of ten to fourteen days at intervals.

2. At what stations?—At Kwalu, the headquarters of the district. I acted as District Commissioner from 10th June to 11th July. I was really District Surgeon, and I combined the two duties from 20th October 1897 to 21st January 1898.

3. You are about to go home on leave?—Yes, by the *Bonny*, and wish that my examination should now be taken. Ronietta used to be the headquarters of the district, but it has been moved to Kwalu. The district is known as the Ronietta district, and is about 5000 or 6000 square miles. I point out Kwalu and the Ronietta district on the map shown to me.

4. What was the scope of your duties as District Commissioner?—To look after the district generally, to listen to complaints from natives, to administer the whole district, and to interfere as little as possible with the native laws.

5. Were you in the Protectorate at the time that the Proclamation was issued in August 1896?—No, not in any capacity.

6. Did your actual residence in the Protectorate commence at the date you mentioned?—No: 14th February 1897.

7. Did your duties bring you in contact with the life of the natives?—Very much so; both as Surgeon and Commissioner.

8. What can you tell me about the organisation under Chiefs, Headmen, Families, and so on?—The country is divided among Paramount Chiefs, some bigger than others. Paramount Chiefs' districts are divided among Sub-Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs' divided among Headmen.

9. Has each town its Headman?—Some have Sub-Chiefs and some Headmen. Sub-Chiefs may have several towns.

10. How many Paramount Chiefs are there?—Sixteen in the Ronietta district.

11. Can you give me their names?—Bai Kompah of Kwaia, Pa Kaney of Ribbi, R. B. C. Caulker of Bumpe, Thos. N. Caulker of Shenge, Beah Boye of Tyndale, Madam Nancy Tucker of Bagru, Baim Bah Kellah of Gbambaiah, Madam Yoko of Mendi, Bai Simera of Mayoppa, Bai Komp of Yele, Massa Kama of Massa Kama, Bai Yosso of Bai Yosso, Bai Kaffara, Bai Lal of Melel, Bai Simera of Masimera, Bai Sherbro of Yonni, Madam Tembi of Mocassi.[1]

12. Are these Paramount Chiefs independent of each other?—In some cases. Bai Simera, who is ninety, is the oldest, and crowns the others, and is looked on as father by courtesy. There are three Paramount Chiefs acting jointly.[2] If they sold land they would divide the money. Each has a share of the Government stipend. Each Paramount Chief is practically an independent sovereign over the Sub-Chiefs, and the district over which he rules.

13. Before the Protectorate Ordinance came into force, did these Paramount Chiefs keep to their own districts?—There was a great tendency to encroach, and it is so at the present time.

[1] Dr. Hood omitted to count Madam Tembi in his previous reply. 16 should be 17.

[2] Bai Komp of Yeleh, Bai Simera of Mayoppa, and Massa Kama of Rowalla.

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Dr. T. HOOD.

14. In what way?—The boundaries are very indefinite: people taking farms might encroach and give cause for complaint.

15. Take the case of a farmer having cause of complaint. Should he complain to the Chief of the district where the land is situated, or where the aggressor resides?—If a man wants to farm, it is the custom for him to go to the Chief and make him a present, and if he clears land not in this Chief's district there is cause for complaint.

16. In the case of a man getting permission to farm and being interfered with?—He would complain to the Chief who gave him permission, but they generally take the law into their own hands. Some Yonnis came to Madam Yoko's country. The District Commissioner wrote to the Yonnis telling them to leave. The Yonnis refused to do so and sat down with guns. The District Commissioner then sent Frontiers and disarmed them.

17. When was this?—In March 1898, when I was Deputy District Commissioner.

18. Do these Paramount Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs hold regular Courts?—Yes: they hold Courts and have Court Houses. The Sub-Chiefs generally take cases to Paramount Chiefs. Complaints always eventually reach Paramount Chiefs, though they may go through Sub-Chiefs first. Sub-Chiefs deal with trivial complaints.

19. Do Headmen, not Chiefs, hold any kind of Court?—No.

20. When a case is taken first to a Sub-Chief and afterwards goes to a Paramount Chief, is there a fresh hearing, or is it of the nature of an appeal?—As a rule there is a fresh hearing, not an appeal. Sub-Chiefs are afraid to give a decision in a serious matter, and send it on. A complainant can either let the matter drop or take it before a Paramount Chief, if the Sub-Chiefs have heard a case without giving a decision.

21. Have the Chiefs any interest in having cases brought before them?—A very great interest.

22. In what respect?—It is no good for natives without money or its equivalent to go to a native Chief. The custom is to buy the palaver. The defendant and complainant each put down a fee at the beginning of the case.

23. Is there a recognised and definite fee?—Each bids what he can. This is so at the present time.

24. Is the tendency to encroach induced by the attraction of fees or by error as to boundaries or such?—For the most part from want of definition of boundaries and rapacity. In many cases it is wilful.

25. Do Fetish Priests exercise an important influence?—Certainly: chiefly by secret practices.

26. What is the relation between Chiefs and Fetish men?—Chiefs are very greatly influenced. During last month Kwalu, which is friendly, has been threatened by war boys, and they told me that one night the enemy came and dug a little hole by the war fence and put a chicken's liver in it. This was looked upon as a very bad omen.

27. Have Paramount Chiefs much communication with each other?—Yes: they all know one another.

28. Do they meet for consultation?—Yes.

29. How is the meeting place determined?—Bai Simera arranged a meeting in one of his big towns, and many in courtesy attended. This only occurred once to my knowledge. I have heard of other meetings in the district, but am not sure of them. The arrangements are probably very much the same throughout the Protectorate, but I do not actually know. None of the Paramount Chiefs in the Ronietta district are so powerful as some in the other districts.

30. What does power depend on?—Extent of country and fighting force.

31. Do Paramount Chiefs recognise that they are subordinate to the Governor of the Colony?— Yes: thoroughly.

32. In what way?—If the Governor says a thing must be done, they know they ought to obey him.

33. Are they aware of the Governor's relation to the Queen?—Yes.

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34. Is this recognition of the Governor virtually recognition of the Queen?—Yes. Most Paramount Chiefs have Sierra Leone clerks to write their letters for them. Dr. T. Hood.

35. Have these clerks much influence over the Chiefs?—Over some, as advising them. Not over all.

36. Do you think that all Paramount Chiefs have at least one Sierra Leone clerk in their employ?—The majority have.

37. Can you define in general what relation Sierra Leone clerks bear to the Chiefs?—Sometimes they are nonentities, sometimes they lead the Chiefs.

38. Generally speaking, what class do these Sierra Leone clerks belong to?—They are imperfectly educated. Not a high class of men: as a rule they go to the bush to trade, and then get attached to a Paramount Chief.

39. One could not rely on letters written by them?—In many cases the Chief is absolutely ignorant of what the letter contains.

40. Have you been present at a sitting of the Chiefs' Court?—One or two: held under the Ordinance.

41. Have you been present on occasions when Chiefs have given decisions?—Yes.

42. Does a Chief express his decision personally or through an intermediary?—Sometimes by the Chiefs themselves, and sometimes by 'Santigis,' or persons who speak for them: the latter is the usual practice. The Chief I heard expressed her decision personally.

43. Do the Santigis understand English?—The majority do not.

44. Does each Chief appoint his own Santigi?—They are appointed by the Chiefs themselves.

45. Comparing your knowledge of the manner of conducting Courts before and after the Ordinance, has the Ordinance had any effect?—So far as I know, no effect. The same rule as to paying the fee beforehand still holds.

46. What about fees as regards the Chiefs' Court sitting with a District Commissioner?—The Court sat twice within my knowledge, when they received no fee.

47. Since the passing of the Ordinance, and the District Commissioner sits alone, do many come to his Court?—They come to his Court by hundreds to the neglect of the Chiefs' Court.

48. Does this obtain even in matters where jurisdiction rests with the Chief?—Yes: the District Commissioner refers them back to the Chief, and does not dispose of the matter himself.

49. In such cases do suitors readily go before the native Chief or let the matter drop?—Generally they let the matter drop.

50. Is there any explanation of this tendency to withdraw from native Chiefs' jurisdiction?—The expense of the native Court is so heavy that they dare not go.

51. Is there no other deterrent cause?—I do not think so.

52. Are they satisfied with the decisions?—It is difficult to answer: but on the whole, not satisfactory. I have been told that he who pays the highest price gets the decision. I could not prove this.

53. What could a Chief do if his people refused to obey him?—Have them flogged, or fined, or put them in the logs (stocks).

54. Have any native penalties been stopped by the Ordinance?—No: except bodily injury.

55. Is there no interference with native law?—No.

56. The Ordinance has not interfered with the native Chief's power over his people?—No: except that they cannot deal with some crimes.

57. Can you give any information as to the way in which trade is carried on?—People come with loads of cloth, tobacco, etc., and sit down in towns, or move from town to town, and the natives buy the stuff, and as a rule pay for it in produce. Big traders generally follow a river and send their men into the country with loads of stuff.

58. How does the trader dispose of produce received in pay?—He brings it to Free-

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Dr. T. Hood.

town. There are two kinds of traders, Sierra Leone traders and Mohammedans: the latter will go right into the country with their goods, and always do their work by land.

59. What articles do they trade in?—Cloth, tobacco, beads, cheap jewellery, soap, and tallow. They may not take spirits about since the Ordinance. Before the Ordinance perhaps two out of twenty carriers would carry spirits.

60. What spirit?—Rum and gin. Since the Ordinance they are not allowed to sell spirits en route at all, only in licensed houses.

61. Have you any knowledge of trade in slaves?—Never a distinct case of buying and selling slaves.

62. Any case of slaves being brought into the district from elsewhere?—Never under my observation.

63. Those slaves you mentioned that were redeemed for money were domestic slaves? —Yes.

64. Do you know of any case of slaves being taken out of the district and being sold either outside the Protectorate or the district?—I know of a man who used to take slaves out of the country and sell them; he does not do so now.

65. When did his operations cease?—Some eight or nine years ago.

66. Is that the latest instance you are aware of?—Yes: I cannot say what occurred in other districts.

67. Are the domestic slaves well treated?—They are fairly happy on the whole: it is more or less a family arrangement. I know Madam Yoko's slaves, who all seem very happy.

68. Have you heard of any cases of domestic slaves applying to be set free under the Ordinance?—No: some slaves have run away to Freetown and become free. It is the opinion among natives that if they once get to Freetown they are free, and continue free even on returning to their country.

69. Is the trade in spirits a good deal hampered by the Ordinance?—People do not get them so readily as they used to.

70. Are there licensed dealers in your district now?—Yes: about thirty-five spirit licences have been issued in the Ronietta district this year.

71. Have all licensed traders houses or shops where they can sell spirits?—Yes. A licensed trader may also be a licensed dealer in spirits: the two licences are distinct. In both cases the licence costs 25s. for six months or £2 for the whole year.

72. Was there excessive consumption of spirits before the Ordinance?—No: but there was of Palm wine.

73. Is the restriction of the spirit trade felt to be a grievance?—The traders object: I do not think that the purchasers object.

74. What are the sources of income of the Paramount Chiefs?—The main source is Court fees. Then each Sub-Chief sends a present every year, absolutely according to his discretion, the Paramount Chief would probably send back a small present.

75. Is there any method of enforcing these gifts?—They are voluntary.

76. What other sources of income?—All ivory and leopard skins killed within the district. Wharf dues if there is a river. If any farmers wish to farm round a town they must give a present to the Chief.

77. What are the sources of income of the Sub-Chiefs?—Money got from cultivating ground and selling produce: and share of wharf dues.

78. Of income of Headmen?—No source of income: they are practically farmers. Their income is from selling produce.

79. Do the Sub-Chiefs obtain the means for making their presents to the Paramount Chiefs from the people?—They go round collecting sometimes. Last December Bai Simera had a dispute with a Sub-Chief about wharf dues: the Sub-Chief gave a yearly present of cattle, etc., in lieu of wharf dues in his country. I had to arrange the matter, and made it a fixed sum of money.

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80. Is there much money in circulation among the people?—On the rivers it is pretty freely circulated. Up the country 17 months ago very little, but now money circulates pretty well.

81. Is your district one where the hut tax was imposed?—Yes.

82. Was it collected from the Paramount Chiefs or the Sub-Chiefs?—In many cases from Sub-Chiefs; though it was supposed to be collected from the Paramount Chiefs.

83. What was the rate actually collected?—5s. per house 3 rooms or less, 10s. per house 4 rooms or more. It was then reduced to 5s. for all houses, and no town less than twenty houses was to be taxed.

84. Was it the District Commissioner's duty to collect the tax?—Yes.

85. What instrumentality did you use?—In the middle of December, I wrote to the Chiefs, and informed them that they were to come to me, and pay the tax by the 1st January. In December two Chiefs paid some money, the Sub-Chiefs wrote to say that they had not received permission to pay. I then wrote to the Governor that I could not collect it, and Captain Moore was sent up, and relieved me of the office of District Commissioner. In December Madam Yoko paid some hut tax, and Chief Smart, a Sub-Chief to Bai Kompa of Kwaia, also paid part of his tax. The latter informed me it was contrary to the orders of his Paramount Chief. Pa Kombo of Rokon was anxious to pay too, but his Paramount Chief, Bai Simera of Masimera, had forbidden him.

86. What took place in your knowledge after you ceased to be District Commissioner?—Captain Moore went round and collected a lot of tax.

87. Were any frontier police sent either alone, or in parties, to collect tax?—Yes, very often Paramount Chiefs asked for their assistance.

88. Was the assistance granted?—It was.

89. Were the frontier police under the orders of the Paramount Chiefs in these cases?—Entirely, as a rule two men went.

90. What reason did the Paramount Chiefs give for asking for help?—No particular reason, probably to protect them after they had decided to pay the tax.

91. Did the Paramount Chiefs all combine to refuse payment?—Yes, so I am informed, at first some were willing to make payment, and actually did so. Only Madam Yoko actually paid, but Madam Nancy Tucker, who was acting Paramount Chief of the Bagru, was willing to pay, and did so on being definitely appointed, and crowned about the end of January.

92. What was their reason for combining?—The Paramount Chiefs were invited to palaver. They told Captain Moore that they would not pay. I saw the Paramount Chiefs in prison when I came back.

93. What did the Chiefs say to you?—I did not communicate with the Chiefs myself, but was told by Captain Moore. In a few days all but one agreed to pay the tax and were released.

94. Did they pay after that promise?—In part.

95. To what extent?—Nearly £2500 in the Ronietto district.

96. What proportion did that sum bear to the Estimate?—The Estimate was about £5000. This was very low.

97. To your knowledge was there any particular reason given by the Chiefs for not paying?—One told me they thought they were selling their country, and they took an oath not to pay. The head Porro man was a Paramount Chief. He alone adhered to his oath not to pay.

98. Did the Chiefs allege any difficulty in getting the tax from the people?—Not at first; afterwards they asked for the use of two or three frontier police. Some Chiefs agreed to pay at once.

99. Did you know of any people who thought their property would be interfered with by the tax?—No.

100. Was there any complaint as to improper behaviour on the part of the Frontier Police in collecting the tax?—No direct complaint: I have heard rumours of it.

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Dr. T. Hood.

101. Did it come to your knowledge that any one had said that the Frontiers had acted improperly in any way?—Only through the local press: apart from that I never heard of any such cases.

102. Have you read allegations of that kind in the local press?—I have.

103. Was that after the Chiefs refused to pay or before?—I should say after they had refused, and then paid.

104. By the local press you mean what press?—I refer to the Freetown press.

105. What are the newspapers?—The *Sierra Leone Weekly Times* and another.

106. Are these papers read in the Protectorate?—They are read by Sierra Leonians, who disseminate the news.

107. Are they read by the clerks attached to the Chiefs?—Yes: and in many cases the Chiefs are fully aware of the contents.

108. How does that appear?—It would be difficult to prove my statement. One Sub-Chief used to have the papers read to him very carefully by his clerk, and another could read them himself. When anything exciting has happened in the district, I have been told of it by Paramount Chiefs who cannot read the papers at all.

109. News as reported in the local press?—Yes.

110. Your inference is that he had the papers read to him?—Yes.

111. Could not the same news have reached him through some one who had been on the spot?—Possibly; but news does not travel as it used to before the disturbance. People now confine themselves to areas.

112. Speaking generally, to what extent are Paramount Chiefs acquainted with the English language?—In my district four can converse and two can write: several can understand. It is not etiquette to converse in English.

113. Do they speak pigeon English?—Yes, with one exception. R. D. C. Caulker speaks very well.

114. Was there any allegation that the tax was excessive—by the natives or the Chiefs?—Some of the Chiefs, especially in the interior, said it was rather heavy.

115. Was that the 5s. rate?—Yes.

116. Was the 10s. rate collected at all?—In part. It was afterwards reduced. There was very little difficulty in collecting the tax after the Paramount Chiefs decided to pay.

117. Was there any fighting in your district?—Some resistance in April. The first resistance took place in April in the Kwaia country, when Captains Moore and Fairtlough went in search of Bai Kompah, who had previously informed the Governor that he intended coming to Kwalu to report himself, but he never came. Kwalu was attacked by Mendi insurgents on 1st May. They came from Bandajuma district.

118. What took place?—The rising started in Imperri, and they gradually gained strength as they went along. If towns did not join they were cut up. Part of the barracks in Kwalu was burned down, and one of our men was killed. We drove them off eventually.

119. In what force were these insurgents?—Practically everybody joined them as they came along. First attack was on 1st May. The frontier police saved one Paramount Chief (Madam Nancy Tucker) whom they wanted to kill. She arrived at Kwalu on 6th May. The second attack took place on the 7th May.

120. How was Kwalu defended?—By frontiers and armed civil police. The attacking party was driven off and passed on somewhere else. Colonel Woodgate came up and attacked them later.

121. What do you know about the Porro?—Very little: it is a very secret society. Bai Sherbro of Yonni was the head Porro man. They put Porro on palm trees, when the fruit is unripe, and no one dare touch them till Porro is taken off. Each town has a Porro bush, and the youths go there for circumcision. The Mohammedans do not practise Porro.

122 If Porro were put on the tree of a Mohammedan?—He would pay no attention. Mohammedans do not cultivate land as a rule.

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123. Have you anything further to state about the hut tax?—I think that it is obnoxious to native customs. The natives have an idea that by paying an annual tax they have lost all their power. They much resent any encroachments by the English Government. During 1897 the District Commissioners of the Ronietta district were frequently met by the Chiefs, and the Ordinance was carefully read to them. The Chiefs remarked that when slavery was abolished it would ruin their farms, as there would be no one to work on them. There were very few comments on the hut tax. They understood that slaves could be redeemed: and they knew it was illegal for any one to pledge themselves. Dr. T. Hood.

124. Did they suppose that the status of slavery was abolished?—No.

125. Under what circumstances is a child born free?—If the daughter of a Paramount Chief marries a Chief, the children are free born: but if she marries a slave her children become slaves.

126. If a Chief has children by a slave woman, are the children free or slaves?—As a rule not free.

127. Has the owner of the household slaves right to sell slaves by native custom?—Yes: an absolute right to sell household slaves. They say they have inherited these slaves, and till a very short time ago they were used as money. If a native chief imposed a fine on a man who had no money but had slaves, he could pay in slaves, or pledge himself or his wife or family.

128. Did you talk with Chiefs on the subject?—Chiefs and Headmen.

129. Did their statements vary?—The Chiefs seem to think that they had more power than Headmen.

130. Did they all agree that owners of domestic slaves had absolute right to sell?—Yes.

131. Did such sales ever take place in your district?—Yes: both buying and selling: between end of October 1897 and January 1898.

132. Have you any further statement you wish to make?—I do not believe that the rate of the tax has anything to do with the trouble. It is the English Government interfering with slavery, and the natives beginning to recognise that they are to have a better time, and that the Paramount Chiefs have not the same power over them. It was more on this account than owing to the hut tax. No doubt the Paramount Chiefs have influence over the people, and by fallacious arguments persuade the natives to fight. The Mohammedans were the ones who did the slave-dealing.

133. What sort of slave-dealing?—They took girls and children in exchange for produce, and took them into the interior. Mendi boys have been met in the Soudan.

The attitude of the Sierra Leonians have been an incentive to resistance. One Chief handed over to the District Commissioner a Sierra Leonian for inciting the people not to pay the house tax. He was convicted before Captain Moore in February or March 1898. The Sierra Leonian was handed over to the District Commissioner by Fulla Mansa, who is not a Paramount Chief, but a Sub-Chief of Bai Sherbro of Yonni. Fulla Mansa was an old political prisoner, and was anxious to pay the tax. Unfortunately he has been killed while assisting the Government in repelling the Mendi insurgents. I cannot explain why the natives murdered the missionaries, except to get rid of the white people. Madam Yoko told me that the insurrection had nothing to do with the hut tax, but slavery. Madam Yoko speaks bad pigeon English; her own language is Mendi.

As regards the house-tax in Kwalu. There are about fifty villages connected with Kwalu, each of from six to ten houses. The Headman goes to his village. He pays house tax for a house in Kwalu, but not for house in the village. About twenty people in each village do not pay house tax. I should estimate the population of the Ronietta district at quite 400,000 people, including children. I arrive at this estimate thus:—There are 16 Chiefs: I allow each Chief 100 towns on an average, and 300 people to each town. This gives 480,000; I strike off the 80,000.

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Dr. T. Hood

134. Do you remember collecting hut tax from Mr. Dennis Davis?[1]—I do not remember the exact date, I think it would be about the end of January. I asked him for his tax. I was Deputy District Commissioner at the time. At first he said he could not pay it: I then asked him what property he had, and said he had better hand over some of his things to be sold. He brought a small ram, which was sold: the man who bought it can be found: he also brought some tobacco, and when he found that that was sold under its value, he offered to pay the balance of the tax in cash. I believe he could have paid the whole in cash. I asked him to bring the goods; I did not seize them. The counterfoil in the receipt-book (Hut Tax Book No. 2), would give the details of the goods received.

135. During military operations has any property been wantonly destroyed?—On the only occasion when I have been with the force it never occurred.

1*st August* 1898.

136. You reported about the number of houses in your district that would be capable of paying the tax?—No.

137. Would it be Mr. Hudson who would make the estimate for the Ronietta district?—Mr. Hudson or Captain Barker.

138. Can you say as a matter of fact how many towns in the Ronietta district contain less than twenty houses?—No collection of twenty houses or less would be called a town, it would be called a village.

139. After the Tax Ordinance was understood, did any abandonment take place of houses?—I have no experience.

140. Were you in a position to become aware of that?—It would be certain to be reported.

141. After the Protectorate Ordinance was passed in 1897 was it sent to you?—Yes: it was sent to Mr. Hudson.

142. Were instructions about explaining the Ordinance to native Chiefs sent to you?—The District Commissioner knew he had to explain it. No instructions came to me, they were probably sent to Mr. Hudson.

143. Were you present at any meeting of Chiefs where the Ordinance was explained?—Yes: Mr. Hudson held one, I think, in the beginning of October.

144. You were acting as Medical Officer of the district at that time?—Yes.

145. Were instructions sent to you about the collection of hut tax?—All books, etc., were sent. I have no distinct recollection of any instructions.

146. Look at this instruction of the Governor to the Colonial Secretary, 22nd November 1897?—This did come to me.

147. And you acted upon it?—Yes: I sent out messengers in every direction with a circular letter to the Chiefs. There would be a copy of it in the book at Kwalu.

148. Would the Colonial Secretary have a copy?—No.

149. Did you get any replies?—Yes: some from Sub-Chiefs, none from Paramount Chiefs. I started the messengers about 25th December, and by 5th or 6th January they returned and informed me that all the letters had been delivered.

150. Going back to the meeting of Chiefs when Mr. Hudson explained the Ordinance in September or October 1897, what occurred?—It lasted three or four hours.

151. Was any remark made by any of the Chiefs upon the provisions of the Ordinance?—One Sub-Chief called Coutham, Chief of Cassipoto, made a lot of remarks.

152. Upon which provision specially?—The whole Ordinance was gone through; he was asked if he understood it. He asked many questions. I do not remember any particular ones. They seldom ask direct questions.

153. Owing to want of power or readiness of expression?—Yes.

154. Was there any objection made to the clause referring to a Chief's court having no jurisdiction in title to land?—I did not hear any.

155. Anything about women not being flogged?—I do not think so: I do not think that is a clause in the 1897 Ordinance.

[1] Cf. 185.

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156. Anything about buying or selling of slaves?—No, the only thing was they asked questions to make the meaning clear, not as objections. Dr. T. Hood.

157. None said they did not like this or that?—Not in so many words: they simply sat still and appeared dissatisfied with some of the clauses.

158. Look over the Ordinance [the Commissioner handed witness a copy of the Ordinance] and see which clauses provoked dissatisfaction?—The one that provoked most was the clause relating to slave-dealing. They asked questions about the spirit licence. They never speak plainly, so as to show what is really in their minds.

159. Was there any remark about the clause that no counsel or attorney should appear in the Chiefs' Court?—I did not hear any. No counsel has ever appeared in either court so far as I am aware.

160. Did that clause which provides for Government deposing Chiefs and appointing others in their stead give rise to any murmurs of dissatisfaction?—I do not remember.

161. Look at clauses 76 and 77, did either of these give rise to any expression of feeling?—No.

162. Then I understand, beyond the grumbling, nothing passed either of approval or of disapproval?—Not before the District Commissioner, they probably discussed it among themselves.

163. Were the District Commissioner's explanations interpreted?—Yes, it is not etiquette for Chiefs to speak English. They were interpreted by the official interpreter at Kwalu.

NOTE BY THE COMMISSIONER.—I should remark with reference to the meagre evidence appearing on record as given by Dr. Hood, and also by Captain Carr, that Dr. Hood was sent to me by Sir Frederick Cardew on the second day after my arrival in Freetown, and Captain Carr, two days afterwards, as officers going immediately from the Colony on leave, and whose evidence it would be desirable to take at once. As I was then scarcely in possession of an outline of the occurrences, the information derived from them was almost confined to general matters. Dr. Hood had not returned to Sierra Leone when I left, Captain Carr returned a few days before I left, but proceeded to his district at once without my being notified or being aware of his arrival.

MR. WARBURTON.

Mr. Warburton.

2nd August 1898.

164. My name is Collins Johnston Warburton. I was formerly a trader at Port Lokko, and am now living at Ballom: I have a house there.

165. What do you wish to tell me?—Some time last January, when Captain Sharpe, the District Commissioner of Karene, came from England, he said he would like to see the Sierre Leone traders at Port Lokko. He asked us to choose a representative to speak with him, and I was deputed to speak. He said he should wish us to pay the hut tax as loyal servants of the Queen to set an example for the natives. We only rented houses, and our landlords would not pay the tax themselves, and said they did not see why we should pay it for them.

166. Were the landlords present?—No.

167. Did you talk with the landlords before?—Each of us talked separately with his own landlord, and each landlord said the same thing. There were about forty of us and fifty landlords.

168. You stated this objection to Captain Sharpe?—Yes: and we said that we were quite ready to pay the £2 licence. He said he would write to the Governor to ask if the landlords were to pay tax for houses occupied by traders.

169. As the Ordinance says that the occupier should pay the tax, why should you

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Mr. WARBURTON. not pay?—Our landlords said that if any of us paid tax for houses which were not ours they would turn us out of the houses at any time.

170. Under what agreements did you occupy the houses?—We paid a monthly rent.

171. Did you tell this to Captain Sharpe?—He said he was going to Karene, and when he was there he would write to us.

172. Have you got his letter?—No: it was left with the traders.

173. What was the effect of it?—That he had read the Ordinance, and it said that occupiers were to pay the tax whether natives or Sierra Leone traders, and he would be glad if we would pay. We then held a meeting at which landlords were present, and explained the letters to them. They said they were poor people, and their houses were not worth anything, and they would not allow us to pay anything out of their small rent.

174. Your intention was to deduct the tax from the rent?—Yes.

175. Did Captain Sharpe say you could do that?—He advised us to do it.

176. What rent did you pay a month?—Some 3s., some 4s.

177. What followed?—On the 6th February Captain Sharpe came down to Port Lokko and asked us to pay the tax. We said that the landlords would not allow it. He then put us in custody, and after two or three hours called us again, and put us in a line and tried us. He fined some £5 and some £4. He sent Frontier Police who broke open our houses while we were in custody. We were locked in a small room and guarded by Frontier Police with fixed bayonets. We were in custody from nine o'clock on Tuesday, 9th February, to six the next day. He gave us six hours to pay the fine. On Wednesday morning when we saw things were coming to a crisis, he asked us if we would pay the tax, and we paid it. After we had paid he remitted the £4 fines and reduced the £5 fines to £2.

178. Afterwards you remained at Port Lokko as traders?—Yes: trade stopped after the Chiefs had been taken down from Port Lokko. While we were in custody the police would give us no water.

179. After you had paid the tax did the landlords turn you out?—No sooner had we paid the tax, and Soribunki had been made Chief, than traders had to leave because of the disturbance.

180. How long did you remain after paying the tax?—I left on the 17th.

181. Then your landlord did not turn you out for having paid the tax?—Not directly: Captain Sharpe had my hat knocked off when I came before him, and the blow knocked me down.

182. Were you and Captain Sharpe not very good friends before this?—I had never come across him before.

183. You paid the tax on the 10th and left on the 17th?—When Captain Sharpe sent the five Chiefs down to Freetown, and Soribunki was made Chief, there was grumbling. The natives advised us to leave, as the country was so shaky.

184. Was Soribunki made Chief before you left?—About six or seven days. What frightened me was that my landlord told me that Captain Sharpe was going to bring Bai Bureh down, and I knew that that would some cause trouble.

DENNIS DAVIS.

DENNIS DAVIS.

185. My name is Dennis Davis: I live at Waterloo, and am a trader on the Bumpe river. I had a house at Makombo, about ten minutes from Senahu: and on the evening of 1st May, the war boys came and burnt my house, and plundered my store of coffee and kola nuts. I lost goods to the value of £353. I slept in the bush for five days. They burnt my house because I was a Sierra Leone man, and paid the tax and licence against their wish. Some time before, Dr. Hood, Deputy District Commissioner, came on a Sunday morning, and threatened to plunder my factory if I did not instantly pay the house tax. The same day he took from me a ram, which was worth 15s., for 4s., and four ties of

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tobacco worth 2s. each, he took at 1s. each, and then insisted on my giving 2s. in cash to DENNIS DAVIS. make up the amount to 10s. for house tax.

186. Who were the leaders of the war-boys?—Orders were given by the Chief of the town, by name Ansa Mani of Makombo.

187. Was the plundering done by the townspeople?—Yes, they destroyed all my little sheep.

188. When Dr. Hood came to collect the tax, did you make any objection to it?—No: I had not enough in cash. He insisted on my paying that day.

189. Have you the receipt with you?—No: it was plundered in my box. They have the duplicate.

190. Did Dr. Hood come alone?—He was escorted by about eight policemen.

191. Have you anything else to state?—I went along with the column with Chief Ganga about 20th of last month under Captain Goodwin. Then by chance I saw a young man, by name Besberri or Kaimis; and delivered him over into the charge of the soldiers at Rotofunk. Dr. Hood asked Captain Goodwin to hand him over as a prisoner to Kwalu, as it was in his district. I had chartered this young man's canoe for £2, 14s. 6d., for eight or ten days, and he wilfully detained my property. About three days afterwards the case was called up, and Dr. Hood demanded witnesses, which I produced. One witness swore that the young man was among the raiders, and another corroborated the statement about the canoe. The young man's mother had been captured by the Kwalu people, who were helping the Government. The decision was that the young man was not to be punished, as he was not a Chief. Dr. Hood freed him and did not give me any satisfaction for my property.

192. When was the decision given?—I gave the man in charge on 25th May, the case was heard on the 29th.

5th August 1898.

193. I have been present on occasions when Chiefs have held meetings to find out people belonging to Human Leopard Societies. About 1880-81, the Chief of Tyama asked a man to find out who was engaged in a Leopard Society; he discovered nearly one hundred and burnt them. In 1883-84, at Bunjuma, a meeting was held by a Chief of Mano called Cardini. In this case a Sub-Chief was found to be involved in one of those Human Leopard Societies, and he was burned with about eighty others. Five or six years ago, at Kwambuli, a Chief engaged a man called Nepo to find out these Leopard (Nepo had done the same before at Bunjuma), and they burnt a good many. At Kwalu the late Chief Momase convicted several, who were burnt. I state this as proving that the natives do not approve of the Human Leopards.

5th August 1898.

CLARISSA PETERS.

CLARISSA PETERS.

194. I am the widow of Constable Peters. I was at Koranko Station on 26th April last. I saw the war-boys come. They were with Kayandi, Chief of Kali, in Sherbro, on the Kittum river. He is getting £10 a year from Government. He is a Mendi man.

195. Were these war-boys Mendis?—Yes.

196. Is there a town at Koranko Station?—Yes.

197. What were they carrying?—Cutlasses, spears, guns. They say they have come to kill Creole who pay hut tax. My husband was wearing constable's clothes. I was dressed like a Sierra Leone woman.

198. You made a statement to Mr. Brooks: did he read it to you, and was it correct?—Yes.

199. Can you read?—Yes.

200. Is this the paper?—Yes.

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CLARISSA PETERS.

201. Did they do anything in the town?—They killed my husband in my presence, and dragged him to the town. They said they would kill me in the evening, but I ran to the bush.

202. Before you went to the bush did you see them break any houses?—They burnt the station house, Mr. Davidson's house, and the French factory, in my presence.

203. Did they plunder the goods or burn them?—They took them all.

204. Did you hear them say why they burnt the houses?—For hut tax and for make no white men in the country.

205. Then you escaped and came to Freetown?—Yes.

206. Anything more?—They took a child, which we were bringing up, and kept it: he is now with the Chief of Kali.

Capt. C. E. CARR.

CAPTAIN C. E. CARR, District Commissioner, Bandajuma.

22nd July 1898.

207. My name is Charles Ernest Carr. I belong to the 61st Regiment. I am a captain, but I am not yet gazetted. I have been acting as District Commissioner at Bandajuma. I am about to go on leave, and wish to give my evidence now. I commenced to act as District Commissioner at Bandajuma in November 1896. I went home in May 1897. I came out again in November 1897, and was appointed to Bandajuma, and have been holding office till now (22nd July 1898).

208. What is the general scope of your duties as District Commissioner?—To hold a Court of my own, and to sit in Court with native Chiefs. To have the law carried out as regards slavery, etc. To issue licences, and collect house tax. To exercise a general supervision over the whole district.

209. Did your duties bring you in contact with the natives?—Yes; frequently.

210. Are you acquainted with their social and tribal organisations?—Yes; more from travelling than at Bandajuma—that is, I have come much in contact with them in travelling in my district.

211. What are the tribes in your district?—There are two—Mendis and Gallinas—the latter being the smaller tribe.

212. Does your knowledge extend to the tribes of the whole Protectorate?—Very little.

213. Are you well acquainted with the gradations of rank and subordination among the Gallinas?—Yes; the Gallinas is an old country, and supposed to be superior and more intelligent than the Mendis.

214. Do the Mendis and the Gallinas speak different languages?—Yes; although the Gallinas can speak Mendi, the Mendis cannot speak Gallinas.

215. What are the gradations of rank and subordination in the Gallinas?—There is one Head Chief for the whole country.

216. Are there Subordinate Chiefs?—Yes; many: perhaps equally powerful as the Head Chief: but they look to him as head and consult him.

217. Has the Head Chief any real authority over the other Chiefs, or are the other Cheifs merely counsellors?—In reality the Head Chief has no authority except when it suits the other Chiefs. When it comes to exerting it, he has very little power at all. He has to continually humour the people, giving them presents.

218. What is the organisation under native custom?—The Chief's authority depends much on his own character, and the position he holds in the Juju or Porro.

219. What is this Porro?—A secret society; very binding, owing to the natives being very superstitious. The actual dread of the consequences is nothing.

220. Is the Porro connected with or worked by Fetish men?—It is separate: A Mohammedan or other native not caring for Fetish might belong to Porro. Porro is

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a collection of all the chief people, who bind themselves under one word, they take an oath and call this Porro. Capt. C. E. CARR.

221. Do you know the substance of this oath?—No: they keep it too secret: they are sworn on different glasses of medicine.

222. What engagements do they make?—They have Porro on anything that may crop up. If a big Chief did not want palm kernels cut say till August, they would make Porro and bury medicine in the ground; and till that Porro is lifted no one dare touch the palms. It is taking an oath under peculiar superstitious conditions.

223. Is Porro similar to the Secret Societies of Europe in the Middle Ages?—It would be very difficult to run the parallel; Porro is worked by certain persons to be effectual: there are grades of rank in Porro.

224. Suppose an order was made by Porro and some one disobeyed, what would be the penalty?—They believe they must die if they break Porro.

225. So far as you know, there is no assassination in connection with Porro?—No.

226. Was there at any time?—I think not. One Chief was presented with a basket of fruit which was brought by a boy from another country: and he thought there was a Juju on the fruit, because he could not walk since. It was really rheumatism.

227. Is there any grade below a Sub-Chief but above the common multitude?—Headmen.

228. What are the powers of Headmen?—They possess a certain number of people of their own: they do absolutely nothing: they attend councils of big Chiefs.

229. How does a Head Chief acquire his position, is it hereditary or is he elected?—It is hereditary in a way, though not strictly adhered to. A man may be passed over for being too young, but another of the same house would be chosen. The election is limited in field of choice.

230. Who are the electors?—All Headmen and Sub-Chiefs; in fact all are supposed to have a voice. It takes months to elect a Chief: generally nine months or a year. Although the man who is ultimately elected acts as Chief in the meantime, there is a disinclination to name him. Probably there is some unwritten law that the last Chief must be dead for some time before they elect a successor.

231. Who elects successors to Sub-Chiefs?—It is left to the Head Chief to elect his successor. He generally leaves it to the people of the town to approve his choice.

232. How are Headmen chosen?—More or less as advisers and friends of the Sub-Chiefs. They are chosen by the Sub-Chiefs.

233. What are the sources of income of the Paramount Chiefs?—There are several. No man can enter the town without shaking his hand, *i.e.*, making him a present. He hears no case without first receiving the fees. Whenever a Chief moves out of a town, he gets a present. Boys and slaves must give him half the produce they pluck in the forest, kernels, etc.: but as a rule this is not insisted on. They have enough otherwise. They get rent for land, where traders or factories are established.

234. What are the sources of the Sub-Chiefs' income?—The same on a smaller scale: they have their own towns, and people going and coming give presents. They can claim part of the fruit gathered by their own people.

235. Are Sub-Chiefs practically independent of each other?—Yes.

236. Subject only to Paramount Chiefs?—In theory: they are often really as powerful, in fact, as the Paramount Chief.

237. A Paramount Chief alone has power of holding a court?—Yes.

238. Do Sub-Chiefs attend as advisers?—Yes; as a rule. Those at a distance would not be summoned, except on very important occasions.

239. Is the present given by a suitor to a Paramount Chief regulated in amount?—No; it depends on what he can give.

240. Do both plaintiff and defendant give presents?—Yes.

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Capt. C. E. Carr.

241. Is there any provision for keeping the amounts uniform on both sides?—They may bid against each other, and generally the biggest present wins the case.

242. Within your knowledge has judgment been given to the highest bidder?—I have had complaints that judgment was given to the highest bidder, but have never been able to prove it.

243. Among the Gallinas, do Fetish priests exercise much influence over Chiefs?—No; they are Mohammedans, but still believe in the medicines of the country.

244. Do they believe in Fetish priests?—They do not actually have them themselves, but they believe in them.

245. Do Sub-Chiefs meet together for any purpose?—No; only with Paramount Chiefs on special occasions.

246. Among the Mendis, is the organisation similar?—Yes, very similar. A great proportion are Mohamedans.

247. Is there one Head Chief of Mendi?—No, there are many.

248. Thereare then several Paramount Chiefs in the Mendi country? Yes; probably about fifteen distinct countries. Beginning at the north-east corner there is the Jarvi country; then lower down the Sali country; to the west again the Dama country, the Tunkia country, the Nomo country, the Koya country, the Barri country, the Krim country, the Perri country, the Jaiamah country, the Malane country, the Bumpe country, and many others.

249. Are these Sub-Chiefs under the Paramount Chiefs?—Yes.

250. Does each Paramount Chief know his own boundaries?—Yes; they are most particular: and every Sub-Chief and every native knows exactly.

251. Is there any tendency to encroach on each other's districts?—No; they are very particular not to do so.

252. To what extent do Paramount Chiefs recognise their relation to the Governor?—They look upon him as their father and head: and look upon the District Commissioner as representing him.

253. Are they aware of the relation of the Governor to the Queen?—I think so. They have odd ideas. Some of the small Chiefs and natives, while I was collecting the tax, thought it was my money. I heard them saying, 'This is Captain Carr's money.' Sometimes when carriers come in from outside and ask the name of the town: they are told that the District Commissioner is the head. They judge us by themselves, and think we try to get the better of them. In many cases a powerful chief would not either give a decision or try a case, unless some of the frontier police were present. They like to have officials present.

254. With a view to consulting them, or just for their presence?—Both: I used to punish both chiefs and police if they acted together. The Chiefs feel that they are backed up by Government if a frontier is present.

255. Is it contrary to orders that police should attend?—Not contrary if they attend as police, but contrary if as advisers.

256. Is there anything to show that they knew of the Ashanti Expedition of 1874, or of the later one?—No: but they have a great and vague idea of the Queen's power.

257. Did they know about the men-of-war?—A good many. More than half the natives in my district have never seen a white man at all.

258. Have any Chiefs spoken to you about the Queen's power, etc.?—Yes, often, and asked questions. I was talking to one Chief, and when I asked him his age, he said, 'Older than the Queen.' I asked how he knew, and he said, 'The Queen is a great-great-grandmother, and I am a great-great-grandfather.' He remembered the death of George IV. The majority of them speak a little bad English; they are more or less enlightened, and most of them realise the power of the Government.

259. Then the Chiefs of the Mendis are not mere savages?—By no means.

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260. Are they aware of the Governor's position as representative of the Queen in the Colony?—Yes. By the interpreters the word Governor is used, not Government.

261. Is there much coin in circulation among the people?—It varies much: in many places it circulates freely: not in the interior.

262. Have the Chiefs much actual coin?—Some of them could dig up £200 or £300.

263. You said some of the Mendis spoke English. Is it the broken English that the traders speak?—Yes: and many of the Gallinas also speak English.

264. Were you in the district at the time of the Proclamation of the Protectorate Ordinance 1896?—Yes.

265. How was it received by the Chiefs?—In very good part: it was some time before it was understood.

266. What were the means used to make it understood?—I used to explain it. I have always talked on the matter with all the bigs Chiefs. They all said, without exception, 'We prefer to be under English Government to the old days when there was no peace.'

267. Was that the feeling of the subordinates?—I could not say: but in my opinion it was not. The Chiefs liked it because it gave them more power; but probably the rank and file did not.

268. Have you talked with the rank and file on the subject?—Yes, often; and on the whole their view was unfavourable.

269. What reasons did they give for disliking the change?—Their chief objection was on account of their wives: they looked on them as their property. By the new law they were not allowed to flog their wives, and their wives could leave them if they liked. By the old system they could not leave them. They looked upon it as a hardship that a woman whom they had very likely brought up from a child could leave them. The wives and the slaves were their two chief objections.

270. Was their power over their wives similar to the power over their slaves?—Their power was absolute.

271. Was there any distinction between the position of a wife and a slave?—In name. A wife was not necessarily a slave, but might be. A wife was really worse off than a slave. A man could kill his wife. Flogging was very usual. They objected to this being stopped.

272. Can you tell me anything about the trade of your district?—There are certain Europeans and Sierra Leonians who keep trading stations. They have native contractors who travel for them. Trade is chiefly confined to centres. The majority of trade comes down from inland: native produce is brought down and exchanged for tobacco, cloth, etc.

273. Do they exchange for spirits to any extent?—There are very few cases of a deal in produce without spirits.

274. What proportion do spirits bear in value to other elements of exchange?—If a man brought down £20 of produce to a factory, he would take away at least £5 or £6 worth of gin. About one quarter.

275. The further the spirit is carried, the higher the price?—To a certain extent. It costs the same at Bandajuma as it does another three days further on.

276. Is much spirit carried into the interior?—Very little; the reason being that it will not pay to carry it beyond a certain distance. On a waterway it will be carried as far as the waterway goes.

277. Is there no great demand among the natives?—There is a demand, but it does not affect trade much. I know of one very big trader who refuses to sell any gin.

278. Inland, where there are no spirits, is there any substitute?—Palm wine; most of the cases of drunkenness I have seen have been from palm wine.

279. Is palm wine cheaper than spirits?—It costs nothing: or a merely nominal price.

280. Are you aware of any cases of traders bringing down slaves from outside the district as part of their trade?—Such a case has never been brought to my notice. Traders have women and children given them by Chiefs: it comes very near to slave-dealing. All

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Capt. C. E. CARR Sierra Leone traders have country wives. The Chiefs give them girls belonging to their households.

281. Was this previous to the Ordinance?—It probably goes on still: but not openly.

282. The girls would be as much in the trader's power as if bought for money?—Yes.

283. So far as you know, have there been any cases of slaves being taken from beyond the Protectorate, and bought and sold in the Protectorate?—No: there have been one or two cases of wives being enticed out of our Protectorate to Liberia to be sold there.

284. Are you aware of any cases where slaves have been captured in a raid and brought in and sold in the district?—No: I have had many reports of such cases, but on examination it always turned out to be a family matter. Much may be done which does not come under my notice.

285. Do they sometimes sell members of a family as a punishment?—Not openly.

286. Your view was that if it was done, it was done by way of punishment?—Yes.

287. By native law is a family responsible for debts contracted by its members?—Yes.

288. Do the Paramount Chiefs in the Mendi country or the Gallinas often communicate?—Yes, often: by messengers, not by meeting together.

289. What class of people are these messengers?—Men of their household, who speak their own language, and whom they can trust.

290. Do they hire Sierra Leonians to any extent?—For letter writing and as clerks.

291. Letter writing to each other or to Government?—To nobody in particular: to traders, Government, or to anybody. The majority of Chiefs have their sons educated a little.

292. Do they wear European clothes?—Yes.

293. Do those Chiefs who have these half-educated people attached to them place confidence in them?—They have to make confidants of them, but I do not think they trust them.

294. Is news from outside conveyed to them?—Wonderfully so: I often hear from natives of things that have happened long before I hear by letter.

295. Do Chiefs become at all acquainted with what is published in the Sierra Leone papers?—Yes: through traders mostly, and by their English reading sons or daughters.

296. Have you ever seen Sierra Leone papers in Chiefs' houses or compounds?—Yes.

297. Do they despise the natives who wear European clothes?—They laugh at them and regard it as an affectation. They do not despise them.

298. Regarding the hut tax: were you District Commissioner when that was promulgated?—Yes.

299. Was the law explained to the Chiefs before the tax was collected?—I read it to them in October 1896.

300. How was the intimation in October received?—They were anxious to ask questions.

301. Did you call a meeting of Chiefs?—Yes: a big meeting of powerful Chiefs: and I read and explained the new laws. They asked many questions, but none about the hut tax. Everything was explained in detail.

302. Did they ignore the hut tax till the actual collection commenced?—Yes: practically right up to that time. On my arrival in November, I met two most powerful Mendi chiefs. On 1st December I reminded them that the tax was due. They made no answer. In the meantime I found that they had decided to come to Freetown and see the Governor without my knowledge. They did so, and saw the Governor and asked "*Must* we pay." The Governor said yes. They went back, and the Chief who is most powerful and owns seventy or eighty towns paid up in full. They were between two stools as it were, afraid of the Government and of the people. The people being ignorant and being egged on by the Sierra Leonians and semi-educated natives, thought that they were paying for the actual hut they were living in: and did not see why they should do so. The mistake was to call it hut tax: it caused misunderstanding. I held meetings

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sometimes of 10,000 people and 120 Chiefs. I asked them if they had heard of the hut tax and they said, Yes. I explained to them, 'You are not paying a bushel of kernels for your hut, but for the Government. The hut is only a means of counting the people. Since the Government came here your affairs have improved, and the Government must get money to pay the officials: and so they ask you all to contribute.' Their views were changed after these explanations, and at last they thoroughly grasped the situation: that they were paying a small contribution for the public good. Still for many months the impression remained that they were paying the actual value of their house. I have asked every Chief the same question, 'Whether they would sooner pay and be governed, or that the Europeans should leave.' They all would sooner pay.

303. Was their first idea that their right of property was being interfered with or taken from them?—Yes.

304. They became disabused of this idea by your explanations?—Yes, thoroughly. Some paid quite cheerfully when they understood the law. I used to get hundreds of bushels a day.

305. Was the course of events similar in Gallinas?—All over the country. I visited that country in March and April, and almost the whole country had paid.

306. What was the estimated amount of the tax for the Bandajuma country?—I think £1500.

307. How much was actually collected?—£2600. £1700 worth was lost in the rising, which had been actually collected and was in the traders' depots.

308. What can you tell me about the rising?—I was much astonished. It began in a corner of the district. The chief fighting men live at Bumpe. This being in an out-of-the-way part is not often visited by white men. The people have a reputation as great warriors, and there is a powerful witch woman. They said, 'Let us try to get our country back again, and slaves.' It began in Bumpe, and Porro was called. In the Gallinas country they all rose in four days.

309. Was the Chief of Bumpe a powerful Chief?—Not himself, but his head warrior, Banumun, and the witch doctors are very powerful. As soon as the news of the rising travelled through Lower Bum, Bum Kittum, Kittum river, and Manoh river (which it did in three days), the people began to plunder. The lower part of the country knew nothing of the rising until it actually took place. There was an organised rising in the district extending from Bumpe to Koronko and to the Small Bum. When the others heard of it they began looting wherever there was a factory. I was in the Gallinas country four days after the rising, and they knew nothing of it.

310. Did the Chiefs take part with the people?—Yes: they all met at Mafwe and killed nine police and many Sierra Leonians. They wanted to wipe out Bandajuma, because they thought that if they did that, they would get rid of the Government for ever.

311. Was it a movement of the Chiefs or of the people?—More of the people: many Chiefs were forced to join by their own people.

312. Was plunder the great motive?—Yes: because the greater part of the country had already paid the tax.

313. Do you consider that the parts otherwise than where it was organised, were actuated by desire of plunder?—Where it was organised, it was to get rid of European Government.

314. Was this organisation a matter of Porro?—Yes.

315. Can you speak to this as a fact?—Yes: we made an expedition againt the capital of the Barri country, and we took a friendly Chief with us. We eventually came to the place, and he sent his war boys into the Porro bush to look for the Porro. They found a little bundle which they brought to us. This contained a small figure of a white man, made of white wood, and they had dug up a dead constable and put some of his hair on it: there was also a small ruler and two bits of wood that go through a hammock. This was the Porro, signifying war against white men. If a stranger were to come to the town, he would be asked what the Porro was, and if he could not say, they would kill

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Capt. C. E. CARR. him. They had the same Porro all round. I gave this Porro to Lieut. Safford, who now has it in Freetown. He was present when the Chief explained it to me.

316. What became of the friendly Chief?—He is still at Bundajuma.

317. Is he still Chief?—He is still fighting: when they found they could not take me, they raided this Chief's towns, and they are treating him very badly. I asked two very powerful Chiefs, Momo Kaikai and Momo Jah, to come into my room, and talk to me privately. I said to them, 'Now, as between friends, how did all this happen: what was the cause of this rising?' It is very hard to get a straight answer from them. I said, 'Is it the hut tax, or what is it?' Momo Jah said, 'You know when I want to fill my belly I get a big bowl and fill it with rice: but that is not enough. Before I eat, I put on a little pepper or soup or greenstuff. That does not fill my belly, it is the rice that fills it. Well, the rice represents our wives, and slaves, and the pepper is the hut tax.'

Resumed 23rd July.

318. Is there an impression amongst the Chiefs that the Protectorate Ordinance struck against slavery more than it did?—It was not exactly the abolishment of slavery: what they felt was, that a slave could walk perhaps 1000 yards, and get into the Colony: they could then go to the nearest customs or police office, and say they wanted their freedom. Thus they lost many slaves.

319. Did the practice of resorting to the Colony to get freedom prevail greatly?—Yes: especially in Gallinas.

320. Where is the old Chief of Bumpe?—Still at Bumpe.

321. Is he a very old man?—No: he is paralysed.

322. Is he intelligent?—Not very.

323. What has become of the witch doctor?—She is with them, I suppose. The speaker of the King, Bandibrah, is in gaol at Bandajuma.

324. Was the first outbreak in Bumpe?—I could not say actually. I think it occurred first at Selabu, which lies a little to the south.

325. Did it break out there before Port Lokko?—No, afterwards. If Port Lokko had not risen, I do not think Bandajuma would have risen.

326. The Bumpe outbreak was not caused by emissaries?—I am not aware that it was so; they were all in touch with each other. To throw light on the relation of the natives to the Sierra Leonians, I should like to speak of my first case in Court. A native asked for a summons against a Sierra Leone trader for assault. The native was intelligent, and could speak English. It appears that the native had acted as collector for the trader, and owed him money. The Sierra Leonian caught him, and tied him up in a shed for three weeks; giving him three or four lashes every day, burned his beard off, and subjected him to many other gross indignities. This was in December 1896 or January 1897. The trader's name was Lee. The natives are more enlightened than people suppose; they know that they are swindled by traders, and resent it although they do not lodge complaints. The traders buy by a measure they call the Colonial bushel (68 lbs.), which is much larger than the standard bushel.

327. Does not the native complain?—No, but they know it is wrong. For instance, they know that tobacco they could get in Freetown for 10d. is sold to them for two or three shillings.

328. This increased their animosity?—Decidedly; it is not because the Sierra Leone traders help the Government that they are disliked; it is because they do not deal fairly by the natives.

329. Is this the prevailing character of the Sierra Leone trader?—Yes; there are exceptions.

330. It would apply rather to independent traders?—Yes, some of the agents of the big firms are very nice men.

331. Were there Mission Stations in your district?—There was one: the United Brotherhood of Christ, I think. There was one white man They took him to Bumpe,

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and the Chief of Bumpe saved his life. They wanted to kill him. They sacked his place and killed his black assistants. He is the Rev. Mr. Goodman, and is now in Freetown.

332. If the missionaries stand aloof from trading, how do you account for the feeling against them?—It is because of the general feeling against whites rather than for any special reason.

333. Were there any complaints respecting the mode of collecting the tax?—No: except in one instance the whole of the tax was collected by myself. I was well acquainted with the condition of the country. If I knew that a Chief had a rich country I used to insist. If he were not rich, I would ask him 'How many houses he had.' If he said, 'I do not know,' I would say, 'Go and count them; I trust to your honour.' The Chiefs appreciated this, and would tell me the number of houses. Sometimes they had no kernels and not enough rice; and I would say that I would take £5 in money instead of perhaps £20. I was guided by circumstances. I had about fifteen policemen. If a Chief had not paid, I sent for him and asked him why. He would say, 'It is all ready, I was waiting for you.' I then made him sit down, not as a prisoner, and told him to send his people to fetch the kernels. He did so, and when they had brought them I let him go.

334. You had discretionary power?—It was left widely to our discretion. We were not to use harsh measures unless absolutely necessary.

335. Were there any complaints of unauthorised persons having demanded the tax?—No: several Chiefs were advised not to pay by the Sierra Leone traders.

336. What were the names of the Chiefs?—Chief Momo Kaikai, Henry Tucker, and Lamin lahai.

337. Were there any complaints of police acting improperly in collecting the tax?—Not one.

338. Do Chiefs on paying the tax collect money from the people living in the houses, or does it fall solely on the Chief?—Nearly all the tax is paid in produce which the Chiefs make the people pick. Where it is paid in money it is probably out of the Chief's pocket.

339. Looking at the means which the Chiefs had at their disposal, would you consider the tax excessive?—In a few isolated cases perhaps. Two-thirds of the district could pay twice as much without feeling it: my district is a very rich one.

340. Had it been a poll tax instead of a hut tax, would it have been more difficult to collect, or less difficult?—Less: it was the word 'house' that upset them. They could not see why they should pay for what was their own. They know now that it is not so.

341. Had there been a poll tax the initial difficulty would not have occurred?—No.

342. Are you aware of any foundation for the allegation that in the course of military operations the military or police acted vindictively in any way; such as by burning growing crops?—I have never heard the faintest rumour, nor am I aware of any foundation for such allegations. I am positive that the growing crops have not been interfered with in the Bandajuma district.

343. Can you give any estimate of the population of the Bandajuma district?—Although impossible to give anything like an accurate estimate, I should put the population of the district at 600,000.

344. Can you give any estimate of the number of Sierra Leone people killed during the insurrection?—When finally all are accounted for, I should say that the number of Sierra Leonians killed will be between forty and fifty: this, of course, is only in the Bandajuma district.

345. How did you base your estimate of the population of the Bandajuma district?—I myself and officers in the district counted in 1896 and 1897 some 58,000 huts. I am perfectly convinced in my own mind that not one-half of the towns in the district were found or counted by myself and subordinates; in fact, about one-fifth of the district was not traversed at all. Estimating accordingly the number of huts at, at least, 100,000, and the occupants of each hut, including women and children, at six souls, I arrived at the total of 600,000.

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Mr. Frederic Taylor.

Mr. Frederic Taylor.

346. My name is Frederic Taylor. I am a trader. I live at Bumpe. I trade between Bumpe and Sierra Leone. The war boys came and plundered my house: they took away my wife and children, my cotton, tobacco, palm-nuts and oil, and wrecked my boat. They were Sherbros, Mendis, and Timinis mixed up. The head man is a Sherbro Chief. I do not know his name. He lives at Matogi (?), a town near Mafwe. They plundered all the Sierra Leonians at Bumpe, and killed one man. I ran into the bush and hid there for three days. I then went to hide with Kai Bum, a Sherbro man, and he told me that the tax brought the war boys. I am now staying in Freetown. The people of the town joined the war boys in plundering the Sierra Leonians.

Mary Ann Moses.

Mary Ann Moses.

347. My name is Mary Ann Moses. I am a Sierra Leonian trader. I trade on the Bumpe river. On Sunday evening, 1st May, the war boys came and began to plunder. I took my goods down to the wharf, and hid part of them in the bush. I left my two children on the wharf while I hid the goods. When I came back I saw a lot of men, and they said, Go home,' and I went with the two children and hid in the bush for three days. They plundered the goods which I had left. The bush people say that the war boys come because of the hut tax. I came to Freetown with the two children yesterday.

Mr. W. M. Pittendrigh.

Mr. W. M. Pittendrigh, Merchant.

348. My name is William Marston Pittendrigh. I am about to go to England, and wish to give some evidence. I am carrying on business at Freetown, Sherbro, and in the French colony. I am manager to Paterson, Zochonis and Company, Limited. We have places of business in Freetown, Sherbro, York Island, and other factories in the Protectorate. We have no travellers: they are all at stations. I have resided for twenty years in Sierra Leone and the neighbourhood, for the last eight years only for six months at a time.

349. You have a large knowledge of business and trade and all that goes on?—Yes, I think so.

350. You are President of the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce?—Yes.

351. Do you remember when the Chamber had its commencement?—The present Chamber began in 1892 or 1893.

352. Up to the time of the recent disturbances, was trade between Great Britain and Sierra Leone in a prosperous state?—Fairly prosperous.

353. Do you trade chiefly with Great Britain?—Yes: with Germany too, and with America. Since France put on a duty, all the exports which used to come to Sierra Leone, and so on to the French depots, now go direct to French territory.

354. Were such goods bonded?—Yes; they did not go to increase the revenue: they paid warehouse rent and harbour dues.

355. Is there any means of ascertaining what proportion of goods are retained for consumption in Sierra Leone, and what passes into the Protectorate?—In the Colony there is really no trade. It produces practically nothing beyond a little ginger.

356. There being no produce to speak of, the bulk of the imports goes into the Protectorate?—Practically all: local consumption might amount to 15 per cent. Taking the dealings of our firm, not more than 15 per cent. is retained in the Colony.

357. Can you say what proportion of goods taken into the Protectorate is retained in the Protectorate and what passes to the country beyond?—Not above 40 per cent. is retained in the Protectorate itself.

358. Is rubber a considerable export?—Yes, but not from the Protectorate.

359. Is gold brought to any extent from outside the Protectorate?—There is a pretty good trade: last year we have had about 2000 ounces for our own firm.

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360. There is no gold in the Protectorate?—None whatever.

361. Are there any workable deposits of minerals?—It is uncertain: I have some samples very like silver from the Protectorate.

362. Is your trade with the interior wholly by barter, or do some customers pay in money?—Chiefly barter: we use twice as much cash as we did last year.

363. What is this owing to?—To a great extent people going into the interior cannot carry goods, and carry cash instead: then the middlemen are more prosperous and are beginning to keep cash.

364. Then it is more paying than receiving cash in your trade?—Yes: we are always importing money.

365. When you sell goods at your factories you get payment in produce?—In Sherbro: all in palm kernels and oil; these are the only exports.

366. Have you factories on the French rivers and territory?—Yes: about half our business is done in French territory.

367. How are payments made in French territory?—In produce: chiefly rubber; there is a very large rubber trade.

368. Is there no rubber from our Protectorate?—Very little: there are plenty of both rubber and gum trees; but the people will not work. They would be very well off if they would work.

369. Are they slow to take up anything?—Yes: they only do enough work for their daily needs. If a man wants anything from a factory he will gather some palm kernels and make oil of them.

370. Are spirits an essential ingredient in your ordinary trade?—If we did not sell them, some one else would: and if we stopped selling them, the people make palm wine. You very seldom see cases of drunkenness. It is not drunkenness that causes harm, it is bad spirit.

371. Where does the bad spirit come from?—Hamburg.

372. Are not English, Scotch, or Irish spirits sent out?—These are only consumed by the Europeans or better-class Sierra Leonians.

373. Is the Hamburg spirit very cheap?—Very: a case of twelve bottles of gin is 1s. 6d. Hamburg price: the duty is 3s., and perhaps 6d. for freight.

374. Must every trader have spirits to sell along with other goods?—Yes.

375. Suppose your agent had cloth, tobacco, etc., but no gin, would the natives trade?—If they did, he would have to get gin from some other place: the natives always expect to carry away a certain amount of gin.

376. Am I correct in supposing that if your factory did not supply spirits at all, the people would not trade?—The natives would not come at all.

377. Do you think the natives drink Hamburg spirit enough to be hurtful?—There are very few drunkards either in Sierra Leone or the Protectorate. The bulk of the spirit sold in Sherbro goes up outside our Protectorate, probably more than 50 per cent. The farther it is carried, the more it costs.

378. Can you say what is the selling price of a case of gin in the Protectorate?—Six-and-sixpence: 6s. 3d. in Freetown. Our factories never charge more than 7s.: all our factories are on waterways; when carriers are employed, the price is somewhat higher.

379. Do many Sierra Leonians act as middlemen?—Very few. They are chiefly natives with a trading instinct: better-class Mendis.

380. The duty on the import of spirits has been raised?—Yes: from 2s. to 3s. per gallon, with no allowance for under proof.

381. Whilst the allowance for under proof existed, was much under proof imported?—It was all 45 to 50 per cent. under proof. It is imported full strength now, and the Colony has lost a great deal of revenue by it.

382. Do not traders dilute the spirit?—No: it is all sealed in bottles and demijohns.

383. Do you sell strong spirit at a higher price now?—Yes.

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384. Has the raising of the duty diminished importation?—Yes: making it 3s. all round has done it. The Chamber of Commerce suggested paying, say, 5s. for proof, and so on in proportion: this would have increased the revenue, and natives would have got weaker spirit.

385. Comparing 3s. duty with English duty, why should 1s. per gallon make so much difference?—The country-people kicked at it, and said, 'We will not pay this price.' They took to palm wine, which is not only a great intoxicant, but in obtaining it they spoil the palm-trees.

386. Do they cut down the trees to get the wine?—They tap the trees: after three or four years they will no longer bear.

387. Is there an ample supply of this wine, or would it soon come to an end?—There is an ample supply.

388. Are Freetown and Sherbro the only ports of entry?—Yes.

389. Is there any reason to suppose that spirits enter the Protectorate by other than these ports of entry?—There is plenty from the French side: not so much lately since the French have imposed a duty.

390. What is the French duty on spirits?—About 1s. 9d. per gallon proof spirit, and about 11d. for 45 per cent. under proof.

391. Is any spirit brought in from Liberia?—No, the duty is too high there: I cannot say what the duty is exactly.

392. Does the spirit from the French side pay duty?—It is smuggled over.

393. Has that increased since our duty was raised?—No: the French put on a duty about the same time. Three or four years ago there used to be a large trade in rice with the North. The French are dependent on this Colony for rice. The rice was paid for by spirits greatly. None of this spirit paid duty.

394. Have you known any cases in which European or Sierra Leonian firms have tried to get land and have had difficulties?—I have known of individuals: they have gone up and made agreements with Chiefs to lease territory, and have come here and tried to register them. It is a very good thing that they were not able to register them: it was only for the purpose of floating companies in England. It would cost a company more to work the rubber than it would fetch.

395. Bogus Companies?—Yes: they would have the land, but could never get anything out of it.

396. Would that apply to any other attempt?—It would depend upon circumstances.

397. There would be difficulty about labour?—Yes: they would have to fence in the land to begin with, and would want about one European for five natives. I believe cattle-ranching would pay.

398. Are there any grazing lands?—In Limba. I believe Mr. Buckley has seen some. (Mr. Buckley is the manager of the Bank.)

399. Whilst the Protectorate Ordinance was passing, your Chamber objected to some of the clauses?—Yes: I was away at the time (September 1897).

400. Since returning you have become acquainted with the Petition? and concurred with it?—Yes.

401. The Manchester Chamber did not entirely endorse your objections?—Not altogether.

402. The Sierra Leone Chamber objected to the powers of the District Commissioners, and also that a £25 maximum was too high?[1]—Speaking personally, I do not agree with the Chamber on those points.

403. Then there was a clause with regard to counsel and attorneys, prohibiting their appearance in the Court of native Chiefs, to which the Chamber objected: have you any opinion on the subject?—I am not able to express an opinion.

404. You also objected to the clause about giving spirit to a native?—Yes: it is a very tight law. No one can really keep it. Suppose a native has come in with a heavy load,

[1] *See also* 2770.

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one may not give him a little spirit and water. Its object was to prevent Sierra Leonians making natives drunk before trading with them, and so obtaining an unfair advantage: that very seldom happens.

405. The Chamber objectedto District Commissioners refusing licences without giving any reason?—The District Commissioner is generally Commander of the Police Force; if it was a Civil Commissioner, personally I should say it would not matter. I object to the clause.

406. Could you say whether, since the Proclamation of the Protectorate, trade has improved or otherwise?—Trade has not improved.

407. Has there been less produce brought down?—Early in 1897, when the Chiefs first heard of the hut tax, there was no trade in the Sherbro district for four months; trade then improved from August to the end of the year, but was no better in 1897 than in 1895.

408. Were there no additional factories established?—None. A few Sierra Leonians may have gone a little farther into the interior, but not to make any difference.

409. It is said that when the hut tax first became known, the natives thought that they were paying for what belonged to them: are you aware of that?—Yes: they were never told when the Protectorate was proclaimed that there would be a tax. I refer to the Proclamation of 1896.

410. Did it come to your knowledge that there was any objection on the part of the natives otherwise than to the clause about the hut tax?—Only trivial objections.

411. Was there any feeling against the judicial powers of the District Commissioners?—No more than that it was an innovation; some rather liked the change. The bigger Chiefs did not like it because it took power and fees away from them. There was nothing in that to create a disturbance.

412. Was there any objection to the provision allowing domestic slaves to purchase their freedom?—No: because slaves could come to Freetown and obtain their freedom; which they did, and often returned again to their masters. Slavery has really been dead for years within a large radius round Freetown.

413. Did they not object?—No: it has been brought about so gradually, beginning in 1820, that they quite recognise that slavery is done away with.

414. To your knowledge was there any feeling that the Protectorate Ordinance had accelerated the death of slavery?—They complained a little at first, and said, 'We have no one to work for us,' but they have known for years and years that slavery was doomed.

415. When their objection to slavery passed away, did slaves go on working for their masters just as before?—Yes: just the same.

416. Can you assign any reason for the outbreak?—The hut tax, and the mode in which it was collected. The Frontier Police are composed chiefly of old slaves, and when they pass through their old towns they lose no chance of insulting their former masters.

417. Are you speaking from actual knowledge?—Yes: the Chamber has proofs of cases in all districts where the tax was collected, and before it was collected.

418. What took place in that connection before the tax was collected?—The Frontier Police robbed the people and just took what they liked. The people complain and the police deny.

419. Can you give any examples?—I only speak from hearsay.

420. Has the Chamber of Commerce taken a strong view of the subject?—Yes: from the first. The people ought to have been told that money had to be raised to pay officials. If the Chiefs had been consulted, and they had not forced payments, I believe the money would have been paid. The tax is too high.

421. Was the tax too high for the Chiefs or the people?—The Chief would collect the tax from his people if he agreed to pay. In some cases they have paid it out of their own pockets; in others they have collected it from their people.

422. Can you say whether Sierra Leone traders and people have been in favour of or

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against the hut tax?—Against it altogether: they knew that there would be a rising when the tax was imposed.

423. Do you suppose any advices have been given to the natives regarding the tax?—Many have advised them to pay: there may have been some small traders who would say, 'Why should you pay the tax?' I should think there were very few cases of that sort.

424. Have you ever read in the Sierra Leone papers any persuasion to the natives not to pay the tax?—Never.

425. The disturbance began in the Port Lokko district?—Yes: and the papers made some very stupid comments on it, which influenced Bai Bureh a little, I think; though not intended to do so.

426. Have many Chiefs educated clerks?—Yes. Bai Bureh had. I know him very well. I was his prisoner for a month. He would look out for these articles, and put great faith in them.

427. And probably many other Chiefs also?—Yes: I cannot say that any of the papers advised them directly not to pay. They can read between the lines very well.

428. You have travelled a great deal in the Protectorate?—Yes. In 1883 I became acquainted with Bai Bureh. He is a shrewd man.

429. You said your Chamber did not correspond with the Liverpool Chamber?—Not regularly: some letters on the hut tax were written.

430. Do you correspond with the Manchester Chamber?—Irregularly: there was no special correspondence on the hut tax: it was mentioned generally in comments on the Ordinance.

431. Have you ever heard of a trader in Sierra Leone saying to a native, 'You need not pay this tax, it will soon be abolished'?—I have never heard of it. I know two people who might say it.

432. Could any of your people ever have said such a thing?—I cannot think who could have said it. Certainly no white man.

433. Could such a thing have been said?—It might have been. There was a rumour that the hut tax would be abolished before the disturbance broke out.

434. That would not be your view?—No: I think it would be very bad policy to do away with the tax now.

435. Assuming that revenue had to be raised, is there any other method that you would suggest?—No: it is a very good tax. I object to the way in which it was put on.

436. How would it be possible to get at the public opinion?—Call the Chiefs together: they would have come.

437. The mistake was that the tax was imposed without consulting the Chiefs?—Yes: in Sherbro, where they were paying, they say, 'Oh yes. Measure away; you may get your tax, but you will never take your kernels away.' This was at our factory at Mafwe.

438. There may have been a desire to resist the tax: do you consider that this was the cause of the murders?—The Bumpe people said, 'We will not pay the tax, and if other Mendis pay we will fall on them.' The collection went on all right till Captain Wallis refused to take some of the produce, and a man and a woman were killed by the frontiers, about 28th or 29th April. Wherever life was taken they rose.

439. How would you account for their fury against the missionaries?—It was like a devil let loose: their blood was up: they would kill anybody.

440. Have you anything further to state?—European industry in accessible parts might succeed. Rubber would never pay; the labour would be too great.

441. I understood you to say that all spirit comes in bottles and demijohns?—All, except for Freetown: it comes in casks.

442. What is in casks is bottled afterwards?—Yes: it is generally proof or over proof.

443. Any spirits from America or the West Indies?—None from America: some from Mauritius.

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444. You spoke of the spirit taken into the interior as if it was of bad quality: on what do you base that opinion?—You cannot get good spirit at 1s. 6d. per gallon.

445. Is there anything to show that it produces a bad effect?—No: they can probably drink more of it than of good spirit.

446. Is your objection that it is not potent enough?—Oh no. I do not object to it: it cannot be good spirit; it is bound to have a bad effect, but not such a bad effect as palm wine.

447. Has palm wine permanent bad effects?—It produces actual insanity.

448. Is that well known to medical men?—Yes.

449. Do the natives use any indigenous substances in the same way as tobacco?—No.

450. Nothing like bhang or Indian hemp?—No.

451. There is only a small duty on tobacco, I believe?—Fourpence per pound.

452. What would be the effect on inland trade if the duty were raised, say, to 6d. or 8d.?—None, if the French raised their duty too. The French duty at present is 2d. a pound.

453. Would people readily pay the increased price?—Yes, if the French would raise theirs: even 1s.

454. In 1896 the duty on salt was raised from 3s. to 8s. a ton?—Yes.

455. How did that operate?—Fairly well: it did no harm, because the French duty is the same.

456. Is salt greatly in demand in the interior?—Yes: there is not so much salt sold here as on the French rivers. We sold two or three thousand tons last year. A large part of the sale goes into the Protectorate from Freetown.

457. There is an *ad valorem* duty on cotton?—Yes: 10 per cent., and on all goods not affected by specific duty.

458. It was raised recently from 7½ to 10 per cent.?—Yes, about two years ago.

459. Did the increase produce any prejudicial effect on trade?—No, I cannot say it did. Of course we are always competing with the French rivers. We cannot send anything from Freetown into the French rivers now; the duty is too heavy. Freetown used to be the depot.

460. If it comes from England it pays no duty to be taken into French territory?—There is nothing beyond the specific duty: if it comes from Freetown it pays extra, as well as the import duty into Sierra Leone.

461. Are there any export duties from Sierra Leone?—No.

462. The suggestion made by the Chamber of Commerce that proof strength should be the unit of taxation, was that the general view of traders here?—Yes.

463. Do they consider that there would be an increase in the revenue?—Yes.

464. Can you explain how that would be brought about?—I cannot say.

465. Would there be a demand for spirit at proof strength?—Yes.

466. Then, as I understand, most spirit is now brought in proof?—Yes.

467. Does not the purchaser get a better bargain now—formerly he got spirit 45 per cent. under proof, now for 1s. a gallon more he gets proof spirit?—No, for 2s. more. We have to put on an increased price, as we have to get an extra profit. A profit on the duty we pay as well as on the cost price.

468. When loss takes place in a bonded warehouse by breakage, you do not pay duty?—Not if it is noticed.

469. Are you aware that Sir Claud Macdonald obtained an analysis of spirit sent to the Niger, and the report gave 39 per cent. of absolute alcohol, the whole being perfectly pure spirit with some flavouring?—Yes.

470. You remember the International Conference at Brussels: were you aware that Mr. Gärling, on behalf of the German Government, said that spirit which came from Germany was absolutely pure spirit? I daresay.

471. There is nothing of the nature of house tax in Freetown or the Colony?—There

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is no direct tax whatever. A few trading licences, and a sort of tax on business premises: but no tax on property. These go to the funds of the Municipality.

472. Is there anything to show that the people of the Protectorate were aware that there was no tax in Sierra Leone?—They knew it.

473. Did it arouse any feelings of jealousy?—Certainly: if they had first put a tax on Sierra Leone, and then, perhaps a year afterwards, on the Protectorate, I believe it would have worked. It is well known that that objection was made.

474. Would a house tax in Sierra Leone, an *ad valorem* assessment, work satisfactorily?—I think it would; it would be the fairest way. The Sierra Leonians are quite reconciled to the idea of a house and land tax. But they will have to be more represented in the Government.

475. Has there been any appeal to the Government on the subject of representation?—No: but it has been talked about much, both by Europeans and natives.

Mrs. JONES.

MRS. JONES.

29th July 1898.

476. Mrs. Priscilla A. Jones, having handed to the Commissioner a written statement, said: 'Mr. Turner, a Government official, wrote this from my statement and read it over to me, and it is correct. I trade in kola nuts, taking them in exchange for cotton, tobacco, spirits, etc. The Chief of Tombay town is commonly called Beah Boy; he used to visit my husband, and my husband read a letter to the Chief from the District Commissioners about the hut tax. The Chief was cast down, but said he would pay the tax if he could have three months' grace. Samuel Cole told me that my husband had been killed, and the property plundered.'

SAMUEL COLE.

SAMUEL COLE.

477. Samuel Cole was afterwards (24th August) called. Stated: I am boat captain to Mrs. Jones. One Saturday at the end of April I was at the factory at Tombay with Mr. Jones and another. On the Friday night previous I had overheard Beah Boy making a plot. We launched the boat on Saturday morning, but before we had gone far, about 200 people came out of the bush and caught hold of the boat. They took Mr. Jones and asked him to give them money to pay the tax with. They then took sticks and stones and beat him and killed him. This was about 9 A.M. on Saturday morning.

J. C. E. PARKES

J. C. E. PARKES, Secretary for Native Affairs.

478. What is your full name?—James Charles Ernest Parkes.

479. Your office?—Secretary for Native Affairs.

480. Have you previously held other offices?—Yes. First I was in the Queen's Advocates' Department. Then I resigned and became Assistant Clerk to the Commandant of Sherbro. I then became third Clerk in the Colonial Secretariat. Then Sir Samuel Rowe took me into the newly-created Aboriginal Department. I was apppointed Superintendent of that Department under Governor Hay. When Colonel Cardew came he changed the name to Secretary for Native Affairs.

481. You are intimately acquainted with the natives of the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, and with their laws and customs?—Yes.

482. And also with the inhabitants of the Colony?—Yes.

483. How far do your duties lead you into personal communication with the Chiefs?—Before the Ordinance the Chiefs used to communicate direct with our Department, and as they came down to report to the Governor, our communication was very intimate. Subsequent to the passing of the Ordinance it has been ruled that all communications be made to the District Commissioners. My information has therefore been from report since then,

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except when Chiefs who were intimate with me have come direct to Freetown, or I have by the Governor's direction invited them to do so. J. C. E. PARKES.

484. Did that rule of communicating with the District Commissioners come into use upon the passing of the first Protectorate Ordinance?—Yes, upon the first Ordinance of 1896.

485. Have your duties led you to travel much?—I have generally been away two or three months every year previous to the Ordinance.

486. In the course of your travels did you come into personal contact with the Chiefs and people?—Yes, I did.

487. Before the Ordinance, when they used to communicate with you, did they do so personally or how?—By letter generally or by messenger. In any grave matter they used to come down themselves.

488. It would not be correct to suppose that Chiefs can read or write?—In a few instances; it is not generally the case.

489. How did they get their letters written?—Arabic letters by the Mussulman priests, English letters by some clerk or trader they had with them.

490. Are you aware of the several treaties under which the Colony of Sierra Leone was acquired by Her Majesty?—Yes.

491. Have you a list of such treaties?—Yes (witness handed a book to the Commissioner). *'Elementary Handbook of Geography, etc.,' drawn up by witness.*

492. You drew up this book when Colonel Cardew came here: was it by his request?—No: upon my own initiative.

493. All from your personal knowledge?—Yes: collated with treaty books and the census.

494. Then was the Proclamation declaring Her Majesty's Protectorate over the Hinterland of Sierra Leone issued on 31st August 1896?—Yes: I have seen that Proclamation.

495. What was the method of publication?—I was away on leave at the time: when I returned, I was instructed to send up copies of the Proclamation to the District Commissioners, covered by letters and accompanied by messengers.

496. Could you give me a copy of the covering letter sent?—Yes.

497. After that an order in Executive Council was passed, dividing the Protectorate into five districts, and defining the limits of these districts?—Yes.

498. Is that the instrument now in force?—Yes: with the exception of some slight differences in the boundaries of the Panguma and Bandajuma districts.

499. Was a subsequent order in Council passed?—Not that I am aware of.

500. How was the alteration done then?—By letter to the District Commissioners in each district. The divisions given in my handbook are based on Ord. 14 of 1888, by which the Colony was divided into certain police districts. The districts are quite different now.

501. The districts in the Protectorate are known as the Karene, Ronietta, Bandajuma, Panguma, and Koinadugu?—Yes.

502. Can you give any approximate estimate of the population?—Karene, 100,000 to 120,000; Ronietto, 150,000 to 200,000; Bandajuma, 200,000 to 400,000; Panguma, 80,000 to 100,000; Koinadugu, 80,000 to 100,000. About 750,000 in all. This is based on the last time I went through them.

503. How did you base these estimates?—His Excellency requested, when he was making his journeys, that we should count the houses and inhabitants of each town through which we passed: also to take the number of huts, and find out as far as we could how many persons inhabited each hut.

504. Did you travel through the whole Protectorate? In the three journeys we covered the main portion of the Protectorate. (The witness then pointed out the routes on the map.) The first journey:—From Songo Town, through the Ronietto district, Robis,

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to Senahu, to Panguma district, Koronko, through Biriwa Limba, along the main road to Port Lokko, and to Freetown by boat. The second journey :—Started from Port Lokko Lokko, Tambakka, came down by Kambia on the Great Skarcies, and to Freetown by boat. The third journey :—Started from Port Lokko to Koinadugu district, to Temnakindi, through Waima, Bandebu, Bandasuma, Bandajuma, Mafwe, to Bonthe by boat.

505. In counting the houses, did you count those in actual reach only, or did you make allowance for others? On the records only those we actually passed.

506. Do I understand that you made allowance for those that did not lie on your route, so that your estimate virtually includes all parts of the district? Exactly.

507. Can you say what are the prevailing languages?—The prevailing languages in the *Karene* district are Timmeni, Susu, Limba, and Lokko. In the *Ronietto* district, they are Mendi, Timmeni, Yonni, and Sherbro (which used to be Burru). In the *Panguma* district, Mendi and Konoh. In the *Bandajuma* district, Mendi and Gallinas (or Vri), Krim, and Sherbro. In the *Koinadugu* district, Limba, Jalunka, Susu, Koronko, and Konoh.

508. Are these languages spoken by tribes of the same name?—Mostly: Krim and Sherbro people are often called Mendis.

509. The language spoken in any district would indicate what tribe inhabited that district?—Almost in every case.

510. What would you say of the probability of obtaining reliable interpreters?—It is very difficult to obtain them: they often err through ignorance, sometimes through not understanding enough English to grasp the questions.

511. Have you any good interpreters in your department?—Yes: one very good man by name Momodu Wakka, and another.

512. What languages does Momodu Wakka speak?—Mandingo, Timmeni, Susu, Koronko, and Arabic.

513. Have many tribes a knowledge of Arabic?—Not much knowledge.

514. Who is the other interpreter?—Unsimana Sinaho.

515. What does he speak?—Timmeni, Susu, Mendi, and Mandingo.

516. Do both speak English?—Yes: the former better than the latter.

517. Can you say upon what principle the division of the Protectorate into the five divisions was made?—No.

518. Does it correspond with any tribal districts?—No.

519. Was this division made known to the Chiefs?—Yes: the District Commissioners were asked to make it generally known, and a copy of the Ordinance was sent.

520. I suppose you could hardly say whether the population of the Protectorate is an increasing one?—I can only speak from hearsay. I think it is decreasing owing to the emigration of the people to Freetown.

521. Is there anything to show that those who come into Freetown are from the Protectorate and not from the parts beyond the Protectorate?—Yes: we know from their nationality.

522. As to the population of the Colony, laying aside the immigration, is there anything to show whether the population is increasing or decreasing?—I cannot say. A census has not been taken for some time. In 1891 the population was 74,000. There has been an influx from the Protectorate, but I do not think the Sierra Leonians have increased much.

523. Can you approximate to the number of those who have thus come into the Colony?—No: I may say that recently of 1000 carriers who were got to go to the Gold Coast, all came from the Hinterland.

524. Was that Ordinance for the Government of the Protectorate in 1896 published in the Protectorate?—Yes.

525. How was it published?—Proclamations were sent up for distribution: the District Commissioners were asked to explain it to the Chiefs, and messengers were sent up.

526. Are you acquainted with the gradation of ranks prevailing in the Protectorate? Chiefs, Headmen, and common people?—Yes.

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527. Is the organisation substantially the same among all the tribes?—It varies slightly.

528. Speaking generally, what is the organisation?—Speaking generally, the Paramount Chief exists in a family. For instance, among the Timmeni, it passes from brother to brother: in other districts the strongest of a family has his adherents, and he is elected. It is practically always kept to the family, and generally the strongest takes the chair.

529. When a Chief's office becomes vacant, is a selection made out of his family, or is one member clearly the successor?—A selection is generally made.

530. Who are the Electors?—Members of the ruling clan and also his relations. If B has a right to rule, but A is stronger or has more money, A might offer money to B, who would probably accept it and withdraw his claim, and A would be elected.

531. If the Electors considered A unfit they would not elect him?—No: they would select a man whom they considered fit.

532. There are certain Paramount Chiefs who are supposed to have rule over other Sub-Chiefs?—Yes.

533. Does a similar method of choosing a Sub-Chief apply as of a Paramount Chief?—Yes.

534. Have the Sub-Chiefs a voice in the election of a Paramount Chief?—Yes.

535. Are they considered to be members of his clan?—Yes.

536. Is the nature of the election such that every member of the community has a voice?—Indirectly, yes: either through their masters or male relations: for instance, domestic slaves who had acquired a certain amount of influence would express an opinion through their masters.

537. Then practically how is that done? Suppose slaves are of different opinions?—The principal ones, those that have money, go to their masters and say, 'We should like so and so made Chief, we look to you to support him.'

538. Would it be correct to say that practically everybody has some influence, more or less, in the election?—Every one who has a social status.

539. Social status is not confined to freemen, but also belongs to slaves?—Certainly: slaves make as much show as the masters sometimes.

540. Are you aware of any instance of a slave being elected as a Chief?—Only one instance, when the slaves rebelled and elected one of themselves Chief.

541. Is there any case where a slave has been elected to take charge of a house during a minority?—Yes: they might take charge till a Chief was elected.

542. Headmen have rule under Chiefs?—A Headman has charge of a town and faki (places for farming.) A slave may be a Headman but not a Chief.

543. How are Headmen chosen?—They are appointed by the Chief of the district where the town is situated.

544. Is there any real subordination by a Chief to his Head-Chief?—There was, but is not much now.

545. And are Headmen subordinate?—Not in the same degree as they were.

546. Since when?—It commenced in Sir James Hay's time: when the Government began to take active control of the country.

547. Had the Government active control in the interior sometime before the Proclamation?—In parts: the frontier police was established by Sir James Hay. There was a road which formed a boundary for active control: it ran from Kambia to Mangwe, Port Lokko, Mabile, Rokell, Rotofunk, Senahu, Mattru, Mafwe, Jimi, Bandajuma, Manne to Manoh. From that line to the sea was under the influence of the Government.

548. Was it an actual road?—Yes.

549. Did the power of the Government extend beyond that road?—No: it was more a patriarchal Government; Chiefs used to get advice only.

550. Between this frontier road and the coast, what was the nature of the supervision?—Frontier police used to patrol and see that the roads were kept clean and that

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traders were not disturbed. The Headmen began then to feel that they could go to the nearest police constable instead of to their Chief.

551. Did that produce any effect on the country lying inland beyond the road?—No; the subordination remained the same?

552. Has the subordination been altered by the Protectorate Ordinance?—I think that it is inevitable. The Chiefs unfortunately did not administer justice as they should have done, and the Headmen prefer either to go to an officer or to come to Freetown.

553. What was their object in coming to Freetown?—They came to make their complaint, and then they are advised to go to the District Commissioner.

554. Have you any means of knowing whether Chiefs have felt aggrieved by their power being diminished, or, on the contrary, it was a relief from responsibility?—They have felt aggrieved.

555. How has that appeared?—From reports made to the Government both in my department and I believe through the Secretariat.

556. Have you any reports in which the Chiefs represented this grievance that you can furnish me with?—I think I have.

557. Looking at Section 67 of the Protectorate Ordinance, are you aware of any case previous to the passing of this in which Government has restrained Chiefs?—Yes.

558. What was the nature of such restraint?—They prevented Chiefs from making tribal war: and dealt with the treatment of British subjects and traders residing in their districts.

559. Were these admonitions obeyed?—Yes: they were.

560. Were those Chiefs to whom these requests or orders were made in receipt of stipends from Government?—Not in all cases, but in some.

561. Previous to the passing of the Ordinance are you aware of any cases in which the Governor deposed any Chief and appointed another?—There were numerous instances of deposition.

562. Deposition by act of the Governor alone?—Yes: they were arrested on Governor's warrants and brought to Freetown.

563. Did the Governor formally or actually depose any of these Chiefs?—There was no formal deposition.

564. What happened as regards succession in these cases?—In the case of Richard Caulker, the people asked to be allowed to put his brother in his place, and the Government gave him £20 out of the £50 they used to allow to Richard.

565. Then he did not actually become Chief?—No: he only acted in the place of his brother.

566. Would it be contrary to custom to elect another Chief while the actual Chief was alive?—Yes: they always look forward to his return; although he may have been sent out of the country.

567. Would you say that this power of deposing a Chief and appointing another in his place was a power that the Governor never exercised previous to the passing of the Ordinance?—Never. There was one peculiar case. Alimani Kolli of Tarbia. His people complained that he was too weak to rule and be their Chief. The Governor then intervened and appointed the two principal men of the place to be his Coadjutors.

568. When did that occur?—In 1889 when Major Foster was Administrator.

569. Had that Chief who was complained of been duly elected?—He had.

570. Was the appointment of Coadjutors approved by the Governor?—Yes: it worked very well.

571. Did the people go through any form of election for the Coadjutors?—They were nominated by the Governor.

572. Previous to the Proclamation of the Protectorate did these Paramount Chiefs have well defined districts, in which they exercised authority?—Yes, according to their native laws.

573. Did they encroach on each other's territory?—In cases of friendly Chiefs there

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was probably no objection to one Chief interfering in a dispute just outside the border of his district, so long as he told the other Chief about it.

574. And if they were not friendly ?—Each would adhere rigidly to his own district. They know their districts quite well.

575. Could the same be said of the Sub-Chiefs ?—No.

576. Have they well defined boundaries ?—Their boundaries are defined by the Paramount Chiefs.

577. Are they defined in such a way that each Sub-Chief can understand what his limits are ?—Yes, I think so.

578. In what way do they encroach ?—There is always a tendency to get as much land for farming as possible, and then they go beyond the boundaries fixed by the Paramount Chiefs. Land palavers result.

579. Do Paramount Chiefs hold regular Courts at which they entertain complaints and issue summonses ?—Yes.

580. Is their jurisdiction by native law limited to persons residing in their own district ?—Yes.

581. Suppose a piece of land within the jurisdiction of Chief A, and an inhabitant within the jurisdiction of B, encroach on that land, would the injured party complain to A or B?—He would complain to the Chief within whose jurisdiction the land was situated, *i.e.* A. A would communicate with B, and they would probably come to some arrangement by which either one or both of them would settle the claim.

582. Have Paramount Chiefs a material interest in attracting as many cases to their Courts as possible ?—Yes.

583. As regards fees ?—Yes.

584. Does not that lead to any tendency to encroach on each other's jurisdiction ?—Yes, sometimes.

585. They do not keep strictly to their own ?—No, and so long as the Chiefs are friends it passes unnoticed: otherwise there is probably a dispute.

586. Is that on a reciprocal principle, that A may encroach on B, and *vice versâ* ?—So long as they are friendly.

587. Do Sub-Chiefs also hold Courts ?—Yes, they deal with small palavers.

588. How are the limits of Paramount Chiefs' districts ascertained, speaking from a native point of view ?—They are supposed to have existed from time immemorial.

589. Handed down by oral tradition ?—Yes.

590. Are the boundaries of Sub-Chiefs fixed in the same way ?—They are fixed by the Paramount Chiefs, and may be altered at any time.

591. Could that be done by one Paramount Chief, or must he consult his brother Chiefs ?—He can do it alone.

592. How are districts fixed for Headmen ?—By their Chief or Sub-Chief. They may be removed at any time by the same personal authority.

593. Do Paramount Chiefs communicate much with each other ?—Yes: those of the same tribe.

594. Not between Chiefs of different tribes ?—If it is a trading Chief, he may extend his communications. This would be done by verbal messages.

595. Do they meet together ?—Sometimes in their own districts: and they interchange visits.

596. Do these messengers speak English ?—The majority pigeon English, as well as native languages.

597. Are they educated in Sierra Leone ?—No.

598. Do these Paramount Chiefs when they hold courts sit alone or with Counsellors ?—With Counsellors.

599. Who are the Counsellors ?—If the matter were of great importance he would invite a brother Chief. There is usually a Santigi.

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600. In cases of great importance are the Sub-Chiefs also called as Counsellors?—Yes, with the Santigis.

601. Is the Santigi a messenger?—A trusty messenger: they also have to look after the Chief's town and see that his interest is studied in every way.

602. Do the Paramount Chiefs in their ordinary Courts have their Sub-Chiefs to come as Counsellors?—Yes: those in the near neighbourhood.

603. When the Sub-Chief holds his Court, does he have Counsellors?—Yes: he generally calls the old men and his relations to sit with him.

604. Are these the same as the Headmen?—Yes, in some cases: not in all.

605. When a Chief gives a decision after hearing a case, does he do so by his own voice or by the Santigi?—They consult together, and he gives the decision by his own voice.

606. Are you sure of that?—After the palaver the Chief and the Counsellors have a consultation, and after that he generally gives the decision with his own voice: but the practice varies.

607. Do the Chiefs ever communicate by letter?—In a very few instances by letters in Arabic.

608. Do you speak any of the native languages yourself?—I understand some of them; but I do not speak as a rule. I never acted as an interpreter.

609. I draw your attention to your answers to 505 and 506, are they correctly recorded?—Yes.

610. Were there many villages you did not pass through?—Many: the popnlation might be much more than my estimate.

611. I draw your attention to the fact that Captain Carr's estimate for the Bandajuma district alone is 600,000?—Perhaps he has more facilities for knowing, but I do not think that it amounts to 600,000 at present.

612. Do you think that Captain Carr is far wrong?—He is in a better position to judge of his own district, but I still hold to my estimate.

613. Who looks after a district where the Chief is arrested and either sent away or kept in prison?—So far as I know the district practically looks after itself. There is a second man left in charge, but he is not recognised by the Government.

614. Is he recognised by the people of the country?—Not as actual Chief.

615. Can he hold a court and so on?—Yes.

616. I presume in the case of chiefs who have been arrested recently and imprisoned, their districts are being taken care of in this way?—No: the whole of the native organisation is perfectly dislocated.

617. Since the Protectorate Ordinance has the Governor deposed a Chief and put another in his place?—One, Francis Farwoondah of Manoh in the Bandajuma district was deposed and Poaki Dogbo was put in his place.

618. Did he exercise power as a Chief?—Yes.

619. With the acquiescence of the people?—I have heard nothing to the contrary, none of the complaints come down to us now: they go to the District Commissioner.

620. Suppose the District Commissioner reported, would the report come to you?—Probably to the Colonial Secretary: he might send it on to me.

621. Is there no regular method?—The system is a little disarranged at present.

622. Was there a Chief lately appointed called Soribunki?—Yes: at Port Lokko.

623. After or before the disturbances?—Before.

624. What do you know about that case?—I wrote a letter to the Governor at the time. In my opinion he should never have been appointed. He had been trying for that appointment for some time. The chiefship runs in one family; of which there are two branches, Banguras and Kamaras; they take the succession in turns. Soribunki belonged to neither branch. I understand he was elected because at the time he appeared to be more loyal than the other Chiefs.

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625. Was he elected by the people?—He was appointed by the District Commissioner, Captain Sharpe.

626. Is Captain Sharpe still District Commissioner of the Karene district?—Yes.

627. Who was Chief before the appointment of Soribunki?—Bokari Bamp was acting as regent; at present he is a prisoner in Freetown gaol, undergoing a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment.

628. Was Soribunki appointed subsequent to his arrest?—Yes.

629. Is Soribunki exercising his functions?—The people of the district killed him. He was coming to Freetown, and they stopped his boat, took him out, and killed him.

630. After the disturbances?—Yes.

631. Was the District Commissioner's appointment confirmed by the Governor?—I have not heard: I have no official information.

632. I think you said that Paramount Chiefs of certain districts would consult together from time to time?—Yes.

633. Is there any kind of grouping of these by districts, or in any way which would determine who should meet?—No: it depends upon distance and friendship.

634. Do they sometimes visit each other on the affairs of the country and consult together?—Yes.

635. Are there any communications between the Chiefs and Sierra Leone natives?—Yes: with merchants and traders on subjects of trade; and those that they are well acquainted with, they will ask their advice on matters relating to Government.

636. Do they look on them as advisers?—Not exactly: they do not trust them.

637. Is European education sought after by Chiefs for their sons?—Not to any extent.

638. From want of opportunity, or that they have not confidence in results?—Chiefs have been disappointed by former results, and do not now send down their children. The Government had three sons of Chiefs being educated here. One left of his own accord, and the other two will be leaving during this quarter, because the principal has reported them for being absent without leave. They have sent their children to Mohammedan Schools, and have paid for them.

639. They teach them to read and write Arabic?—Yes. We have established one or two schools to teach them to read and write English; one is getting on well.

640. Would you go so far as to say that European education would be any disqualification for the position of Chief?—No. Bai Sherbro of Bullom was educated by the Church Missionary Society.

641. If the schools in Sierra Leone were more effective, do you think the Chiefs would be more disposed to send their sons to school?—Certainly.

642. Is the High School deemed a well conducted school?—Yes: and the Grammar School too.

643. Would you say that, hitherto, those sons of Chiefs who have been educated in European Schools have not turned out well?—No, they have not.

644. Would the Chiefs be able to send their sons to school without help from the Government?—I do not think their resources are sufficient. There used to be a vote of £100 for education of Chiefs' sons. This was reduced to £50.

645. Were there not enough applicants to employ the whole fund?—Yes: quite enough.

646. What are the sources of income of Paramount Chiefs?—1. Fees of Court: a fixed sum for each summons, which varies in different districts. 2. The shake-hand—a 'dash' given to him when you first go and see him.

647. What fees of Court? Summons and what more?—I can hardly give a correct answer. If the Chief deals fairly with his people, he only gets the summons fees, and whatever they choose to give him after. If he is not just, he mulcts them of the damages he gives judgment for. Then there is a system of betting, by which each party puts down an

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J. C. E. PARKES. equal amount. They each stake this, that their cause is right. They ask the Chief to decide the bet, and the winner probably takes the stake. Sometimes it is arranged that the Chief is to get the stake. Thus the Chief is sometimes prejudiced.

648. What are the other sources?—Rents from merchants and traders for land and houses.

649. Any from his own people?—No. The amounts he has drawn for grants of land in recent years. Then there is a contribution from his people fixed by himself: this varies, it may be for a specified object, or it may be for his general funds.

650. The amount will no doubt depend on the number and condition of his people? —Yes.

651. Is this contribution strictly enforced?—There is never any trouble in collecting it.

652. Is the income of a Sub-Chief of the same nature?—It is very much the same. He gets a contribution from his people, and he owes a contribution to his Paramount Chief.

653. These contributions which the Paramount Chief receives, are they contributions from the Sub-Chiefs only, or from the Sub-Chiefs and people?—The Sub-Chief collects from his town, the Paramount Chief would collect from a town not ruled by a Sub-Chief.

654. The people are not subject to two collections?—No.

655. Have the Headmen any sources of income other than ordinary people have?—Hardly: they might get a little from the Chief.

656. The mass of people are either cultivators, labourers, or traders?—The mass are cultivators: then come the labourers; then the traders.

657. The labourers do not hire themselves to their own Chiefs, I suppose?—No: the Chief has his own people; a man would not receive wages from his Chief.

658. Speaking of court fees, do both plaintiff and defendant put down a sum of money at the commencement of an action?—Only in betting.

659. Is betting optional?—There is no compulsion.

660. Is it designedly that the Protectorate Ordinance contains no provision for regulating the Chiefs' fees?—I cannot say.

661. When the Chiefs give a decision have they any means of enforcing it?—Force: if a man is fined they can levy on his property or put him in the log.

662. Can you say if there is any tendency among suitors to bring cases that belong to the Chief to the District Commissioner?—I think so: I have already reported that fact to the Government.

663. Is there any explanation of that tendency?—Many Chiefs have not been acting fairly: and if there is a European officer representing the Government they will sooner come to him.

664. Under the Ordinance there is a court where the District Commissioner sits with the Chiefs; is that court much resorted to?—I cannot say.

665. I wish you to give me all the information you can concerning Porro or other Secret Societies?—It is impossible to get first-hand information unless by joining. From outside information, there is one called general Porro, most prevalent in the Mendi country. Boys join in childhood, circumcision is practised, and they are tattooed on the back and breast. No vows are taken then, but it gives the right to attend a Porro at any time. Then there is the law Porro, or Porro of prohibition: by this they can impose a general rule, for instance, that no palm kernels be cut for a certain time or certain land be occupied. The third is the peace Porro or Porro of alliance; by which certain parties bind themselves to make peace. If parties to whom they come will not make peace they all turn against them. Fourth, the one-word Porro, by which every one who joins takes a secret oath for some particular object which is not known to any outsider. In the present disturbances the token of the Porro was a palm leaf worn round the neck and wrist. The Bumpe Porro was to wear a white shirt and use the word Bumpe.

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666. If any one disobeys Porro what would happen?—Any Porro man would kill him. J. C. E. PARKES.

667. Would it be correct to look on Porro as an organisation by which the will of the majority is enforced?—I should not go so far as that. 'One-word Porro' has only recently been organised: no man is forced to join.

668. Merely a method by which those who choose bind themselves together?—Quite so.

669. As regards other secret societies?—There is a society for women :akin to the boys' Porro. The Human Leopards, which I think is almost extinct, and another called Borfuma.

670. Of what nature?—A body of men met together, who wanted human blood at certain times. They put knives on their fingers and killed their victim, and eat a part of his heart and liver. I think they hanged about six men for this in the place where the murders occurred.

671. When did that execution take place?—Within the last three years.

672. Any cases since then?—No.

673. Is there not an Alligator Society?—It is similar; the so-called alligator waits for its prey in the water. It has been asserted that people have been taken out of canoes by them, but I do not believe this.

674. Has there been any case where people have been recognised and punished as Alligators?—No.

675. Do Alligators make use of knives or weapons?—I cannot say: the man who came and complained had no wounds whatever.

676. Is it well authenticated?—Yes, I think so: it is probably used as a means of kidnapping.

677. Have the fetish priests much influence with Chiefs?—A great deal in some parts.

678. Are they well organised?—Not organised, but numerous.

679. Looking at Ordinance 14 of 1897, it prevents beneficial Porro as well as any other kind?—If Chiefs put Porro on palm trees people cannot cut them down till Porro is taken off. An unscrupulous Chief might put Porro on the trees till the nuts were rotten, and therefore it wants a supervision.

680. Do you remember the circumstances of the Ordinance?—It was reported that Bai Sherbro was going to stop trade. I mentioned at the time that it was no use to make a law against a secret society.

681. Would it be correct to say that Porro was a way in which Chiefs might enforce any beneficial law for their people?—Yes, it works both ways.

682. If Porro was abolished, would there be any other way of enforcing a general beneficial order that would be equally efficacious?—No: I may say that Porro has its disadvantages.

683. How were Leopard Societies dealt with?—We sent two men who went apart, and went to the verge of joining the society: they found out all about it and got the men hanged.

684. How would you deal with the one-word Porro?—I should abolish it entirely if possible.

685. Might not one-word Porro be used for a beneficial object?—I have never heard of it?

686. Would it not be a better course to regulate the Porro; such as to enact that it should only be used for lawful purposes?—Yes.

687. And do away with the death penalty?—Yes.

688. Does that death penalty still take place, or is it only an old tradition?—I believe it does: I cannot speak positively.

689. If it were used simply as a method of enforcing some beneficial orders it would cease to be a secret society at all?—Possibly, like some friendly societies in England.

690. Was it penal to belong to a Leopard Society even if no murder were committed?—No: I am not sure that there was not an Ordinance passed. (9 of 1896.)

691. Has that Ordinance been acted on?—I cannot say.

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692. What is the general scope of your duties?—Before the Protectorate Ordinance, to receive all communications from the Chiefs and submit them to the Governor. To see that the Chiefs' messengers and Chiefs visiting Freetown were properly boarded and lodged by Government contractors. To look after all Chiefs and visitors to Freetown. To keep the Governor informed of all information received from the interior whether from Chiefs or others. On journeys to the interior I had to take charge of the transport service.

693. Was your department the medium of communication between the Governor and the native Chiefs?—Yes.

694. Since the Ordinance has there been any change?—Yes, at present I am only responsible for receiving communications from District Commissioners as to what is going on in their districts, and I make out vouchers for such stipends and presents as they recommend. I have to carry out such other duties as regards transport as His Excellency commands.

695. Your department is no longer the medium of communication between the Governor and the Chiefs and *vice versa*?—Only in exceptional cases.

696. Through what channel do ordinary communications take place?—Through the District Commissioner.

697. With which department in Freetown do District Commissioners correspond?—It is a little disarranged at present. Some with the Colonial Secretariat, some with my department.

698. To what exceptional cases do you refer?—Should a Chief address the Governor direct, he sends his reply through me.

699. Am I to take it that in any other case communication with Chiefs goes through the Colonial Secretariat?—Yes.

700. On Saturday you used the word clan; is that the same as tribe?—Yes.

701. Are there any Paramount Chiefs of a tribe who are Chiefs over the whole tribe?—In no case.

702. Previous to the Proclamation of the 1896 Ordinance was there any understood relation between the Chiefs of the districts now constituting the Protectorate and the Government?—Yes: the Governor was always applied to by native Chiefs to assist them by his advice. It was rather patriarchal.

703. Speaking generally, is there any change in these relations since the Protectorate was proclaimed?—Yes.

704. Before the recent troubles?—Yes: the change commenced some time before these. The Chiefs began not to appeal to Government as formerly. Frequent appeals were made by Sub-Chiefs and subjects to the police in the district, whom people seemed to regard as those representing the Government.

705. That idea of official representation was not limited to the District Commissioner?—No: even native frontier police.

706. Can you explain that change at all? What led people to look on Government officials as representing Government?—I think that many sub-officers and men of the force, by an assumption of authority which they really had not, led people to believe that they were representatives. (Witness handed in a report addressed to the Colonial Secretary in 1893. See Appendix II. No. IV.)

707. Do you remember when the Frontier Police was first instituted?—By Ordinance I. of 1890, vol. viii.

708. Where would records of the cases quoted in your report be found?—In the Frontier orderly room.

709. Are or were Chiefs aware of the Governor's relation to the Queen?—They felt that the Governor represented the Queen, and always held him as such.

710. Had Chiefs at that time or now any sort of conception of the Queen as a very powerful sovereign?—I think they have.

711. Do you think they know anything about our ships of war?—Yes: we always take them to see any gunboats in the harbour: they do not know so much about the army.

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712. Have you any reason to believe that any of them were aware of the Ashanti Expedition?—Yes; several Mendis went as scouts, and no doubt spread knowledge of it when they returned.

713. Have you ever heard Chiefs speak of the Ashanti Expedition?—Yes: Mendi Chiefs.

714. Have you any reason to know that any of them have heard of the present Soudan Expedition?—Only one or two Mohammedan Chiefs.

715. Is there any circulation of the London illustrated papers amongst them?—They see several English papers; we generally made a point of sending them to such as take an interest in them.

716. Do the Freetown papers circulate among the native Chiefs?—Not so much as among native traders.

717. Do the Chiefs become aware of their contents?—Yes, through the native traders.

718. As a rule, are native traders on terms of intimacy with the Chiefs?—Not as a rule.

719. How would they become aware of the contents of the Freetown papers?—The native trader sits in his verandah and interprets the news to a crowd, and probably one of the crowd will carry the news to the Chief. The Chief either comes and asks the traders if it is true, or takes it to be so.

720. I should be glad of whatever information you can give me as to the carrying on of trade.—The general system is by barter: but in some parts there is cash purchase. They employ labour and pay cash for it.

721. When a trader sells goods, does he usually get payment in produce?—Yes: not in cash.

722. Is there much cash in the hands of the Chiefs, or of the people?—No.

723. Would you say that the people, as a rule, are well off? I speak with relation to their few wants.—No.

724. Do they ever have difficulty in obtaining food?—No.

725. Are their daily needs well supplied?—No man goes to bed without a meal.

726. Are houses generally built by the owners?—By their domestic slaves and relations.

727. What kind of house does the ordinary native make for himself?—A round mud hut; with wooden pillars and wattled; swish or mud is put in; and it has a conical grass roof. The ordinary hut has one large room.

728. Does he expend any money in building the house?—It is merely a question of labour: he need spend hardly anything on it.

729. Does a man who has several wives build separate houses for each of them?—Generally a large hut of one room for all the wives. His hut is separate.

730. Do the children live in the women's hut?—Some of them. The grown-up children have other huts. The father generally builds for them up to about fifteen or sixteen years of age. They do not all live in one hut, but there is not a separate hut for each child.

731. Is there also a kitchen separate?—If he is a man of importance: he has an open shed for family palavers, a rice store, and a rough hut for poultry. The kitchen is not separate; it is in a sort of shed at the back of the house.

732. A man of some importance would have two or three houses?—Yes: more than three. One or two houses for visitors. One for domestic slaves, and perhaps a spare hut. Generally nine or ten in all.

733. Are you aware whether in counting houses for tax these nine or ten are counted separately or all as one?—I think they were counted separately. It was suggested that they should count by compounds, but I do not think that was carried out. There are several better-class houses, but that is an exception.

734. Do these belong to Sierra Leonians or to natives?—To natives who have made

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a little money. The natives of the interior are disposed to improve their houses if they have the means.

735. Are these superior houses built in the same villages as other houses, or apart?—In the same villages.

736. Do they employ carpenters to make the doors and windows?—Yes: and they pay them.

737. What is a carpenter's wage per day in the interior?—I cannot say: as a rule they are domestics.

738. Do they use iron hinges and locks?—They are sent up from the town: they make nails.

739. Any glass?—No, never: they have wooden shutters.

740. Is tobacco much prized?—Yes, a great deal.

741. Are there any indigenous herbs that they use as a substitute?—In the upper portion of the Sulima district they use tancore, which is very strong—much stronger than tobacco. It only grows very far up-country: and its use is limited to that part.

742. If the price of tobacco was increased is there any risk of the use of this herb being extended?—No.

743. Would it be felt as a hardship if a higher duty were placed upon tobacco?—I do not think so.

744. Within what limits?—I cannot say. It would require consideration.

745. Is there any bad effect from smoking this herb?—It has a very stupefying effect.

746. What class of people chiefly make use of imported spirit, gin and rum?—Principally pagans. In Mendi and Timmeni there is a large circulation of spirit, but not so large as is reported.

747. Is it Chiefs and principal men who use spirit, or is it generally diffused?—Generally diffused.

748. Does not its price put it beyond the means of most people to drink spirit to any extent?—No: a case of gin is landed for 4s. 6d., and is sold up-country for 6s. 6d., or the equivalent of two bushels of kernels, so that if four men went out to collect palm kernels they could get three bottles apiece for less than a day's work.

749. Can they go and collect palm kernels when they like?—Yes, so long as Porro is not on.

750. Are you aware of any mischievous consequences arising from drinking imported spirit?—No.

751. Are crimes committed under its influence, such as stabbing and crimes of violence?—Not in the Hinterland.

752. Are you aware of any evil results of spirit-drinking?—I do not think it is good for them; there are no actual evil results.

753. Then your objection to spirit-drinking is that it is too cheap to be good?—Yes; it was suggested that Chartreuse should be brought in, as a means of possibly improving the quality.

754. Is rum much used in the interior?—A good deal of German rum in demi-johns.

755. Is it essential to the carrying on of trade that a trader should also deal in spirits?—It is not essential: if a trader does not keep spirit he has to give customers an order to get spirits, which is just as bad.

756. Suppose there were two traders in the same street, one selling spirit and the other not at all, would the natives go to the one who sold spirit?—Yes, if the other did not give orders.

757. Is it so that a native when he barters his produce and carries away a certain amount of cloth, etc., also expects to carry away some spirit?—No: the spirit 'dash' is given before trading, the man only carries away what he purchases.

758. That would be so now where a licence is required, but in the old time was there not a general rule of carrying away spirit?—Not unless purchased. I may add that

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there can be no such rule, because Mohammedan caravans will not have anything to do with drink at all.

759. If people do not get spirit, is there any substitute?—Fermented palm wine is easily procured.

760. Without limit?—Yes.

761. Did you ever learn that there is any peculiar bad effect from palm wine?—It has a stupefying effect. Men who drink palm wine look far worse than those who drink spirits.

762. Have you heard of palm wine producing insanity?—I have not heard of it.

763. You are aware of its producing a very stupefying effect?—Yes, in many cases.

764. Previous to the Protectorate Ordinance, was there any slave-dealing within the Protectorate territories?—Yes. Susu slave-dealers used to come over and go back again. The people of the country used to buy and sell slaves in their own villages.

765. In these cases where slaves were sold amongst the people, these were their domestic slaves?—In some cases.

766. If not domestics, what were they?—They were caught in war, or taken as a claim for debt.

767. If a domestic slave incurred a debt would his master be responsible?—Yes.

768. Selling them out of the family would be a way of getting rid of the liability?—He cannot sell a slave born in the house: those not born in the house can be sold by their masters at any time.

769. Was that class ever taken away and sold inland?—Only as a punishment to which they had been formally condemned.

770. And where they would have an opportunity of defence?—I cannot say.

771. Would that not be the general rule? a slave would not be condemned to be sold unheard?—Only in certain cases; *crim. con.* between master's wife and slave, or in cases of that description, no master would wait to hear what the slave said.

772. By slaves taken in war, do you mean taken in a raid by one tribe upon another tribe?—Quite so.

773. Would these be sold outside the limits of their territories to people in the interior?—Yes, they would.

774. Did cases occur in which buying and selling slaves was mixed up with trading?—Mohammedan travelling traders would take slaves.

775. Would the pagan trader not do so?—He would if he had sufficient goods. It would be done by any one who could afford it.

776. Has it ever been done by Sierra Leone men?—I believe there have been one or two cases reported.

777. Have you known of persons having been brought into territories from outside and sold inside?—I cannot say: I hardly think so.

778. Strangers, I mean?—I could not say positively.

779. The Protectorate Ordinance contains clauses for freeing slaves. Are you aware of slaves applying to be set free under this Ordinance?—I have not heard of a single case.

780. After the Protectorate Ordinance, and prior to the disturbances, was there a larger trade than before?—I do not think so.

781. Was there a general falling off at the beginning of 1897?—Yes; in the Sherbro district: Gbana Lewis put on a Porro.

782. No general falling off about 1897?—I am not aware of any.

783. Have you been in the Colony since you returned in 1896?—Yes.

784. Can you say how the Ordinance was received in the Protectorate when the provisions became known?—With dissatisfaction.

785. In what way?—The Chiefs sent down messengers asking that 'the law should not be put into force.'

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786. Were there particular parts to which they specially objected?—In their letters, mainly to the hut tax and their not having jurisdiction in all cases. I think it is only right that I should say that I was present at the meetings at which Colonel Cardew explained the provisions he was going to make while on his tour in the Hinterland. We had a meeting at Matinefori, where he explained to the Kwaia Chiefs. There was another at Rokon, where it was explained to the Masimera.

787. What happened at the Kwaia meeting?—The Kwaia Chief said that 'they had heard what the Governor had said, and they would follow his word.' At Rokon they accepted everything that the Governor said, and tried to turn the subject on to the boundaries at Rosolo Creek. The Governor promised to send the District Commissioner from Waterloo to inquire into that matter, and asked their opinion on what he had said he was going to pass. They all said that they agreed to it. Subsequently, at night, they came to my hut and told me that they desired the Governor to be informed that they did not agree to the Ordinance. I told them: 'As you have said in the Governor's own presence that you have agreed, you should go with me if you are going to say you disagree; but I decidedly will not give any message of that sort to the Governor, for certain reasons that I cannot give you at present.' The reason was that I was against the hut tax, and in favour of a small poll tax, and I felt myself that if I went with the request made by the Chiefs at night, after their public acceptance during the daytime, it would look very much as if undue influence had been brought to bear upon them. I had previously expressed my opinion in a private letter to the Governor whilst he was on leave in England.

788. You have told me about the meeting at Rokon: did the Chiefs say that they would go with you to the Governor?—They said they would go themselves to the Governor next morning, but they did not.

789. It is not uncommon, I suppose, that Chiefs will say one thing and next day do another?—They generally say they must 'hang head.'

790. What was the next thing?—We passed on and held a large meeting in the Lokko country, I think; the Ordinance was fully explained, and no open dissatisfaction was expressed.

791. Was the hut tax explained?—Most fully.

792. You do not remember the names of the other three meetings?—No: they were not important towns. (See 845.)

793. All that took place in 1896?—Yes.

794. On those occasions when there was some dissent expressed, was there any about buying and selling slaves?—No, that was fully explained.

795. Did they make any remark?—No: buying and selling slaves was practically stopped before that. The Chiefs were pleased that slaves should have to pay a certain amount to become free.

796. Was the flogging of women explained?—Nothing was said on that.

797. Can you tell me anything about the representations that were made by Chiefs after 1896?—Yes, I think we have some on record.

798. There was a petition made by certain Chiefs—on the 28th June 1897, presented to Colonel Caulfield: were there any previously?—Yes, I think so, by individuals.

799. Looking at these names on the petition, were they fairly representative?—All except one or two.

800. Was there a meeting of the Chiefs who signed that petition and Colonel Caulfield?—Yes, and he said that he could not give them any reply till Sir F. Cardew returned.

801. And in the meantime?—They all remained in the town till October or November, when Sir F. Cardew came back.

802. They must have incurred considerable expense?—Yes.

803. Did you recommend them to go back to their own country?—I did, under instructions from the Colonial Secretary

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804. Can you remember their reply to that recommendation?—They said they would wait till Colonel Cardew returned. J. C. E. PARKES.

805. When Colonel Cardew returned, was there a meeting between him and these Chiefs?—Yes.

806. Have you any knowledge by whom that petition was drawn up?—By Mr. W. G. T. Lawson, a pensioner: he was a surveyor on the Gold Coast for some time.

807. Would you just tell me what took place at this meeting?—Very soon after the Governor's arrival he asked that I should bring all the Chiefs to see him. I did so as soon as possible. Before I took them up, Sir Frederic asked me to explain to them that he was going to make certain concessions with regard to the hut tax. One was that farm villages should pay nothing: another, that villages of less than twenty houses should pay nothing: another, that Chiefs could pay in kind by rice or palm nuts, and that each bushel would be accepted as the equivalent of the annual tax for one house, no matter what the selling price of the produce might be at the time, and that each Chief should receive 3d. commission on every bushel collected. I saw the Chiefs and explained all this to them, and although one or two seemed still dissatisfied, the majority seemed inclined to accept the concessions as a tentative measure. Mr. Lawson came to me privately afterwards and told me that his people (at Kwaia) were pleased with the concessions that had been made to them. The day after this I took them up to the Government House, and Sir Frederic explained the concessions to them. After he had finished explaining, Bai Suba of Mabele got up to speak. He commenced by going over the whole ground over which the Governor had gone, and said they wished to go and consider the matter. The Governor asked me whether I had not informed them of his decision with regard to the concessions he was going to make. I said I had, and they said the same thing. Then the Governor said he would give no further time for consideration, as he was not prepared to make any further concessions.

808. What happened then?—Nothing more was said. The Governor asked me if there was another subject. I said, Yes, with regard to their slaves running away and coming to Freetown. He said it was already under the consideration of the Attorney-General. Then the meeting closed and they left Government House. Subsequently they wrote a letter, again raising the question as to the poverty of their country and the slackness of trade: and in reply the Governor asked me to inform them that he had instructed me to take them over the Botanic Gardens and show them how coffee and other economic plants were grown, and he would give them free of charge whatever seed they might require for planting in their country. I did so, but I never saw them any more: they did not respond.

809. What did the Chiefs understand as to getting back the tax from their people?—The Chiefs that I came in contact with knew they had to collect it from their people. There have been discrepancies between the Ordinance and instructions as given by District Commissioners. I may say there are seven or eight Chiefs in gaol for not having paid the hut tax. They really are not responsible. Their people are. A Chief has no power to levy from his people by the Ordinance.

810. Are these Chiefs in prison convicted for not paying their own tax, or for not paying the tax of their district?—Of their district.

811. As regards the inability of people to pay hut tax, is it well founded, in your opinion?—In some districts, yes. Trade latterly has been dislocated by the French rivers. A man who formerly had his eight or nine houses would be in a bad way if he had to pay £2, 5s. or £2, 10s. a year.

812. Taking into account that they were able to pay their contribution in palm kernels, did that difficulty still exist?—I do not think so. While we use a 56 lb. bushel, a merchant uses an 84 lb. bushel, so that they really pay less than 5s.—only about 2s. or 2s. 6d. A merchant would buy in at 4s. 6d. per bushel of 84 lbs., so that there is a loss to the Government.

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813. I may take it that when they are allowed to make payment in palm kernels or rice there is no hardship, but there might be if it was collected in money?—Yes.

814. The tax was imposed in three districts, and two were exempted?—Yes: two districts were exempted because they had been overrun by war recently.

815. By attacks coming from outside?—Yes: by Samory's people.

816. Did Samory's people inflict much damage?—Yes.

817. Did the English Government take any steps to protect them against Samory?—Not at first. Subsequently an expedition was sent from Freetown and drove Samory's people completely out of the country.

818. Under these circumstances the exemption of these two districts has not given rise to any jealousy on the part of the other three?—No.

819. Did the fact that there was no hut tax in the Colony of Sierra Leone raise any feeling that the others were being unequally dealt with?—Very much, in my opinion.

820. Are they quite aware that Sierra Leonians pay no house tax?—Yes: it is generally known.

821. How did they become aware?—Through the Sierra Leone traders themselves, who say, 'When I am at home I pay no tax.'

822. Have you actual knowledge of this?—I have had conversation with several who felt they were being unequally dealt with.

823. Is there any other feeling of a special character with regard to the hut tax?—Only the general feeling in West Africa that they do not like it called a hut tax.

824. How is that explained?—Land is taken as belonging to the tribes. As soon as you come and tax it they feel that the land does not really belong to them and that they are paying a sort of rent.

825. In other words, they thought the tax took away a sort of right of property in their houses and lands?—Yes.

826. Were not explanations given that this was not meant to be the effect of the tax?—To those who came to Freetown; I cannot speak of the districts.

827. Did they easily get rid of this objection when it was explained?—They still held on to the same objection.

828. I draw your attention to this sentence in the petition, which commences 'Again the': does that refer to any historical incident?—It refers to the land tax abolished by Sir J. Pope Henessy in 1872.

829. Is there any foundation for the language?—There is foundation: but it is exaggerated.

830. The people say that they will guarantee to keep peace if they get the aid of one European resident and about twelve police; is that a *bona fide* statement?—I think not.

831. They quote Mr. Renner as having interpreted the law to them: is he a Government official?—Yes.

832. There is a clause in the Ordinance to the effect that any Chiefs exercising any jurisdiction, otherwise than the Ordinance specially gives to them, shall be guilty of a penal offence: how would an interpreter such as Mr. Renner explain this?—He would have to explain what the Chiefs could judge, and that the Government would punish them if they judged any other cases.

833. Would it be natural to add that 'Government would punish you by fine, imprisonment, or flogging?'—I do not think he would add 'by flogging.' Many of these Chiefs never met Mr. Renner at all: only four did.

834. The knowledge that the others got of the law must have been from talk amongst themselves?—Quite so: we sent a copy of the letter to them.

835. There are evidently a good many misapprehensions in this petition?—Yes.

836. At that meeting with the Governor were any of the points except the hut tax gone into?—There was a written reply to the petition.

837. Did the Governor say anything about the slave question?—A slave could always

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redeem hinself by paying so much to his master. The Governor had some scheme to deal with the influx of runaway slaves. J. C. E. PARKES.

838. Was the written reply by Governor Cardew?—I think it was by Colonel Caulfield.

839. What was the Yonni expedition?—Sent under Sir F. de Winton to punish Yonnis who raided Songo Town and Waterloo.

840. Look at this Confidential Report, No. 44; is that the enclosure in your letter 9 and 9*a* of 24th November 1897, which you have previously shown me? Is this the paper you then referred to?—Yes.

841. Is it within your knowledge that any instructions for the explanation generally of the Protectorate Ordinance of 1897 went to District Commissioners?—Not in my recollection.

842. The instruction with regard to hut tax was the only thing the letter referred to?—Yes.

843. As the Ordinance of '96 had been fully explained to the Chiefs, they would be under the impression that the clauses about land were still in force?—I cannot say: nothing went from our department.

844. In the '96 Ordinance there was a clause taking away the jurisdiction of Chiefs in cases involving land. That jurisdiction was in part restored by the Ordinance that was passed near the end of 1897. Was that Ordinance ever explained to the Chiefs in the districts?—Not to my knowledge.

845. I wish here to say that (referring to 792) the other towns where meetings were held were: Karene and Bumban in the Limba district; Madina and Bendembu in Lokko; Karene, near Port Lokko; and Kambia on the Great Skarcies River; and the Governor invariably referred to the Ordinance when conversing with the Chiefs in the smaller towns.

846. Was the same explanation given at each meeting?—Substantially the same.

847-8. Does your remembrance enable you to say what reply the Chiefs made?—1. At Matenifori the Chiefs said they were going to deliver the message to Bai Kompa. 2. At Madina they said nothing, good or bad. 3. At Bendembu, as far as I recollect, they said they would hold the Governor's palaver, *i.e.* consider it. 4. At Bumban, an important town in the Biriwa Limba district, nothing was said, but at the same time they were told that the hut tax would not affect them for that year. 5. At Karene nothing was said. 6. At Kambia the question of liberation of domestic slaves was raised.

849. Was nothing said about the hut tax?—Nothing.

850. Looking at the usual habits and modes of thinking by native Chiefs, when they say nothing to any statement that has been made to them, what would you infer?—That they would not consent. I was astonished at their giving such ready consent to the Governor's statement at Rokon. It is usual to ask to be allowed to go away and consult.

851. Do you remember what passed as to the liberation of slaves?—They complained that their circumstances were considerably altered by their domestic slaves running away and leaving them: that was in consequence of the presence of the police who liberated them on the spot. His Excellency promised to consider the subject.

852. Had the police any authority to act thus in liberating the slaves?—I do not know what instructions were issued to them in their department.

853. What proportion would you say that domestic slaves bear to the whole population?—I should say about half the whole population.

854. Would it be correct to suppose that all who were not Chief's sons or daughters, or of Chief's families, were slaves?—No.

855. Could you give any kind of description of the class of persons who are domestic slaves?—Persons who might have been sold for crime committed or for debt. Persons who might have been pawned or pledged. Persons who have been caught in war and sold.

856. Would the children of persons enslaved in any of these ways be also slaves?—They would, and their children in succession.

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857. According to the view of the tribes in the Protectorate, every man is free by nature?—Yes; slavery is an induced state.

858. Is it a feeling expressed among the Chiefs that the Protectorate Ordinance materially diminishes their authority over their slaves?—It began before that, as soon as the Frontier police were instituted.

859. Did they consider it further tended to diminish their power?—No: on the contrary they felt they were better off because they got a remuneration for any slaves that were freed.

860. It was said that many slaves had run away to Freetown: did these runaways after an interval ever go back to their masters?—Not exactly. Suppose a slave runs away and goes to the Congo, he will perhaps come back and make his master a present, but he does not return to work for him.

861. Do they go back and settle in their master's country as free men?—Yes: for a short time.

862. How short a time?—He stays there till he has either spent or invested the money he has got: then he either goes to the coast or returns to the Colony to work for more money.

863. He never returns to work for his old master even for pay?—Masters never pay their slaves.

864. If one of the District Commissioners who have been examined by me had said that they used to go back and resume their old relation to their master, it would be an error?—I should perfectly disagree with him.

865. Would it be contrary to native ideas on the subject?—Not from the master's point of view. The master pays him nothing, but he comes down to Freetown and receives from 15s. to 30s. a month, roughly speaking. He amasses £20 or £30 and returns to his own country. On his arrival there he has got really more than an average Sub-Chief. He invests his money, and knows he can return whenever he likes and work for more.

866. How does he invest his money?—He buys farms and leaves his wives to work them. He used to invest it in slaves. I have never heard of an instance where a domestic has given up the promise of coming and earning more money to stop with his master and work for nothing.

867. When he has got these farms and wives to work them, he does not do much himself?—After one or two journeys he is quite as big as the Chiefs themselves.

868. Are they and their former masters on good terms?—So long as he has money. He really becomes his master's banker.

869. How is that?—Not as regards his master giving him money to keep: he lends his master money. His master finds him a convenient source to draw from.

870. Does the master pay back these debts?—I do not think he does.

871. And when the slave's money is exhausted?—He generally goes to Congo Free State to make some more.

872. Leaving wives and family behind?—Yes: during his absence, if the wives and family are in need of provision, such as rice, etc., the chief is quite willing to supply their wants.

873. And these wives may or may not be slaves?—They may or they may not.

874. Wars and raids that used to go on in native districts, these, as I understand, were principally for the purpose of procuring slaves?—Yes.

875. One tribe in the Protectorate against another?—Yes: for procuring slaves.

876. I understand that condition of things was greatly abated previous to the Proclamation of the Protectorate?—Yes: considerably abated.

877. Would you say that by 1890 it had become a thing of the past?—Not in 1890.

878. Had it wholly passed away in 1896?—I will not say wholly. The backbone of the thing was thoroughly broken.

879. When these raids were going on, it was almost entirely a process of taking slaves

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and selling them out of the Protectorate?—There was no Protectorate at the time, but slaves were taken out of the districts.

880. That would naturally lead to a very serious depopulation of these districts?—Yes.

881. Can the extent be estimated?—No; no more than the present population can be estimated.

882. What is your opinion as to the possibility or probability, of that system of slave-raiding reviving, supposing there was any relaxation of the vigilance of Government?—If the French would prevent their people from coming across to buy, the demand would cease. If the demand ceases, the supply ceases.

883. Do the people on French territory still endeavour to procure slaves from our side?—Not for the last year or two to my knowledge. I have heard rumours that the authorities have stopped caravans from coming over.

884. If French authority were to relax so that caravans came, would our people go back to the old custom of catching and selling slaves?—I am afraid so, unless there was some very strict supervision.

885. You consider that a faithful observance by the French authorities of their engagements is very material to the preservation of tranquillity on our side?—I do.

886. So that if French people held out the temptation by coming and offering to buy slaves, it would be very difficult to prevent our people from going back to their old ways?—Very.

887. With the present establishment of Police, District Commissioners, etc., would it be possible to prevent this without increase of force?—Quite; it depends on the men: how they do their duty.

888. In these former times of slave-raiding, etc., were any slaves taken over to the Liberian side?—Not to my knowledge.

889. Is there any practice of slavery on the Liberian side, or how is it?—I cannot say; I have never been on the Liberian side myself.

890. So far as you know, slave traffic never did take place on that side?—So far as I know, none.

891. This memorandum of 1890 was written before there was any French convention?—The boundaries had not been fixed then.

892. In what year was the boundary settled?—'95 to '96, when Colonel Trotter came out.

893. So that we now have the French boundaries definitely settled?—Yes

894. And with Liberia?—They may be said to be definitely settled: these are one or two little questions which I do not think will ever be raised.

895. Under this boundary settlement we now know what is the Protectorate?—Quite so.

896. In a memorandum which you handed to me in relation to Slave Traffic, dated 14th September 1892 you make allusion to Slave Traffic between Port Lokko and Cape Bathurst?—Yes; that has been completely stopped for the last four years.

897. In that petition of the Native Chiefs of 28th June 1897 they make allusion to the serious disgrace and scourge of fines, imprisonment, and flogging, and then again they asked that the Governor should order that chiefs should be exempt from flogging and handcuffing where no resistance was made: did that allude to any case that had actually occurred?—I think so. These chiefs were practically arrested for not going to receive their staffs of office.

898. What staffs of office?—Those chiefs who had been approved by the Government were given staffs of office which distinguished them from officers of the District Commissioner's Court. They were supposed to come and get them.

899. Who ordered their arrest?—The District Commissioner of Karene, Mr. Cave Brown Cave.

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900. Would there be any record of this order at the office at Karene?—I should say so.

901. Was there anything to say whether the fact of these Chiefs not going to receive their staffs was an intentional act of contumacy or a mere omission?—It was an omission. They had sent down servants for the staffs, and were told to come themselves. It is usual here to send up bâtons or such to Chiefs, and not to ask them to come and receive them.

902. Were they liberated after they had sent for the staffs?—They were simply kept for a few days and then liberated.

903. Would the Chiefs consider it a serious matter to be arrested in this way?—Yes; Bai Komp was a Paramount Chief of the Mendi district.

904. Would it tend to lower them in the esteem of their people?—Yes; it would bring them into contempt.

905. Did those two Chiefs become disloyal?—Yes.

906. I think you were going to adduce an instance of flogging?—I have told you of the two Chiefs who were imprisoned; the rest I will furnish with the other proofs.

907. Allusion is made to people being impeded in their trade owing to the licence duties; they seemed to think there was a tax on all trading as apart from trading which is carried on in a house?—There was a misconception on the part of the police and otherwise. I know of one or two travelling traders who were taxed. His Excellency sent up stringent orders that itinerant traders had nothing to pay.

908. Itinerant traders were prohibited from carrying spirit?—Yes.

909. Was it deemed by them a hardship?—No; they were Mohammedans, who do not have anything to do with spirits.

910. But, then, those licences on stores; did they operate as a serious hindrance to trade?—Some merchants may have three or four different factories in the same town, each one has to pay a licence, therefore he has to pay for four instead of one. The native trader is peculiar in his way, and he will trade with whichever man he takes a fancy to; therefore to catch the trade one merchant may have four or five factories in the same town.

911. That is, the trader does not regard the principal merchant, but he regards the agent?—Yes; this only refers to large firms.

912. The chiefs in this petition refer to licences as a serious grievance and impediment to trade. Do you think that is not an actual hardship?—No; it does not affect chiefs, it affects traders.

913. Have not chiefs an interest in a good trade being done in their districts?—Not directly; it affects the trader.

914. Does it not affect their people?—Not unless the traders raised their prices to cover the licence.

915. Were natives much in the habit of having stores of their own before the licence?—No; they chiefly acted as itinerant traders.

916. They say the spirits brought into the country are cheap and bad, and they asked that the Governor should take steps to raise the quality and price of imported spirit, and that if that were done there would be less drunkenness?—The Government found it difficult to raise the quality; they raised the duty.

917. From your knowledge, is there any serious evil from drinking this bad spirit?—As I said before, I think not.

918. They object very seriously to the power given to District Commissioners to advise the deportation of persons from their district without these persons being heard or giving reason: is that based on anything?—No prisoner has hitherto been asked anything before he has been deported.

919. Then these prisoners who have been brought down to Freetown, whether chiefs or not, have been brought down merely on the representation of the District Commissioner?—Yes; simply on the representation of the District Commissioner. The

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Port Lokko Chiefs have been sentenced by the District Commissioner. At present we have a lot of prisoners.

920. The warrants of their imprisonment will be at the gaol?—The gaoler would have the warrants. Within the past month we have released fifty or sixty.

921. Why have these releases been made?—The Governor asked me to try and get evidence against them, and I could not, therefore he ordered that they should be immediately released.

922. Would you say that the Chiefs who signed this petition (28th June 1897) were representatative of a particular district? How far do they represent the Protectorate generally?—They are all in the Karene district.

923. So far as you were aware, there were no similar representations coming from other Chiefs?—Yes; a verbal message from the Mendi Chiefs.

924. Is Mr. Lawson the writer of the petition in Freetown?—Yes.

925. Referring to the verbal message from the Mendi Chiefs: were you present when the Governor received the deputation?—Yes.

926. When was this?—Subsequent to the Timmenis, I think: the early part of 1898 or the end of 1897.

927. What Chiefs came down?—Representatives of Jimi, Imperri, Bum, and Kittum. Two of these Chiefs, Bai Sherbro and Francis Farwoonda, are now in prison. They had an interview with the Governor, and he explained the provisions of the Ordinance in the same manner as he did to the Timmene Chiefs, pointing out to Bai Sherbro of Yonni and the Imperri Chiefs that the Ordinance did not apply to their districts at all.

928. Why not?—They were within the Colony.

929. They were not being dealt with under the Protectorate?—No.

930. Were they satisfied with that reply?—Bai Sherbro said he had only come because he was their big man. As far as I can make out, the others were not satisfied; but said they would go and tell their big men what reply the Governor had given to them.

931. Is No. 213 N. A. 15th September 1897, a copy of the reply that was made to the Chiefs of the Karene district? Was it sent to them by messenger?—It was delivered to the Chiefs at the time.

932. Did they make any rejoinder to it? They said they would wait in the town for H. E. Col. Cardew.

933. And they did wait?—Yes.

934. Nothing further, however, took place till Colonel Cardew returned?—I believe they had an interview with Col. Caulfeild on the subject, and I know I wrote to the Colonial Secretary to say they would wait.

935. Nothing material?—Merely formal correspondence.

936. Then this petition, dated Bumpe Mendi, 20th October 1896, came from certain Chiefs of Bumpe Mendi?—Yes.

937. Did they come to Freetown?—They sent it by messenger. None have ever come.

938. Was an answer in writing sent to that petition? Yes; No. 429 of 1896.

939. On the 26th October 1896 Bai Simra made a representation (No. 582, N. A. of 1896); this reply (No. 1484, 13th November 1896) was written by you?—Yes; at the instruction of the Governor.

940. Is Bai Simra an important Chief?—He was: we heard he died at Kwalu in prison.

941. Of what district was he Chief?—Masimera, in the Ronietta district.

942. Why was he imprisoned?—I do not know.

943. This translation of a letter from Bai Kompah dated 18th September 1897 (No. 302 N.A. 97); was this one of the Chiefs who had petitioned Colonel Caulfeild?—Yes: the same.

944. Could you say what action was taken with regard to this?—The Chiefs were

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informed that nothing could be done for them, but that if they came to see Sir Frederic on his return he would hear them.

945. Have you found in your records any other representations that were made by native Chiefs?—I am looking them up, and hope to send some in to-morrow.

946. You have handed me this list of Chiefs receiving annual stipends or presents; what is the distinction?—A stipend has to be continued to a Chief's successors under treaties; a present to the holder of the office for the time being.

947. Are presents given under authorisation of the Secretary of State?—Yes; there are also Governor's presents given from time to time.

948. And this final list marked D?—There used to be a lot of bother about districts; it should really have been printed separately to give to merchants and others.

949. The list D shows the districts of the native Chiefs as apportioned amongst the districts of the Protectorate?—A native Chief's district may be ruled over by several Chiefs.

950. Are all Chiefs in the Protectorate districts in receipt of stipends?—Not all.

951. Are you personally acquainted with the Chiefs who are in receipt of annual stipends?—With most of them.

952. The greater part really are in receipt of stipends or presents?—About a half.

953. What is the general nature of the reason in respect of which the Chiefs receive stipend?—Some are treaties ceding territory; others merely treaties of friendship for the promotion of trade.

954. Is there an obligation to suppress slave trade in any of these treaties?—In most of them.

955. Do the stipends exercise an important influence as to the loyal behaviour of the Chiefs?—I think they do.

956. Have they as a rule been faithful in their engagements to suppress slave trade?—I cannot say they have, as you will see in my communication about Port Lokko.

957. Would it be correct to say that there are only two ways of suppressing slave-trade: (1) By the French withdrawing the temptation to deal by preventing caravans, etc., coming over, and (2) by a strong and sufficient force on this side? There might, of course, be a third way, by people in time coming to see that slave-trade is unprofitable?—At present I think actual buying and selling of slaves is stopped.

958. But you also said that if the opportunity occurred people would take to it again?—Quite so.

959. So that there would only be those two methods I have named to prevent it?—Yes.

960. The little book you handed me on the first day of your examination did not contain a complete list of the Chiefs in the Protectorate; is there such a list in existence?—I could prepare one for you, but there is none in existence.

961. Is there a complete list of treaties under which stipends were given?—Yes.

962. From your knowledge of these Chiefs do you consider that there are many or any of them who, if summoned before me, would give trustworthy statements showing the native mind on the subject?—I think there are.

963. If they were asked to come singly, would they have to consult together?—They would consult, but they would come singly with only their immediate retinue.

964. Roughly, there seem to be a very large number?—Yes: over 400.

965. You handed me a paper respecting the complaints about the behaviour of the Frontier Police, dated 28th July 1893?—Yes.

966. Complaints respecting liberating slaves and other things, you considered that the Police were too scattered and not sufficiently supervised by officers?—Yes.

967. And what did that lead to?—A good deal of petty tyranny on the part of sub-officers.

968. How?—In the case of Shengeh they beat a man and took his property away from him. At Sherbro they beat a man and cut off his beard and made him eat it. At

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Port Lokko a boy was taken and severely beaten. Other cases are reported of their having forcible connection either with men's wives or their daughters.

969. After you sent in this Memorandum did a change take place in the behaviour of the Force?—Since the arrival of Sir F. Cardew and one or two new officers there has been a wonderful change. They are still not what they ought to be, but the change has been considerable.

970. From what sources are they mainly recruited?—Mendis and Timmenis.

971. In the Colony?—Yes: in Freetown.

972. Are many recruits slaves who have run away and become free in that way?—Yes: many of them.

973. About the Frontier Police, was there a tendency on the part of the Police to take too much on themselves in the way of interfering in native disputes, and so on?—There was.

974. Then you handed me correspondence relating to this subject, and going back to the beginning of 1894, which contains complaints made by natives, either Chiefs or not Chiefs, against members of the Frontier Police?—Yes.

975. Did all these complaints pass through your hands?—All.

976. And were all investigated, I presume?—Yes: all of them.

977. Some well founded and others ill founded?—Yes, quite so.

978. I may ask you: As a rule, how did it turn out most frequently, taking the year 1894?—I believe most complaints were well founded in 1894. Previous to the arrival of Sir F. Cardew, and to the improvement of the Force, I may say most complaints were well founded.

979. I suppose these complaints in some instances may have originated from misunderstandings on the part of the Police as to their instructions?—Yes.

980. Perhaps they did not always receive the same instructions?—Or did not understand the instructions received.

981. So far as you know, was it at any time an order to the Police that they should hold themselves subject to the orders of a Chief?—Never.

982. What was the relation of the Chiefs towards the Police stationed in their towns?—Originally Police duties were defined by Government Gazette when the Police was first established. Subsequently I can only say that the Police had to forward to Freetown reports made to them by Chiefs until the passing of the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896.

983. After that it would be their duty to report to the District Commissioner?—Yes.

984. When the Force was first instituted, can you say what was the general attitude of the inhabitants towards them; did they respect them?—They respected them at first, but I may say that when Sir James Hay went round to them to suggest the Police being stationed in their towns they did not receive the suggestion with very much pleasure; as they said, they were afraid it would lead to their slaves running away from them.

985. They had had some experience of the Police by that time?—No; in 1890-91 they had not had experience of them.

986. Did Sir James Hay institute the Frontier Police?—Yes.

987. Were there no Frontier Police in Governor Rowe's time?—No; the Civil Police were armed and did duty up-country.

988. Did the people look on them as representing Government to a certain extent?—They did.

989. From what you know of the people, would you say there is any tendency on their part to trump up stories against officers of the Government, or the contrary?—I do not think they would trump up stories; that is, no Chief would.

990. So that, without carrying the inference too far, it might be safe to say that where Chiefs made complaint there is a probability that it is well founded rather than otherwise?—Quite so.

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991. Did that scheme of Sir James Hay's to establish these stations refer to the whole Protectorate?—Only the navigable heads of rivers.

992. Was there no other reason for Chiefs not wanting the Police, except that they interfered with their slaves?—Their slaves and wives.

993. Then had the existence of police-stations and the presence of detachments of Police a tendency to diminish the authority of the Chiefs or otherwise?—It tended to diminish their authority.

994. Had you any means of judging how the coming of the Police was looked upon by the common people other than the Chiefs?—Slaves welcomed them; of the other people those who had slaves were of the same opinion as the Chiefs, or indifferent.

995. Were there complaints of Chiefs being improperly arrested by the Police?—Yes.

996. Were those complaints investigated?—In the majority of cases they were.

997. Under what circumstances would a policeman have been justified in arresting a Chief on his own authority?—Under no circumstances; he would either have to have an order from the Governor or Inspector-General, or, after the Ordinance of 1896, an order from the District Commissioner.

998. Were such cases of arrest all before the 1896 Ordinance, or after?—Several before and, I think, one or two afterwards.

999. Of course the Chiefs who were so arrested did not like it?—That is so.

1000. Did these arrests produce any feeling except in the individual who was aggrieved?—Yes, it produced feeling among his subjects. They felt that their Chief having been taken in that way had been insulted, and they resented the insult.

1001. Was then the same feeling created among other Chiefs?—Those who were friendly felt the same as the subjects.

1002. Have you known cases of Chiefs making charges to Government against other Chiefs?—Yes: frequently.

1003. Chiefs against Paramount Chiefs, or the other way?—It is generally neighbouring Chiefs who appeal to Government to settle their disputes.

1004. When a Chief appeals to the Governor in that way, asking that a dispute should be settled, what is the usual procedure?—Before 1896 they used to come down to Freetown, and the Governor gave his decision after hearing both sides of the case: such decision was final.

1005. On these occasions were the Chiefs accustomed to support their cases by evidence?—In some cases. They could call evidence if they wished. It used to be a sort of informal court really.

1006. Was the Governor's decision generally received as a final settlement?—I may say almost always.

1007. In cases of disputes now between Chiefs they would have to go before the District Commissioners?—I presume so.

1008. Are you aware whether many of such cases have occurred?—No: I do not know.

1009. Have complaints been made to the Governor lately touching the action of District Commissioners?—In one or two cases.

1010. With regard to decisions they have given in certain cases?—Yes.

1011. And the Governor could not interfere, I presume?—In one case Mr. Roach was referred back to the District Commissioner on the advice of the Attorney-General. In the case of Bai Forki and Bai Kabolo they were referred back to the District Commissioner. I believe in one or two cases convictions were quashed on the advice of the Attorney-General.

1012. Here is a Petition dated September 1896 by Bai Sama, Bai Sherbro, and Hanna Modu, reporting the arrest of some men, and petitioning the Governor to allow a palaver to be held to settle the matter in Freetown, instead of going to Karene. Is that such a palaver as would have been settled in former times by the Governor?—Yes.

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1013. That practice of coming to the Governor could only be applicable where the disputants lived fairly near Freetown?—No: they would sometimes come 200 or 300 miles. J. C. E. PARKES.

1014. Was it because it was the only Paramount Authority, or because they had confidence in the decision?—First because it was the Paramount Authority, and also they had perfect confidence in the decision.

1015. But then it must have led to a considerable expense, both as regards travelling and maintaining their followers?—The Government made an allowance of £400 or £500 for the expense of maintaining their followers in Freetown.

1016. So the disputants had no expense except what they incurred on the road?—None except that.

1017. Then were the questions that were brought to the Governor in this way of serious importance?—Yes, as a rule: we used to settle minor questions in our department.

1018. Did that arrangement not have the effect of bringing a great quantity of work on the Governor?—Yes: these palavers occurred frequently.

1019. In the time before the Proclamation of the Protectorate, with regard to the Police, were there any complaints of their interfering with legitimate trade?—No, I think not.

1020. Is the letter of 2nd August addressed to yourself in Mr. Lawson's handwriting?—Yes.

1021. In it they say, 'We beg to submit,' etc. There they seem to attach great importance to the distance they have to travel.—That is because this is a case where about ten different Chiefs would have to arrange to come back to Freetown at the same time, which would be difficult.

1022. After the writing of that letter they resolved on awaiting Sir Frederic's return?—Yes.

1023. When the native Chiefs built houses or barracks for police, what was their agreement with Government?—They had no agreement.

1024. On what principle was it done?—A Chief was requested to build a house, and he built it: and if the District Commissioner was satisfied with it he would recommend what present the Chief should receive.

1025. Then he was paid?—Yes: but opinions might differ as to the amount paid.

1026. Was the cost not estimated in any kind of way?—Not so far as I know.

1027. There is a Petition to the Legislative Council, dated 15th October 1897, which appears to be signed by a number of Chiefs: look at the names and tell me if they are important Chiefs.—Most of the names are names of important Chiefs.

1028. Do you know whether the Legislative Council took any action on this Petition?—I do not know: I think none.

1029. This letter, dated 15th November 1897, appears to be an answer to Sir F. Cardew after the Chiefs had met him, and he had explained his views on the Protectorate Ordinance to them?—Yes: it was written after that.

1030. But it is signed by many more Chiefs than have signed the first?—The signatures of course are written by Mr. Lawson.

1031. Could any of the Chiefs write their own signatures?—Only one now: the rest could not write at all, either Arabic or English.

1032. Not referring to Mr. Lawson, but from your knowledge of what takes place generally, where a letter purports to be written by Chiefs, does the writer hear the Chiefs and collect their views as near as he can, or does he write a letter and then ask the Chiefs if it represents their views?—An honest writer collects their views and then writes them down and reads the letter to the Chiefs and says, 'Are these your views?' No sensible Chief would be satisfied with a letter unless it did represent his views. Francis Farwoonda sent a letter to the Governor in language he should not have used: it was not written by him, but by some one else: I read it over to him and said, 'I don't think this should be sent as it stands.' He said, 'Those are my words, please send it.'

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1033. Did this letter of 15th November pass through your hands?—I think it did.

1034. It was put before the Governor; did any action follow on it?—His Excellency could not alter his decision.

1035. When was his answer communicated to the Chiefs?—The Governor's answer was communicated on 20th November.

1036. On the 23rd October a telegram was received at the Colonial Office from the Chiefs: 'Chiefs solicit reduction Hut Tax': Do you know anything about this telegram? —I asked one or two of them if they ever sent a telegram, and they said they never did.

1037. Could they have known of the process of telegraphing of their own knowledge? No, I do not think they could.

1038. You put in a Minute 4602 of 1892, in which you made some recommendations about declaring the Protectorate?—Yes.

1039. At that time, of course there was the difficulty that we did not quite know what the boundaries of our territory were?—Quite so.

1040. I see that you anticipated, in case the Protectorate was made effective over these territories, there would be a great reduction in the cost of the Frontier Police? —I suggested it.

1041. How would the creation of the Protectorate reduce the cost of the Frontier Police?—I thought, if you had political agents there, you would introduce a civil administration there instead of a semi-military one.

1042. But the Protectorate has now been established, and you have a semi-civil administration, and yet the cost of the Frontier Police has been considerably increased?—I do not know the reason.

1043. Your view was that as the Protectorate became more settled, the need of Frontier Police would diminish?—Yes, quite so.

1044. Did you anticipate that there would be a larger number of Civil Police needed? —I did; not a larger number, because there are none in the Protectorate.

1045. Then was the general purpose of the Frontier Police to act as a force against actual invasion from outside, or was it to control and overawe the native Chiefs?—I do not say overawe—for both purposes.

1046. At the present time does it exist for both purposes?—I cannot say to resist an attack from without: that would be a matter of communication with the French Government.

1047. But if a raid came from over the Frontier, the Frontier Police would help to resist it?—They should do so.

1048. What is the extreme length of the Protectorate from north to south, and the width from east to west?—I should like to look at the map signed by the Commissioner before replying.

1049. Did this expedition of the Governor to the interior to which you allude, and the cause of which you mention in the papers, mean an ordinary journey for civil purposes or a military expedition?—Not military.

1050. You suggest that there might be some central place to which Chiefs might come to meet the Governor within the Protectorate: would it not be more consistent with the Governor's dignity that he should remain in Freetown?—I think so. The official meeting-place should be in Freetown.

1051. Do the Chiefs think so too?—Yes.

1052. This is a copy of a letter replying to the Petition of the Chiefs, that it had been submitted to the Secretary of State (No. 213, N.A., 15th September 1897)?—Yes.

1053 I think I have asked you about these petitions already?—I sent them at your request.

1054. Look at this letter of 28th October 1896: are these important Chiefs whose names are appended?—Yes: all of them.

1055. Do you happen to know who was the writer of this letter?—I think Quashi Collier, who lives at Bumpe.

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1056. An explanatory letter was sent to this petition ?—Yes.

1057. Is Bai Simra an important Chief ?—He was: he is dead.

1058. He also petitions about loss of power, and this is the reply sent to him (N.A. 484, 13th November 1896) ?—Yes.

1059. Was Bai Kompah an important Chief ?—Yes: he is dead. Bai Kompah of Kwaia petitioned against the hut tax, and was informed that he might come to Freetown and see the Governor.

1060. You put in a Minute (Confid. N.A. 6) in which you suggested another method than the hut tax of raising revenue. Do you still adhere to the views stated therein ?—I do.

1061. Then you put in another Minute (Confid. N.A. 25), 31st May 1898, in which you gave a short historical sketch of matters that preceded the present outbreak ?—Yes.

1062. These observations were compiled, I presume, from facts that came within your own knowledge ?—Quite so.

1063. Tell me as much as you can respecting the recent outbreak.—It began in the Karene district; and, as far as I am informed, it started in Port Lokko, just after the District Commissioner had been to that place to collect the hut tax. On his way back, as far as I can gather from native sources, I believe the row between Bai Bureh and the police commenced.

1064. After Soribunki had been made Chief ?—Yes. I was informed by a great number of boys who came down from Port Lokko to Freetown. I will not venture to say what occurred between Bai Bureh and the police force going to Karene, as I have no authentic information.

1065. Have you information from some one who could be found and produced ?—I will make inquiries.

1066. Something took place between Bai Bureh and the police ?—Yes: as far as I heard.

1067. What was Bai Bureh's position as regards Port Lokko ?—He had no position at all in Port Lokko. The remark was made at Port Lokko, it is said, that steps would be taken to effect Bai Bureh's arrest. That is not authenticated. I have nothing more to say on the subject, having no authentic information.

1068. What happened next, that you heard ?—The next thing, I have heard, was that the District Commissioner started to return to Karene after arresting the Chiefs and some Sierra Leone traders for not paying the tax. *En route* to that place, whether from fright or otherwise, the police are said to have fired, and, as the story goes, killed two men. Bai Bureh, having heard that they were coming up to arrest him, had collected his people on the road, and some of them asked the police where they were going to.

1069. Where was Bai Bureh's town ?—Roballam, in the Kassi country, by the Skarcies river. He was between his own town and Port Lokko. There was some jeering took place between the police and his own people, and the police went on to Karene. His people followed them for some distance, still jeering at them. Soon after this occurred the unfortunate incident of the killing of a man at Port Lokko by one of the police. I sent you a copy of the District Commissioner's minute. I know of nothing else, except from information I got from His Excellency subsequently of the dispatch of police or troops. On my visit to Port Lokko with the Governor, two or three months ago, I made inquiries as to whether the town had been attacked by an enemy or burnt by the people themselves. Alfa Unisa, who is at present in charge at Port Lokko, informed me that the Port Lokko people themselves burnt a portion of the town, and the troops burnt a part known as Old Port Lokko.

1070. You really do not know any more of the progress of the rising ?—Except what I have heard in Freetown, nothing more.

1071. Is Bai Bureh a powerful Chief ?—He has made a reputation, but is not a powerful Chief.

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1072. Has he a numerous following of retainers?—No; he has only a little strip of territory bordering on the small Skarcies. He has been an old fighting man, and once devastated the country right down to the French territory.

1073. Look at Section 56 of the Protectorate Ordinance, are you aware what particular evil this was intended to strike at?—No.

1074. Does it seem to strike against traders giving spirits while making bargains?—It is not usual for traders to give spirits while making bargains, it is usually given on arrival and departure.

1075. To any large extent?—Not to any large extent; it is usually deducted from the bargain at the end, although the trader does not know it.

1076. I think you said, in answer to a question, that such a thing as Sierra Leone counsel or attorneys appearing in either the Chief's Court or the Chief and District Commissioner's Court is quite unknown?—Quite.

1077. I draw your attention to a clause in a memorial sent by the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce in which they say, 'There are advocates . . .,' to what class of advocate does this refer?—It must refer to some member of the tribe who acts as such.

1078. Are they paid?—No. As I said, if I took an interest in a case I should 'buy the palaver,' as it is called, *i.e.* I should plead in the court and become liable for everything, costs, damages, etc.

1079. This circular (5 of 1894) as to police interfering with slaves was drawn up by you, I think?—It was drawn up at my suggestion.

1080. And it was sent to the Inspector-General?—Yes.

1081. Was that instruction to the police that they should point out to slaves that their proper course was to take refuge in Freetown not apt to be construed by them as advice to run away?—I think not: it was to avoid the possibility of the police enticing them to their offices that the clause about going to Freetown was put in.

1082. What was the general nature of ill-treatment that slaves complained of in these cases?—Mostly of having been flogged, in other cases of having their wives taken from them, and lastly having a Woolasu sold (*i.e.* a slave born in the house).

1083. Were you aware of any cases of severe flogging being inflicted on slaves?—None have come to my notice.

1084. Would flogging be inflicted without some reason?—No: I do not think it is.

1085. I observe in the enumeration of offences in that memorandum of native law, slave buying or selling is not included?—It is not deemed to be an offence.

1086. Is it your experience that the Chiefs in their own courts, I speak irrespectively of the Protectorate Ordinance, use endeavour, and take trouble to find out the very truth?—Much depends on the Chief: in some cases they do; in several others I am afraid they do not.

1087. What kind of evidence would be received and acted on in, suppose, a case of murder?—Similar to what would be received here; witnesses would be called and heard.

1088. Would they require as stringent a proof in cases of murder as would be required in our courts?—In Mohammedan courts they would: in pagan courts not always.

1089. What would be the nature of the shortcoming in pagan courts?—In pagan courts the whole thing might degenerate into a trial by ordeal.

1090. What is the nature of the ordeal?—To drink a decoction of sass-wood, which is a poison, or by putting the hand in hot oil.

1091. Then how would the ordeal by sass-wood decoction operate?—In case the party drinking it throws it up he is innocent: in case he dies he is guilty.

1092. In cases of theft what kind of evidence would be deemed sufficient?—Witnesses and evidence as in our courts: both in Mohammedan and pagan courts.

1093. In arson what kind of evidence?—Direct evidence as in our courts.

1094. Always?—As far as I know.

1095. In witchcraft?—Trial by ordeal.

1096. Always?—Yes. It is the same kind of ordeal as in the other cases.

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1097. Is there any recognised exponent of what native law really is?—No: none.

1098. Suppose the supreme court here wanted information with regard to a point in native law, to whom would they apply?—I have never heard of such a case: I am generally called on in cases of jurisdiction.

1099. Are not the big Chiefs themselves considered authorities?—They are. A Chief at times makes his own law.

1100. Is there any method according to native custom by which new laws can be made and by which old laws can be abolished?—Yes.

1101. How would either be effected?—In the first place it is the custom for Chiefs of a country abolishing an old law to send his Santigi round to inform the people of it, Secondly, when a new Chief is to be crowned he is shut up in a house alone; he is then supposed to have gone to Footah, where they believe the law is given to him.

1102. In a supernatural way?—No: the Mohammedans at Footah Jalom are supposed to give him the law: the day he is crowned he sends and tells the people what laws he has brought from Footah. These may abrogate old ones or make new ones.

1103. Is there no standard by which he is bound, or can he declare what laws he pleases?—These laws supposed to have been brought from Footah, have really been compiled by him in consultation with his advisers, while he has been shut up.

1104. But then any Chief is at liberty to make and promulgate for his own people new laws?—Yes, with the consent of his counsellors.

1105. Does not that introduce great discrepancy between laws existing in different Chiefs' territories? No: the basis is the same throughout.

1106. Could you say whether there is any feeling growing up in the minds of Chiefs against slave trade, apart from prohibition by Government?—I could not say.

1107. Are they not beginning to perceive that it is contrary to the true interests of the country?—I am sorry to say not.

1108. Suppose such feeling were to grow and become strong among the Chiefs, would there be any means by which they could embody that as native law and make slave-dealing a punishable offence in Chiefs' courts?—Yes: they could.

1109. They would make it an addition, as it were, to the native code?—Quite so. They would simply pass a law not to deal in slaves; and proclaim it through the country: it would be quite enough. It would, in fact, be very similar to what was done in the old slave days, when over-sea traffic was stopped.

1110. The Chiefs passed that law at the request of the British Government?—Yes: in the pursuance of treaties.

1111. A similar principle would apply in any case where it was desired to enact a new law: it would be by proclamation of the Chiefs themselves that so and so had become part of their own law?—Quite so.

1112. You are aware that the Queen has given to the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone certain powers of making laws for the Protectorate?—Yes.

1113. Do you consider that the position of the Legislative Council here as exercising powers delegated by the Queen is understood in the Protectorate?—No: certainly not generally.

1114. What is understood in the Protectorate regarding the Legislative Council here?—They certainly know that men are called members of the Council, but as to what they do, they have very little knowledge.

1115. They know they are big men?—Yes: they call them the big men of the town.

1116. Then if they do not understand the position of the Council, are they likely to respect laws made by it?—Not as made by the Council: they regard laws as being made by the Queen and the Governor: 'Queen's law' they generally term it.

1117. Then if they understood it was the Council's law but made under powers delegated from the Queen, would they respect it as Queen's law?—Yes: just the same.

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1118. If a few representative Chiefs were brought into the Council, do you think it would have a beneficial effect?—No: they would not be able to understand the deliberations of the Council nor express themselves, as they do not speak English.

1119. Suppose the difference of language were got over somehow, would not representation of Chiefs be very beneficial?—Very.

1120. Are there not enough of English-speaking important Chiefs as to make it possible to bring them into the Council?—Not at present.

1121. Putting aside the difficulty of language, is there any method which occurs to you by which certain Chiefs could be brought into the Council as representing all the Chiefs?—Yes: putting aside the question of language. They elect one man whom they call their spokesman: he is really the person elected to carry on their negotiations for them, and express their views. This takes place, for example, when a number of Chiefs come down to meet the Governor.

1122. Would it not be possible to select one Chief as representative in each of the five districts?—No. I do not think that would be practicable. The districts are not divided according to tribes, and the Timini might object to be represented by a Lokko. As an instance of the strong tribal feeling, all the Timinis have made their petitions themselves; the Mendis the same.

1123. Suppose the districts were differently divided so that no district should contain diverse tribes, would such representation be possible?—Yes: I think it would.

1124. Would that be by the chiefs of a district meeting and electing one of their number?—Yes: naming one of their number.

1125. That would require material alterations as to distribution of districts?—It would.

1126. For the whole purposes of administration would it not be more advantageous if each district included the same tribes, and not diverse and heterogeneous ones?—I think it would.

1127. Various tribes although different would not feel repugnance in acting together?—No.

1128. In order to divide the districts so as not to include repugnant tribes, would it require a material increase in the number of districts?—No: say seven or eight instead of five.

1129. You think if the districts were so arranged it would be possible to get the Chiefs to meet together and elect a representative?—I think so.

1130. Would they meet under the presidency of one of their own number, or would the District Commissioner be better?—I think under one of their own number: they would feel freer.

1131. Suppose such a system were practicable and carried out, would it add materially to the confidence with which the people as well as the Chiefs would regard laws passed in Freetown?—I think so.

1132. As regards criminal law prevailing by native custom, it appears to be not very dissimilar to English?—Not very: but dissimilar as regards punishment.

1133. What would be the effect of an enactment to the effect that English law as to crimes should prevail throughout the Protectorate, both in Chiefs' courts and District Commissioner's Court?—I think it would have a good effect: we have the thin end of the wedge in even now.

1134. It would at all events have the advantage of uniformity?—Yes.

1135. I presume in the District Commissioners' courts the status of slavery would not be recognised in any way?—I think not.

1136. Take a case of a slave accusing his master of having tied him up to the door-post of a hut or having put him in the log because his master knew that he was going to run away and wanted to punish him?—The master would be punished and the slave set free.

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1137. Would the District Commissioner punish for the assault?—Yes.

1138. What would be the effect of an enactment declaring that no Chief receiving a stipend should recognise slavery to any effect?—I do not think it would have much effect just now.

1139. I am thinking of this at present. As things now are there is a direct incentive to slaves to run away to Sierra Leone and obtain their freedom: is there no way in which slaves could be made practically as free without that direct incentive to leave their masters? —I cannot think of any. Before that enactment the incentive was still greater: they had only to walk up to the nearest police station.

1140. What do you think would be the effect of an enactment that all slaves were free from a certain date, coupled with a declaration that the Queen had no desire for them to leave their masters or change their mode of life?—I think it would have a tendency to dislocate the state of labour.

1141. Then it would be necessarily implied in any such enactment that Chiefs or owners of slaves were not in any way bound to provide farms, etc., for slaves: would not the inducement be sufficient to cause slaves to remain with their masters?—The domestic slave naturally hankers after something new. They would like to make the experiment.

1142. In this petition to the Governor against the Protectorate Ordinance there occurs the expression, 'the very name of gaol in, etc. . . .' Can you say if that expression relates to any peculiar feeling as regards gaols?—Some of them have a very wholesome dread of it.

1143. They say, 'where there is a gaol, officers must be given work to do, and this is our fear'?—I cannot say if it relates to any special repugnance with regard to the gaol.

1144. Is cannibalism at all an existent fact in the Protectorate?—Not in the Protectorate: at Imperri, in the Colony.

1145. What tribe practises it?—The Mendis.

1146. Under what circumstances does this occur?—Under a society called 'Borfu.'

1147. I mean, is it practised generally?—Not at all: outside the Protectorate altogether, in Liberia; in cases of prisoners taken in war. Apart from a peculiar fetish arrangement, there is no cannibalism in the Protectorate or Colony.

14*th October* 1898.

1148. Were you present at a meeting the Governor had with the Chiefs at Bonthe in the early part of 1896?—Yes: in April.

1149. Can you tell me who were the Chiefs present at Matenifori?—Representatives of the Kwaia Chiefs (Bai Kompah and Alimami Sena Bundu).

1150. Were those Paramount Chiefs?—Bai Kompah was, not Sena Bundu.

1151. Then Bai Kompah, I presume, represents the whole of the Kwaia country?—Yes.

1152. Was there an interpreter at the Matenifori meeting?—Yes.

1153. You knew the language yourself?—Not enough to understand fully.

1154. Do you remember the substance of what the Governor said to them at that meeting?—It was a brief explanation of the Ordinance he proposed to pass and the tax he proposed to impose.

1155. Look at this paper: does it represent what the Governor said at this meeting? —Yes, at this and every meeting at which the measures were fully explained.

1156. This expression, 'They had heard what the Governor had said, and would follow his word,' what did that mean?—I was rather surprised at it: they generally say they must go and hang head.

1157. What would you say it did mean?—Upon consideration, I think it means, 'We will accept what you say, because we cannot help ourselves.' That is in the light of after events. The words as they stand, I think, indicated acquiescence.

1158. Then at Rokon, who were the Chiefs present?—Bai Simera of Masimera (Para-

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mount Chief), Pa Suba of Magbele, representing Bai Kobblo (Paramount Chief) of Marampa, and representatives of Alimami Konti of Makonti, on the borders of Masimera, and a number of Sub-Chiefs of the Marampa and Masimera districts.

1159. Was there an interpreter there?—Yes. Momodu Wakka; he was with us all through the tour.

1160. Who accompanied the Governor on that occasion besides yourself and Momodu Wakka?—Captain Morant, his private secretary. I do not think the Bishop went that time.

1161. Can you give me the names of the Sub-Chiefs who were present at the Rokon meeting?—Bana Gombu, Pa Bala, Alimami Sai Sai of Rokell, and several others of no importance.

1162. Then there was a meeting in the Lokko country, what Chiefs were present at that meeting?—Alimami Keha, Paramount Chief of Lokko and his Sub-Chiefs, and representatives from Alimami Korba of Lokko, who has given up his power to Alimami Keha: there was no one else. There was a record kept of the meeting, which the Governor has at Government House.

1163. Were you present at the meeting at Sherbro in April?—Yes: it was not a very large one. It must have been the 3rd or 4th April 1896.

1164. Do you remember what took place?—The Governor gave a similar explanation to that which he had given at the other meetings.

1165. Who were the Chiefs who were present?—Francis Farwoonda and I do not think any other Chief: he had missed the other meeting and had come on to Bonthe.

1166. What countries were represented?—No countries: there was no regular meeting called at Bonthe. It was not a representative meeting, it was an informal meeting. Francis Farwoonda acted as spokesman.

1167. Do you remember what expressions were used after the explanation?—No: I think they said they would consider the matter.

1168. Can you tell me what Chiefs were present at the Karene meeting in the Limba district?—Only Alimami Bobo, the Chief of the town, and his Sub-Chiefs.

1169. And at the meeting at Bumban?—Alimami Suluku, Paramount Chief of Biriwa Limba.

1170. Then at the meeting at Madina?—Only the Chief of Madina; he is not a Paramount Chief.

1171. And at Bendiboo?—Alimami Keha, Paramount Chief of Lokko.

1172. What was said at the Karene meeting?—The Chiefs did not signify assent or dissent. They said very much the same as was said at other meetings, that they had heard the Governor's words.

1173. Was the meeting at Matenifori the only one held in the Kwaia country?—Yes: the only one.

1174. You remember the petition that was sent in June 1897; there was a written reply sent to all those who had signed the petition?—Yes.

1175. This (N.A. 213—15th September 1897) followed upon the Secretary of State's letter to Colonel Caulfield?—Yes.

1176. Then after Sir Frederic returned in November 1897 he met the Chiefs personally?—Yes.

1177. Is this statement substantially the statement made at Government House to the Chiefs?—Yes.

1178. Then there were subsequent letters written by the Chiefs which I have already asked you about?—Yes.

1179. Previous to the Protectorate Ordinance, the Chiefs when they wanted to communicate with the Governor used to come to Freetown and see him personally?—Yes: that was usual.

1180. Was the long distance they had to travel found to be a practical difficulty?—Not at all.

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1181. You remember telling me about a certain frontier road during Governor Hay's time which was the limit of jurisdiction; did Chiefs use to come from beyond that road?—Yes. It was really called the frontier road, because the police posts were along there.

1182. Can you give me any instance of the remote places from which they have come to speak to the Governor in the old days?—From Tonko Limba, representatives from Biriwa Limba. Falaba, I think, was the furthest. We used to have messengers from Kankan, but that was outside the British sphere.

1183. Was there any sort of distinction as to the kind of jurisdiction exercised over the Chiefs who came from the remote parts, or was it just the same as with those within the frontier line?—It was the same in both cases.

1184. How would you describe it in both cases?—Paternal, advisory, but no positive authority.

1185. In those times was personal access to the Governor allowed as a rule?—Not always: in some cases of urgency; in others the reply would be given them through our department.

1186. Do you think the Chiefs have the same satisfaction in communicating with the District Commissioner as to their affairs as they formerly had in communicating with the Governor?—I do not think so.

1187. They do not regard the District Commissioner quite in the same light?—That may be one reason, but there have been a number of complaints: they prefer coming to Freetown.

1188. Can you give me any details as to these complaints, and the reason of them?—I think I have already forwarded you the minutes.

1189. I think this was one (*re* Bai Kompah)?—Yes.

1190. And there were others of the same tenor?—Yes.

1191. Was it a custom when one Paramount Chief had a dispute with another Paramount Chief to refer the matter to the Governor's adjudication?—Yes, that frequently took place.

1192. What was the method taken to bring the parties before the Governor?—One would make the complaint, and we would write to the other to come down and have the matter discussed.

1193. Did the party complained against always come on these occasions?—Invariably: promptly.

1194. Then the Governor would hear both parties, and any evidence that might be produced, I suppose?—Quite so.

1195. Then I fancy it is likely that he also took advice and got information from your department in these cases, besides the evidence?—Certainly.

1196. How were the Governor's decisions received?—Generally well received and followed and adhered to.

1197. Can you tell me anything about these travelling Commissioners who I am informed were appointed at one time to travel about the country and deal with disputes?—Yes: Mr. Garrett and Mr. Alldridge in 1891-1892.

1198. What were their functions?—To fix the position of different places they passed through, and settle disputes of any Chiefs whom the Governor did not desire to come down to Freetown. They also had to carry out a special commission as regards making treaties. I do not know what was the nature of the commission they held.

1199. Did they traverse much of the country?—Yes: they were generally on the move during the whole of the dry season. They settled many disputes, and their decisions were received as a rule with satisfaction.

1200. When were these Commissioners given up?—After the death of Mr. Garrett no further appointment was made: I think it was just before Governor Cardew came out.

1201. Are you aware of any particular reason why new appointments were not made?—No.

1202. How do you think it might answer if there were some high judicial officer

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who devoted himself to the study of native questions, and would hear native cases brought before him with the evidence?—I think it would be a very good idea.

1203. He might also act as an appeal court against the decisions of Paramount Chiefs?—Exactly so.

1204. Suppose matters had been entire and the Paramount Chiefs were exercising the full power that had ever belonged to them, would it tend to weaken their powers if their decisions were subject to an appeal of this kind?—No: I think it would tend to make them more careful.

1205. It would not tend to create falsification of facts?—Not at all.

1206. In these appeals that came before the Governor, I understand you to say that it was not a common thing to have falsification of facts?—No. The question would rather be one of right.

1207. Such appeals, I presume, were always between Chiefs of importance and not people who were not Chiefs?—Persons who were not Chiefs used to appeal against the decisions of the Chiefs, and the Governor would intervene and see justice done.

1208. These stipends paid to most of the Chiefs seem very small?—Some of them.

1209. What do you think would be the effect of giving them more substantial sums?—I do not think it would have a good effect just now; but on general principles, I think it would make their position better.

1210. Taking it that the principle is a good one, what extent of stipend would be enough to have an effect in raising the position of the Chiefs?—It would depend on conditions: I cannot answer the question generally.

1211. Some instances have taken place in which the Governor has made Chiefs who were not in the family or the proper line?—I regret to say there have been, I think, two instances.

1212. They have not been successful?—No.

1213. Have there not been more than two instances?—Yes: Brima Sanda, Sori Bunki, and Smart of Mahera.

1214. Was there not at Rotifu?—The Chief of Rotofunk. Santigi Bundu's son assumed the chiefship when he died.

1215. Was he not appointed by the people?—No; he assumed the control. Pa Mansu was the proper man, but he laid a charge against Pa Mansu, who was tried and convicted, and I think sentenced to two years, and there was nobody left to assume control. He was convicted in the Court of the District Commissioner at Kwalu, about six or eight months ago now.

1216. Brima Sanda, though friendly to the Government, was found to have no influence?—No; he had no right.

1217. Why was he put up?—I do not know. I think Captain Sharpe recommended his appointment.

1218. Then it was found that he was unable to give any help to the Government?—Totally unable.

1219. Was Neale Caulker Chief in the proper line?—Of the proper line as established in 1860 or thereabouts.

1220. Then had there been a dispute about the succession?—No: it was simply a case of the old people whom the country really belonged to being driven back by the Caulkers and their people.

1221. Is Madam Yoko in the proper line?—No: but hers is an exceptional case. Bana, her husband, used to regard her as his favourite wife, and when he was dying he asked Governor Rowe to make her Chieftainess.

1222. A sort of bequest by Bana?—Yes; but that method is not usually attempted or recognised.

1223. Has she satisfactory influence over her people?—She has. She is a remarkable woman: it is due to her force of character.

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1224. Is Nancy Tucker in the proper line?—She has no right.

1225. How did she come to be appointed?—It was reported by the District Commissioner that she had been elected by the people of the Bagru.

1226. Was Dr. Hood the District Commissioner?—No: Mr. Hudson.

1227. Then is that a thing the people sometimes do, that they elect as a Chief one who has no right?—If a person has money, and uses it liberally, they sometimes do: more in the Sherbro district than anywhere else.

1228. Has she satisfactory influence with the people?—She has only recently been elected: we know very little about her.

1229. It has been said she owed much to the reports made in her favour by Sergeant Coker of the Police?—I know nothing about that.

1230. This letter (423—14th December 1897) of Chief Grubru of Bompe and others, had been brought to the Governor, and this (N.A. 11—7th January 1898) is his reply?—Yes.

1231. I think you have read the correspondence between Francis Farwoonda and the Government which led to his deposition?—Yes, I have.

1232. Stated briefly, the point seems to be that he raised the question that he was not a British subject?—Yes.

1233. The deposition took place on that ground?—Yes.

1234. Was there any other reason?—He was told to apologise the next day.

1235. But he did apologise?—It was not a proper apology: he reiterated the statement.

1236. This letter of 19th January is the apology, is it not?—Yes: this was intended to be the apology.

1237. He asks to withdraw the letter which was objected to?—Yes; but it had already been submitted to the Governor.

1238. Can you tell me what was the cause of his being arrested and imprisoned?—He was apprehended at the time of the excitement, as it was doubted what influence he might have on the Mendis living in town. It had nothing to do with the correspondence.

1239. There is a letter of 2nd March 1898 which purports to be signed by Bai Kompah of Kwaia, and is addressed to Sir S. Lewis. I presume Sir S. Lewis sent it on to your department?—He sent it up to Government House, and the Governor sent it on to my department.

1240. I understand from this statement that Bai Kompah came to Freetown to see the Governor?—He did: he saw the Governor and made his complaint to him.

1241. Of being ill-used as stated in the letter?—Yes: the Governor told him he would cause this complaint to be inquired into by the District Commissioner.

1242. Was he examined by the Colonial surgeon?—Yes: by Dr. Prout. He told me unofficially that he was old and suffering.

1243. Did he specially examine him with regard to the hurt he complained of?—No: I believe he really examined him to see if he was fit to go up to Government House.

1244. Was Bai Kompah threatened with being arrested if he remained in Freetown?—Yes: there was a warrant out against him at the time.

1245. What was the warrant?—I do not know exactly: something from Kwalu.

1246. Did he ask that his stipend should be retained towards payment of the Hut Tax?—He did.

1247. It would seem from the Governor's minute that he had been informed that Bai Kompah had been intimidating another Chief with a view of deterring him from paying the Hut Tax: from what source did that information come?—I think from the District Commissioner at Kwalu.

1248. From whom did the District Commissioner get it?—I can hardly say

1249. Previous to this time had Bai Kompah been a loyal Chief?—Yes: very loyal. All the Kwaia country was very loyal.

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1250. I suppose you do not know about the causes that led to the expeditions into Kwaia under Captain Moore and Captain Fairtlough?—No: they did not pass through my department.

1251. When Bai Kompah asked that his stipend should be retained towards payment of the Hut Tax was the offer accepted?—He was referred to the District Commissioner at Kwalu, where they have to go for the stipend.

1252. Was it received with approval?—I do not think it was received with much approval.

1253. About December 1896 there was said to be a threatened stoppage of the Rokell river?—I heard some talk of it, but I do not think there was any foundation for it.

1254. Was it followed up in any way?—No: I believe I wrote as to the report that was current, and notification was sent to the District Commissioner to be on the alert and see what was going on.

1255. In this petition of the Chiefs, of June 1897 (Question 828), you say you thought they referred to the old land tax: does it not refer to something earlier?—It was instituted in 1854 and abolished in 1872. I think that was what was referred to.

1256. When did the recession of Kwaia take place?—In 1872 under Administrator Kendall, Kwaia had been taken over after the Kwaia war, and was receded in 1872 under instructions from the Secretary of State.

1257. Do you remember any stoppage of the Rokell river in the beginning of 1898?—The lower reaches of the river.

1258. Then was that in Bai Kompah's country?—Yes: it was in Bai Kompah's country.

1259. Was it traced in any way what Chiefs had been instrumental in stopping the river?—Suri Kamara was the principal man, Alimami Sena Bundu was accused, but there was no evidence.

1260. Was there any evidence against Alimami Sena Bundu of having been disloyal in any way?—None, that I am aware of.

1261. Look at this letter (N.A. 8, 15th March 1898), you had good reason to know that the Chiefs were sentenced to stone-breaking?—They sent to tell me so.

1262. Was any modification made after that?—I believe some modification was made.

1263. I suppose you verified the statement in your letter of 3rd June 1898, that the £180 had been paid by the Chiefs?—No: it was found afterwards that they had not paid as much as £180.

1264. How much had they paid at the time they were released?—£180 altogether they paid a balance of £95 10s. just before they were released. I rather think the whole amount paid was £190.

1265. Was it within your knowledge whether they had to borrow money?—Yes, in Freetown; I do not know what interest they had to pay.

1266. Can you tell me anything as to the comparative wealth of the people in the Karene district as compared with the Ronietta and Bandajuma districts?—I should say Karene and Ronietta would be on a par, but Bandajuma was far wealthier: they have more mercantile houses there.

1267. Do the people in the Karene district grow any more food than is necessary for their own existence?—They supply the Colony here with rice and they export kola nuts.

1268. Are the Chiefs in the Karene district well off in the sense of having money that they can produce on demand?—No.

1269. Or in the Ronietta district?—Madam Yoko and Nancy Tucker might be able to, but I do not think the rest could.

1270. They are both traders are they not?—Yes.

1271. And in the Bandajuma district?—Momo Ki-Ki and Momo Jah, and Francis Farwoonda before he was deposed. They are all traders. The Chief of Mafwe used to have some money.

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1272. As to Chiefs who are not traders and speaking generally, are there many of them who could produce as much as £20 or £25 on demand?—I do not think there is one who could produce it on demand.

1273. As regards direct taxation in the Protectorate, laying aside the fact that the house tax has been imposed, is there any form of tax that you would think would be preferable?—Yes: I have thought that a small Poll tax would be better.

1274. How would such a tax be worked out practically?—My idea was to have it imposed on males between 16 and 56 say, and that little discs should be signed by the District Commissioner and given to each man as a receipt, showing that he had paid the tax for that year. It would spread it more over the people: at present it falls mostly on the Chiefs.

1275. How could you get at the people?—If a certain date was fixed and it were understood that anyone who could not produce his receipt disc after that date would have to work on the roads, I think they would come readily: besides, I think they would rather like to have the discs to show they belonged to the Government.

1276. It might be very well with regard to those who paid, but would there not be great friction between those who had not paid and the police?—I would not have the police collect the tax at all: the man who had not paid should be brought to the District Commissioner and he should decide what penalty should be inflicted, road-making or something of that sort.

1277. Is that road-making without pay felt to be a grievance?—Not at all: if the Governor or you were going up country and wanted a road made, they would do it at once willingly.

1278. That was how it was in the old times but it is the same now?—No.

1279. Can you suggest any form of direct taxation which would be advisable in the Colony?—The only thing would be house and land tax.

1280. Would not a Poll Tax answer?—Not so well: there used to be a Poll Tax called the Road Tax, of 1s. a head which was repealed in 1872, it was not always applied to the roads.

1281. Was not considerable difficulty found in collecting it?—A good deal; and the only punishment for not paying was for them to work on the roads for so many days. It was very difficult to get at them.

1282. It would not be very suitable for old men and women?—No.

1283. I suppose the same would apply to the Protectorate?—I should only have males between sixteen and fifty-six: and I think it would be a good thing to let the Chief collect it. They have what they call collections, and all the people would bring it to the Chief on that day.

1284. Would it be possible to have it as often as once a year?—Yes.

1285. That is one of the great objections to direct taxation, the difficulty of collecting it?—Yes.

1286. What would you think of reimposing some of those small export duties that were abolished a few years ago such as on palm kernels?—In the present state of the market I do not think it would be advisable: prices have fallen considerably.

1287. Are you acquainted with the outlying villages of the Colony?—A few of them. There is a system by which the headman of the village directs the people to keep the roads in order.

1288. That I suppose is a remnant of the old tribal system?—Yes.

1289. I suppose people would be more ready to pay a direct tax if they saw it was being applied to their own district?—It would take some time before they saw that.

1290. You spoke of a tax on houses and lands in the Colony, are there lands in a condition of producing an annual output of value that would justify it?—There are some.

1291. Is there anything beyond what the people require for their own subsistence?—

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J. C. E. PARKES. No: the villages grow coffee, but not sufficient for export: it is sold to an appreciable extent locally.

1292. Have you any knowledge of the question whether their were unusually large quantities of gunpowder taken into the Protectorate during the rising?—I do not know anything about it.

1293. Or as to how the powder was supplied?—I know nothing but what was told me by the Governor himself.

15*th October* 1898.

1294. As regards the deputation of Mendi Chiefs, can you give me their names?—As far as I can remember Bai Sherbro of Yonni (Bana Lewis), Bemba Kelly of Mabanta, and Humpa Karwinjo of the Imperri.

1295. Then, as you told me before, the answer made to these Chiefs was that the Ordinance did not affect them, as they were not in the Protectorate?—Yes; at least to Bai Sherbro and Humpa Karwinjo.

1296. What was the date of that deputation?—Very soon after the Governor's return in 1896.

1297. Had the first Protectorate Ordinance been proclained at that time?—Yes.

1298. Then the point arises whether, by the Protectorate Delimitation Ordinance which was passed subsequently to the 1896 Protectorate Ordinance in November 1897, part of the territory which was then dealt with as not being in the Protectorate was not brought under the Protectorate laws?—Some portion of that territory would fall within the Protectorate.

1299. Then by this Ordinance further territory passed into the Protectorate?—Yes.

1300. Looking at the Ordinance, could you say what part of the territory?—I could not precisely.

1301. Did not part of the Yonni territory, which was dealt with as being in the Colony at the time of the deputation, fall into the Protectorate?—Strictly speaking, none.

1302. Did not part of the Imperri pass into the Protectorate?—I cannot say.

1303. Then at the date of the deputation part of the Imperri was in the Protectorate?—There was a small portion in the Protectorate.

1304. Then was it explained to the deputation at that time that part of the Imperri was in the Protectorate and part in the Colony?—No; the question arose as to what they should do in regard to palavers arising out of the Assistant District Commissioner of Imperri's limits; they were told that they should be taken to Kwalu.

1305. Was the Assistant District Commissioner of Imperri also the District Commissioner of Sherbro?—No; he was under the District Commissioner of Sherbro.

1306. Have there been any Assistant District Commissioners appointed in the new districts?—No.

1307. These journeys of the Governor's on which you accompanied him, did they all take place in the same year?—No.

1308. You have already told me the Sherbro one was in April 1896; when was the Kwaia one?—We started on 19th January 1896 I think, and must have been in Kwaia early in February.

1309. Then that meeting at Rokon, when was that?—In February; we went on from Kwaia to Rokon.

1310. Then the meeting at Karene in the Limba district, when did that take place?—We went straight on there; it would be the end of February or early in March.

1311. And at Bumban?—A day's march after Karene.

1312. At Madina?—I am not quite sure if that was in 1895 or 1896.

1313. You accompanied the Governor on all these journeys?—Yes: on all of them.

1314. Then there were no meetings where the Governor met the Chiefs and spoke with them with reference to the Protectorate Legislation at any other places than those you mentioned?—He went to Shengay, but I was not there.

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1315. Was there an interpreter there?—Alfa Sanisi accompanied him.

1316. Do you remember when the meeting at Shengay was?—June or July 1896, just after he came from Monrovia.

1317. Look at this petition of 25th May 1897 addressed to Colonel Caulfield, and signed by Humpa of Lasso and a great many others; did that petition pass through your department?—I heard of it; but I do not think I ever saw it before.

1318. There is an expression that has very often been heard in the mouths of witnesses, 'The Government has ordered us not to talk woman palavers any more'; what does that mean?—Jurisdiction by Chiefs in *crim. con.* cases, which was sometimes abused.

1319. Did the Government prohibit these cases directly?—There was no Government order: I believe the District Commissioners and police used their influence to stop them.

1320. The native practice was to punish the man who interfered with the other man's wife?—Yes: he was fined.

1321. Did that not tend to check immorality?—I think in many cases it did. There were some Chiefs who had a number of wives who used to trump up cases against men who had property.

1322. Do you know of any other orders being put forth by the police as being Government orders?—Not exactly as Government orders, but as imperative orders: for instance, freedom of all domestics taking refuge in the barracks.

1323. That was a police interpretation?—Yes; and any domestic holding the British flagstaff was declared free.

1324. Can you say if that rule that people coming to the police barracks were to be considered free was much taken advantage of?—I think it was taken advantage of to a considerable extent.

1325. By men or by women?—By both, from what I have heard.

1326. Can you say whether these rules, all or any of them, were put forward by officers or sub-officers of the police?—Certainly not by officers, but I cannot speak with any degree of certainty with regard to sub-officers.

1327. Is there an active communication of news among a tribe of events which concern that tribe?—Very active.

1328. That is one of those facts that is not easily explained?—Yes; it is wonderful how they do it.

1329. Is there also an active transmission of news between different tribes of important events which may not affect the tribe receiving the news; for instance, would the fighting that took place in the Kwaia country be quickly known in the Bumpe country?—Yes: in the present disturbed state of the country.

1330. Do you mean that people are moving about more?—There is more news travelling about.

1331. At the time it took place would it be easily communicated?—I think so, to the Bumpe Mendi country.

1332. Do you think that the fighting that occurred in the Kassi country would be known and taken notice of in the Bumpe and Imperri countries?—Yes; I believe it was.

1333. Would that transmission of news take place orally, or would reading of the newspapers have much share in it?—It takes place orally.

1334. The proportion of Chiefs who take an interest in the newspapers, would you say it is large?—I should say it is *nil.* I have only heard of one case, Bai Sherbro of Mambolo.

1335. Does he read or write?—No, neither. He used to make capital out of it by holding the paper upside down and telling his people the latest news of the Queen.

1336. Are you aware of cases where a Chief has sat down and got a Sierre Leone man to read the paper to him?—I have heard of such, but I do not know of any.

1337. When a war-boy captures some plunder of value, does it properly belong to himself or to the Chief?—Properly to the Chief, but he gives a portion to the war-boy.

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1338. And if the Chief wanted to have it entirely, what would he do?—The Chief would take it.

1339. Would he not make a present to the war-boy for his share?—I think not: he might promise him one.

1340. Was the Chief who was appointed in the place of Francis Farwoonda the next heir or a perfect stranger?—He certainly was not next in succession.

1341. Are you aware at all what his position with the people is?—I have no information except that the place is all destroyed.

1342. Did you hear that one or two witnesses who had been giving evidence before me had been apprehended?—Beah Boye and Beah Kaindoh.

1343. How did it happen?—Statements were made that they were concerned with the raid in Shengay. I told the Governor that they were in town, and he gave orders that they were to be detained. He has given instructions that they are to be sent up to Kwalu.

1344. They were brought by Dixon: what is he?—I really do not know: he loafs about the town.

1345. Do you know if statements had been made against them before they came here on this last occasion?—Yes: two or three months before.

1346. Who made the statements?—Mrs. Jones says her husband has been killed by Beah Boye. Other statements were made by Mr. T. King, and I think a Mr. Williams

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REV. C. H. GOODMAN.

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1347. My name is Charles Henry Goodman. I am about to leave for England, and wish to give some evidence. I am a minister of the United Methodist Free Church. That Church has a Mission in the Colony of Sierra Leone, and in the Protectorate adjacent. I first came to this country nine years ago this September, and was first stationed at Freetown, where I remained for two-and-a-half years. I was next stationed at Tikonkoh, in the Mendi country, and I have been coming and going ever since. The first time I was only there for a few weeks: except for leave to England, I have been associated with that place all the time.

1348. Have you made journeys in the Colony and Protectorate?—Only to come to Freetown, which I have done both by road and river; and I have been up to Panguma.

1349. Have you made any journeys of an exploring nature?—No; but my colleague had done so.

1350. In the course of your work, did you become acquainted with the people, and their ways and modes of thinking?—Yes: largely.

1351. Did you become well acquainted with the Chiefs and Headmen as well as with the common people?—Yes; in our own district. During the last few years so many of the Chiefs and people I knew have died.

1352. Can you tell me anything about a Secret Society which goes by the name of the Porro?—It is a Freemasons' Society. The old Porro Society used to be for regulating markets and prices, and mostly to determine their wars. They would call a Porro to raise or lower the prices of goods. Whatever decision was arrived at, they were all bound by an oath to stand by it. Porro has lately been largely done away with, except the junior Porro, which is only for the admission of boys into the Society and for circumcision. I have only known the Porro to meet two or three times in our district, and then it would have to do with changing prices.

1353. Regular trade prices?—Only among themselves: such as settling the price for a two days' journey at a shilling or a handkerchief.

1354. What class of persons are leaders of the Porro?—As a rule, the King takes the chair. A Chief was appointed some time ago in Governor Rowe's time. At this time it is a Chief of our district, but he has not been properly crowned by Government.

1355. You say the power of the Porro is much less than formerly?—Yes.

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1356. From what time has the power fallen away?—I cannot say. Seven and a half years ago Porro was losing its influence. One of the Governors issued a Proclamation against the Porro, or Society, to 'cook war,' as it is called. When they met with us five and a half years ago they tried to get the Chief to go into the Porro bush, but he would not go.

1357. Is a Porro only a meeting of the Chief men?—Everybody meets. Countrymen can be recognised by the Porro mark on their backs, like little cuts. Sometimes on women they make a little ornament like lace cut in the skin of the back. On entering Porro they all swear on their medicine. The King takes the chair, and what the principal men decide upon they all swear to abide by. Porro men are almost like medicine men.

1358. And suppose any one broke the Porro oath?—It would be difficult to get hold of a man now. In the old time, if any one was found not to have kept the oath, they were despatched. They would be dragged about the Porro bush, cut and mutilated, and would not receive proper burial.

1359. That would not take place now?—I do not think so, except perhaps far inland. It is very difficult to get information. It is reported in Panguma that a Chief and another man had taken a man against whom they had a spite into the bush, and then killed and buried him. They then went their own ways, and it was given out that he had gone into the bush and not returned. Such was the power of the Porro that his widow would sit at the door of his house and call for him; although she knew very well how he had been killed, she did not dare to make any complaint.

1360. Are there fixed places of meeting?—They have a fixed place in the bush, where they held their Porro.

1361. Has each town its Porro bush?—Each large town: they usually put mats on the bush to show that they are holding a meeting. It is generally held in a piece of dense bush, which they do not cut down. I do not know of people in our district having met in Porro lately; they have met near the Porro bush, but not in it.

1362. If I understand you right, the Porro is a society that determines some joint action and enforces the carrying out of that action, whether it be beneficial or the opposite?—Yes.

1363. Have you taken any interest in trading?—We have not done very much: we have become acquainted with the traders, but try to keep free from that kind of thing as much as possible.

1364. How is trading carried on?—They mostly remain at fixed stations: during the first part of my time people used to travel about; this was done to keep up an appearance of trading, but in reality their object was to get hold of slaves. They used to pretend to make presents to the Chiefs, but it was understood that they should get slaves in payment. That was done away with by the present Governor.

1365. What was done with these slaves?—They were carried into the Susu country, and a good many passed over to the French territory. I was informed by those who watched the matter that the French bought them and professed to free them. They made them into roadmen.

1366. Were they really free?—I can hardly say. I believe they received some small wages, but not the full amount.

1367. Have you known of any instances of slaves being brought from the French side to our Protectorate?—Never; it was always the other way.

1368. Or sent out of our Protectorate across the Frontier?—I am not aware of it; they used to pass them from one Chief to another, and very often freeborns who were captured on the road were sold too. If we saw that, we appealed, and very often they were not carried away.

1369. Did the Chiefs of the country connive or assist?—The Chiefs themselves also sold slaves. Until the present Governor came it was practised, and slaves were sold in our district, mostly by Chiefs.

1370. Were they their own family slaves or outside slaves?—Some were their own,

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others they had gained. To strengthen their own position, they would do all they could to buy or steal slaves.

1371. Would some of these slaves be sold by way of punishment?—Yes.

1372. Did all these instances come under your own observation?—I have gone into a town and seen the slaves stocked ready to be carried away: I have also hidden some of them who were to have been carried away.

1373. Would people buy goods from traders chiefly by barter?—Yes: largely.

1374. Do they pay in palm kernels? Chiefly; also a little rubber, rice, and palm oil; and a very small quantity of pepper, aniseed, etc. Perhaps the greatest evil of the trading system is trust.

1375. How does that operate?—At the beginning of the season, traders will give so much cloth or gin, etc., on the understanding they are to have so many kernels after the Porro is taken off the trees. (Porro is usually put on to save kernels and trees.) This causes endless petty palavers.

1376. What is the resulting mischief?—Chiefs very often take more than they are able to pay for.

1377. What happens then?—They have to be summoned. If it is a Chief, the trader has to prove his debt; he is generally paid in full. The Chief's family generally help. In the case of a Chief, there is often great trouble to get the money.

1378. You allude to the litigation as the evil?—In the old time I believe it used to cause petty wars.

1379. Before the present measures, were wars or raids ever undertaken to obtain slaves?—Raids: yes. I have met with those who came to buy.

1380. Was this previous to the Proclamation?—Yes.

1381. Do traders deal largely in spirits?—They have done, but there is not so much now as formerly: several traders have said that there is not such good trade now.

1382. When did they say so to you?—Within the last eighteen months.

1383. Can you give me any information as to the proportion in value borne by spirits to other goods?—I could not say.

1384. What class mainly consumes spirits?—Mostly Chiefs and Headmen. The others can only obtain it by working for some one in the district. Secretly, I think the head people would sell spirits in small quantities.

1385. Can you say whether the drinking of spirits goes to the extent of being hurtful?—The common people could not get enough. They might get it to-day, and then perhaps not for two months. The Chiefs drink till they are ill.

1386. Are these isolated debauches?—The Chiefs drink a lot of palm wine in the morning, and spirits about ten o'clock. In many instances they have drunk steadily, and lose their brain power.

1387. When people cannot get spirits, do they drink palm wine?—Yes; but most of the palm wine goes to the Chiefs and Headmen, and the people get it from them.

1388. At a certain stage is it very intoxicating?—Yes: usually an old woman doctors it to make it work quickly.

1389. Is there any reason to suppose that this takes place really, or is it fancy?—I believe she does put something in. They say, "Mamma have put in some medicine to clear the belly." Our late Chief was very often drunk on palm wine.

1390. Palm wine can be got in almost unlimited quantities?—Yes: principally the bamboo wine.

1391. So that if spirits could be kept out of trade, Chiefs and others would still get drunk on palm wine?—Yes. If they drink it sweet before ten, it does not affect them. Fermented palm wine has the same effect as rum, only slower.

1392. What are the spirits in trade?—Gin and rum. Whisky occasionally.

1393. Only those who are well off use whisky?—Yes; and it is sometimes given as a present.

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1394. Does all spirit come from Freetown or Sherbro?—Yes; almost all.

1395. It is said that people are unwilling to work unless there is a strong incentive; is that the case?—I have found where we have boys they know they will receive their pay, and they work as well as any one. The Mendis are not as lazy as they are credited with being.

1396. I suppose there is a very large field for doing industrial work by collecting palm kernels?—Yes; in some towns some way from us; we have not many palm-trees.

1397. Is there any natural product which might be useful in producing fibre, paper, etc.—We have the palm-tree; they also use another tree for making ropes.

1398. Have any of these things ever been exported?—No, I fancy not. Piesava has been sent to England; it is like raffia grass. There are about twenty different uses for the palm-tree. Hammock string is made from palm-trees.

1399. Then there is oil and palm wine; anything else?—Kernels; the red oil is in a little fibre outside the nut, the white nut oil is from inside, and is very like olive oil. The red oil is used in England for soap.

1400. What other purposes?—The stem is used as timber; it is very strong and light.

1401. Generally speaking, are the people well off?—It is very difficult to say, the men can live so easily. They eat rice for three or four months. Then they put some by for next harvest, and fall back on cassada. In the hard season they eat bracken boiled, and then fried. The soil yields rice, corn, and many smaller things.

1402. Have they money in their possession to any extent?—The Chiefs seem to manage to get the cash. They use it very sparingly, and latterly have shown a great desire to save money.

1403. Do they bury their money to keep it?—I have not met with that. They lock it up in tin boxes and put it in the house. I have seen more starvation at home than out here; the people are very generous, and all share if necessary.

1404. Does any one have to get permission from a Chief if he wants to pick kernels?—I do not think so. I believe it is customary to give some small present to the nearest Chief.

1405. When you get kernels, do you pay the Chief of the district, or the people who brought them?—Generally the owner of the farm.

1406. Were you living in the country at the time of the Proclamation in August 1896?—I am not sure.

1407. You were present when the Ordinance was read to the Chiefs?—To the Chief and Sub-Chief of our own district.

1408. How were the provisions of the Ordinance made known to the Chiefs?—The Ordinance was sent up with a letter of explanation to the Chiefs by a special messenger.

1409. Were you present when the Ordinance was explained?—I gave the explanation to our own Chief myself.

1410. Was there not a meeting called?—I believe our Chief called a meeting. I was not present. An interpreter was present.

1411. What was the interpreter's name?—I do not remember.

1412. What happened when you explained the Ordinance to the Chief?—Some of the things had been in existence before. In the matter of licenses he had not much to say. The clause about spirits did not seem to trouble him. As to the tax, he said they would have to meet and discuss it, as it might be necessary to see the Governor.

1413. Did he object to the provision taking judgment in land cases out of the Chief's court?—I think not: he asked for an explanation of 'land not in use': he said it was just.

1414. There is a clause concerning land disputes?—He took no objection to that clause: he probably did not understand it; he has settled land cases since then.

1415. Do you say that this clause has been misunderstood or disregarded?—They are generally cases of title, and as a rule the headmen have some one who knows, and his verdict is accepted.

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1416. Anyhow, you think it was an unwise provision?—In so far as it relates to right to use land as a farm. The Chief is supposed to hold all the land.

1417. The matter referred to, to which I allude, is, suppose *A* and *B* have a dispute about ownership; it is referred to the District Commissioner and not the Chief?—I do not think it was understood. I do not remember the Chief making any remark. If it was not a matter of merely planting the land, it would be good to go to an outsider.

1418. It has been said that the two parties in a suit would each give presents; and that the highest bidder would get the verdict?—I think it has been true in many instances.

1419. Are you aware of cases where the suitor has been successful owing to large presents being given to the Chief?—I have not seen it, but I have heard of presents being given by night to the Chief. There is also a system of betting by which each party stakes so many clothes or otherwise on his winning the case. The loser is fined in addition.

1420. Does each party put down things of the same value?—I do not think so in the case of the ordinary fees; but in the betting one must put as much as the other.

1421. Suppose a man could not put down enough for his bet, did he lose his case?—Not necessarily.

1422. There are provisions in the Ordinance which declare slave-dealing to be unlawful; do the Chiefs understand these provisions?—He made no remark; but that when his boys understood they would leave him. Many slaves when they understood simply left their masters.

1423. Did they go back to their masters?—In some cases.

1424. It made no practical difference in their relations?—Not in my observation. Most boys brought a little present to appease the Chiefs when they came back.

1425. Are they beginning to recognise the principle?—Not to any large extent.

1426. Did your Chief make any remark on the provision that no woman should be flogged?—I do not remember; it has never happened since.

1427. Was it frequent before?—Not very.

1428. Another clause is that no counsel or attorney should appear in native courts; was that explained?—It was; but they hardly needed it. I have never known a professional lawyer to come to the courts.

1429. If you read any petition from Chiefs in which they objected to the clause stopping native lawyers from appearing, should you doubt its authenticity?—I have never even heard of the desire for such a thing in our district.

1430. You think the people are quite capable of managing their own cases?—Quite: any man may sit in the Barri and ask questions: not strangers.

1431. These persons you allude to: would they have some interest in the case?—I have gone to palavers where I have known one of the parties and have asked questions.

1432. You were probably privileged: would a native be allowed?—I think so, if he lived in the district.

1433. Did you explain the clause about deposing Chiefs and appointing others?—Yes: the principle has been accepted, it having been done once or twice. In the case of Rotifunk no objection was made.

1434. The Ordinance of 1896 was superseded by that of 1897: were you present when that was explained to the Chiefs?—No; I was in England.

1435. Did you explain that part of the 1896 Ordinance relating to the hut tax?—Yes.

1436. Were any remarks made?—He showed he did not like it: he said he would have to consider it and call his people together.

1437. This Chief was a Paramount Chief?—Yes: he did not discuss the tax much, as it did not come into force at once.

1438. Is the authority of Paramount Chiefs over the Sub-Chiefs real, or are Sub-Chiefs advisers?—While they come under him they exercised their authority locally: the Paramount Chief judged the Chief's palavers: they usually obeyed him.

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1439. Before Government interfered actively, had the Paramount Chief any real authority?—He only interfered in matters between Chiefs. The stipend was sent to him personally, and he divided it among the other Chiefs, which gave him a power that he would not have had otherwise.

1440. May I conclude that the Chief did not express any particular objection to the hut tax when you explained it?—No particular objection: he thought Government would modify it: the name was very unfortunate.

1441. Have you subsequently become aware of any objections?—All along they have objected to a tax, as Mendi men would always object. They felt they were paying and not getting anything in return. They said, 'If we pay this to-day, what will they want to-morrow.'

1442. They thought it only the beginning of further direct taxation?—Yes: they could not understand why they should pay 5s. for a hut. Unfortunately, too, in our district some one told them that Government purposed only letting them have one wife.

1443. Have you any idea whence that reading emanated?—No.

1444. Is there any idea that the payment of 5s. for the hut had the effect of taking their property away from them?—No: I do not remember it.

1445. Did they suppose that they were paying the money for the hut?—They did not seem to understand. Many huts could be built for less than that.

1446. Can you say whether the Chiefs understood that they were to pay the tax out of their own pockets or to recover it from the people?—They understood that the whole country was to pay.

1447. So that if the Chief paid first he could recover from the people afterwards?—He called together all the Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs and talked the matter over, and they decided to pay, and said that each town should pay so much towards it. In the case of Tikonkoh and most of the Bumpe districts, the Chiefs made no attempt to pay at once, but to collect it from the people.

1448. Having got the amount of the tax from the people, they then paid it to the District Commissioner?—Yes: chiefly in palm kernels and rice: not much in money.

1449. What is the manner in which the common man builds a house?—He gets permission from the Chief, and then goes into the bush and cuts down trees of different sizes. When he has got the house partly up, he brings his wives, and gives it a coating of mud. He can get the wood from any bush that has been left for two or three years.

1450. The house then only costs him his labour?—That is all: any one would help him for a little present.

1451. If he has no wives, how many rooms?—Only one.

1452. If he has wives, does he make separate houses for them?—Yes, generally.

1453. Does the number of wives depend upon his wealth or *vice versâ*?—If he has wives they are supposed to bring him in money.

1454. Does he put up European doors and windows?—Not exactly.

1455. Does he buy the materials?—In some cases. Sometimes the Chief will buy them for him: they imitate what they see in Freetown.

1456. Where the tax was not paid, have you any reason to believe there was any Porro involved?—It was not local: they must have decided to stand by each other, but I have no actual knowledge.

1457. Was it a war on the British Government or on other people?—They wanted to get rid of English and traders. They thought that if they could get rid of traders they would get rid of their debts.

1458. Was the feeling as regards traders merely that debts would be got rid of, or was there a general feeling against the mass of the traders?—No: there might be jealousy because the traders were better off than themselves.

1459. Have you any reason to think that the Chiefs were advised by outsiders?—While I was prisoner at Bumpe, some of the young men round the Chief spoke freely of

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Sierra Leonians having advised them not to pay. They gave no names. Afterwards the Sierra Leonians turned round and advised them to pay.

1460. Did you become aware of anything in the manner in which the tax was collected, which might cause complaint?—I only know what I heard in the bush. They tried to make out that the English made war against them. They cited a case somewhere on the Gambia river, where two Frontier police fired on a Chief. I heard two versions: one, that the police were drunk, and not able to carry out their duty properly, and one of them fired and wounded a Chief. He sent twelve men to ask why the white men fired on his people, and before they reached the white men's quarters, they were met by a band of Frontiers, and they opened fire upon the people. The consequence of this was that the people decided to go to war.

1461. That is what the Bumpe Chief told you?—Yes. The other version was, a Sub-Chief said to me, that he advised the payment of the tax, and on no account to go to war. He had great difficulty in restraining his people from falling on the captain and his men. Hearing of the matter referred to above (the shooting by police), it was impossible to restrain his people any longer, so they made war.

1462. Apart from what the Chief told you on that occasion, are you aware in general of any improper conduct?—No: five or six years ago, but not latterly. My opinion is not that the tax has caused war, but that it has given the people opportunity of trusting each other enough to make war. There was a desire amongst the young men to go back to the old mode of life, and become big men by trading in slaves, etc.

1463. Would you say that the young men forced the Chiefs into war?—Yes: in our district.

1464. Was the Chief of the war-boys at Bumpe a very influential man?—He cares a great deal for warring and power, and not at all for the country. He made a night attack on Mafwe.

1465. Do you know a witch-doctor at Mafwe?—There was one at Bumpe who made medicine.

1466. Do the war-boys each carry medicine?—Nearly all: on their arm or neck or feet, some five or six bags.

1467. From your knowledge, do you consider 5s. tax too great, or could they pay easily?—Taking the whole amount to be paid by the district, it could easily be paid. Possibly too great in individual cases. It is a little heavy on them, as they practically pay all the revenue. Goods are much more expensive inland.

1468. Are any complaints made of Sierra Leone traders?—Just here and there; there is no general complaint.

1469. Was it known among the people that Sierra Leonians did not in the Colony pay the hut tax?—In some districts.

1470. Did it give rise to any feeling of jealousy?—I think not.

1471. If the tax had been called a Poll Tax instead, would it have made any difference?—Perhaps not: their wealth depends on the number of their people.

1472. If the Chiefs had been charged by the number of people in their households would it have been easier to collect?—Possibly.

1473. Do you think that the natives of the country consider the District Commissioner's court an advantage?—Some do, I think.

1474. Do Sierra Leone traders use it much?—A good deal in recovering their debts. The Mendi Chiefs are afraid of being fined by the District Commissioner.

1475. How is that?—They owe the money, and are afraid that the District Commissioner will make them pay.

1476. Is there anything else you wish to say?—I hope that Government will go through the country and make them thoroughly understand that it belongs to England. If they do that it will never rise again. I think it would settle the matter once for all, and the country would be the better for it afterwards.

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1477. Could you say whether, before there was any trouble about the hut tax, the trade of the country was increasing or decreasing?—It began to slacken about twelve months ago.

1478. The traders apprehended trouble?—Yes. In the Bumpeh country there is plenty of Banga in the fakkis now.

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1479. What was the date of the attack on your mission station at Tikonkoh?—Monday, 2nd May.

1480. When the war-boys came to the town, were they joined by the townspeople?—Some of them; most came from the fakkis.

1481. Were there trading factories in the town?—There had been none for a year or more.

1482. Were there Sierra Leonians in the town at that time?—I think not.

1483. Was there any apparent leader of the war-boys?—I do not know: they were influenced by the Bumpeh people.

1484. Were they numerous?—I should judge so: I only heard the noise. We had been warned that a war-party from Bumpeh was coming, by the Chief of our town, Sandi, and others. We asked for Sandi's protection, but they were afraid to make any promise.

1485. Is your station in the town or outside it?—About quarter-mile away. Those who first tried to go into the town were met by the war-boys, who flogged them with cutlasses. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson (Sierra Leonians) were stripped naked on the road, at a short distance from the gate of the town. They struck Mr. Johnson on the face with a cutlass, so that his nose fell off the next day. Another agent and his wife were already hiding in the town. Myself and another agent were left on the mission station, and hearing a noise started to go to the town to defend the others. The boys then left Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, and turned towards the mission. I went into the bush behind the mission house.

1486. When they were coming towards the mission station did their cries make you aware of their purpose?—The cries were only equivalent to our English 'hurrah.' I was standing at the first mission gate with my gun, so they went on to the second gate and entered.

1487. Did they destroy the houses?—They cut out the doors and windows with their cutlasses, and plundered the houses. In the evening I crept back, but went back again, as there were people about. They burnt two houses that night, and two others at the end of the week. The mission house itself was a frame building on stone piers.

1488. Who were resident at the station?—Myself, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and their children. Theo Roberts (a native agent), his wife, and a visitor, Mrs. George; Pratt, the Sierra Leone carpenter; another agent, Campbell, lived near, and Vincent the sawyer. They were all Sierra Leone people. A Sierra Leone man who had come to me for medicine was also killed.

1489. You took refuge in the bush till night?—There was a tornado, and I got drenched, so I went up into the town. Luckily they had saved two of my boxes, so I got a change of clothes. The war-boys heard I had gone to the town, and came and demanded that I should be given up.

1490. Were you being sheltered by the Chief Sandi at this time?—Yes: Sandi begged me to go out of the town, and I was disguised as a sick woman.

1491. Where did you go in this disguise?—To one of Sandi's houses near the town. About 4 A.M. they took me to the bush, and I remained hidden all day. At night-time I was brought back into the town by the Chief's people. I remained in that house until Friday morning under the Chief's protection. On Friday morning I received a message that Sandi wished to see me, so I asked where he was, and went outside to look for him. I could not find the messenger, so walking towards the Barri I called Sandi's name. He did not reply. The Bumpeh people who were present got up, and took me in charge, two in front and two behind. I was ordered to come to Tikonkoh, and afterwards to Bumpeh.

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1492. After the Bumpeh people took you in charge, did they say anything?—When they said 'Go Bumpeh' I knew what they meant.

1493. Did they express any intention of dealing with you in any particular way?—No. They took me there, and about one and a half miles from the town, where they stripped me almost naked. They divided my money and watch, and what I had in my pockets; and offered my clothes to the people, but they would not take them. Having got to Bumpeh they judged my case.

1494. Who took an active part in the judging?—The whole town took part; the King was in the chair.

1495. Could you hear anything of the nature of an accusation or reason for such treatment?—No: simply that I was white. Some one sitting near me said that the King said I was a missionary, and had nothing to do with the Government, that I should be looked upon as a woman. Gruburu was the King of Bumpeh.

1496. One King is paralysed?—Yes: he befriended me.

1497. What further took place?—I remained in his protection till Government demanded my release. On the whole I was treated with kindness.

1498. Did you learn what became of the other inhabitants of the mission station?—Not till afterwards: except in the case of two. Mr. Johnson was killed by the Tikonkoh people, and Mr. Campbell was caught and killed by the Bumpeh people. I believe I saw Mr. Johnson's body. A fellow-prisoner, a woman called Sarah, told me about Mr. Campbell.

1499. Can you form any kind of explanation why Mr. Johnson and Mr. Campbell were killed?—They killed Mr. Campbell, on the supposition that he was a trader.

1500. As to Mr. Johnson?—Because he was a Sierra Leone man: they knew he was not a trader.

1501. Do you consider that there was animosity against the Sierra Leonians as such, and not as traders?—There has always been a sort of jealousy between the country-people and the Sierra Leonians.

1502. Do the country-people attribute superiority to the Sierra Leonians, or is it an assumption of the Sierra Leonians?—Both: country-people always attribute superiority to any one who has had any education at all.

1503. Did you ascertain what became of the other inhabitants of the mission?—I was informed by people in the town and some of the survivors. I never saw them alive afterwards. The boys who had worked on the farm were fined because they had worked for a white man. Three of them paid, and the other refused and ran away, but was caught on the road and killed.

1504. If it had not been for the Chief of Bumpeh's protection, would you have shared the same fate?—I judged that I should have suffered at the hands of the war-boys. They got almost beyond the control of the Chiefs.

1505. When the Chief said you were a missionary, and stood aside from the others, did they readily acquiesce in the suggestion?—There was very little opposition: one man only said I ought to die: he was immediately challenged by a Bumpeh woman. She afterwards told me that her own child had sent word that I must not die.

1506. Are the Chief's sons often sent to Freetown to be educated?—No: the present Chief's children are very young. The late Chief sent six or eight of his children to the mission.

1507. Your view is that education is valued by Chiefs?—Yes: generally.

1508. Supplementing my previous statement, I should like to add that it is not necessary to hold a Porro in every town. A burnt leaf is sent round to the Chiefs, and if a Chief accepts it when it is offered, it is taken as a token that he is ready to help in a war. When clothes are sent round it is a signal to go on the war-path. Probably a number of messengers would be sent to the several Chiefs at the same time, so that they would have simultaneous information.

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4th August 1898.

FREDERICK W. DOVE.

1509. I have read the papers you sent to me relating to your concession: what do you wish to say?—I have done all I could with regard to the concession, and I wish to obtain your opinion in the matter.

1510. I am not here as in a Court of Justice to make adjudications in disputes.—There is no dispute. My claim has been settled by the Government. I thought you might like to hear about the matter over again.

1511. Where is the land situated which has been granted to you?—Near Koronko, in the Falaba district.

1512. What is its extent?—About fifty miles by twenty.

1513. What route did you follow, starting from Freetown?—To Rokelle, Makonte, Bunabas, Matutica, Kunike, Panguma—a six days' journey.

1514. How much time was occupied in water- and land-carriage?—Five days by land and not quite one by water.

1515. Is there any water-way by which you can get nearer than six days?—It would take about ten days by canoe.

1516. Is there water sufficient to float a large boat?—No; some parts are very shallow.

1517. Anything in the shape of cataracts?—I have never actually been by water.

1518. There seems to be an entire region called the Kunike country?—Yes.

1519. Any parts inhabited or cultivated?—It is sparsely populated: the people are just beginning to return.

1520. On the part conceded to you?—I have only the right to the forests.

1521. Were you not to have a right to dig, or mine, or explore in any land that was in actual occupation of some one else?—Not without paying for it and negotiating with the people.

1522. What was your purpose in obtaining this concession?—To tap rubber and gum trees, and to prospect for minerals.

1523. How did you intend to get labour?—I was to take some people, and contract with Chiefs to find labour in their own districts.

1524. To bring some from town and to get others from Chiefs?—Yes: I was going to bring experts to teach the natives how to tap the trees.

1525. You were going to introduce a better method?—Yes: we were to get people from the Brazils to come.

1526. Were you going to do this on your own capital?—A company was ready to be floated in England. So far I have paid everything: I was to be paid partly in cash and partly in shares.

1527. Was the company going to undertake the further working out of the scheme?—Yes: everything: and to open a trading branch in Freetown.

1528. When you made this agreement with the company did you furnish an estimate of profits?—Not exactly: I had been engaged in the rubber business for some time: they asked me questions about it, and came to some conclusions about output, etc.

1529. You supplied information to the company as to the quantity of rubber that would be produced, as to the price of labour, as to the price of the rubber delivered in Freetown, and as to cost of machinery and materials?—Not as to machinery.

1530. Have you any copies of the estimate you furnished?—I think I left them in England. Roughly, I estimated a profit of 9d. per lb. of rubber, and that 100 tons could be shipped per annum.

1531. You estimated that there would be a profit of 9d. per lb. landed in Freetown—that is, it could be produced for 9d. a lb. less than the selling price in Freetown?—Yes.

1532. And about 100 tons a year?—Yes.

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FREDERICK W. DOVE.

1533. There would also be a profit on shipment to England?—Yes.

1534. How much per lb. or ton?—Another 2d. or 3d. a lb. might be made by shipping.

1535. Can you remember the total profit estimated for each year?—I cannot remember. Out of this profit I have mentioned all the agents' salaries would have to be deducted.

1536. Can you give me any rough idea?—I am simply the vendor.

1537. You knew the value of what you were selling?—Yes: it was guess-work.

1538. I ask you about the estimate?—I think I can find a prospectus.

1539. As the matter stands, can you explain the question?—The question was raised in England. When the others with whom I joined said they had concessions from Sulima, and Sulima denied that he had given them concessions, I went to the Colonial Office with all my papers. I came back here and went to Panguma, and it was proved before the District Commissioner that I had got the concession fairly. The Governor said he wanted the Paramount Chief to be present.

1540. Do I understand that the grantor of the land is not the owner?—He is the Chief recognised by Government, but not recognised by the people. Lonko Makolo is recognised by the people.

1541. Did Lonko Makolo join in making this grant to you?—Yes.

1542. Can you tell me how it was that Lonko Makolo got put out of his place and Fora Patta substituted?—Fora Patta was Chief of a large portion of Kuniki: Lonko Makolo was also Chief of a part, and being the older man was looked on as the head. The Governor only saw the younger Chief.

1543. Have you paid anything for this land?—I have.

1544. What was the agreement?—A sum down and so much for rent.

1545. £100 down?—Not exactly.

1546. And £20 a year from the date you take possession?—Yes.

1547. In the event of finding gold, coal, or minerals, or of putting up machines, a further sum of £500 down?—Yes: and Government charges a further £150 a year rent.

1548. Had you a separate agreement with Government?—Yes: it only wants signing. The original concession was to be cancelled and the agreement with Government signed.

1549. Was the agreement with Fora Patta a perpetual lease?—Yes: so long as I paid the rent.

1550. In your communications with Fora Patta what language was used?—Timmini, Mendi, and Susu.

1551. Do you speak Mendi?—No; I had an interpreter. I speak Susu.

1552. Is this the paper you signed with Patta, or a copy?—A copy. The original is in England.

1553. Is there anything else? I should be very glad to have your opinion on the matter.—I have already told you I am not in a position to decide any such questions.

1554. Were you much engaged in trade in the Protectorate before it was proclaimed?—Yes.

1555. What was the method in which you carried on your trade?—By barter. I bought produce for cash, and sometimes gave goods for it.

1556. What were the goods you carried up?—Cotton, tobacco, and spirits.

1557. What proportion did spirits bear in value to the other goods?—Out of £1000, £800 would be cotton, £100 tobacco, and £100 rum.

1558. Not gin?—No; rum.

1559. Was there much demand for rum?—Pretty good.

1560. Was there a good profit?—Very little: about 1s. on 4 gallons (1 demijohn).

1561. What is the value of a demijohn?—8s. to 9s.

1562. For how much more could you sell it in the interior?—6d. or 1s. more.

1563. What was the price at the furthest point inland to which you carried it?—I only did a sea-coast trade.

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1564. You have not done trade yourself with the natives inland or by agents?—I never sent spirit into the interior: it was too expensive.

1565. Speaking generally, can you tell me whether the volume of trade increased or not after the proclamation of the Protectorate?—It has not increased.

1566. Has it diminished?—Yes, considerably. At one time we had the run of the French rivers.

1567. Now the French have imposed duties?—Yes.

1568. Have you been in the interior yourself trading since the Protectorate was proclaimed?—I went up to Panguma with an agent last November, and left him there.

1569. What was the town you went to?—Panguma.

1570. By what route?—Funda, Matini Fora, Robis, Maban, Robis Bana, Mahene, Mayosso, Mututuka, Matele, Mamogi, Makalegu, Makoni, Makele, Condema, Tunge, Lima, Goma, Dudu, Panguma. I was eight days in Panguma.

1571. Where did you go after leaving Panguma?—Yendahu, Gubebu, Jama, Tyama, Kwalu, Rotofunk, and Songo Town.

1572. When did your last journey take place?—In November last year.

1573. And your first journey?—In May 1896.

1574. When you left Panguma, you left an agent there?—I left the agent at Condema.

1575. After you left Condema were you travelling as a trader, or what?—I went to inquire about my concession.

1576. Did your agent take up some trading goods?—Yes.

1577. Apart from your concession, had you any meetings with Chiefs by the way?—Yes: I met many Chiefs by the way.

1578. Who was the first Chief after you had left your agent and were returning homeward?—As a matter of fact Nyagua of Panguma was the first big Chief.

1579. Did you go to see him, or did he come to see you?—I went to see him. I took him some presents.

1580. Did he converse with you about the state of the country?—Not at that meeting. I told him I had come up by the Government's instruction, and that I wanted a house. He got me a house in the barracks.

1581. What barracks?—The Frontier Police barracks.

1582. Did you see this Chief afterwards?—Yes: he brought me some rice and a sheep; when I thanked him he said he was glad to see any English-speaking people in his town, and that the District Commissioner had gone away to settle some disturbance, and that if he had been allowed to take up his war-boys he could soon have settled it. The English Government had done well by his town; but the Frontiers and Inspectors were always troubling him.

1583. How?—He said, 'The Inspectors told me to build the barracks, and I did so, and got very little for it.'

1584. What more?—He asked me to tell the Governor that he was not being treated properly.

1585. Did he say whether he had made any complaint to the Governor?—He said the Governor did not like him because he was always drunk.

1586. Was he a drunken man?—He drank a lot of palm wine: but he never forgets what he has said.

1587. Any more?—He said he had got his wits about him.

1588. Did he tell you anything about what was happening in the country?—No

1589. He was quite friendly to the Government?—Yes.

1590. Who was the next important Chief that you met with?—No big Chief: the Chief of Senahu East.

1591. When did you meet him?—In his town, about 23rd December.

1592. Did you get a house in Senahu East?—I rested in a house at midday.

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FREDERICK W. DOVE.

1593. Did the Chief come to you?—He came to me and gave me a fowl; I gave him a head of tobacco.

1594. Had you any talk with him?—I asked him first to help me to get on to Tyama, as my carriers were tired.

1595. How many carriers had you with you?—About twenty-five.

1596. Were these carriers you took up from Freetown?—Yes.

1597. And you were taking them back to Freetown?—Yes.

1598. What did he say?—He said, a long time ago they were able to get boys easily, but that now slaves are all free they have no control over them. He said, 'All boys have now gone to Freetown or Congo, and now white men come and make us pay tax.' He said white men had taken their wives from them—they bore that; all their boys were taken—they bore that; they had to mend the roads and cut sticks themselves, but when it came to paying a tax, they could not bear that.

1599. Was he alone with you?—No, the big men of the town and the interpreter were present.

1600. Did the Chief of Senahu East say he would not pay the tax? What did the others say?—They clapped their hands to show that they agreed.

1601. Were you led to suppose that the tax was a worse grievance than policemen taking their wives?—Yes.

1602. Any more?—I tried to impress them to pay, as it was for their own good; but they were not willing to.

1603. In cases where traders from Sierra Leone who have been lodging in native houses have paid the tax, have they deducted the tax from their rents?—I have known no such case.

1604. So far as you know, there is no impression in the mind of traders that they may deduct the tax from their rent?—I heard it had been suggested by Captain Sharpe.

1605. On what occasion did you hear of it?—I know some Port Lokko people, and when talking with one or two traders who were locked up, they told me. I asked them why they did not pay the tax in the first instance, and they told me that if they had paid their goods and houses would have been burnt. The landlords said if they wanted to pay the tax they would pay it themselves. They told Captain Sharpe this, and he called the Chiefs and they said the same to him. Captain Sharpe suggested that it should be deducted from the rents. They would not do that, and were put in prison.

1606. Why should the Chiefs burn their own property?—To destroy the houses and so escape paying the tax.

1607. After Senahu East?—I went to Tyama and met Fori Vong.

1608. Where is he now?—I do not know.

1609. Did anything pass between you?—I found him talking some matter over and left him and went to the American missionary—Grego, I think his name was; he was killed afterwards.

1610. What passed?—I paid my respects and went back. In the evening the Chief came to me with his interpreter and some boys who had returned from Congo, and his head wife; he brought me some rice and things.

1611. What passed?—He told me that there was a new law to make them pay for their houses: and that they were just collecting them to go down to Kwalu to pay. He would like to see the Governor before he paid the tax: because he could not understand why he should pay for his own property. I told him it was not for his own property, but to assist the Government to rule the country. He said they had already met the Chiefs of the district and settled not to pay the tax, but Mama Yoko, the Head Chief, had paid, so they could not do anything.

1612. Were they very vexed with Mama Yoko?—Very.

1613. Did they threaten?—No: Mama Yoko being senior, and having paid, they all had to pay.

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1614. Had they made up their minds to follow Mama Yoko's example?—Yes: although they did not like it.

1615. Did you not see the missionaries again?—No.

1616. What was the next place?—Kwalu.

1617. What occurred at Kwalu?—I went to see Mama Yoko; she was not very well; she said the people were annoyed with her for having paid the tax. I was talking with some of the Frontiers, and they made complaints about men being hanged.

1618. Did they say what they were hanged for?—I cannot remember.

1619. Where did you go next?—To Rotofunk. Before I got there I was assaulted by some police. There were four of them; two assaulted my clerk, who had put his coat on packages belonging to them: they threw his coat away. I objected, and they took their guns; then my people came up, and the interpreter, and they apologised. I wrote to the Governor about it.

1620. You say that you had noticed that Frontier Police had compelled carriers to abandon their loads, and return with the police's own load?—Yes, and also carry them in hammocks.

1621. Did anything follow on your letter of 28th January 1898?—I never got any reply.

1622. Where did you next go to?—Rotofunk. I could not get a house. I asked for one, and they refused, because Government had imposed a tax. I got a house finally.

1623. Did you offer to pay for the house?—Yes.

1624. Did anything more happen on your way?—No.

1625. When you were going from Freetown to start on your inland journey?—The first complaint was at Matine Foro, where the Chief had just died. They said they had to pay the tax.

1626. Whom did you speak to?—The Chief's brother or son.

1627. Where was the next place?—Maban. I met Bai Komp, and saw the Chiefs of Yonni and Kolifa.

1628. What passed?—He said he had had a letter from the District Commissioner at Kwalu, and asked me to read it to him. I asked him why he wanted to come to Freetown, he said 'To see the Governor.' He said he would not pay the tax at all.

1629. Did you advise him not to pay the tax?—No. He said he supposed the tax was being imposed to meet their stipends, and that if that were so, they were willing to forego their stipends. He spoke of the Frontier Police, and said 'Do you want us to pay for them when they take our wives and our slaves from us?'

1630. Did you know about his coming to Freetown?—Yes: Mr. Parkes or Sir S. Lewis told me that he had been turned back because he had not got leave from the District Commissioner. I know that he wrote afterwards.

1631. When did this happen?—About February.

1632. What was the next thing?—I told Mr. Parkes what I had observed in the interview.

1633. When?—Just before the disturbances.

1634. Is there anything else?—People complained about Frontiers taking their wives. Bai Komp at Maban first complained that their old slaves became free and joined the Frontier Police; they return and take the Chiefs' wives and give them disease. There was the same complaint from Makombo. I was at breakfast when I saw some Frontiers coming; their boys had fowls, and the Headman said, 'They come and take our wives and our things, and give us disease and go.' A Mohammedan priest came to me for medicine, and complained that his wife had contracted a disease in his absence. They complained of it in nearly every town

1635. Did you mention this to any District Commissioners as you passed by their stations?—No: I reported it to Captain Moore, and mentioned it to Mr. Parkes and Sir Samuel Lewis.

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FREDERICK W. DOVE.

1636 Did Captain Moore do anything on your report?—I do not think so. I complained to a corporal at Matutica, and he said that he would send on a report to Panguma.

1637. Anything more?—When I was coming to town, some Mendi people from Debora came to me and said they had come to see the Governor about the tax. I called on Mr. Parkes, and he said nothing could be done for them.

1638. Can you give their names?—I will send them to you.

4th August 1898.

MALI, FONTI, SERAFI, and SUMANI.

MALA, FONTI, SERAFI, and SUMANI, sons of Chiefs at present in prison.

MALA acted as spokesman and made a statement through the Interpreter (Katherudeen).

1639. Some time ago, when they were fighting in the Protectorate, our fathers entered into a treaty with Government. Government told our fathers to stop fighting, as fighting meant selling each other as slaves, and they did not fight again. After that they stopped palavers about wives. When the Government asked our fathers to build stations for Police, our fathers agreed; it asked them to clean the roads, and they cleaned them every year; and they bore all this. The year before last Mr. Renner brought letters with the compliments of the Government, and gave them letters to circulate among the other Chiefs.

1640. Would you know the letter if I showed it to you?—No; I cannot read English.

1641. Mr. Renner convened a meeting of Chiefs and told them that he had been sent by Government to take a letter to them, to the effect that they should be taxed. Government sent him to say that each person should pay 5s. for every house, and if they have not got the money they can pay in kind. The Chiefs said that they would not be able to pay the tax: they say that Government has spoiled country customs and laws: that Government sent the Police to the country, and that the Police have been ill-treating them for a long time: they dare not oppose them, because they fear the Government. The Police do not respect Chiefs, and take what they want by force. The Chiefs could not undertake to pay any more tax; if they sent him to-day to say, 'Pay more tax,' they did not think they would be able to pay. Therefore they themselves would come to Freetown to see the Governor, and beg him, because they were too poor to pay the tax. During the Diamond Jubilee the Chiefs were invited. After it had been celebrated they wrote a petition to the Government against the Protectorate Ordinance. The Governor was absent, and they were here for six months, waiting the arrival of the Governor, and he said they had been waiting in vain. So they returned, and on their arrival at Port Lokko, after a few days, Government sent up 56 lb. bushels to Karene for measuring the tax.

1642. What Chiefs met Mr. Renner?—Bokari Bamp, acting Head Chief of Port Lokko, An Sumani Bali of Port Lokko, Alfa Saidoo of Port Lokko, Santigi Keareh of Port Lokko, Bai Salamansa, Mola Santon, Abami, Santigi Sali, Santigi Sila, Soribunki, Soribunki Lamina, Santigi Sumani Banja, and many others.

1643. The Government sent bushels for the tax to measure kernels and rice, one bushel to each house. The Chiefs were summoned together by the District Commissioner, Captain Cave, and he said 'You will go to Freetown in vain to try and persuade the Governor. Instead of spending six months in Freetown, it would have been better to come here for six days. Here are the bushels for the tax. I am going to leave, so I shall not collect the tax; but Captain Sharpe is coming and he will do so.' The Chiefs said, 'All right,' they would still beg Government, and they went back to Port Lokko. At the time the Chiefs had got to Port Lokko Captain Sharpe had arrived in Freetown, and had sent up to the Chiefs at Port Lokko to send down carriers to take him up. Each Chief sent four

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carriers. On Captain Sharpe's arrival at Port Lokko, the Chiefs took his things up to Karene. There were more carriers than he wanted. They respected and feared Captain Sharpe very much. He returned to Port Lokko after two weeks, and told the Chiefs he had come to ask for the tax. It was on a Saturday morning: he was there the whole day. About 4 P.M. he invited the Chiefs of Port Lokko, telling them that he wanted the tax at once, and he said, 'If they refuse to pay, if he is a Chief I will depose him and put another man in his place.' He then told Bokari Bamp to summon all the Sierra Leone traders. Bokari called them together. On the arrival of the traders, Captain Sharpe said he would begin to collect the tax from them first. The traders said they would not pay before they had consulted the owners of the houses.

1644. Did Captain Sharpe explain that as they occupied the houses they would have to pay the tax?—Yes; he told them to pay the tax because they occupied the houses: but they said they must consult with the landlords first.

1645. Did they say they were afraid to pay?—Yes.

1646. Did they say why?—Yes; they told Captain Sharpe that as the Chiefs had not yet consented to pay, if they should pay first it would establish a bad precedent and make them unpopular.

1647. Did the traders say it would make a quarrel between them and the landlords?—Yes.

1648. Did the traders tell the landlords that they had to deduct the tax from the rent?—The traders not only told the landlords that, but said if they (the traders) paid the tax the houses would become their own property.

1649. When Captain Sharpe asked the traders to pay, did they say that it would be setting a bad example and make a quarrel between them and the landlords?—Yes.

1650. Did the traders state any other objection at that time?—No other objection: only they were afraid the people might think they were the cause of the tax being introduced.

1651. They said that before the District Commissioner?—Yes; and he said he had nothing to do with that.

1652. What was the next thing?—Having finished with the Sierra Leone traders, he detained the acting Chief and said, 'You shall not leave until you pay the tax.'

1653. Did your father refuse to pay?—No, but he said it was hard to pay. They were not allowed to buy and sell slaves as they did nine years ago. There were no gold-mines, no quantity of palm kernels or rice: they could only just get their livelihood. He prostrated himself before the District Commissioner. The District Commissioner said he must pay the tax. My father was fasting at that time, and the District Commissioner said he should not go until he paid. My father said he was only acting Chief and had not absolute power. The Paramount Chief was at Maforki: the real Chief of Port Lokko was then ill, and he was only acting Chief: therefore he said, 'I cannot give you a definite reply until I have consulted the Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs. For myself I cannot reply. As we have built houses for you at Karene, and the Governor said you were to go and occupy them, if people were to come and ask you to pay a tax for those houses, would you not wish to consult the Governor first? In the same way as I am only acting Chief, I cannot give you a reply without consulting the others, because I am not the owner of the country. Therefore I beg you to allow me to go and consult.' The District Commissioner said he would not leave him unless he got a definite reply from him. Then my father asked him to allow him to send some one to the Paramount Chief at Maforki, as he is the great Chief of the country, and they cannot pay without his consent, and Bai Forki would say that they were the cause of the introduction of the tax into the country.

1654. Was Bai Forki Paramount Chief of the Lokko country?—Yes; it is he who crowns the Chiefs of Port Lokko. The District Commissioner said it had nothing to do with Bai Forki. My father said, 'But he is the owner of this country': he then ordered the policemen to imprison him.

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MALI, FONTI, SERAFI, and SUMANI.

1655. Was Bai Forki crowned Chief of Port Lokko?—Yes; he is the Paramount Chief of the Port Lokko district.

1656. Did the District Commissioner cause your father to be arrested?—Yes: and kept him there all night without food. At daybreak he begged to be allowed to come and consult the others. The District Commissioner refused. At noon next day he told him to go and see the Sub-Chiefs of Port Lokko only, and not to send to Bai Forki. He was allowed to go for a short time. He went and consulted the Sub-Chiefs and the people, and they said they were too poor. They had not enough money to improve their houses, which were built of mud. The Government have not allowed us to trade in slaves. They threatened us that any one found selling slaves should be imprisoned for seven years. The people told the Chief, 'This will also add another burden on us, and as you are our Chief you should go to beg the District Commissioner to let us off this tax.' My father asked all of them to go with him to the District Commissioner, and then he went and asked the Sierra Leone traders. The traders said that they had nothing to say, and were only looking to them to pay, especially as the houses belonged to them. The District Commissioner had all the traders confined for three days. He told the traders they had disobeyed Government, and fined them £5 each in addition. He told the Chief, 'If you do not pay the tax, I will depose you and put some one else in your place.' My father said, 'All right, I have no power to resist.' He had not been able to consult Bai Forki. Then the District Commissioner told him he would like to see him and one or two of the other Chiefs in the house, on a private affair, and asked him to disperse all the people he had brought. He ordered the people to disperse, and went into the house with the five Chiefs. On entering he asked them about the tax.

1657. Did you go in with the five Chiefs?—No.

1658. How do you know what passed inside?—My father called out and told me that the private affair was the tax. They did not remain in the house long: they came out and were handcuffed. After they were put in irons and sent down from the wharf, the Chief addressed the people and told them not to come to their rescue, as they wanted to do, but to let them go and suffer for their country.

1659. How many Chiefs were taken to Freetown?—Five. The District Commissioner sent them to Freetown next day, and said he was going to make a new Chief. He installed Soribunki next day, and gave him thirty policemen.

1660. Was Soribunki the proper Chief to have taken his place?—No; one of those arrested should have been the next Chief. Soribunki had nothing to do with the Chiefship.

1661. Had Soribunki a Chief's place before?—Only that my father when he came to Port Lokko gave him a respectable title. After he had been made Chief and had been given policemen to help him, he pressed the people to pay the tax. They appointed Sub-Chiefs under him and sent them round to collect the tax, and they said that if the people did not pay at once they would have to pay a £3 fine as well. Captain Sharpe did not say that; he only left the police to force the people who refused to pay. When he had made Soribunki Chief he left and passed on to Mabile, and left the Inspector at Port Lokko. After a few days we saw two white officers going up to Bai Bureh's country. Then the people in the town deserted the place: they had paid the tax before they deserted. The reason was not on account of Her Majesty's force which went up there, but because Bai Bureh threatened to take those who paid the tax. I think the Chiefs in gaol can give more information than I have.

1662. Did Captain Sharpe say why he made Soribunki Chief?—He did not say, but from what we heard, Soribunki advised the District Commissioner to arrest the five Chiefs and their advisers. He told the District Commissioner that these five persons were spoiling the country. My father has been ruling the country for eight years, and has always done his best.

1663. The people said they were poor, was there any other reason?—The people

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always complain that Government is giving them too many loads, and do not allow them to sell slaves, etc.: the burden was too great for them to bear. MALI, FONTI, SERAFI, and SUMANI.

1664. You say slave trade was abolished; was it in your time?—I can remember it: it was nine years ago.

1665. Before that time people took their own children and sold them to people in the French rivers?—People were not taken from Port Lokko to the French territory.

1666. If not from Port Lokko, from where?—They go to other countries and buy slaves. They used to go to the Mendi country and buy slaves and take them to the Futeh country and sell them for cows. People used to go from Port Lokko to French Guinea and sell slaves, but not since the police have been stationed here.

1667. Suppose people come to Port Lokko and catch your people and sell them, would it be good for you?—At Port Lokko they do not wage war to make slaves.

1668. Does it not make a country poor to sell all the boys out of it?—That is why they do not practise it now.

1669. Then you Port Lokko people do not approve of it?—They only buy slaves, they do not wage war to get them.

1670. Do you not see that you help to make the wars by buying the slaves?—That is why the elder people agreed: they knew it was good for the country.

1671. Would Port Lokko people be very vexed if slave dealing were to begin again?—Yes; because they have not got accustomed to selling again.

1672. What are the palavers about wives that Government stopped?—A woman palaver is where one person has taken the wife of another: and if the woman reports it to her husband it is a great matter in the country.

1673. If his family have nothing to pay on behalf of the offender, he is delivered up to be sold?—When the Mandingoes were coming from Bathurst some of this sort of offenders were sold for £5.

1674. Was it the general custom that the offender was fined, and if he could not pay the fine he was delivered over to the husband to sell or keep as a slave?—Some would sell them, some would forgive them, some would flog them.

1675. Did the Government stop the trying of these cases and fining the offenders if they were guilty?—Yes; told them to stop all woman palavers.

1676. What are the names of the five Chiefs in gaol?—Bokari Bamp, Bai Salamansa, Santigi Kareh, Alfa Saidoo, Ausumana Bali.

NOTE.—The other three Chiefs' sons corroborated Mala's evidence.

5th August 1898.

TABITHA JACKSON.

TABITHA JACKSON.

1677. I lived upon the Sherbro River. The Frontiers came for the tax the second week in April. I was at Matin: they paid the tax in that town. The same week the war came. The Frontiers collected the money and took it to Kwalu. On Sunday, 1st May, the war came. I took my box and left my husband and landlord in the town. The war-boys told me to turn back. A Susu man took me over the river, then I found my way to Freetown.

1678. Did you see the war-boys?—Yes; there were a lot with short cutlasses and sticks.

1679. Was any Chief leading them?—Yes, but I do not know him.

1680. Did you hear any war-boys talk?—When the people inside ran they called them back. They did not trouble the town people, only the Creoles.

1681. Did they break your house?—Yes; and took my things and killed my husband.

1682. Was he a Sierra Leone man?—Yes.

1683. What was his name?—Jackson.

1684. Any more to tell me?—They took my produce; palm kernels and rice.

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5th August 1898.

SARIAN THOMPSON.

SARIAN THOMPSON.

1685. Mr. Brooks (Superintendent of Civil Police) took a statement from you yesterday?—Yes.

1686. Can you read and write?—Yes.

1687. Is this the statement?—Yes.

1688. Did Mr. Brooks read it over to you; is it correct?—Yes.

1689. Did you see these war-boys come to the place?—Yes.

1690. Could you see if any big man or Chief was leading them?—I saw many people, but I did not know them.

1691. Where were you?—At Gaindamah, in the Imperri country.

1692. What were the war-boys doing when you saw them?—Some had guns, and some sticks, spears, and cutlasses, and knives. They were singing; they came to my house.

1693. What words were they singing?—Words meaning, 'Don't pay the tax.' I don't remember any more words.

1694. Did you see them do anything?—They tied up my husband and beat him; and said, 'If you come to ask for the tax, we will kill you. We will not pay the tax. We will kill any one who pays the tax.'

1695. Was your husband in uniform?—Yes; they pulled it off.

1696. Were there many war-boys who came and tied your husband?—Plenty: one in particular.

1697. You told everything to Mr. Brooks?—Yes.

5th August 1898.

ELIZA BARNETT.

ELIZA BARNETT.

1698. I am the widow of Constable Barnett. He was killed at Jangallol on the 28th April last. Mr. Brooks took my statement.

1699. Did he read it over to you?—Yes.

1700. Was it correct?—Yes.

1701. Did you see the war-boys come?—Yes; I was at Jangallol.

1702. Were you at the same house as Mr. Hughes?—No; he met me there.

1703. Did you see these war-boys?—Yes; they were carrying guns, cutlasses, and sticks.

1704. Any knives?—I did not see any knives.

1705. Had the war-boys any big man or Chief?—Yes; I saw Sukan Lavari, the speaker of the King of Imperri.

1706. Did he say anything that you heard —No; I was in the bush.

1707. Before you went to the bush, did you hear anything?—I was in the house, and the war-boys came into the house. My husband fired, and they scattered.

1708. Then you had a chance to run to the bush?—Yes; I heard the people say, 'Slavery go away, and then the Governor come and make them pay tax.' They got no money to pay. They say they killed Creole because he forced them to pay. So long as Creole mix with them, they have to pay tax.

1709. You ran to the bush?—Yes: for seven days.

1710. Did you see the war-boys do anything more?—No.

1711. Did the people of the town take part with the war-boys?—Yes: all of them joined together: all over Imperri.

1712. Did the war-boys break houses?—They burnt and broke all houses where Creole lived. They plundered their goods: they said they would warn Creoles off.

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8th August 1898.

Mr. Lawson.

1713. My name is William Thomas George Lawson. I do not hold any Government appointment. My last appointment was that of Colonial Surveyor at Lagos.

1714. Had you any appointment in Sierra Leone?—Assistant Colonial Surveyor.

1715. You have considerable acquaintance with the people of the country?—It is my birthplace. I was brought here when about four years old.

1716. Are you well acquainted with many of the native Chiefs?—My mother was descended from the Kings of Kwaia, and my father is connected with Chiefs.

1717. You have on several occasions written petitions on behalf of native Chiefs to the Governor?—Yes; letters and one petition on the hut tax.

1718. Presented on 28th June 1897?—Yes; about that time.

1719. Speaking, not particularly of that petition, but generally, when you have occasion to write on behalf of Chiefs, tell me how you become acquainted with their wishes? I speak their language. They tell me what they wish, and sometimes, being interested, I advise them as to the best way of meeting the Government.

1720. I understand in such cases there is a meeting at which all who wish you to represent their views meet together?—Not so much a meeting as that they come to me knowing English more than themselves, and ask my advice.

1721. When you are going to write a formal letter as coming from the Chiefs, do not you have a formal meeting?—Yes; they meet, and each Chief speaks; what is the general view is what is adopted.

1722. I understand that each Chief who is present expresses his own views; and after you have heard as many as wish to say anything, you then proceed to embody the whole idea on paper?—Yes: especially where several countries desire to be represented.

1723. And then having written the paper you read and translate it in the presence of them all?—Yes: word by word, and sentence by sentence.

1724. This printed paper is a copy of a petition you wrote for certain Chiefs on the occasion you alluded to?—From the tenor of it, I think so. I have no doubt it is the same.

1725. Look at these names; are these names of important Chiefs?—Yes: *Nemgbana* is Chief of Kwaia; *Dick Wola* is next to the Paramount Chief of Kwaia; *Alimamy Seneh Bundu* is what might be called Commander-in-Chief of Kwaia; *Bey Suba*, Chief of another country; *Alkarly Bubu*, a Chief on the Skarcies River; *Kombor* is Chief of Lokko Massima; *Alkarly* is Chief of Port Lokko; *Bey Coblo* is Paramount Chief of Marampa country; *Alimamy Sater*, Chief on Skarcies River; *Alimamy Hannamoddoo*, Chief of Bullom; *Bey Farimah* is king of a country on the Skarcies River.

1726. They are not all the same tribe?—They speak the same language, Timini, but are not all of the same clan.

1727. In the Timini part of the country?—Yes.

1728. It might be said that those Chiefs who signed the petition were fairly representative of the Timini country?—Yes.

1729. But not of any other part of the country?—No; there were about seven or eight countries represented.

1730. Is it within your recollection whether there were more signatures, or are these all?—I fancy there were more, but I cannot swear to it.

1731. Are those whose names appear all the principal Chiefs?—All: that would answer to a king's word in any part of the world.

1732. They came to Freetown, I presume?—Yes; about the celebration of the Jubilee.

1733. Did they go to their homes after the celebration of the Jubilee and come back again to Freetown?—Yes.

1734. It became known to you what was the reason of so many Chiefs from different

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Mr. LAWSON. parts of the country coming to Freetown?—They represented to Mr. Parkes, Secretary for Native Affairs, what they had come for. I fancy they took advantage of the invitation to the Jubilee.

1735. Then they came to you about writing the petition?—Yes.

1736. Did they at once speak to you about the tax or on other matters?—The tax; we had no other grievance. I speak as a Kwaia man. I acted as Regent of Kwaia for two years.

1737. Then if you will be good enough to read the petition?—I have glanced at it.

1738. I understand you to say that this petition was written by you after hearing the Chiefs and putting into words the substance of what they said to you?—That I swear to.

1739. Of course, I do not expect the words would be identical, but the effect was the same?—Yes: I tried to keep the language as near as possible to their language.

1740. And you did not put into the petition anything which did not represent what they had said to you?—No; I will swear to that.

1741. I show you another petition addressed to the Legislative Council dated 15th October 1897, which, if I mistake not, is in your handwriting?—Yes.

1742. Look at the names of the Chiefs at the end: are they also in your handwriting?—Yes.

1743. There are a larger number of Chiefs than in the other?—Yes; from different countries also.

1744. I show you a letter addressed to Sir Samuel Lewis, dated 20th October 1897, asking him that he would present the petition to the Legislative Council; is that also in your handwriting?—Yes.

1745. Can you tell me, as a matter of fact, if that petition was presented to the Legislative Council?—I cannot say. I am under the impression that Sir Samuel said it was not.

1746. This is a letter to Sir F. Cardew, dated 15th November 1897, which appears to have been written after he had answered the petition of June 29th: is this also in your handwriting?—Yes.

1747. You see, the signatures to that letter are much more numerous than on the copy of the petition?—One was presented to Colonel Caulfield, and the other to Sir F. Cardew.

1748. Are these names all in your handwriting: were all these Chiefs present?—Yes.

1749. This letter was written by you for the purpose of being presented to Governor Cardew, and, so far as you know, it was presented to him?—Yes; the people, after the Jubilee season, waited for the Governor's return; then after the Governor's return the petition was presented.

1750. The letter that I have been calling your attention to was written as giving voice to a statement that the Chiefs had made to you?—Yes; and so was the petition to the Legislative Council.

1751. The Chiefs state that the letter was read and interpreted to them by Mr. Renner, a Government official, I presume?—Yes.

1752. They recite the letters, and go on to say that what throws your petitioners into the greatest state of consternation is that they are to have no more power over their country, etc.: to what does this refer?—To the Protectorate Ordinance.

1753. No doubt; but to what particular part?—As I said before, the most serious part is the tax. They think that if a man pays this tax, he is deprived of ownership of his house. So they think they are being deprived of power over their country. They call it 'paying for sleeping,' *i.e.* place where they sleep.

1754. Did that mean that paying the hut tax took away from owners the right of property in their huts?—Just so: that is just what they are frightened by.

1755. You were aware of the provisions of the Ordinance at that time?—I had it before me.

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1756. Did you explain to them that payment of the Hut Tax would not take away any rights from them?—That is just what I was going to say. I told them that it meant no taking away of their rights, but to support the maintenance of the Frontier Police that is to keep the country in peace. Mr. LAWSON.

1757. Then you were unable to convince them that the Hut Tax did not take away right of property?—They say that 'if a man pay for hut, naturally he has no more right over it: if the Governor wanted them to help in the maintenance of the Frontier Police, he would call them and tell them so.'

1758. Did they say anything at that time about the behaviour of the Frontier Police that they did not like?—Not in this connection: but as a general complaint.

1759. Did you discover from what the Chiefs said to you that they were under the impression that they were to pay the tax out of their own pockets or to pay it first, and then collect it from their people afterwards?—As far as I can gather, they did not look at it from either point of view: it was the fact of their having to pay the tax at all. If the Governor had come and said, 'I want you to pay 500 bushels of rice,' they would have paid with great pleasure.

1760. They did not care whether they had to pay it out of their own pocket or not? —No: they were perfectly well aware that they had to collect it from their people—their pocket is their people's farms.

1761. It was well understood that it was to be collected from the people?—Yes.

1762. They allude to something that took place formerly in the Kwaia country, and say 'The thought . . . etc. . . .' to what do they refer?—The war of 1861 between the Kwaias and the English. A portion of the country which was ceded as a war indemnity was taxed. A Mr. Rose was sent to collect the tax, and he was most over-bearing, plundering and seizing goods. This was represented to Sir A. Kennedy, and the collector of the tax was sent for, and some one in the Government gave orders for him to be prosecuted. He resigned his post and got away.

1763. What happened afterwards?—The tax was repealed at once. The man was reported to the Secretary of State, and the Queen receded the country to the people.

1764. Is Kwaia part of the Colony now?—Yes.

1765. Part of subsequent negotiations, I suppose?—Yes.

1766. The petitioners say that instead of the Government spending so much money on the Protectorate, they will guarantee with the aid of one European and twelve Policemen to keep peace in their country?—Yes.

1767. Do you consider that that is a promise made in good faith, believing that they can carry it out?—I assure you that the influence of Government on the nation is such, especially after the Yonni Expedition, that one white man could keep order. Such is our respect and dread for the Government, that no Chief would dare to go against that man. The Frontier Police are not white, they were our own slaves.

1768. There are very serious complaints about the Frontier Police?—Very: I assure you in many cases they behave disgracefully, and the people dare not report them. The poor people are afraid to report. They behave a little better when Sierra Leone boys with a little education are mixed up with them.

1769. The Frontier Police behave better when not all Timinis or Mendis, but with Sierra Leone men?—The Sierra Leone men behave much better than the raw native.

1770. The Protectorate was proclaimed in 1896, in speaking of misbehaviour of the Frontier Police, do you allude to what had taken place before the Proclamation or after?— Generally: both before and after. I cannot confine it to any particular instance. I have reason to know: because I was Regent of Kwaia for two years until the coronation of the King.

1771. Did that dissatisfaction with the behaviour of the Frontier Police lead to any feeling with regard to the British Government?—It does not lead to any feeling against the Government but against the Frontier force.

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Mr. LAWSON.

1772. No doubt; but is there not feeling against the British Government for having put the Frontier Police there?—As a consequence, but not as a fact. They say 'Their father never sent them to do that.' At Kwaia they established the confidence of the people almost for ever, when they were so bitter against officers for ill-treating natives.

1773. What was the Yonni expedition that you spoke of?—It arose from a war taken by Yonni to a town called Senahu.

1774. Is the Yonnis town within the Protectorate?—Yes. There they killed several Sierra Leone people, which moved Government to send Sir F. de Winton to go and punish them.

1775. The Yonnis?—Yes; in that expedition I headed the Timini contingent.

1776. The Yonnis were punished?—Yes.

1777. In what way?—Their country was burnt and their principal men were brought down and transported.

1778. Then this Yonni expedition impressed the people of the Protectorate generally that the English were repugnant to one tribe making war on another?—Yes: and also the strength of the English people. They said white men could not fight in the bush. They thought Roballa was impregnable and when they saw it come down easily, they said, 'Black man cannot fight with white man.'

1779. Then it impressed the people in two ways: English power and English repugnance to tribes making war on each other?—They did not think it possible that Roballa should be taken.

1780. Was it such a very strong town?—Yes.

1781. Was it stockaded?—Mud walls and native fortifications. At that time the Yonnis were a terror to all the Timini tribes, and the English went up and just walked through the country.

1782. What time was that Yonni expedition?—1887.

1783. In Sir S. Rowe's time?—Yes: Sir J. Hay was acting for him.

1784. Are the natives aware of the expedition on the Gold Coast under Lord Wolseley or when Governor Maxwell brought down the King of Ashanti?—Yes; we went down to see the King: I have heard my father explain it to them.

1785. How did the Chiefs become aware?—By the information of my father: he was the Government interpreter.

1786. Are any aware of the present expedition in the Soudan?—No.

1787. Do they read English newspapers?—No.

1788. Do they become acquainted with Sierra Leone newspapers, are they read to them by Sierra Leone men?—Sometimes: I read papers to them myself.

1789. Do many Chiefs keep a clerk who knows English?—No, very few: Bai Suba was the only one. They get traders to write for them.

1790. Do you say Chiefs do not keep clerks?—I could not swear, but to my knowledge I do not think they do.

1791. Look now at paragraph beginning C, was that all written from what they said to you?—Yes; I was very particular that they should all speak for themselves: in fact many things that I saw would be irrelevant or impertinent to the Governor, I suggested should be left out.

1792. Then when they described it as part of the law that any Chief dealing with a case not within his jurisdiction should be punished by fine, imprisonment and flogging, they thought that was part of the Ordinance?—Yes.

1793. They beg the Governor to save them from the serious disgrace of fines, flogging, etc.?—Yes; I believe it was the portion of the Ordinance which prevented Chiefs from settling certain cases.

1794. They looked upon that as a serious grievance?—Yes; the greatest disgrace that could be given to a Chief, was to flog him before his subjects or wives.

1795. And being handcuffed, they look on in the same way?—Yes: that came from

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a case which happened under the Ordinance. A king called Massa Munta was handcuffed, and the handcuffs produced sores. Mr. LAWSON.

1796. When was this?—Up the river, I forget the name of the place. The Frontiers burnt off his beard. He came down to the Governor.

1797. Was it brought to the notice of the Governor?—Yes.

1798. Was it investigated?—I am not sure. I saw him on his way down, but not when he went back.

1799. Were you aware what offence this Chief was charged with?—The charge was against a subject of his. It was brought before the District Commissioner. The Frontiers who were sent to investigate the case, not finding the man himself, fell upon the Chief and made him responsible for his subject, to the best of my recollection.

1800. They complain of freedom of trade being interfered with: that refers, I presume, to license duties?—Yes.

1801. Then they say the quality of spirits brought into the country is bad: Government could hardly control the quality of spirits?—Hardly: in former times they used to have pure rum.

1802. To your knowledge is there much excess of drinking in the Protectorate?—A good deal of it: I must say.

1803. To the extent of being hurtful?—You see little children drinking rum, which their mothers give them. I attribute to it the fact, that longevity has decreased. Formerly rum was scarce: now at the least feast they have they send for rum.

1804. Is not palm wine very intoxicating when it gets to a certain stage?—Yes.

1805. Those who wanted to drink something intoxicating, could always get palm wine?—Yes: when the duty on spirits was raised, those who could not afford it, were obliged to fall back on palm wine, this to my certain knowledge.

1806. Palm wine as things stand now, is cheaper than spirits?—Far: each man can make his own, or he can buy five gallons for a shilling.

1807. Is it more or less hurtful to drink in excess this fermented palm wine than to drink spirit in excess?—It is hurtful: in many cases it produces a sort of rupture.

1808. Have you ever been aware of fermented palm wine producing insanity?—Not insanity: dropsy.

1809. Is there any herb that is used in the same way as tobacco?—No: except in cases of brain disease they have a sort of herb they make into snuff.

1810. With what effect?—When the disease is not far gone it cures it. In the interior they preserve a certain plant, and make a sort of tobacco from it and send it down.

1811. The chiefs, I presume, were quite aware of the provision forbidding buying and selling slaves?—Quite.

1812. Previous to the Protectorate Ordinance, was there not a good deal of buying and selling slaves?—Privately: a man would buy children with a view to enlarging his household.

1813. Was it not also the case that one tribe would make a raid upon another, and make slaves and sell them?—Yes: they catch them, and if they cannot pay, they keep them as slaves.

1814. That is quite proper according to native law?—Yes.

1815. Is there any feeling beginning to dawn, that buying and selling slaves impoverishes the country?—Many of us consider that we get our greatness from the number of our retainers: and in a patriarchal form of society it gives us precedence.

1816. A chief of one tribe would be quite willing to enrich himself by catching people of another tribe, and selling them away in French territory?—Certainly: they are quite ready to begin again, but they are afraid to do it.

1817. Then they still consider their own system a better system than the English

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Mr. LAWSON.

system?—The fortunes they leave consist of so many people instead of so much money. After the first issue no one dare sell the succeeding issue of slaves.

1818. Then the chiefs consider that the Protectorate Ordinance is having the effect of breaking down their family system?—They know the English do not tolerate buying and selling slaves: but they do not want their domestic system disturbed.

1819. As I understand, they would much prefer to carry on their old profession?—It is difficult to say: they know for certain that the English Government hates the trade.

1820. And if the English Government was done away with they would begin it again?—Yes: Timinis on the smallest pretence used to make war to catch slaves.

1821. Then if the English Government were done away with there would no longer be any interference with slave dealing: would the natives regard that as a desirable thing?—Many of them would, and many would not. Since the Yonni expedition, there was a great accumulation of property and they regard the English as having brought this about. If the English were to come and say, 'Shall we go away?' they would say, 'Go and stand far off, but do not go away altogether.' It is the conduct of the Frontiers that has made the people dread the name of Government instead of loving it as before.

1822. Does that feeling with regard to the Frontier Police still continue or did it exist some years ago?—At first the Frontier Police were sent as a sort of guard. The people do not complain of the white officers, but it is the raw Timini or Mendi picked up in the streets and probably a runaway slave who is enlisted, and possibly sent the next day to take a man. It is that sort of thing that the people complain of.

1823. Are not the Frontier Police much improved lately in behaviour, say the last two or three years?—I have not noticed it particularly, complaints still come to me from the interior; from my people. The moment the people see a Frontier they all run into the bush. Of course there are exceptions.

1824. Do these or did these complaints against the Frontier Police apply to the Sergeants and Corporals?—They apply more to the privates.

1825. Were the privates not controlled by their non-commissioned officers?—As a rule the Sergeants look after them; I have not much cause to complain of them. When they get to know a little of English they behave better.

1826. Do you think they are more disposed to behave properly in your presence, knowing that you can talk English?—Yes, to a certain extent, and they know me too now. Their officers behave kindly as a rule, white officers I mean.

1827. Then as I understand you, all that is in this petition came from the Chiefs, no part was your own?—All came from the Chiefs: in fact I acted as a clerk, giving expression to what the Chiefs said to me. But where I saw it would be to their advantage, I suggested some corrections.

1828. I suppose you acted as clerk also in writing out the letter to the Governor and the petition to the Legislative Council, you wrote down what the Chiefs desired you to write down and did not put in anything except what they asked you to?—Quite so.

1829. Are you acquainted with the circumstances of the rising itself at Port Lokho?—Only from hearsay.

1830. What took place in your country?—The Governor in reply to their letter kindly remitted all towns not containing twenty huts. There are many villages in lower Kwaia that do not contain twenty huts. I am informed that a certain Chief, Makwelu, went to inform the officer that the Kwaias would not pay unless forced to. Then the officers came and burnt the kings' town. The town was called Robea. The second time the District Commissioner came down with a force of constables and not seeing the king burnt his place, Makompah. Then they went away.

1831. Who was the District Commissioner?—I understood it was Captain Moore. After that they came again, but that was to open the river which was said to have been stopped by Kwaia Chiefs. On that occasion they brought a native force with them, and

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burnt Mafuluma, Furudugu, Macru, and Magbene, which is second only to Robaga in sacredness, where they have sacred groves. Mr. Lawson.

1832. Porro groves?—No: there are stones there, each of which is supposed to represent a dead Chief, and at certain times of the year they wash these stones and sprinkle them with rum, and cook food for them. The burning of these towns was supposed to be a punishment for the blocking of the river by certain Chiefs of Kwaia, and also for not paying the tax.

1833. Did not all these things take place after the rising at Bumpe?—Just about the same time. The first instance was before, and the second was before the information had reached the natives.

1834. You remember the rising that took place along by Mafwe and so on: did not all that burning in Kwaia country occur after that?—The first instance was before.

1835. What Chiefs of Kwaia stopped the river?—The Chief of Macbele, when he saw all his goods taken and houses burnt, pretended to try and secure the people who did it. It was burnt by Charles Smart.

1836. Can you say at all what led to the outbreak at Bumpe, Rotofunk, or such places?—No: only from hearsay. Some say a Frontier met a man with a knife in his hand, and told him to give it up. The man refused, and said it did not belong to him. A struggle ensued, and the Frontier knocked out the man's brains with his rifle. This was the last straw.

1837. Were the people then ready for the last straw?—Some of the Porro were against paying the tax. I have heard of a one word Porro, but do not know exactly what it was. I told my people: 'Pay for this year, and next year come to the Government and beg.' The Government let off all villages under twenty houses. It was not the idea of supporting the Frontier Police: it was the feeling that property was being taken from them.

1838. Did not that feeling that their property was being taken away produce any feeling against the English Government?—It produced a temporary distrust; a fear that their lands should be taken from them; a sort of anxiety.

1839. What kind of houses do people in your country usually build?—A round house, just a few sticks and mud, thatched.

1840. One room, or usually more?—Slaves have just one round room.

1841. If he has wives does he make separate houses for them?—The better class have oblong houses divided into rooms.

1842. Then they build houses for their children?—Not exactly: they have what they call harems, each house with about six women; and the Chief has a large parlour for visitors sometimes. Wealthy men will have more than one house. Sometimes ten houses.

1843. Will he pay a tax for each one of these houses?—Yes: by the Ordinance.

1844. Are there many of these large two- or three-roomed houses?—At Port Lokko, Magbele, Rokelle, and many of the principal towns you will find these houses. Each Chief has his village generally of smaller houses.

1845. It would be difficult to say what proportion these large houses bear to the smaller ones?—At the King's house at Romangi there are six rooms in one house.

1846. Have they wooden doors and iron hinges?—Yes.

1847. And glass windows?—No.

1848. These better houses, suppose you were building one for a white man how much would it cost?—I should think about £30.

1849. Actually laid out by the Chief?—The only thing a house costs him is carpenters' labour and materials.

1850. How much would he spend on carpenters' labour and materials?—I have spent myself 2s. per door, or sometimes 3s. I find the hinges and wood.

1851. Do you know anything as to what led the Chiefs at Port Lokho to refuse to pay the tax?—Not for certain: I was in hospital at the time.

1852. Tell me, are there many Chiefs in the Kwaia country who send their sons to

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be educated?—I brought down six myself. But none since Governor Rowe's time. The Government used to take them and educate them.

1853. Do Chiefs not find that it works well to send their sons to be educated?—It has produced a sort of jealousy.

1854. How do those boys turn out who have been educated in the Freetown schools?—I do not know. In many cases a small smattering makes them proud and stuck up, and does more harm than good. The boys learn to drink, and the girls prostitution. The natives seem to derive more good from Mohammedan training for their children than from English. The child returns home and is one of them, and sits and eats and drinks with them: whereas the one brought up in Sierra Leone either becomes proud or a drunkard, and is no good to them, or to the English.

1855. Does he learn to drink in Sierra Leone?—Certainly; boys brought up in Mohammedan schools are sober.

1856. Do Chiefs not Mohammedans send their children to be brought up in Mohammedan schools?—Yes; those just emerging from a raw state of savagery find it better to send their children to be educated in Mohammedan schools. Chiefs like some of their children to be able to read and write English: but for home comfort they prefer them to be educated in Mohammedan schools.

1857. Are there any cannibals in the Protectorate or Colony?—Not in Timini: but we hear of them in the Mendi country.

1858. Is that anything more than a fetish custom?—There is a sort of society of which the members who join each has to contribute a share which they eat, as I have been informed.

1859. Can you form any opinion of what caused the people to attack the missionaries and kill them?—Simply hatred they have to anything English on account of the tax: and to exterminate English influence out of the country.

1860. You think there was that wish to exterminate the English existing?—We must admit that the conduct of traders is very bad among natives, and the natives have felt that for some years. The tax seems to have excited them to the extreme. The conduct of the Sierra Leone traders was abominable.

1861. In what way was the conduct of the Sierra Leone traders abominable?—The natives used to bring their produce, rice or kernels, and the traders used just to throw them a little bit of cloth for it, and if they objected would beat and drive them from the store.

1862. If the Sierra Leone traders behaved in that way, why did they not complain to the District Commissioners?—Very likely the District Commissioner was some distance away.

1863. The Governor allowed the people to pay the tax in kernels or rice, do they have any real difficulty in paying that amount in kernels or rice?—No.

1864. It would be a mistake to say they were too poor?—Some are poor and some could pay. If the Government sent and asked for a contribution they would pay willingly, but to have to pay for their houses they do not like.

1865. There would have been no difficulty about paying if it had been put in the form of a subsidy and not as a Hut Tax?—No difficulty at all.

1866. Suppose the tax had been put in the form of a poll tax? would it have been easily got?—They do not understand that form of taxation. They understand wharf dues.

1867. You say a tax in the form of a poll tax would have been objected to, how is that?—It would produce a feeling of slavery; they would say 'white man makes us pay for our existence.'

1868. Suppose the District Commissioner went round to the different towns and said, 'This town has to pay so much, and that so much and the Chiefs have to collect all this?'—Even this would have produced a little grating. Nothing would please the Chiefs so much as for the Governor to say 'I want so many bushels from you.' They would have collected it willingly, especially as they would take a little commission.

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1869. You consider that if a tax were to be put on the Chiefs, leaving them to collect it in their own way, it would be easily obtained?—I speak as Chief of Kwaia. If the Governor were to come to me and say, 'I want you to help me by collecting so much,' I would go and do it to-morrow; it would please their dignity; they would feel they were simply helping their friend the Queen. Put in that way, and with a little flattery, I could go to-morrow into the Timini country and get it without even the help of the police.

1870. The Chiefs complained a good deal about the Governor taking away their power over their people; if they had lost their power, would they be able to collect the tax?—If I knew the Governor was behind me, I would collect it from my worst enemy.

1871. Do you follow me; the Chiefs say their power is taken away by the Governor; would not the Chiefs feel, 'We cannot do this ourselves; you must send police to help us?—Nothing produces so much power among the Chiefs as the feeling that they can settle their own cases. That is the Chiefs' source of power. Not being able to settle their own cases, would reduce their power over the country in general enormously.

1872. You would say that the provision of the Ordinance which takes away from the Chiefs their power to settle all their cases is much felt by them?—Yes, even if the Ordinance left an appeal to District Commissioners it would not be felt so much.

1873. Would they not feel that power of appeal to a District Commissioner would tend to diminish their authority?—It would be the lesser of two evils. Speaking as an educated man, I think it would have a salutary effect on the Chiefs themselves in their own decisions, because they would try to give just decisions if they knew they might be submitted to the District Commissioner afterwards.

1874. Have you anything else to tell me?—I am a native Chief, and have rights in the country: the King is dead, and I am practically Chief. I wish most humbly and sincerely to restore the order and friendship with the English. The Kwaia country now is in my hands. I only desire to see the goodwill of the Governor and the English towards my people. Many of my Chiefs are in the woods.

1875. Did you hear of an attack on Panguma?—Yes, by Mendis. The Timinis are ready to bow to the Government. My grandfather was George Lawson, brought up in England. My father was brought up here. He went up the river, and I was born there. My family have always been accustomed to white people, and wish to be on good terms with them.

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1876. Tell me this, at the time the slave trade was going on, what class of persons had the chief interest in it, Chiefs or Sierra Leone traders, or who?—Chiefs and Susu merchants: The Susus used to go up to the interior to buy slaves.

1877. Do you mean that your people used to give people to the Susus to sell?—Susus used to come to our country and buy slaves. Very often speculators in our country used to exchange slaves for bullocks, etc.

1878. When slaves were to be sold to any of these, it was the Chief who sold them?—A speculator comes to the country and says to a friend, 'I have come for slaves': his friend reports to the Chief that he has a friend who wants to buy, then any one who has slaves to sell brings them. In some countries the Chief was supposed to get a fee for each slave sold, but I have never seen any sold myself.

1879. Were the Sierra Leone traders concerned in it in any way?—I have heard that some used to give a few pounds to a native to buy for them, and the native goes and buys in his name for them. This was a very common occurrence.

1880. To your knowledge, is there any feeling growing among Chiefs that slave-dealing is really hurtful to the country?—Timinis buy and sell slaves more to enlarge their dignity: the great speculators are the Susus. Our people have been used to the fact that English people dislike slavery, and they do not regard it as a loss.

1881. The Chiefs could put a stop to all slave-dealing if they liked?—Yes. When I was Chief of Kwaia, Susus wanted to buy, and I would not let them.

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Mr. LAWSON.

1882. So that if Chiefs made a law each in his own country that there should be no more buying or selling slaves, it would stop it?—The difficulty is that each Chief is estimated by the number of his clan, so each tries to bring in as many as he can. A slave is only a slave in the first instance; the next generation are regarded as part of the family, and are intermarried in the family, so the number is increased.

1883. But they are not absolutely free; they cannot go away?—When you are bought you can be sold again; if you belong to the next generation, you cannot transfer your habitation without leave from your master; the third generation is absolutely free, but they must leave their personal property to their master. Even if they were to die in Freetown, the Chief would come and claim their property.

1884. These rules you have been telling me about, do they obtain generally throughout the Protectorate, or only in your own tribe?—It is the Timini law.

1885. The rules are different for different tribes?—Yes; Susus have more the Portuguese system; but in Timini country the grandchild of a slave may become rich, but his property has to go back to the Chief.

1886. How is the Mendi system managed?—I do not know much. Slaves captured and taken to the Mendi country have become rich and big men in a very short time.

1887. Do family slaves ever come to Sierra Leone for the purpose of becoming perfectly free?—Speaking of Kwaia, they come here to buy and sell, and go back again.

1888. The Timinis do not want to have that kind of freedom?—No: the further up into the country you go, the more stringent are the laws with regard to slavery.

1889. I want you to fix this date, you told me the other day (see 1830) of Makwelu going to Captain Moore; can you remember in what month that occurred?—Between 15th March and the middle of April—I cannot remember exactly—Bai Kompah charged the Frontiers with dragging him downstairs and kicking him; he reported it to the Governor.

1890. Was it on the same occasion that the town was burnt?—I do not think so: on that occasion they took Nemgbana, who was second in command to the King.

1891. When the King made his complaint, was anything done?—I do not know.

1892. He complained through Mr. Parkes?—Yes: I wrote the letter for him; he was my uncle.

1893. It was some time before May?—Yes: March or April; I went into hospital in the middle of February and came out the middle of March, it was after then.

1894. Do you know anything about a telegram having been sent to the Secretary of State by the Chiefs?—Yes: I had nothing to do with it. Some of the merchants advised them.

1895. This is the telegram; look at it; do you know in whose handwriting it is?—No.

1896. Did the Chiefs speak to you about sending a telegram?—Yes.

1897. Did they come to you in a body?—About four of them came. Sometime after the petition had been sent in.

1898. After they had told Colonel Caulfield they meant to wait?—Nearly three weeks after.

1899. Three or four came to you?—Yes, headed by Bai Suba. I did not encourage them.

1900. What did they say?—They thought it would be too long to wait for the Governor.

1901. Did they ask you to send it?—They said they had thought of doing so; they were too anxious to get away.

1902. Did they tell you after that they had sent the telegram?—Yes, afterwards. It was done purely on the advice of some of their mercantile friends here.

1903. Then this letter (N.A. 213—15th September 1897), look at it, it is the reply which Colonel Caulfield sent to the native Chiefs after he had got the Secretary of State's answer?—Yes; that is the one, it was sent through Mr. Parkes; I think it is in the possession of Bai Suba.

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1904. Then on the same date you drew up a petition to the Legislative Council?— Mr. LAWSON. Yes; about that time.

1905. Can you explain to me what is known among the Chiefs as to the powers of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council?—If they ask the Governor to do anything, and he feels he cannot do it, they will go to one of the members of the Council; they think the Council might persuade the Governor to do it.

1906. They look upon the Council as being the Queen's Chiefs?—Yes: you ask something from the Governor and he will not grant it; if you go to the Legislative Council, through their mediation he might be pleased to grant it.

1907. But the situation was this: the Chiefs had addressed the Queen in person, and she had already given them an answer through her Santigi Chamberlain; after that, did they think that the Legislative Council here would take it away?—Not that; they think they cannot beg too much; they thought the Council would go and beg the Queen a second time for them.

1908. Do the country people have confidence in laws made by the Freetown Legislative Council?—The only confidence they have is in the treaty. They look on it as Governor's law or Queen's law.

1909. Suppose some of the big Chiefs were asked to come and sit with the Council, what kind of effect would it have on the Protectorate?—On the whole, not at all a bad effect; it would take some time for them to get used to it. It would give confidence to not a few of them. What unrests the people is the taking away of their power among their own subjects. They love no country so much as the English. They have heard how the French shoot down their subjects.

1910. Suppose laws, instead of being made by the Sierra Leone Council only, were made by a council in which Chiefs took part, would not the country have more confidence in them?—It would take time, but that would be a way to establish confidence. The Chiefs by the Ordinance sit with the District Commissioner.

1911. In the clause you allude to the District Commissioner is alone to give judgment, but is to be advised by the Chiefs?—The Chiefs say, 'What is the use of our going there if we are not to have a voice?'

1912. Do you understand that as a fact Chiefs do not go to the District Commissioner's court?—Only when invited. They only go because they do not want to show disrespect to the District Commissioner; they feel they are nonentities.

1913. Do they refrain from giving their opinions?—Many do. They say, 'What is the use of it?' Some of them refuse to give their opinion for fear that if judgment is given against the people they will be thought to have taken part in it. Before the establishment of courts, British officers used to settle causes quietly; now the people are half frightened at the formalities of the law.

1914. Does any method occur to you by which three or five Chiefs could be elected as representing the others?—Yes; if the Governor asked them to have a meeting, they could do so, and elect representatives. Bai Kompah was looked upon all over the country as the person who had English things in charge. If it was known that the big kings were to meet and elect a certain number, it would give the greatest pleasure. Chiefs have precedence amongst themselves.

1915. Would they be of one voice?—Yes; they have a sort of jury and votes.

1916. Would the election have to be made by tribes?—They would have to meet, say, at Port Lokko: each Kwaia Chief would go there, other chiefs would go to some other town. They would select the best Chiefs quite easily; they would select their own people and send in the names to the Governor.

1917. Would it be possible to divide the country according to the present Protectorate divisions and elect for each division?—The present division is most inconvenient. At present Timinis have to walk up sixty or seventy miles in the rain to see the District Commissioner or attend his court. They do not understand buying and selling provisions;

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Mr. LAWSON.

a Timini travelling in his own country could get them easily, but if he has to go up through the Mendi country it is a great source of inconvenience and trouble; some would rather be shot than go. If they were divided by tribes, it would be much more convenient. When I travel in the Timini country, the only thing I have to take is a cook; they would supply me with everything I wanted: I could travel for six months. One has to take a cook, because if one was poisoned they would be afraid they might be accused.

1918. Suppose the Protectorate, instead of being divided as at present, was divided by tribes, how many divisions would be needed?—There is Timini proper, Bullom, Mendi, Sherbro, Gallinas, Falaba or Limba, Lokko, and Koranko.

1919. Is Falaba large?—A very large country. The Korankos come on the banks of the Niger. The Bullom have originally migrated from Sherbro, and speak the Sherbro language.

1920. Is Sherbro a large district?—Yes: Sherbro proper begins from the Cockboro river and extends into the Bumpe country. North of the Cockboro, near the coast is Timini.

1921. Is the Mendi country large?—Yes; it joins up to the Kuniki country.

1922. I understand that if it were put to the people of the Protectorate, tribe by tribe, to elect representatives, there would be no difficulty?—No. I guarantee it myself, being one of them. It would raise their confidence in the Queen's Government fifty fold.

1923. Could you say from your talk with the Chiefs whether any persuasion had come to them from outside?—Not to my knowledge. I speak as one of them. I said to them, 'Pay for the first year and then beg.'

1924. You did not learn that anything of this kind had been said to them, 'You hold out against the tax, and by and by it will be abolished'?—I never heard of anything of the kind. So far as the Timini country is concerned, I am one of them.

1925. Then had the provision in the Ordinance about lands anything to do with the idea that Government wanted to take away their country?—One thing in particular: many of these lands were their sacred lands and burying places of Chiefs.

1926. Do you allude to the provision that the Governor had the right to waste lands of Chiefs, and fix their boundaries, and to allow any person to occupy waste lands, and that the Queen had the right to all gold and minerals?—Yes: the latter not so much as these sacred lands that had not been occupied for seven years, and which the Governor might give away. It was a very serious point; their kings are buried in some of these waste lands, and they regard them as sacred.

1927. At the time you wrote the petition for them in June, they had all those ideas about lands in their heads?—Yes; it was on that Ordnance (1896) that the petition was founded.

1928. This opposition to the hut tax and the rising against it, would you say it was an opposition by Chiefs, or an opposition by the people, or by both?—It is as objectionable to all parties. Chiefs themselves have very little to lose; they can always recover from the people. It is the people it falls heavily upon.

1929. In the Kwaia country now, are the people cultivating their farms?—Some stealthily; they are in fear.

1930. That will be bad if the seedtime is lost?—It will be terrible next year: the people are all scattered. The worst part is that soldiers burn existing rice stores.

1931. Where?—In Kwaia; they do it without the knowledge of their officers.

1932. Before the Bumpe rising or after?—Before: if they see young rice growing, they cut it down. The officers are perfectly ignorant.

1933. You are speaking of what you really know?—Of what has been reported to me. I took in the King of Kwaia; he was very sick, but he got better and went back, and when he saw the state of things all burnt he had a relapse and died from the shock (Bai Kompah).

1934. Were any of his family with him when he died?—Yes: the sacred officers must be round a king when he dies: he was in the charge of the sacred Queens and Rooks.

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Mr. Rogers.

9th August 1898.

Christopher Adolphus Moore interpreting.

1935. My name is Lucene Rogers. I live on the Kittum River, Upper Sherbro. I am a trader. I trade for myself. I have been trading a long time on the Kittum. I have a store warehouse there. I send out travelling traders, and give them goods to carry, such as tobacco and cotton.

1936. What else?—Nothing else: since the license for trading in spirits I do not trade in them. Before the new law I used to send liquor with the boys.

1937. What proportion of liquor would you send compared to other goods?—say out of £20 worth?—I should not send much cotton, more gin, salt, and tobacco.

1938. You send plenty of gin to the country?—Yes, plenty; that is what they like best.

1939. Did the license prevent you sending it?—The license did not spoil my business as a country trader. I ceased to send liquor, but I now send more cotton goods than before.

1940. You sell more cotton goods now?—I am obliged to.

1941. You can sell more cloth now than you did before?—Yes; cotton goods, tobacco, and salt.

1942. Before, when you sold spirits on the road, did people drink much?—Yes, plenty.

1943. Since the tax, do they not drink so much?—Formerly, when they had a feast, they would use fifty cases, where now they only use ten.

1944. Has the price of gin and rum been raised in consequence of the license?—Yes; rum is more proof than before. They drink more palm wine now. They can get drunk on palm wine.

1945. Do many get drunk on palm wine now?—Yes.

1946. Do you know anything about slave-trade?—A long time ago.

1947. Did traders ever exchange goods for slaves?—Yes.

1948. And carry slaves away to French territory?—Yes; long ago. In 1871. They do not do it now.

1949. How long since you ceased?—After they crossed slaves over to the Susu country, when Susu people wanted to buy from Sherbro country, they stopped the passing of boys.

1950. Who is Chief of the country where you trade?—Momo Kaikai.

1951. Is he a big Chief or a little Chief?—He is a big man, a head Chief; plenty of under Chiefs.

1952. Did you go and talk with this Chief about the Protectorate Ordinance?—Yes.

1953. Did he tell you what was in his mind about it?—He said there are so many laws in the Ordinance.

1954. That law that said that Chiefs might only settle some palavers, the slave law, the hut tax, and so on? Have you talked about these laws?—The hindering of them to keep slaves is very heavy in their mind, because they have no power. I will tell you the whole truth, because you are a representative of the Queen, otherwise I would not say a word, as it is secret. I am only telling you for your own sake. The Government people who are sent up to them, the people are under them as a rat under a cat. What they say they are bound to do. If anybody tells you they are satisfied with the hut tax, it is because they fear you. As long as they have that they will never be free from war. I am answering you with reserve, and weigh each word. I had to pay from my own pocket for some towns to prevent war, because I knew they would not pay. The people were determined to war about the hut tax. I spoke to Momo Kaikai, and I said they must keep their hands in their pockets, and I would pay for some of their towns.

1955. Do the chiefs or the people want to make war?—Many important men will not

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Mr. ROGERS. come forward. I know all the Chiefs, with the exception of Momo Kaikai, Momo Jah, and Tucker, had to do with this war business. They go chiefly for plunder.

1956. You say many people were pushing on this war, and keeping themselves in the background, and others joined merely for plunder?—Yes; it is not the slave question that brought the war. Woman palaver has nothing to do with it. Some of the Chiefs who have got some plunder in their possession cling to the Government as if they were friendly. If you were to take the whole of the Sherbro district, the only chiefs who are out of this plunder are Momo Kaikai, Momo Jah, and Henry Tucker.

1957. Suppose Government, instead of saying 'You are to pay a tax on huts,' were to have gone to the different chiefs, and said, 'We want some money,' what would the Chiefs have said to that?—They would have done that quick.

1958. What is there about the hut tax that vexes the people so much?—They have to pay too quickly. The Chiefs would have liked Government to come to them and ask them to pay. If it was a national thing, they know they would have to pay, but this tax comes too rapidly. They demand the money at once, and tie them and flog them to make them pay.

1959. Who do?—The Police.

1960. Do you know of any case?—I know of a town where they caught three Chiefs—Boka, Boima Nann, and Jussu. The Police caught them, and treated them roughly till I paid the tax for them.

1961. Did you complain to the District Commissioner after that?—They brought these Chiefs before Captain Carr. They did not flog them. I had to be security for 150 bushels before Captain Carr released them.

1962. Do the Chiefs think that the payment of this hut tax is taking from them any right in their houses or land?—They do not think that.

1963. Is there anything more you would like to tell me?—The Government are too hard on the natives: the people have such dread of them.

1964. Who are so hard?—The Policemen.

1965. What did they do to them?—If the Police happen to owe them any money, they can never collect it. They force their wives and daughters, and they dare not say a word.

1966. Do you mean Policemen do these things now or long ago?—The country is so broken up now that I cannot speak for certain. They did it up to last year: the war has stopped them this year. After there had been several complaints to Captain Carr, he made a law that they were not to take anything without paying for it. Those under his immediate supervision obeyed. Although Captain Carr is white, he studies the African, and can walk with him. People have gathered from Bali, Soru, Dama, Kwaia, and Jarveh, and the Chiefs of these countries sent people to Momo Kaikai to tell Captain Wallis that they want peace. They do not want war again.

1967. Have you anything more to tell me?—There are some secret intrigues about this war, and some of the people are backing out. I believe Chiefs keep a lot of plunder and goods. Let them send to Momo Kaikai and Momo Jah, and say that you believe some Chiefs have plundered goods, and that you want them to do their best to get them back. I believe they would be able to do so.

1968. Why did they kill so many Sierra Leone men?—As they enter the place for plunder and see them, they kill them so that they should not be able to give evidence. Not all, but most were killed on this account.

1969. Why did they kill white missionaries?—I do not know.

1970. These secret people who were pushing on the war, were they Chiefs or Sierra Leone people?—They were all countrypeople.

1971. Did they plunder your goods?—Yes.

1972. Is there anything more?—They cannot help asking for peace, as they cannot go on fighting.

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1973. The only objection to the hut tax was that it was too heavy, and came round too often?—Yes. Mr. ROGERS.

1974. No other reason?—No.

15*th August* 1898.

1975. I think the Chiefs in the Sherbro district are trying to prolong the war in their own interest so as to plunder people like myself. The Chiefs are making fools of the men down there: inasmuch as they bring reports to the District Commissioner that there are disturbances taking place in the bush, knowing that the District Commissioner will not be able to go and see for himself, and will ask them to go and settle the matter: they will then go and plunder. When Momo Kaikai and Momo Jah saw that the Government were not strong enough, they joined in the general plunder. When they saw how Captain Carr was working the collection of the hut tax, they saw that he was a straight man, and was working it properly; they determined only to make a show of attacking him, and not to destroy him: so that it should seem that he was treated in the same way as the others.

1976. Is it the Chiefs who professed themselves friendly to the Government who are keeping the war going?—Yes: Momo Kaikai and Momo Jah. Some of these Chiefs who profess to be on the side of the Government have got money, and if told to do so would give it up.

1977. How could that be? When the English factories were plundered, very little was carried away, and what was would be shared by the war-boys?—In all probability their Chief would get the greater part of it. My own palm kernels, sixty or seventy tons, were brought down to Bonthe and sold last week.

1978. Has any scheme occurred to you by which the war could be stopped?—If you went down to Sherbro and called all the Chiefs for and against the Government, and talked to them, then peace might be made. If Government were to say that a certain sum was to be paid each year by certain towns, to be collected by the Chief in his own way instead of the hut tax, it would be a good thing. Slave palaver and Frontier Police palaver rankled in their minds, but the hut tax was the last straw. If Government compel certain Chiefs to provide certain sums, it would be better than the hut tax.

1979. Do you think that the people dislike the hut tax so much that if the Government still adhere to it the country will never be quiet?—Yes; trade will never go on in the same way it did before.

1980. How far does the Sherbro country extend?—Bandajuma, Panguma, and Imperri.

10*th August* 1898.

MURANA CARIMOO.[1]

MURANA CARIMOO.

1981. My name is Murana Carimoo, of Bramah, in Sherbro. I was up there all the time of this war. During the illness of my uncle my brother invited me to the country. My uncle died the day after my arrival. He received a message from Madam Yoko saying that if his people would not pay the hut tax, Captain Moore would come to his place and burn it down. This was in March. After the funeral ceremonies of my uncle were over, I went up myself to Madam Yoko, and asked if the message about Captain Moore was true. She said 'Yes,' though she thought I had taken the money. I said I had not taken the money, but only came to ask her if it was true. She told me that if I did not pay in two days' time, Captain Moore would come and burn down the town; she had been trying to speak to Captain Moore not to burn it. I then went back to tell my people: when I had told them, they promised that they would pay. I then returned to Freetown. When I got back, certain men came to Sir Samuel Lewis to prospect for gold in a place that belongs to my father. Sir Samuel sent for me and told me he knew I was the principal man of that place, and introduced me to Mr. Ruoff; we entered into an agreement, and Sir Samuel asked me to take Mr. Ruoff up, and I agreed to do so. We began walking there. I left some of them at Maseraculi, and went up with the rest to Cabotini. The people had not yet paid the

[1] See also 3221.

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MURANA CARIMOO.

hut tax, but when I asked them they said they had paid in my absence. I left them, and after two days Captain Moore came to Senahu with many policemen.

1982. To the place where you were?—Near to it. He passed Pettifu and captured the people who were there, took their property, and forced the owners to carry the things he had seized.

1983. Did you see that yourself?—Yes.

1984. What month?—I cannot remember.

1985. What happened next?—He took them up to Mabobo. I did not actually see Captain Moore catch the people: some who ran away told me. On our arrival at Mabobo, a man was holding a sword in his hand. Captain Moore told the police to try and take the sword from him. The man refused to give it up, as it was his only means of defence. Captain Moore then told the police to stand clear of the man, and shot him: he fell down dead. Captain Moore held the Headman of the town, Yan Kuba, my father's cousin, and asked him if he had any war to fight, and he said, No: Captain Moore then went.

1986. When Captain Moore shot the man did he shoot him with a revolver or a rifle?—A rifle.

1987. Did you see it?—I was not present, but I saw the dead body. Yan Kuba saw Captain Moore do it, and told me.

1988. What is his name and town?—Yan Kuba of Mabobo.

1989. What more?—Captain Moore then left Mabobo. He burnt the town and plundered it, and the people ran into the bush.

1990. Did you go with Captain Moore?—No, I remained at Mabobo. When Captain Moore had fallen on the town and burnt it, those who escaped came to me and told me the facts. Captain Moore went on to Florahun and Kangama, and burnt that place also. The inhabitants who ran down to the river-side told me.

1991. Can you give me any names?—I cannot remember any now.

1992. What more?—I left Mabobo and returned to Bramah. At Bramah I learnt that Captain Moore had gone to Mafouri and burnt that place too. When this place was burnt, a woman who was sick inside one of the houses perished. I said to my people, 'Thank God you have paid your tax, otherwise you would have shared the same fate as the other people.'

1993. What made the people say they would not pay?—Whose people?

1994. Your people?—Because their houses were not worth paying for, and they had no money to pay.

1995. Was there no other reason but that their houses were not worth anything and that they had no money?—One current reason: because in Freetown people do not pay a tax; and the people in the bush have not such good houses as those in Freetown.

1996. Was there any feeling that if they paid the tax it would be as good as giving up their property?—Yes.

1997. Why did they think that?—Because they had never known anything about paying taxes, and feared that if they paid the first time, and had no money to pay the next time, their property would be confiscated.

1998. Did any one advise them, saying, 'Do not pay the tax, and by and by it will be abolished'?—I did not hear that.

1999. Are there Sierra Leone people living in your country?—Yes: many.

2000. Did they pay the tax readily?—Yes.

2001. Do they pay rent for their houses?—No.

2002. Are they their own houses?—The houses belong to the natives, but they give them to the traders free of cost.

2003. You think your brother should be Chief?—He is the right person to be Chief.

2004. Are not you the right person?—My brother is elder.

2005. Did the people make your brother Chief?—No.

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2006. Why not?—Because they have not gathered together to consult, but they have already written to Government to ask permission. MURANA CARIMOO.

2007. Is it necessary to write to the Government for permission if he is the right person to be Chief?—It is the custom whenever a Chief is made to write to the Government, according to a treaty made by my father with Governor Havelock. After obtaining the Governor's permission to crown a Chief, they gather the people together.

2008. Can you not make the man Chief who ought to be Chief, and then tell Government?—They used to do so, but Governor Havelock said that any Chief who was to be crowned must first be reported to the Government.

2009. What year did they make that agreement?—About eighteen years ago.

11*th August* 1898.

MR. THOMAS.

MR. THOMAS.

2010. Your full name?—My name is John Augustus Thomas. I was a trader on the Tucker river in the Sherbro country for three years. I left the Tucker river in 1893. I then went to the Gbambaiah river in Sherbro. I was there for seven months; after that I went to the Big Bum river for seven months. Then I went to the interior to Makayon; I was there for about two years. Then I went to Mafwe in 1895. I was there till 29th April 1898.

2011. Were you carrying on trade in a store in these different places?—At Tucker river I had it in stock. I traded in cotton, tobacco, spirits, and other things.

2012. Did you get paid in money?—No: in produce.

2013. These houses that you stayed in, did you pay rent for them?—Not exactly: I made certain ceremonies with the Chiefs and gave them presents.

2014. Did you give presents to the Chiefs or to the owners of the houses?—To the owners, and sometimes, on my arrival, to the Chiefs, to let them know that a trader is in the town.

2015. Having made your presents and got permission to live there, you could remain as long as you chose?—Yes.

2016. When the Protectorate Ordinance was passed in 1896, did that interfere with your trade?—I had closed my trade there and was collecting my debts.

2017. You remained collecting debts till May 1898?—No: I went to Bonthe, and then back to Mafwe in October 1897, and remained at Mafwe till April 1898.

2018. In April 1898, when you were at Mafwe you had not begun to trade?—No: I had about £68 worth of goods, and hearing the grumbling I did not trouble to open them.

2019. Tell me about the grumbling.—The grumbling was that they were going to war in case the Government insisted on their paying the tax.

2020. Did you speak to any one about it?—To Makafui, the Chief of Sirabu. He called me and asked me if it was true he should pay the tax. I said, 'Yes, it is a law and you must pay.' I then gave him six bottles of gin and asked him to build me a house. He said they were not going to pay the tax, as they were too poor.

2021. Was there any other reason?—No.

2022. Did he tell you anything more?—He said he would say no more then. In October '97 they had the gathering at Mafwe.

2023. Who gathered?—Captain Carr said all the Chiefs should gather at Mafwe.

2024. You were present at this meeting of Chiefs with Captain Carr?—No: I met them after, and inquired the result of the gathering: they told me that the Chiefs objected to pay the tax: and I saw with my own eyes guns and swords collected in the bush: they said they would fight and not pay the tax. The Chief of Mafwe was arrested.

2025. By whom?—By Captain Carr. Four other Chiefs were arrested.

2026. Were these persons taken away?—Yes: to Bandajuma.

2027. What effect did their arrest produce?—He carried them off quietly.

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Mr. THOMAS.

2028. Tell me something that you saw.—On 27th April, about the forenoon, when I was at Sirabu, I saw men coming, and they told me they fought at Senahu—the Frontiers and the country people. I asked why. They said they had been given a certain time to pay the tax in, and now they demand it before the time. They were given fifteen days at Bumpe. The Frontiers came to arrest Kattah, and they caught a boy and he said he did not know where Kattah was: so they tied him up and took him to Bumpe. They asked Battu where Kattah was, and he did not know, so they took him and commenced to plunder. The bush people had a horn they used to blow, which meant something serious. A man called Pessima drew a sword on the people and wounded a man. The fight began and they wounded Battu and two others.

2029. Which of the Chiefs wounded a man, did you say?—I saw Pessima wounded.

2030. What day was it you saw Pessima wounded?—Wednesday morning, 27th April.

2031. Where was this?—In the town called Makaia.

2032. Near Mafwe?—No; near Taleno.

2033. What more?—I went back to my landlord, and about three o'clock I heard they had commenced to fight at the Jong river. A man called Macaulay, and Robinson and another, were the first three to pay the tax, and they said they were sure to kill them. Not long after I heard they had killed three Sierra Leone men, and I told my landlord I was going away. He said, 'All right.'

2034. Is there any reason that you know why they killed the three Sierra Leonians?—They only killed one, the two others escaped. They said they were the first people to pay the tax and the country was not theirs. A Chief called Baba, who had paid the tax and was looked on by Government as Chief, they were sure to kill.

2035. Apart from the talk you heard, did you know anything about Baba's position?—The country people did not recognise him as Chief.

2036. Who did they consider the proper Chief?—Grubru said he was the proper Chief; he belonged to one of the Bumpe houses. They also said they were going to kill Madam Yoko and Nancy Tucker, because they had consented to pay the tax.

2037. Was there any reason against paying the tax, except that they were too poor?—No.

2038. Had you left your house?—Yes: they caught me on the road at eleven P.M. They took all my things and threatened to kill me if I said a word. Then I escaped into the bush again.

2039. Then you came to Freetown?—I got to Kwalu, and then to Rotofunk and saw the Sierra Leonians running away.

2040. Did you see any war-boys?—No: they had not come yet.

2041. Were these war-boys who caught you strangers, or people of the same country?—I said, 'Why do you catch me?' They say, 'The Chief has sent us to catch you.' I said, 'What have I done?' They say, 'You are going to pay the tax, and we will kill you.'

2042. At Rotofunk you saw Sierra Leonians running away: was it the same day?—No: 1st May. I was in the bush for four days.

2043. What happened then?—Only rumours of war; I passed on the same day. I did not see any war-boys as I came along.

2044. Anything more?—Except that I can tell you the Chiefs who were the principal men in the war. They were Grubru, Bandi Brah, Sepe, Baru, Kaidenneh, Honno of Jerring, Kangadu, Kattah of Lowa, Duvube, Bongo.

2045. Is Grubru a Chief?—Head Chief of Bumpe; Bandi Brah is Grubru's speaker; Sepe is Headman to Grubru; Baru is Chief of Tanino of Bantah country; Kangadu is Headman of Tanino; Kaidenneh is Headman of Mafwe; Kattah is of Lowa on the Jong river; Duvube is a big man of Jihaw; Bongo is a Chief of Tanino, Bantah country; Honno brought the war to Mafwe and marched the people to Jelu; Beli was not present: he was arrested and taken to the Jong river. He escaped from prison, and his brother Massagin was left behind fighting on his behalf, and led his people.

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2046. What was the source of your knowledge as regards these Chiefs?—Because I was with Makafui, he was sick. He is a big man in the country: chief of Sirabu. When they wanted to commence the war they sent a burnt leaf to Makafui, which meant they wanted him to help them in the war. Mr. THOMAS.

2047. Did you know who had sent the burnt leaf?—Grubru: I was present when the bearer said that Grubru and the others wanted his assistance: he repeated their names.

2048. What did Makafui say?—He said he was not well, and had not got ammunition to fight the English, that he was not going to fight. This was before the war commenced on 26th April. I gave Makafui palm kernels. He alone was ready to pay the tax: all the others were against it. A few days before Banda told me he was not going to pay, and he was ready to break down the barracks. I was present when the bearer went to Makafui and asked for assistance to go and plunder and kill people at Mafwe.

2049. What more?—Makafui asked Kokki of the Jong river if he was ready for the war then. Kokki said 'No.' The English were searching for Kokki to kill him. He said nothing more in my presence.

2050. Did you live with Makafui?—I had my store in his brother's yard.

2051. Then you left Sirabu and went to Freetown?—Yes: when I left Sirabu I slept during the day: then I was in the bush next day when they caught me. On the fourth day I got to Rotofunk.

2052. Then you left Rotofunk on Sunday and came on to Freetown?—Yes: I got here with hardly any clothes.

2053. Anything more?—If they want to find these people I should be ready to lead an expedition to find them.

2nd August 1898.

SARAH DIXON.

SARAH DIXON.

2054. My name is Sarah Dixon. I am staying with Mary Ann Howard at Kissy. I used to go trading to Bumpe. I had no house at Bumpe, but lodged at the house of Cole, a Susu man. Dr. Hood asked me to pay house tax, and I said I would not. He took five packs of tobacco from me for the payment of the tax. The war-boys took everything I had.

11th August 1898.

MR. HOLLOWAY.

Mr. HOLLOWAY.

2055. My name is Thomas Holloway. I am living in Freetown. I was at Rotofunk at the time the attack was made on it. I have been in the mission for fourteen years. I was born at Kwaia.

2056. Were you brought up by the missionaries?—I went to them when I was twenty-four.

2057. In what capacity?—I was taught: they promised they would teach me if I worked for them. I became an agent for the mission.

2058. Do you know anything of the circumstances that preceded the attack on Rotofunk?—We heard the rumour that the war-boys were coming. The rumour began on Friday, and on Sunday we saw some people escaping to Freetown.

2059. What day was the attack on Rotofunk?—Tuesday, 3rd May.

2060. Describe what happened?—It was Sunday that we saw the people running: we told the missionaries we should try to escape, but the mission boat was away at the time. That Sunday we watched all night: at 4 A.M. we heard the guns at Kwalu. On Monday morning we tried to get a boat but failed: we tried to get a hammock, but the men refused to carry it. Then we got a little place ready in the bush at the back of the station. We took the missionaries to the bush. They told me to stay in the mission-house with the watchman. I stayed there all Monday and kept watch. At 4 A.M. Tuesday morning when I had gone to see my people, I met a friend who said 'You had better clear out.' I said 'I

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Mr. HOLLOWAY. cannot escape while the missionaries are here.' I called the mission-boys to tell the missionaries to start away at once. At 6 A.M. I came back into the town. They had broken all the town except the mission station. The town had not been burned at that time.

2061. I had the key of the mission-house, and we took the books from the store. As we had finished hiding the books we heard two shots. We heard shouting, and we determined to go back into the town to see what had become of the missionaries: we did this at the risk of our lives. We met people from the Rotofunk fakkis. When I came, I saw some of my relatives, and I said, 'I want to find the missionaries.' I was disguised and dressed like a native. They said 'You have broken our rule: anyone who helps the English breaks the rule.' These native men from the fakkis were the people who broke the town and the houses belonging to traders and others. They came back in the morning as if to protect us. About nine o'clock they brought the missionaries back into the town. As soon as the crowd saw the war-boys they joined them. The crowd had killed Mr. Caine and two of the ladies. One of the ladies stood praying for about fifteen minutes. They fired the big house, and while the house was burning, they said to me 'Why do you stand still?' They were going to kill us so that we should not give the report. A native said to me, 'You had better escape now, or they will shoot you when they have finished plundering the mission house.' Then we escaped and came to Freetown.

2062. How were the strangers armed?—A few guns, swords, and sticks. Most had sticks.

2063. Were there many Sierra Leone people in the town at that time?—No: they had all left.

2064. Did these strangers when they joined the Rotofunk people say anything?—They were shouting. I did not hear their words.

2065. Can you give any reason for their attack on the mission house and the missionaries?—They did not give any reason. The natives used to say that they were oppressed by the English Government, and that the missionaries were spies for the Government.

2066. Who was it who said the missionaries were spies for the Government?—Many people. The mission was a great help to them: there were two of the ladies who were doctors.

2067. How many white people were at the mission when it was attacked?—One man and four ladies. They were all killed. I saw their bodies. They were cut all over with cutlasses.

12th August 1898.

Mr. GLASSIE.

MR. GLASSIE.

2068. My name is William Glassie. I am a trader in Sherbro at Dambara with a branch at Sirabu. I am trading on my own account. I was the first to pay the license.

2069. Previous to the war did you hear rumours?—Yes: I was present when Momo Jah was arrested at Pujahun by Sergeant Smith and twenty Frontiers. He was arrested for not paying the tax.

2070. In what month was this arrest?—In March. They had sent twice in February to arrest him, but he had escaped. He was sent to Captain Carr at Bandajuma.

2071. When he was arrested was another Chief put in his place?—No.

2072. Are you sure he was arrested for not paying the tax?—Yes.

2073. Did Captain Carr say so in your presence?—No.

2074. How do you know the cause of his arrest?—When Sergeant Smith came the second time I went into the town with him and inquired for Momo Jah. He was not to be found, and Sergeant Smith said if he was not found in two minutes he would do his duty. Then he sent his men to go and catch cows and goats and sheep, but nothing else.

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Mr. GLASSIE.

I had to make a list of what they took. They took them away because Momo Jah could not be found.

2075. How many traders were there in the town?—Myself and several others.

2076. Had you and the others licensed stores?—Yes.

2077. Did Sergeant Smith come back again?—Yes: but Momo Jah was not there.

2078. When was the Chief arrested?—Some time in March.

2079. What happened after the Chief's arrest?—The war broke out in April: that was before he came back.

2080. How did the war come?—Suddenly: there was not a hint of it. On 29th April I saw the town densely crowded.

2081. You saw war-boys in the town: of what tribe?—Mendis and Krim boys: different tribes mixed up: we call them Mendis because of their Porro.

2082. You mean Mendis were bound together by Porro in any public action?—Yes: not only on this occasion.

2083. Could you see whether they were under any leadership?—Yes.

2084. Did you recognise any headmen?—Yes: I cannot remember their names.

2085. Could you hear any cries they made?—At Pujahun, at four in the morning, they were shouting. I was sleeping in the same house as Lance-Corporal Samba of the Frontier Police, and I woke him.

2086. Was your house attacked?—No: they came at the back of the town and got over the first war fence and killed three watchmen and wounded two others and fired the watchman's house. We found them just getting over the second fence to get into the town. They shouted that they were Momo Jah's boys, but we saw they were enemies. They were armed with guns, swords, canes, and spears.

2087. Many guns?—They brought four guns and some swords they had taken to the constable's house. They were common guns.

2088. Did they get past the second fence?—The constable prevented them.

2089. What was the next thing?—In the morning I went out and saw many dead: they were strangers.

2090. Was the fighting at four A.M.?—Yes: the constable and Momo Jah's people opposed the enemy: there was a good deal of shooting.

2091. How many constables were on your side?—Eight and a lance-corporal. They had their guns and fired.

2092. What happened next after that?—In the morning Momo Jah's people went into the bush and found some of the enemy.

2093. Were some of the wounded brought into the town?—Yes: some of them spoke of Henry Tucker, who told them that there were no constables at Pujahun and they must specially try to pull down that town.

2094. Was any further attack made on Pujahun?—No: one of the townsmen who was supposed to be in league with the enemy was killed, for fear that he should open the gates to the enemy and set fire to the town.

2095. Were there any instances of Mendis putting up a white flag and then firing on the people?—Not to my knowledge.

2096. Have you formed any opinion as to the causes that produced the war?—The people, being barbarous, want to drive away the English. I went to ask Momo Kaikai if I should pay the licence, and read a letter for him from Bana Lewis. He said 'Pay.' He gave his consent.

2097. You were not aware of any reason why the Mendis wanted to drive away the English?—No; the Mendis say it is the tax, but we believe it is something else. We do not know what it is.

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12*th August* 1898.

ALI, BABU, and YELABA.

ALI, BABU, and YELABA, messengers from SULUKU, Chief of Bumban.

(Katherudeen interpreted.)

2098. Which is the chief man of you?—Ali.

2099. What office do you hold?—I am a relation of the Chief of Bumban, in Biriwa Limba.

2100. Is the Chief of Bumban a big Chief?—He has many Chiefs under him. He rules over a big country.

2101. What is the country called?—Biriwa.

2102. How long does it take to walk from here to there?—Fifteen days by Waterloo. You cross big rivers and pass by big towns.

2103. What were the chief towns you passed coming to Freetown?—Kamawari, Mabenta, Kambia, Hutagina, Masomba, Makari, Bombali, Kunso, Kerife, Tonkomba, Yenkissa, Masanasi, Makato, Furudugu, Robalang, Robanko, Lankano, Mabile; crossed over to Rokell, Benkia, Mattenefora, Pettifu, Mamawa, Mabanduma, Songo Town.

2104. Are there bridges across these rivers you had to cross?—Some had, some had none. We had to cross in a canoe where there were no bridges; sometimes we had to wade.

2105. Are you all three of one tribe?—Ali and Babu are Limbas; Yellaba is a Fulla man, and came to our country as a little boy; his mother was a Limba.

2106. Are the Limbas a big tribe?—A very big tribe; the whole Limba country is divided into Tonko-, Biriwa-, Sela-, Kilikama-, and Warra Warra-Limba. All speak the same language, with a slight difference.

2107. Are Limbas friendly to Timinis?—They are friendly with the people, because coming to Freetown they have to pass through their country. There is no war between them.

2108. Are the Limbas friends of the Mendis?—They do not know the Mendi people; they are far from them.

2109. Do you remember, rather more than a year ago, when the Governor sent to explain a new law to your country?—What law do you refer to?

2110. A law about the Chief's court, slave-dealing, and house-tax?—About six years ago they sent to the Chief to tell him to stop buying and selling slaves, and the Chief has stopped since that time. We were told some time ago that a District Commissioner would be sent to Falaba, who would settle disputes.

2111. Is there a District Commissioner at Falaba now?—Yes.

2112. Is Falaba in the Limba country?—No; in the Yalunka country.

2113. Is Yalunka a tribe?—Sulimania is the name of the country; Yalunka is a tribe.

2114. Are Limbas and Yalunkas friends?—Neither friends nor enemies; there is a large river between them.

2115. Can you understand their language?—No.

2116. Are the Yalunka a big tribe?—I hear that the tribe is big. We do not know them. We have only been to the District Commissioner at Falaba.

2117. Have the people of your country gone to the District Commissioner at Falaba to have cases settled?—Except those who have been arrested, they have never gone there.

2118. Are there Chiefs who sit in court with the District Commissioner at Falaba?—We cannot say; we have never gone to see.

2119. You Limba people do not like going to the District Commissioner at Falaba?—So far as the Chief is concerned, he would not like to take his cases up to be settled. But as the District Commissioner had said that any one who does anything against English law should be taken to Falaba to be tried, the Chief had given orders to do so. He can settle his own cases.

2120. Suppose the District Commissioner was at Bumban instead of Falaba, would

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that be good for Limba people?—The Chief does not mind whether the District Commissioner is at Bumban or anywhere else, as he is able to look after his own country, and is afraid of nothing.

2121. But suppose the District Commissioner was sitting at Falaba with Yalunka Chiefs to hear cases, would Limba people like to go and be judged by Yalunka Chiefs?—We have never yet gone to Falaba to see who is settling matters; but any one who is not afraid of his case might not dislike to go.

2122. Suppose you go before Yalunka Chiefs and they fine you or put you in log, would you think it proper?—As I have already taken oath, I would not like to say anything on supposition.

2123. You know about these wars at Port Lokko and Sherbro: you have heard about that?—We got to know about the war by a letter sent from the Department of Native Affairs, saying there was a war going on between Karene and the Government, and asking the Chief not to join in the war.

2124. The Queen of England has been very vexed about this war, and has been very sorry that so many people were killed, and she wants to know the cause of it?—From what we have heard, the current complaint was that for over six years Government had forbidden slave-dealing, and we have agreed, and for six years have sat down quietly; but when Government said we had to pay this hut tax, we are very poor and do not want to pay. The people are grieved about it, they do not refuse to pay, but if the Government force them they fight.

2125. Which people did you hear that from?—We heard it in connection with the Timeni and Mendi people.

2126. Palm kernels are very plentiful—one bushel is enough to pay the tax for one year; do you believe it is because the Timenis or Mendis are asked to pay one bushel a year really?—That is what we heard.

2127. But you sensible men, do you believe it?—Palm kernels are not plentiful in our country. That is the cause which people have advanced; we believe it.

2128. Do you know any other objection to the hut tax besides that it cost too much money?—They had many other things—one of which is, they are told to clean the roads, they do that; they take them to carry loads, they do that. Even for a small offence big Chiefs are put in irons, even if they do not resist, in the presence of their wives, children, and subjects. The Government has prohibited slave-dealing a long time ago, and they agreed; but now they come and tell us to pay 5s. a house. It is too much. They are very poor.

2129. Do you mean that by paying for it you put away the right of property in it?—That is just what it seems to be. Paying for a thing in our country means you had no original right to it; so it seems as if they had no right to their houses.

2130. You said just now some one made them carry loads: who was it, the police?—Yes: the police are very strict; if any one refuses they are severely flogged and compelled to carry the loads. They are paid nothing for the service.

2131. Any other complaints against the police?—Yes: we would not have said anything but that you have asked us. We are afraid to hide anything after having taken the oath. They respect and fear the police through the white men. When the Governor and Mr. Parkes visited our country last, the Chief complained to the Governor that the police forced people to carry loads without paying them for it. Even at the time when people required men to scare birds from the growing rice the police would take those who were watching. When the Chief complained to the Governor, the Governor was vexed and told the police they must pay for services. The policemen would come and take their wives from them in their presence and take them away and dishonour them. When we told the Governor he was annoyed, and punished the policemen who were at Bumban.

2132. When did you first have police stationed at Bumban?—I think about five years ago.

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ALI, BABU, and YELABA.

2133. Those things you have been telling me about the police, are they what you have heard happened in the Timeni country, or have they happened in your own country?—In our own country.

2134. Did you hear of such things happening in the Timeni country?—Yes.

2135. Did Samory bring war into your country some years ago?—Yes: I will tell you the towns he destroyed. Kapompo, Sakola, Samamaya, Yakala, Konkoba, Karin, Kafogo, Katimbo, Kasempo, Katigia, Kabobosa, Kamata, are the chief ones. I could not count all the smaller ones. Before that war the country was flourishing, but it was now impoverished.

2136. Did the Governor send troops to drive Samory away?—When the Sofas were in the country my father sent me to come and tell Governor Rowe: he sent Major Festing to drive them away.

2137. Were the Sofas under Samory?—Yes.

2138. Was Major Festing able to take them away?—Yes: he persuaded them all to go. My father then threatened to shoot any Sofas that remained.

2139. Does much trade come to Bumban?—It did formerly, but since this war no trade comes; besides, those who used to come from Foota are prevented by the French duties.

2140. Before the war was there plenty of trade?—Trade used to come down in abundance.

2141. Who bring trade into your country, Sierra Leonians or other people?—Sangaras and Korankos bring produce down.

2142. Who bring cloth and tobacco and other things?—These same traders go down to Freetown and buy goods and go up again. Sierra Leone traders do not go as far as Bumban.

2143. I ask you about the trade before the war. What besides cloth and tobacco do traders bring?—Various things—salt.

2144. Any spirits?—Yes.

2145.—Plenty of spirits?—It depends on their wealth: sometimes one demijohn, sometimes two or three.

2146. Do Limba people like spirits?—Those who can get it.

2147. If they cannot get spirits, do they drink palm wine?—Those who can get it do: in some places you can get neither.

2148. Would fermented palm wine make you more drunk than spirit?—If you drink it to excess.

2149. Those traders who bring down produce, do they sometimes bring a few slaves down?—They do not attempt to bring slaves, because they fear the Government. Before Government prohibited it they used to. A man who wishes to live long must behave well, but if you are headstrong you will not live long: you are told to do something by some one stronger than yourself—you must obey. We want to live long.

2150. Is your country covered with bush, or is part open grass land?—It is mixed there are more grass fields than bush.

2151. Any cows?—A few. Formerly we used to get cows in abundance, but since the French have stopped people coming, the number has decreased. There is suffering and trouble in the country: it is even difficult to get clothes to wear. So much so that the Chief has been moved to send us to ask Government to stop the fighting.

2152. Your land will grow plenty of things if the people work on it?—In some parts it is fertile.

2153. By the rivers, I suppose?—Yes.

2154. Is part high land?—There are many high lands and mountains.

2155. Did the Limba people mix themselves in this war?—No: the police who are stationed there can bear out this statement.

2156. Have you any produce in your own country that you could send down to

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Freetown for cloth, tobacco, etc.?—We have a little aniseed, a little ground nut, and a little kola nut. When the road was open the people of our country used to go to Foota with kola nut and buy cows, and bring them down to Freetown to sell. When the white men were not there the people would travel further and get gold. ALI, BABU, and YELABA.

2157. But white men do not prevent you from travelling?—It is thus: the French take away their goods if they have not money to pay the duty. The English do not prevent them or make them pay duties, but you cannot get much to do without going to French territory.

2158. Do the French charge duties as you go from this country to theirs, or when you come from theirs to this?—When going from the English side to the French you would pay for salt, kola nuts, and palm oil, not for cloth. Returning from French to English you pay 4s. 6d. for a cow.

2159. Do the French make you pay for anything else?—6d. for a goat; 1s. for a sheep; 4s. 6d. for 100 balls of rubber.

2160. When you go from this side to the French do they make you pay for spirits or tobacco?—We have never taken them over.

2161. Have you anything more to tell?—Nothing besides to beg Government to stop the war. If the fight had been between black people, my father would have known how to deal with it; but between black and white he cannot deal with it. The Government have asked him to make his country peaceable; therefore, as this war has come, he hopes Government will stop it in their turn. For our part we are very much obliged to the English people; they have sent the Chief a plough, which he is using now. He would not like to do anything against them.

12th August 1898.

MRS. PORTER.

MRS. PORTER.

2162. My name is Elizabeth Porter. I am a trader at Lavana river, in Sherbro. I had a store there. The war came there. I was not there when the war came. My partner, Mrs. Revel, and I had reached Bonthe: we got to Barmouth and heard about the war: they said people had begun to plunder. Then we turned back, and the boatmen landed us near Barmouth. War-people came and plundered the boat.

2163. Did you remain by the boat?—No: a man called Tooa begged for us, and took me and my partner. After that Tooa carried us away to his town Duco. We remained there for two days. Tooa left us at Duco. He sent his sister to say that the people were all gathering at Hanhu, and that if they did not send us to Hanhu they would fall on us. After that we travelled to the King at Hanhu, and told him how we had been plundered. He said: 'Well, you Sierra Leone people are the cause of the war, and backbite us to Captain Carr, and we will kill all Sierra Leone people.' One King, by name Jussu of Talia, had compassion on us, and got his people to hide us in his town. Then the soldiers came up, and took us away to Bonthe.

13th August 1898.

BOKARI BAMP, BAI SALAMANSA, SANTIGI KEAREH, ALFA SAIDOO, and ANSUMANI BALI.

BOKARI BAMP, BAI SALAMANSA, SANTIGI KEAREH, ALFA SAIDOO, and ANSUMANI BALI.

(Katherudeen interpreting.)

Bokari Bamp, acting Chief of Port Lokko; Bai Salamansa, rightful successor to Alkali; Santigi Keareh, Sub-Chief of Port Lokko; Alfa Saidoo, Sub-Chief, King's clerk; Ansumani Bali, Sub-Chief.

2164. Do you remember a Mr. Renner coming to Port Lokko about a year ago?—Yes.

2165. With some paper to explain a new law to you?—Yes.

2166. You cannot read?—No.

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BOKARI BAMP, BAI SALAMANSA, SANTIGI KEAREH, ALFA SAIDOO, and ANSUMANI BALI.

2167. Did Mr. Renner tell you about three courts that were to be established: a court of Chiefs, a court of the District Commissioner, and a court of both together?—Yes.

2168. Did he tell you that Chiefs were to have certain palavers come to them, and certain to the District Commissioner, and certain to both?—Yes.

2169. Did he tell you that Chiefs were not to impose cruel punishments on any one, and that women must not be sentenced to be flogged?—Yes.

2170. Did he tell you that nobody must buy or sell slaves?—We were told that nine years ago.

2171. Did he say that grants of big land were not to be made to strangers without the consent of Government?—Yes.

2172. And that the Governor might give away waste lands?—Yes.

2173. Do you understand that some of these things about land have been altered, and are not yet settled?—We did not know.

2174. Did Mr. Renner tell you about a tax on houses?—Yes: that was the principal thing which he told us.

2175. When Mr. Renner told you these things did you say anything to him?—At that time we only acknowledged the message and promised to send a reply to the District Commissioner. Ten Chiefs assembled to consult about it, and we wrote a petition and sent it to the District Commissioner, to be forwarded to the Governor.

2176. Do you remember what month you sent it?—October 1896.

2177. Who wrote the petition for you?—Fodi Yunisa of Port Lokko wrote it in Arabic.

2178. Did you get any answer to that petition?—No: soon after the Governor left for England.

2179. Do you remember Captain Sharpe coming to Port Lokko some time after this to collect the tax?—Yes.

2180. Tell me what happened?—(BOKARI BAMP replied.)—Since the time of our ancestors up to the present there has never been such disgrace to one of our Chiefs as this prison dress that I wear. You can find our character in the records. No Chief crowned by the Queen has been put into prison without disobeying the law, except this year. We five sitting here to-day have been brought here by the hut tax. We are not accustomed to pay taxes. When Mr. Renner told us about the hut tax, we wrote a petition to the Governor, but do not know whether it reached him or not. During the Queen's Jubilee they sent to invite us to join in the celebrations. Many Chiefs who were gathered here at that time said that they should try to present a petition. Bai Kompah, Bai Suba of Mabele, Alikali Kwaia Bubu, Bai Simera of Lokko Massima, Alimani Hanama of Dingi, Bai Sherbro of Mabolo, and all the other Chiefs who sent representatives, signed the petition and forwarded it to the Governor.

2181. Are you now speaking of the petition which was written in Freetown by Mr. Lawson?—Yes: that is the petition.

2182. Did the Chiefs who signed that petition represent the whole of the Lokko country?—They were from various countries.

2183. They included a number of Chiefs from the Limba district?—Yes, they sent their representatives,

2184. You were not amongst these petitioners?—Yes.

2185. That was in addition to your other petition sent through Captain Sharpe?—Yes.

2186. In February last Captain Sharpe came down to collect the tax at Port Lokko. On his arrival at Port Lokko he invited us to his lodging and told us the Governor had sent him to collect the hut tax. I told him that as we had sent a petition when he was at Karene we did not expect to have to pay, and that we were too poor. Notwithstanding, he asked me to pay the tax. He then left me and sent round for the Chiefs: when the Chiefs came in the evening Captain Sharpe arrested me.

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2187. Why?—Because I was very slow in dealing with the tax affair. He kept me there the whole night till daybreak, and in the morning he allowed me to go and consult the other Chiefs again.

2188. Did Captain Sharpe say why he detained you?—Yes; because of the tax. As I was the responsible Chief, he arrested me. When he allowed me to go in the morning, I gathered all the people and took them to Captain Sharpe's place. When we got to his place, I told him we were only minor Chiefs, and that the Paramount Chief was up at his town.

2189. Who was the Paramount Chief?—Bai Forki; at that time he was very ill. When I asked him to allow me to send for Bai Forki, Captain Sharpe said he had nothing to do with that.

2190. You wanted Bai Forki to be present at the palavers?—Yes.

2191. Was Bai Forki in any way responsible for the tax of Port Lokko?—Yes; he is the man who placed us in charge of Port Lokko. Notwithstanding this, Captain Sharpe arrested me and the four others. Then I asked the District Commissioner why he arrested us. He said because we were disobeying the Governor, and we should have to go and give an account of it in Freetown. I then told my people who were assembled to disperse, as they were loyal subjects of the Queen. We thought the Governor would have asked us about it. We were then brought down to Freetown gaol; fourteen days after we had been brought down Bai Forki died. We had to break stones. As I am telling you now, my heart is bleeding with tears. I wrote a letter to the Governor asking him to pity our condition. We are suffering from the insects. The Governor visited us and asked us whether we wrote the letter: we said 'Yes,' and begged him to release us. The Governor said I will release you, but not until I have sent a great gun to Bai Bureh and arrested him. We have known nothing of the war, because we are not in the same district as Bai Bureh. Bai Bureh's place is a great distance from our own. Since the Governor left us we have been in prison for seven months. We addressed another petition to the Governor for release, but up to now have not received any reply. We have been brought to prison through the hut tax, and our country is being destroyed. They threatened us with guns when we were brought down to Freetown.

2192. Suppose you had been allowed to send for the head Chief, and consult with him, would the tax have been paid?—It was he who would have decided if we were to pay or not.

2193. At Porto Lokko, when Captain Sharpe came and collected the tax, were there not some Sierra Leone traders?—Yes.

2194. What did they say about the tax?—They said they had no houses to pay tax for: their houses are in Freetown.

2195. But they were living in houses?—Yes; the houses belonged to the natives.

2196. Did they pay any rents for the houses?—Yes; from 5s. to 15s. a month.

2197. Did these Sierra Leone traders say they ought to pay the tax and take it off their rent?—Yes; I left them in confinement when we were arrested.

2198. Did Captain Sharpe seize their goods?—Yes.

2199. Did not the Sierra Leone traders pay when their goods were seized?—I left them in prison. I do not know if they paid.

2200. Had you any talk with the Sierra Leone traders about the tax previous to Captain Sharpe coming?—We had talk about the tax.

2201. What did the Sierra Leonians tell you?—They told us that they would not pay for the houses, as they did not belong to them.

2202. Did they advise you not to pay?—We do not depend on them for advice.

2203. Did they advise you?—They did not.

2204. Had not Captain Sharpe told you that one bushel of kernels was enough to pay for tax for one house?—Yes.

2205. Does it not only require very little trouble to get one bushel of kernels?—We have no palm trees in our country, and the rice crop has been destroyed by locusts.

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BOKARI BAMP, BAI SALAMANSA, SANTIGI KEAREH, ALFA SAIDOO, and ANSUMANI BALI.

2206. What did you live on?—Different things: potatoes, and sometimes a little cocoa.

2207. Explain in what way the hut tax was worse than any other tax: if a Sierra Leone man lands spirits or cloth in Freetown he pays for it?—Because they do not know what they are paying the tax for; they are not accustomed to paying a tax for their houses.

2208. Suppose Government were to go round and say each man and woman must pay a shilling, nothing to do with their houses, would that be a good tax?—That would have been just the same, because they are not accustomed to pay a tax.

2209. Is there no other reason but that they are unaccustomed to pay?—Except that they are very poor also.

2210. I want to hear the real truth why the hut tax was worse than any other?—They are not able to pay because they are poor; they are paying a licence for trade as well.

2211. Have you any idea that if you were to pay a tax for your house, the right of property would be taken away from you?—Yes, that was another thought in our minds.

2212. Has a Chief been placed in Port Lokko since you were taken down?—Since we are in prison we get no news.

2213. Was there not a Chief put up called Soribunki?—We were in prison: we do not know.

2214. Did no news come to you at all?—No reliable news.

2215. Would any of the others like to add anything?—(SANTIGI KEAREH then spoke).—God bless you for coming here to hear what we say. Since the time of Governor Turner up till now, if you look in the records you will find nothing against us. We have always been praying for the English people, because our fathers have left us in their care. The year before last we saw Mr. Renner, who told us that in the following year we should have to pay a tax, and that no one should buy or sell slaves, or sentence his wife to flogging. We acknowledged what he said, and the Chief of Port Lokko invited all the other Chiefs, and resolved that they should write a petition to the District Commissioner at Karene. They wrote the petition and sent me with it to Captain Sharpe, together with Fodi Yunisa, the writer of it. We handed the letter to the District Commissioner, and he said he would send it to the Governor, but we received no reply to it. During the Diamond Jubilee we were invited to Freetown to join in the celebrations, and after that the Chiefs decided to address a petition to the Governor praying against the hut tax. We then asked Mr. Lawson to write the petition, but we received no satisfactory reply to this petition. We then decided to wait till the Governor returned. When he returned he invited us up to Government House, and told us that the Protectorate Ordinance would not be altered, and that we should have to pay the hut tax, as the Queen had assented to it. We then returned to our country, and scarcely had time to tell the Chiefs the result of the petition: on the day we landed the Chief's house was burnt. Immediately after that Captain Cave summoned us up to Karene, and we went with Bai Forki. When we arrived there he told us that Captain Sharpe would be coming, and that he had received a letter about the hut tax. He said that as the tax concerned the whole country, he should invite all the Chiefs, and not a part. We then returned to Port Lokko. After our return Captain Sharpe arrived in Freetown from England, and asked us to furnish him with carriers. We did so, and after staying at Karene for one week he came down again. Immediately after his arrival in Port Lokko he sent for the acting Chief: we went with the Chief to him. He told the Chief he had come to ask for the hut tax. The Chief heard what he said, and begged to be allowed to send to the Paramount Chief of the country. The District Commissioner said he would not allow him to do so, and placed him in charge of two policemen. They detained the Chief, and he slept in the house and remained there the whole day. While the Chief was in confinement, Captain Sharpe sent for me and told me to gather all the Sub-Chiefs. On Monday morning he called them and delivered the Chief to them, telling them to go and consult about the hut tax. We held a meeting in a field near Port Lokko.

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BOKARI BAMP, BAI SALAMANSA, SANTIGI KEAREH, ALFA SAIDOO, and ANSUMENI BALI.

The acting Chief then told them that the District Commissioner had come to collect the hut tax. The people then told him in reply that they would not be able to pay, because their houses were not worth paying for. They had no trade in the country as they usually had. Where will they get the money to pay? If you go up into the country you have to pay French duties: our people are doing nothing in trade. The Government told us not to buy and sell slaves: we agreed. Every trader, native or foreign, must pay £2 a year for his trade. Those who are far advanced in years had to leave off trade because of this license. They would not be able to pay.' Then the meeting broke up. We went on Wednesday again to Captain Sharpe: and he asked us what was the result of our consultation. Bokari Bamp told him he had consulted all the people. They have nothing. 'I would ask you to exercise a little more patience, and allow me to send to the Paramount Chief, because he has placed me in charge of this place, he is very sick.' Captain Sharpe said he had nothing to do with that: he had come to Port Lokko to ask for the tax from that place. He said: 'After you have paid your own tax, it is my business to go to Bai Forki or any other Chief.' The Chief said it would be going against our own system. We are accustomed to send to Bai Forki when anything new comes into the country. Captain Sharpe said, 'You shall not leave the place without paying the tax.' Then he arrested the five who are here. During all this time all that passed was between the District Commissioner and Bokari Bamp: we were only witnesses, we do not know why we were brought down.

2216. Did the District Commissioner tell you why he arrested you?—He said nothing to us.

2217. Were the Sierra Leone traders brought before Captain Sharpe at the same time as you?—They were first confined before us.

2218. Did not the Sierra Leone traders say their landlords had said they would turn them out of their houses if they paid the tax?—I am not aware of it.

2219. After you sent the petition, written by Mr. Lawson, did you not have a meeting with the Governor?—Yes: once.

2220. Did not the Governor at that time give you a very long and full explanation of the Ordinance?—Yes: he gave a long explanation—concluded by saying we must pay the tax.

2221. Did you then give the Governor any particular reason against paying the tax?—He did not allow us to speak. He chose one of us to speak, and said we were to return, and that he did not want to hear any more on the subject. We do not know the cause of the fighting that is going on now: because the Governor told us that the Queen did not like any fighting in the country. They have taken our guns from us. If you are going to ask about the war, the best person to ask is Captain Sharpe, because he is the one who has gone against the law of the Queen. We know nothing about the war because we were imprisoned when it began. We believe the reason is because the Governor sent a great gun to Bai Bureh.

2222. Has Bai Bureh anything to do with Port Lokko?—No: he has his own district, Kassi. The Government has mixed Port Lokko in the affair in vain: they should have gone by the Skarcies.

2223. Did Bai Bureh come down into Port Lokko country at the time the dispute began?—Before Captain Sharpe came to collect the hut tax, Bai Bureh was with us, and signed the Petition that was sent to Captain Sharpe. We beg you to obtain our release. Our fathers have never fought against the English: and in the Yonni Expedition we accompanied the Government. We know it is our duty to try and effect peace if there is any war going on: it would be unwise for any one to make himself hostile to the English Government at Port Lokko.

2224. When Government some years ago told you, you must not buy and sell slaves, did you not think that was a very hard measure?—We did not feel it much because we knew the Government was doing it for our own good.

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BOKARI BAMP, BAI SALAMANSA, SANTIGI KEAREH, ALFA SAIDOO, and ANSUMANI BALI.

2225. You know now that buying and selling slaves is not good for your country?—Yes: that is why we agreed to it.

2226. After that no more slaves were bought or sold?—No: no one dared to do it.

2227. Did traders never bring a few?—They dared not. They used to bring gold, ivory, and rubber.

2228. Suppose Government were to say you can buy and sell slaves as much as you like: would that be good for the country?—We do not like it any more: we saw at once it was for our good.

2229. Would any one else like to speak?—(ALFA SAIDOO spoke). The reason why the tax created bad feeling in the minds of all black people is because it is a thing which has not been handed down from our ancestors: it is very hard to take to in one day. It should have been introduced little by little: to get people gradually used to it. I think if any war has broken out it is from the way in which people have been dealt with as regards the tax. We look on the white people as our parents. When we were advised by Government against slave trade nine years ago, we saw at once that it was for our benefit. They established customs posts all over the country. When the Frontier Police came they troubled the Chiefs very much. Whenever any Chief committed a small offence they ill-treated him. If they fine him and he cannot pay they seize his things.

2230. Do Frontier Police fine Chiefs without taking them before the District Commissioner?—Sometimes they fine them themselves, sometimes they take them before the District Commissioner. Wherever they go they seize their cattle and valuables, and when they complain to the white people who are over them, they never get redress. It has become a great trouble to us. It is a wonder that the people who have come to improve our country will permit such things.

2231. Have not the Frontier Police been behaving better for the last two years or so?—There is no change whatever. Bai Forki was shot at at Port Lokko.

2232. When did they shoot at Bai Forki?—Last year.

2233. Did he complain to the Governor?—He came here himself to complain but was never redressed: he was referred to the District Commissioner.

2234. Are you sure he was shot at?—Quite sure. There is a difference between the white people that come now and those before: those who come now do not respect the Chiefs. When Bai Forki was shot at and came to town, he remained here a long time. He was told to go back to Karene. We accompanied him back, and after inquiry did not see the reason he was shot at. The District Commissioner gave him a staff of office, and Bai Forki asked him if he would not say anything about the matter for which the police shot at him. Captain Cave said he had spoken enough. We do not know why we four have been brought down with the Chief. If it is on account of refusal to pay the hut tax, the District Commissioner should only have arrested the Chief who was responsible. One of my children has been killed by the police for no offence. The policeman is there now.

2235. Tell me the circumstances under which your child was killed?—After our return from Karene, when we had accompanied Bai Forki, we were asked to build police quarters. They drew the plan of the houses: one was twenty-four yards long and the other was fourteen yards. The morning when they began to see about building the houses, the policemen went round gathering the young men to help in the building. At that time Serjeant Wilson met my child near the river and hit him with a stick on the waist-bone: he staggered and was held up by his companions. They assisted the boy home, and after a little while he died. When they commenced saying that the child had been killed by the police, the policemen threatened them and made as if to take them to prison. Soribunki Lamina was arrested and put in irons for saying that the child had been killed by flogging. The Serjeant asked him, 'Do you say I killed the child?' and through fear he said 'No,' and asked to be released. The Serjeant became frightened and asked my opinion as to whether this young man's death had been caused by the flogging he had received. I replied, 'My mind is now in grief, my child has been killed, and I have no power to call

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you in question about it. It is customary for the Frontier Police whenever anything has been done in the country to write to the District Commissioner and prejudice him. If this is the way in which friends are to be treated I do not think it is a good friendship. If we are released we will stay in Freetown till the war is over: we have heard it said that if we are released we shall join Bai Bureh, but we have nothing to do with him. If we had meant to fight, there were 20,000 people at Port Lokko who were ready to rescue us.

2236. (AUSUMANI BALI spoke.) The tax matter is not in the hand of us four Chiefs. Last year Sub-Inspector Crowther sent twelve police to come and arrest Bai Forki: and when they brought him to Port Lokko they passed the night there. They lodged Bai Forki in the barracks at Port Lokko. At 4 P.M. Bai Forki rose up and said he was going to pass the night at Old Port Lokko. The policemen did not allow him to go, and said, 'If you want a lodging you had better go to Soribunki.' Bai Forki said 'I have not appointed Soribunki to be a Chief: the proper man is here: I shall go to Old Port Lokko.' When Bai Forki got to my house he passed down to the wharf to cross over to Port Lokko. The police caught one of Bai Forki's sons and gave him a severe flogging: When Bai Forki crossed over, Private Sori and another shot at him, but God preserved him. He then came to Freetown to meet the Chiefs there. I was at Port Lokko at the time. Crowther arrested me and brought me up to Karene, saying that I was the cause of Bai Forki's escaping. I was kept at Karene till Captain Cave returned. The police lied during the inquiry, and I was fined £8, or three months' imprisonment. I paid the fine. The police are the cause of all the false reports that have been brought to Government.

2237. (BAI SALAMANSA then spoke.) The others have not left me much to say. My forefathers were friendly with Government for a long time. We consider our Chiefship honoured by the Chiefs always being crowned by Government. We are very sorry now that we are in this trouble. The reason why the Protectorate cannot walk is because they have taken all affairs from Mr. Parkes and put them in other hands. When the Government was dealing with us through the Secretary for Native Affairs it was very different. If you will try to get us out of prison we will help you to get the country straight. If we were released all the Chiefs who are in hiding would come down. There are several mission houses and schools in our country: the method in which the missionaries are teaching us is different to what Government does: they are doing it by degrees: we are very much obliged to the missionaries: they have educated my brother, who is now in military employ.

MR. ASTBURY.

15th August 1898.

2238. My name is Alfred Edmund Astbury. I trade on my own account at Banda, about five miles from Bonthe. It is all burnt down now. It was burnt on 28th April. I was there at that time.

2239. Previous to the 28th April had you heard any rumours of war?—Yes: but not to make me feel alarmed. We had two civil police.

2240. Tell me what occurred on the 28th April?—We kept hearing vague rumours: Captain Wallis was at Gambia, not very far away, at the time trying to collect the tax at Macaulay's factory. Macaulay got frightened and ran down to Bonthe.

2241. What happened at Banda?—About six A.M. in the morning people came running in and told us that they were trying to kill Captain Wallis and the Frontiers. We got rather frightened, and I wrote a letter to Mr. Alldridge which I got the most influential men to sign, to say that if he could send two more police and two rifles we would stay in the town: that people were coming to the factory for protection and I had only three swords. He wrote back to say he could not spare any police or guns as he had so few. I then ran away: when I got over to Bonthe I saw my place on fire. The same day Mr. Alldridge sent for the two policemen even before I got over there. It appears that the

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Mr. ASTBURY.

people in the Protectorate got the idea that the other people had paid, and they said, You ought to have held out like we are doing.'

2242. You did not see any war-boys?—No.

2243. They did not come to Bonthe?—No: they would have if the '*Alecto*' had not come down with some troops. If they had not taken Bana Lewis there were thousands in the Jong river ready to come down on a certain night. In one store alone, Pickering and Berthoud's, they had over 400 kegs of powder. Mr. Alldridge sent Bana Lewis up to Freetown, and that stopped it. The *Alecto* brought 300 soldiers. The principal agent, whom I was staying with, went up to Freetown and asked the Governor to send some troops.

2244. There was no attempt made on Bonthe at all?—No: simply because the *Alecto* came down and threw a searchlight which frightened them.

2245. Any more?—People from up the river kept coming in daily: the natives seemed to have some great animosity against the Sierra Leonians.

2246. Why?—The Sierra Leonians treat them very badly up the river.

2247. In what way?—A Sierra Leonian thinks a native is dirt under his feet.

2248. How do the Sierra Leonians treat natives badly?—They are most unjust: suppose a native brings a thing worth sixpence, they will give him a penny or perhaps nothing for it.

2249. Sierra Leonians buy kernels mostly: do they give them a proper price for them?—No: they will not treat them fairly. There is no doubt but that the natives had made up their minds to kill all Sierra Leonians they could lay their hands on. The Frontier Police treat the people very badly.

2250. Do you know of any instances?—About four years ago: I sent a boy out to buy a dozen fowls. He went behind into the fakki's and got the fowls. I was in the verandah when he came back, and he told me one of the Frontier Police had taken two of them. There were three of the Frontier Police together. I told him to put the ten fowls in the coop, and to come to the market with me and see if he could recognise the man, but he did see him there. I went up to the police-station early in the morning with the boy, and the police were all drawn up in line, but the man was not among them. The Sergeant had sent the man away that morning so as to be out of the way. They steal sheep and goats from the natives.

2251. At one time there was a good deal of buying and selling slaves, but that ceased some time before this rising?—Yes: about 1884.

2252. Not to ship abroad but to take over the French frontier: do you think there were any instances of that as late as 1888?—No: I am certain there were not.

2253. Were there no instances of slaves being brought from the French country into the Protectorate or *vice versa*?—No: I am certain.

2254. Did you travel much about the Protectorate at that time?—Yes: I never even heard of an instance. The domestic slaves are far better off than if they were running about the streets begging.

2255. What parts of the interior have you travelled in?—The northern rivers and Liberia.

2256. Have they the same system of domestic slavery in Liberia?—Yes.

2257. Is the country in the interior fine?—Yes.

2258. Is it all bush?—No: only bush by the rivers: long grass.

2259. Were there any cattle?—Yes: plenty; but they are all destroyed now.

2260. Were the Chiefs of Sherbro engaged in this rising?—Yes. If Bana Lewis had not been taken when he was the outbreak would have been far worse. He sent his son to be educated in England.

2261. This son did not join in it?—No, he is at Bonthe: he is a great friend of mine.

2262. Will he become Chief when his father dies?—No: the next eldest, Farm, the Chief's brother. Bana Lewis has great power over the people.

2263. What does this educated son do?—Trades a little, and stays with his father.

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Mr. Astbury.

2264. From anything you have heard, is the rising a movement of Chiefs or of the young men?—It was the people themselves rather than the Chiefs. They were so excited: first the slavery and then the hut tax: they would not stand that: their houses were not worth it.

2265. Do they make small round huts in Sherbro?—Yes: if a big man has two wives he will have a two-roomed hut.

2266. Does he not make a separate house for his wives?—Not unless he has more than two wives. The wives build the house and work for the men: the more wives he has the richer a man is.

2267. When trade was going on was there much spirit sold?—Yes: you could not trade without spirit.

2268. Would they not buy cloth and tobacco although you did not sell spirit?—No; even if he did not drink it himself he would want it to trade with.

2269. It is said that the trade spirit is very bad quality?—A twelve-bottle case of gin in Hamburg costs 1s. 6d., freight about 3d., and duty at proof 3s.: allowing for landing and everything it might cost you 3s. 6d. You could not trade if spirit were excluded from the colony.

2270. Suppose spirit was excluded from the colony?—The French would supply it: they even supply arms and powder.

2271. Have you ever heard of any case of a man being injured by drinking spirit?—No.

2272. If they did not get spirit they would get palm wine?—Yes.

2273. Have you ever heard of any permanent bad effect from drinking palm wine?—No.

2274. Is there any custom of giving spirit to a trader when he has done a trade with you?—It is common enough.

2275. Does it facilitate trading?—You must do it: if you do not do it they will go to some one else who will.

2276. Before these troubles began and after the Protectorate was established in 1896, did trade increase?—Not a bit: rather the other way. In 1897 there was a stoppage of trade. Bana Lewis put a Porro on the palm-trees and kept it on for nine months.

2277. Did he put it on from a capricious motive or to let the kernels have time to grow and ripen?—He put it on for some other reason: The oftener you cut the palm kernels the oftener the tree will bear: they will bear cutting six times a year. I think the reason he put the Porro on was that he heard the hut tax was to be enforced.

Mr. Mudge.

Mr. Mudge.

15*th August* 1898.

2278. My name is Samuel Roderick Mudge. I am a trader in Sherbro country, between Big and Small Bum. I was there when the rising began, some time in the latter part of April.

2279. Tell me what occurred?—I left Freetown and Sherbro to trade and took a little money with me, but I could not get on. My fixed place was at Gbambaiah. I was there for six months.

2280. Where were you when the rising began?—At Walum.

2281. What happened?—Some time ago people said that Captain Carr wanted to see them at Mafwe. When they went I went afterwards and met them all coming back. They said that Captain Carr had only called the big men, Thomas Bongo the head chief, Baha of Mafwe, Berri of Bongi, Sissi Kokki of the Jong territory, and some others had been caught and kept in the barracks at Mafwe. After three or four days they were taken over to Bandajuma. Then a woman called Jena came the next morning and told me, 'They say we must pay for our mud houses, the houses that we paid half a leaf of tobacco for

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we are not going to pay 5s. for: we will sooner die.' The week after that I was asleep, and at midnight I heard a loud cry in the Mendi language, 'Koibia, koibia.' When I woke up and asked what it meant, my country wife told me it was 'War open.' Then the whole town was in confusion, and a man went to the Barri, where all the people assembled, and the messenger with a burnt leaf said that Chief Animo of Sinkima had sent to say that they must go and take the Chiefs out of prison at Bandajuma by force. In the morning all the people gathered and went into the Porro bush to consult. I do not know what they said there, as I am not a Porro man: they came back talking and laughing. Then my country wife called me and said, 'Can you take me to my mother at Yohma, for the war is coming?' Then I went to Tanino to collect some debts, and when I was there I heard that Moago had been burnt down by the Frontier Police, and that King Beahfuri of Bafuri had been made to pay a cow for the tax. This was over two months before the war began. When the tax palaver came down, the country people stopped all trade. I begged and coaxed them to let me bring up some things to live, and they allowed me to. When I came up my country wife came to me and said, 'War is at Semabu, about fifteen minutes off: Kili says you had better not come here again,' so we ran away. I passed by the house of a cousin of mine, and there I saw a native being treated for a gunshot wound in the shoulder. We passed on. John Coulson was with me, and we were making for the Imperri district where the acting District Commissioner was. When I got there I saw a man running towards me with a big stick, and a boy told me we had better run into the bush at once.

2282. Did you come in contact with the war-boys?—We walked together to Imperri. I was dressed as a countryman, and was carrying the child on my back.

2283. They did not trouble you?—No: when I was in the bush the woman left me to come into the town. When I was in the bush I heard a boy making palaver with his father, 'Daddy, may I not kill a Sierra Leone man,' and his father said, 'You must wait till it is dark.' I was in the bush for nine days. One night the leopards drove me to the town: when I got near I saw all the people drinking the plundered rum. We went behind the Porro bush and hid in the graves in the burying-place and heard them talking. I heard them say, 'You must take the war quick to York Island and Bonthe, because there are no constables or guns there, and if you go now you are sure to be successful.' That was King Sherbro's message: I heard it with my own ears: he had sent two men. 'Yagua has sent his own people: Bupo is crossing to-night: all the Bumpe people are crossing to-night, so you must come at once.' Then they all began to blow the war horn.

2284. How were they armed?—They had palm round their necks and wrists: some had cutlasses, sticks, bill-hooks and flint guns.

2285. I heard them talking in the bush: King Sukan said, 'You say that you are king of this country?' 'Yes, I told you so.' 'Why you fine me and make me pay £40?' 'I was doing my duty,' Sukan said. 'Go to Hughes and get £5 for the fine, and if I don't get it, bring a finger.' William Hughes was acting District Commissioner at Imperri. So each day they cut one finger off and brought it, and finally Sukan shot him. They said Hughes' wife was too fat, and must be taken up to be eaten, but I do not know if they did so.

2286. Are there cannibals there?—Yes, in Imperri.

2287. I heard them say in the Porro bush that King Grubru had sent a man to find me that he might cut my throat himself, as it was looked on as great honour to kill Sierra Leone men.

2288. Were you Grubru's clerk?—No, but I was living in his country.

2289. Did you write letters for him?—I wrote one to beg a policeman to pardon a man. He gave me one country cloth.

2290. Why did Grubru want to kill you?—They say every country man must kill their own Sierra Leone men or English, so that they get much praise.

2291. Did you see any more?—Grubru of Bumpe, Biriwa, Anibo, Kabinneh, Puji besa,

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Buongo of Tanino (a very wicked man), Patta Kangaju, Katta and Sepe were the head people who cooked the war.

2292. How do you know that these people went to the Porro bush to cook the war?—All the war-boys call out their master's names while fighting.

2293. Do you know where these people are now? How could you find them?—I could get J. A. Coulson, the man who was in the bush with me. He knows all their Porro bush and fakkis.

2294. What does Coulson know?—A great deal more than I know. He is a country man: my country wife knows still more; she is in Imperri.

2295. What more do you wish to tell me?—The thing that made people vexed was that when they began to collect the tax they shot with their guns.

2296. Who did?—The Frontiers, and they burnt rice stores.

2297. Do you know of that yourself?—I saw the men Pessima and Buku, who were shot.

2298. Where was Pessima shot?—At Makaia.

2299. Did you see him shot?—No: I only saw his body.

2300. Did he die afterwards?—I do not know.

2301. Could you tell me this, was it the Chiefs or the war-boys who made the war?—The Chiefs.

2302. You think if the Chiefs had not urged them, the war-boys would not have made war?—Yes, if the Chiefs had not, there would have been no war.

2303. When the war began, was it a war the Chiefs made or did the boys urge on the Chiefs?—The war-boys wanted to war, but the Chiefs sent them to war. When I was in the bush the Chiefs tell the 'war-good-bye,' that is to give them courage.

2304. Does the Chief go to war himself?—No; they are all old men.

2305. Can you tell me why the country people wanted to kill Sierra Leone people?—They say we are white men's children, and that white men enter their country in our footsteps, so to get rid of the white men they must kill us all off first.

2306. What caused them to kill the missionaries?—I do not know: native people say missionaries are God's people.

2307. Do they dislike missionaries?—They loved the missionaries.

2308. Have you any idea how the country might be made quiet and prosperous?—If the Chiefs are caught.

2309. What Chiefs?—The wicked people who made the Porro bush palaver.

2310. What would you do with them?—The just reward for the wages of sin.

2311. Suppose you banished all the Chiefs, who would take care of the country?—New Chiefs will grow up.

2312. Do you mean take away all the Chiefs who have joined in the war and put up the next men?—My meaning is this: if a son is not good, and his father has three or four children, the one next him will be placed higher.

17*th August* 1898.

BAI SHERBRO, PA NEMBANA, and BABUNEH.

BAI SHERBRO, PA NEMBANA, and BABUNEH.

(Interpreters, Katherudeen and Samuel Palmer.)

2313. Bai Sherbro, what is your position in the country?—I am Paramount Chief of Yonni.

2314. What rivers are there in Yonni?—There are not many rivers in the Yonni part, except the Kwalu.

2315. How many towns do you rule over?—Very many, because the country is very large.

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2316. What crops do the people grow in your country?—Cassada, kola nut, benni seed, rice, and palm trees. They pick and sell kernels.

2317. Do they get plenty of money for kernels?—Formerly plenty.

2318. Do you remember when the new law was proclaimed?—Yes.

2319. That law that was proclaimed about a year ago—no more buying and selling slaves, no more flogging women, and the hut tax, and so on?—Yes, very well.

2320. Was there any part of that law that you thought was not good law?—The law was good. The tax is the only thing we find not good for us.

2321. Do you remember when the war broke out at Port Lokko, and then war came to the Bumpe country and to Sherbro country?—Yes, it was after I was in prison.

2322. How did you get into prison?—I was told I was brought here on account of the hut tax.

2323. Tell me about it.—I am a native of Yonni, bred up there. When they make farms in Yonni they make them for the English: they rear cattle for the English: they do not get money unless they come to white people. When they make a Chief they tell the Government. I am the thirteenth King of Yonni. I was crowned by the Government. I am entitled to a stipend, but I have never drawn any. When I was told we should pay tax I said, 'All right.' I told Dr. Hood that we were not accustomed to paying taxes: therefore I would only acknowledge the information and consult the other Chiefs before I decided. This was about January 1898. I told Dr. Hood I wanted to consult with the Sub-Chiefs.

2324. What happened then?—I sent a message to Bai Komp, Bai Simra, and five other Chiefs, inviting them to come and consult. I took them up to Kwalu; Pa Nembana was one of them. Bai Simra is another Chief of his own country, and is the oldest of the Chiefs. Bai Simra told Dr. Hood that the situation was very grave, and he would like to have a letter from him to the Governor and come to see him about the hut tax. Dr. Hood refused to give him a letter. Bai Simra then said he did not know what to do, as they were accustomed to discuss their country affairs with the Governor in Freetown. Dr. Hood then said if we would not pay the tax then he would imprison us. He then arrested and imprisoned us at Kwalu. After we had been in prison some time we had to agree to pay the tax. I sent messengers to my country, telling those of the Sub-Chiefs who had not come with me to see that the tax was paid. I was then sent to Freetown with Nembana. I thought that being a Chief crowned by the Government they would have questioned or cautioned me, but I did not expect to be treated as I was. If you ask about all the provisions of the Ordinance, the hut tax is the only one we feel. Slavery and women palaver we do not feel. We have no money: that is the thought in my mind. I have always been accustomed to obey the Government.

2325. Do Sierra Leone traders come to your country for trade?—Yes.

2326. Do they hire houses to live in?—We give them freely without rent.

2327. These traders bring cloth, tobacco, spirits, and so on?—Yes.

2328. Do your people pay them in money or in kernels, or how?—In produce: they have no money.

2329. How many days' work does it take for two men to collect a bushel of kernels?—Two days in the dry season, six days in the wet season.

2330. Do they cut the bunches from the trees, or do they wait till they drop?—They climb up and cut the bunches.

2331. How many bunches can they cut from one tree in a year?—Five.

2332. Tell me truly, was there anything that made the hut tax a worse tax to pay than any other tax?—It is strange to us, and we are poor.

2333. How do you make your houses?—They are very worthless houses. We cut trees and use mud and grass, and roof it with grass. There are small rooms for children, and the big persons in one parlour.

2334. What kind of houses have the big men got?—Their houses are larger.

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2335. Have they doors and windows?—Only a doorway.

2336. Do you make houses for your wives?—Yes, and for our children, and for strangers.

2337. How many houses would a big man have generally?—Some have four, by that you know he is a big man, some may have six, or very rarely eight.

2338. Did you and your chiefs who were to collect this tax understand that you were to collect it from the people, and not pay it out of your own pockets?—The estimate for my country was very large, that is why I sent for all the people, and when we all met we found we could not make it up.

2339. What did Dr. Hood tell you about collecting the tax?—He told me to pay, and I replied it was no matter of paying the tax for I had nothing.

2340. Did he tell you anything about collecting it from the people?—Yes.

2341. Then you understood you were not to pay it from your own pocket?—I understood I was to collect it from the people, that is why I sent round the country for the people.

2342. What is the price of a case of gin in your country?—Five measures of rice.

2343. How much is a measure?—I do not know exactly, they weighed it out.

2344. This is Pa Nembana chief of Kwaia, I wish him to speak instead of me, he is the king-maker.

2345. (PA NEMBANA spoke).—The Kwaia country is the garden of the Queen, and the wash-house of the Queen because we have no other work to do but to bring wood, bamboo, and rice, and train up our children. The purpose of the Government in making friendship with us is only to improve us. We have seen to-day more than they saw in the time of our forefathers. Any Governor sent by the Queen is looked on as our guardian. We are grateful for being saved from slavery. The Queen stopped war: sound men used to be killed in war, but to-day we feel quite safe, and die natural deaths, It is nine years since slavery has been abolished, we have bid farewell to it, and no longer have a mind for it. We are crowned by the Queen. I am the next man to Bai Kompah who is a friend of the Queen, it is nine years ago since we were told by Governor Hay. We were quite assured from any danger. If you are in a man's garden you feel quite safe, that man will not knock you in the head, but on the body, so that you will not be ill. The hut tax matter commenced last year, after Colonel Caulfield sent to invite all the chiefs to the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee which lasted seven days. They gave us presents, and explained to us that the object of the celebration was the sixtieth year of the Queen's reign. Mr. Parkes and the Acting Governor explained it to us and we thank them very much. After the celebration of the Jubilee the chiefs met together and said that as all the chiefs were assembled it was a fine opportunity to talk over the hut tax, for they knew they were unable to pay. They look on the Government as their parents: they thought if they petitioned Government in time they would grant our petition. We wrote a petition and handed it to Mr. Parkes to give to the Governor: although the Governor was absent we begged the petition might be forwarded to England. Our houses are just like caves. Whilst we submitted the petition we received a message to go to Kwalu. We then took leave of Mr. Parkes and went to Kwalu: this was last August. When we arrived there, Mr. Hudson asked me about the country; what we were doing: I told him we were farming. He asked, 'What products.' I said, 'In part there are a few wild palm trees, in part none.' He then asked me about slavery: I said we had left it off a long time ago. He asked about the punishment of women by flogging: I told him we had left it off: we look on the Queen as the mother of all our wives. We are placed in charge of the country. Because Bai Kompah had become too old to manage affairs, I was put in charge of the country. He told me I had been appointed to sit with the District Commissioner to settle cases: that there were valuable products in my country, such as gum and rubber, and I should not allow the people to spoil it. He spoke kindly to me and gave me a staff of office. I then

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returned with all the chiefs who had accompanied me. There was no dispute between me and the District Commissioner. As soon as I returned I saw Sierra Leone traders and others paying licenses. I then expressed fear to the Sierra Leonians that as they were paying like that our petition would not be granted: but they paid. They should have paid in January. I was at Makbele in January and received a letter to tell me to pay Hut Tax: this letter was followed by another: I acknowledged them and I went to tell Bai Kompah. He was very sick with pains on the waist. Bai Kompah told me that he intended to go to Freetown to see the Governor and tell him that he would not be able to go to Kwalu because he was old, and also that he would not be able to pay the Hut Tax. He sent a messenger to the Governor, and asked me to go and find some medicine for him from Mr. Roberts. Mr. Roberts told me he had no medicine. I then returned via Tumba. Three weeks after Christmas, I saw Corporal Harding, he called me and told me he had been sent for me and that he had gone to my town and had not found me. I was then siezed by police men and roughly handled and told I was a prisoner. I was the first person who was arrested. An officer and twenty-four frontiers met us on shore, and I was then put in irons I was told it was on account of the Hut Tax. I then told the white man that I was not the proper chief of the country. They took me back to Bai Kompah at Mangi. Bai Kompah was in his room sick. I then told the principal men of the town that I had been put in handcuffs because of the Hut Tax. The Captain gave orders for Bai Kompah to be sought for: the men entered his house and went into his room and dragged him out of bed by the feet. He was a very strong man when he was young, and they did not do it easily. When the Captain heard the chief crying out, he held Bai Kompah by the back, he then drew his revolver and put it on Bai Kompah, and when they got him to the threshold he kicked him. The King said, 'What have I done. I am a friend of the Queen. You had better kill me at once.' It was not from any disloyalty to the Queen that we said we were not going to pay the Tax, but we were indigent. Bai Kompah then said he was sick and would not go to Kwalu. As the men saw they could not take Bai Kompah up, they took me. At first they tried to make us go by saying that Dr. Hood said we were to go and receive stipends at Kwalu: but Bai Kompah said, 'It is not usual to go to Kwalu, we usually get it at Freetown.' The white man then asked him to let me go up with him to Kwalu. Bai Kompah said, 'No, he is the next to me, and I am very sick.' The white man left two policemen to go to Freetown with Bai Kompah. Bai Kompah wrote a letter and handed it to the white man, and stated that I had no power to answer for the country, and that he himself was chief.

2346. What is Bai Kompah's country?—Kwaia. I have two children being trained by Government. They crown two chiefs together in Kwaia.

2347. What school are your children at?—One is with Mr. Lawson, and one with Mr. Roberts. I was then taken to Kwalu. On the way up to Kwalu the white man left me at Makerra as I could not walk: he left me in charge of two policemen. On my arrival at Kwalu, I was taken to the court of Dr. Hood. When I was brought before Dr. Hood he asked me about the hut tax: I answered that I was not the proper chief, and gave him Bai Kompah's letter which Dr. Hood tore up and sent me off to prison. He said, 'You will get your reply from the Governor.' Captain Moore came up in ten days time, and I was taken before him: he asked me about the tax. I told him that I was only second to Bai Kompah and could not give him an answer: it was for Bai Kompah to reply. He then sent me to prison again.

2348. How many towns are under you?—More than a thousand: I rule over these places under Bai Kompah.

2349. Do not you rule over a certain number of your own?—Under Bai Kompah.

2350. Could not you tell the towns to pay the tax if they were able to, without going to Bai Kompah?—I cannot do that: besides the majority of the people are very poor.

2351. When Bai Kompah could not go himself, why did he not send somebody to speak for him?—Because he then intended to go to Freetown,

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2352. Why did he not go to Freetown to see the Governor?—He did come. The warrant was issued for his arrest in Freetown, but they could not find him. He died last month.

2353. You signed the petition to Government that Mr. Lawson wrote? Yes. And I went round to merchants and people in the town to beg them to intercede. We agreed to Government abolishing slavery: and what we want now is for traders to come up into our country.

2354. Who did you go to?—I cannot remember their names, but I know the firms.

2355. Were these firms that you had been trading with before?—Yes: especially the Sierra Leone Coaling Company: and Mr. Marcus and many others.

2356. Did you go to Sir Samuel Lewis?—The other chiefs went to him after I had been taken to Kwalu. They went to beg him to speak for them to the Government.

2357. Did you go to Mr. Pittendrigh?—I do not know him: I was only present when they went to the Sierra Leone Coaling Company, and to Mr. Marcus.

2358. Did any of these people in Sierra Leone advise you about the tax?—No.

2359. Did any advise you that the tax was not a good tax?—No.

2360. Did any one say to you, 'Do not pay the tax and by and by it will be abolished'?—No: none.

2361. I want you to understand that I am not for the tax, and I am not against the tax, I merely want to find out what has happened? You say the people are poor: the tax only costs one bushel of kernels, same as half a case of gin: Bai Sherbro says that two men can collect a bushel in two days: why do you say it is so very difficult?—There is no poverty greater than when you must go into the bush and pick palm nuts one by one.

2362. How is that?—You have to suffer in the bush.

2363. Why?—For a person to have to go into the bush to search for palm nuts is poverty: you have to clear the bush.

2364. You do not clear the bush?—You cannot get them without.

2365. Was there anything about the tax that made it particularly objectionable, besides that the people were so poor?—No other reason but that they are poor.

2366. Was there any feeling that in paying tax for your houses you were putting your property from you?—For my own part I have not that feeling in my mind, because for a long time I have known that the country is no longer ours.

2367. What do you mean by that?—By the treaty into which they have entered with the Government, and by having received medals and staffs of office, we know the country no longer belongs to us.

2368. But the Queen does not take it from you?—I know the Queen allows us to farm our lands so long as we do nothing against the law. But the ill-treatment we receive from the officers: the Government say there is no war with us, but they tie the kings: even my son was ill-treated. They tied him and tortured him and he died a few days after.

2369. Who did this?—The police. After I was taken to prison the officer took policemen and natives to my country and burnt down the places.

2370. That was after you refused to pay the tax, and could not have been a reason for not paying? At the time that they came to ask you to pay the tax, had any of these bad things been done by the police?—Yes: it is a habit of the police to ill-treat us long before then. They seize our fowls and cattle and flog Chiefs, and then carry false reports to the officers: reports that we are disloyal and disobedient.

2371. Did any of these things happen in your experience?—Massa Munta, a Chief was tied and flogged and his royal hut burnt. He was suspended by a rope. Bai Kru of Mabang, when the officer told him to clean the road and he did not do it, was made to carry all their cutlasses and tools. Whenever the police ill-treated any man they threatened him to prevent him reporting it. We should not have minded having the police in the country, because we thought they would protect us from war.

2372. The police behaved in this way some time ago: up to the present year are they

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still behaving badly?—It is their habit up till now. We were discouraged to complain, because we never got any redress.

2373. Who did you complain to?—Personally, no one. Why I have not is because if you complain and fail to obtain redress, the police treat you worse when you come back.

2374. I asked you whether the people who paid the tax thought they were putting away from them their right of property in their houses?—They have that feeling. The country is the Queen's, but the houses are looked on as ours.

2375. You say that people had this feeling of loss of property, is it true?—Yes.

2376. Suppose the Queen said, 'I do not want a tax from houses, but I want you the Chief to go and order the people to collect so much money, and I expect you as Chief to find it and bring it by and by to the treasurer at Freetown: would that be a good tax?—It would still not be good: because we do not know about paying taxes. The system has not been handed down. Even in this tax we did not believe that the Queen authorised the Governor to make the tax.

2377. Then you consider any tax whatever on you bush people would be bad?—It would not be good: it is not from disloyalty: but because we fear the white man, we do not like to say we are able to pay it and afterwards not be able to pay.

2378. From what you know and from what you have heard, can you tell me why these War-boys broke out at Bumpe and plundered Sierra Leonians and killed missionaries?—What I know is very short. During the time I was in prison at Kwalu, Chief Furivong of Tyama was brought down to Kwalu and imprisoned. He consented to pay the tax and was let go. Captain Moore went up and seized all his things and brought them to Kwalu. I think that one of their reasons is the manner in which they are collecting the tax Furivong was a Sub-Chief: when his goods and cattle were seized he came to Freetown to complain and then returned home and passed into the interior.

2379. Bai Sherbro, can you tell me any reason why the War-boys came to make war in the Sherbro country?—I think it was from the hut tax. I cannot say whether the people have any other reason. I myself, a Chief, have been put in irons.

2380. Do you mean the hut tax and the harshness that was used in collecting it?—Yes: eighteen days after we were brought to town the people rose.

2381. You remember Mr. Lawson making a petition for you?—Yes.

2382. Did the Chiefs tell Mr. Lawson what to write?—Yes.

2383. After he wrote it, did he read it over to the Chiefs?—Yes. I was there.

2384. And what he read was all you wanted to be said in the petition?—Yes: it was what we dictated to him.

2385. Is there anything more?—Our country has been spoilt by our being brought to town. At present we are in difficulties. All the Chiefs of our country have been taken down to prison: the children and other young men who are left behind, are all hiding in the bush. We do not wish to make war in the country any more. What we wish is that all the Chiefs should be consulted with regard to the country.

2386. Are your people cultivating their farms now?—No.

2387. Is not this very unwise: if you do not sow at the proper time the people will starve?—That is the trouble we have in the country now.

2388. Can you not send a message to the Sub-Chiefs to plant and sow, so that the people may have food?—They would not believe the messenger so long as I am in the prison.

2389. (BABUNEH spoke). I am a big Chief in my country. All the Chiefs were called to Kwalu: when we came to town they arrested Furivong of Tyama. Two days after about twelve men came to arrest me, and brought me down to Kwalu. I asked why they arrested me, and Dr. Hood said for the hut tax. I said, 'I must send to consult the big Chief first': he said, 'We are going to take you to prison: you must pay £8. I said, 'I have no money: I do not know what to do,' and he said, 'If you do not pay the hut tax we will burn all your country.' This was in January. They took all my clothes off me.

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2390. Was that done in court ?—Yes. They took me to Freetown afterwards: before I went, I said, 'Where are my clothes ?'

2391. You say you were brought into court before Dr. Hood, and he ordered the men to strip you naked ?—Yes.

2392. Do you think I can believe that ?—Yes: Dr. Hood did it. Pa Nembana knows about that: we were handcuffed together. When the fight began I was not there: they have burnt all my country.

2393. When you say that Dr. Hood ordered you to be stripped naked, do you mean that he made you change your clothes for prison dress ?—No: I came to Freetown without any clothes at all, by order of Dr. Hood. I was eleven days in prison at Kwalu before they brought me down to Freetown.

2394. Is there any more you wish to say ?—(PA NEMBANA replied).—Mr. Parkes was the only person through whom we used to communicate. When he was dealing with us things were better for us than they are now that officers have been sent up. I wish to tell you that if you were to be advised to go up into the country while the Chiefs are in prison, it would not be safe for you. There would be no difficulty in getting the other Chiefs down here if we were released. I have heard that persons were killed in our absence: certain prisoners told us who were brought in after us.

2395. Who were they ?—My two nephews: Sawyer and Banabun; they are prisoners awaiting trial. At the time we were in the charge of Mr. Lawson and Mr. Parkes, we never experienced any hardships. If we are released, we will beg Government to bring back the old system. We suffer many inconveniences. Instead of a two hours' journey to Freetown, we are told to go a five days' journey to get matters settled.

2396. Before this new law, you used to come to Freetown for your palavers ?—I came once on the occasion of being handed over a Chief's mat. I came with the late Chief Cassiwassi. There is nothing on record against me. My country is now in a sorrowful condition: the Chief is dead, I am in prison, and others are in the bush hiding.

18th August 1898.

MR. SMART.

2397. My name is James Augustus Smart. I am a shoemaker and trader. I went to Sulima; but I used to run up and down the country, and also bought country cloth. I paid for it in goods—English cloth, currants, tobacco: not spirits. Sulima is a large town. No Chief resides in the town. It is under Abdul Lahi of Juring. I went to live at Sulima about four years ago, and I left it on the 30th April. In 1897 they said that Sulima was to be divided so that half of it would come in the Protectorate and pay tax, and half would be in the Colony. When the people heard of the tax, they began to move from the upper part of the town to the lower. Later on Mr. Alldridge came and said it was all in the Colony, and they stopped moving. On 28th April I went to buy provisions in Bandajuma district, because the country people had refused to supply us with provisions, and rice was six or seven shillings a bushel, instead of four shillings.

2398. Was that because you had not to pay the tax in Sulima ?—Yes: they said it seemed that Government did not deal impartially. On the morning of the 27th I met a Chief with about fourteen of his boys in a canoe, and he told me he was taking down rice to pay the tax for his town. He asked me if they were paying tax in Freetown. I said, 'No.' He said he had six houses and three wives, and was called on to pay for all those, as well as being the responsible Chief of the town. Next morning I went to Pujahun. The night before I had heard two men talking in the next hut, and saying that Sergeant Smith and some privates under him were going round collecting the tax. I went to see Mr. Lamin (Abdul Lahi). Then I went back to Sulima. On the 30th Mr. Lamin sent a letter to Sulima to say there was war at Whedaro, about six hours off. We all took our boxes and things to the store, and kept a look-out all night. On Sunday morning a man came in and said the people threatened to come the same day. We then started for Manoh, and left only

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Mr. SMART.

the civil police there. Monday night we were at Mano Sulija. The Chief of that town (John) refused to join the war-boys, and they turned back to Sulima. On Tuesday we saw a light from H.M.S. *Fox*. When the *Fox* arrived at Mano Sulija they wanted to go to Sulima, but we told them it was useless. They took some Sierra Leonians on board, but the sea became too rough, and the rest of us had to go on foot to Cape Mount, which we reached on Wednesday morning, and were taken on board from there. We reached Freetown on Thursday morning.

2399. You were not in any place where the war came?—No.

2400. Did the war-boys go to Sulima for plunder, or was there any other reason?—The people said they had come for pay for their kernels, but they really came for plunder. It was on account of the payment they had to make in the Bandajuma district. Shepherd told me they had taken rice and kernels to Sulima, and had paid away what they would live on during seedtime; and it would have been better even if Government had stopped their stipends.

2401. Are there plenty of kernels in that country?—Yes.

2402. How long would it take to collect a bushel?—A good cutter could get two bushels in a day.

2403. Is there much rubber brought down for trade?—A good deal.

2404. Do the country people bring it down, or do the traders go and fetch it?—Both.

2405. Did you hear any particular reason given against the hut tax, except that they had not to pay in Freetown?—Kandaki said they had just begun to pay the tax. The Frontiers came and arrested and ill-treated the Chiefs.

2406. Were there any complaints against the Frontier Police before the collection of the tax began?—Yes; formerly people complained that when they made them carry their luggage they refused to pay them. Mr. Alldridge afterwards fixed a price for carriers, and forbade them to take provisions without paying for them.

2407. Were there many Sierra Leonians in Sulima?—Yes: they all escaped.

2408. Had the war-boys any dislike to Sierra Leonians?—If you treat them badly they do not like you. They like the Sierra Leone trade very well.

2409. Sometimes Sierra Leone people did not deal kindly with the natives?—Some of them did not.

18th August 1898.

Mr. TRICE.

MR. TRICE.

2410. My name is James Abraham Lincoln Trice. I am an agent for the mission. I am not in Holy Orders. I am Secretary to the Soudan Mission. I have been in this country rather more than eight years. I was stationed at Robethel, six hours from Rokelle; the nearest towns are Makonti and Marampa. Rokon is in the Masimera country.

2411. Have you an intimate knowledge of the Masimera country?—Not much.

2412. What country is your mission station in?—Marampa.

2413. Are you well acquainted with the Marampa country?—Yes.

2414. What tribe?—Timinis.

2415. Who was the Chief over the station where you were?—Bai Kobolo was Paramount Chief.

2416. You left the station on 7th May?—Yes; after the trouble had broken out, but up to that time our part was pretty quiet. We came to Freetown in anticipation of trouble. The mission was plundered in my absence.

2417. Can you say who did it?—Yes. Pa Suba, Sub-Chief to Bai Kobolo, investigated the matter and sent me word direct, that it was done by Marampa country people and Masimera people combined. He said other neighbouring people joined them. There is no proof of course: the few little things he got back were from the Marampa people.

2418. You addressed a letter to the Governor on 17th May: is this a copy of it?—Yes.

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2419. It expressed your views at the time you wrote it?—Yes: I changed the last clause slightly afterwards and left out, 'I have been present . . . concession.' Mr. TRICE.

2420. In this letter you speak of a state of things existing eight years ago: Chiefs interfering with native traders. Down to what period did that interruption of traffic continue?—It has not wholly stopped yet, but there has been very little for the last five years.

2421. Down to what period have you known cases of slave-dealing?—This year. At Robethel a woman came running in with her little child while we were at breakfast on Sunday morning. She seemed very frightened. I asked her what was the matter, and she said her master wanted to sell her. I said we must not interfere, but showed her the road to Rokon. She would not go, and took up her residence in the house. At last we persuaded her to leave, and she was taken afterwards and carried away and sold.

2422. How did you know she was sold?—The men of Maforchi said so. They said they might sell among themselves.

2423. Was this a case of sale among themselves?—I suppose so.

2424. Was there any other case?—A woman from the same town came to us, and we succeeded in getting her across the river. I wrote to the corporal in charge, and the corporal wrote to the Chief of Rokon, who took the woman and sent her back to her owner, and she was sold.

2425. To whom was she sent back?—To her former owner.

2426. Any other instances?—None this year. There were about twelve cases last year: but my diaries have been lost.

2427. Were these people taken out of the country?—They were on the way to the Susu country with them at the time. It is very hard to follow up a case. People now-a-days know it is against the law, and will not allow us to see the actual sale.

2428. Do you not think there is growing up a feeling among the Chiefs that slave-dealing impoverishes their country?—No: they think just the opposite.

2429. Have you heard any Chiefs express that opinion to you lately?—I am always talking with the people, Chiefs, Santigis, and others, and with one accord they think it very wrong of the English to take away their slaves.

2430. But taking away slaves is very different to stopping buying and selling?—They don't see any difference, and I do not see any difference, so long as one man is the personal property of another man.

2431. Is there not a great difference between a domestic slave and a slave who is sold into French territory?—They have for a long time said that they would stop slave-dealing, but it is firmly rooted in the heart of the people.

2432. Is it known to all that the English Government have set themselves against slave-dealing: has not that tended to diminish slave-dealing?—Yes: during the last five years.

2433. That diminution had taken place before the Protectorate Ordinance?—Yes: there was a small notice sent out among the Chiefs from the Department for Native Affairs to the effect that any one who bought or sold slaves would be guilty of a punishable offence. I think it had begun to stop then.

2434. You say in your letter that the young men of the country are oppressed and kept down by the Chiefs and big men. How do Chiefs carry out their orders against the young men of the country?—It is the result of the laws and customs of the country. The laws are such that they strike at young men more than any other class. They travel more, and when they get to a certain age they begin to look for a wife. The elder men, foreseeing this, have taken all the girls.

2435. Cannot a young man always get a wife by applying to the Chief?—No: it is a personal matter: and it costs a lot.

2436. Is there any difficulty about that?—Very often some one else offers a larger dowry: the one who gives the most gets the girl. It is often some time before a young

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Mr. TRICE.

man is able to get a wife. The young men who have worked on our Mission have been able to get a small competence. The Chiefs know that, and they begin to lay traps for them. I have known them pay as much as £10 or £15 a year in palavers.

2437. Surely your young men, if prudent, could keep out of these difficulties?—Yes: if they were prudent.

2438. You say the fines were almost always paid, and then you say it was both remarkable and suggestive?—It suggests that they were able to pay something.

2439. Do they get the money by working as labourers?—Yes: when a man is fined, he will get some one to go bail for him and start off with some kernels or something and sell them: then he returns and pays the fine.

2440. When was the Soudan Mission founded at Robethel?—In 1894. I was there then. We got the land from Bai Kobolo.

2441. Did he require payment?—We made him a present.

2442. Any great amount?—No.

2443. Has your mission always been friendly with the Chiefs about?—At one time the Chief of Makbele was not very friendly; the rest have always been very friendly. One Chief said he would prefer the mission not so close; that was the result of reporting a case of slave-dealing.

2444. Are there many Sierra Leone traders at Rokon?—Yes.

2445. Are they friendly with the Chiefs?—I do not know: there were not many Sierra Leone traders near our mission.

2446. From your general knowledge of Sierra Leone traders, would you say that they were fair and just in their dealings with the natives?—I am sorry to say not.

2447. In what way do they fall short?—They do not always pay their labourers. They do what they consider to be fair to those with whom they trade.

2448. You would say it was very keen trading?—I would. They believe it is fair to cheat a man if they can.

2449. Does it go to the length of deceiving the natives?—I think it does sometimes: intentionally.

2450. And the native finds that out by and by, and naturally does not like it?—Yes: some of the natives who come to trade with the mission refuse to have anything to do with creoles.

2451. Would you say that the Sierra Leone trader, as a rule, is courteous and kind in his dealings with natives?—It has not been so in my observation. They seem to think they are a different and superior race.

2452. Can you form any reason upon which that estimate is founded?—I have thought, as I say, that the people here are all for personal aggrandisement. I must say that the native takes a very great advantage of kindness.

2453. Was there any loss of life among Sierra Leonians in the recent troubles?—Not our way. While some Sierra Leone traders have not always been kind to the natives, the natives have done everything to hinder kindness and courteousness.

2454. How is that?—By stealing goods and bringing needless accusations against strangers who have been among them.

2455. There was a mission station at Port Lokko?—Yes; one of the Church Missionary Society.

2456. Do you know if it was destroyed?—It was not.

2457. Do you know if Sierra Leone traders at Port Lokko were roughly handled at all?—They all got clear away, as far as I heard; I was a day's journey away.

2458. Then the Chief of the town protected them?—Yes: I understand so.

2459. You say you were at Makbele when Captain Sharpe collected the tax there —Yes.

2460. Who is Chief of Makbele?—Pa Suba.

2461. Was he there when Captain Sharpe came?—Yes: he came in February.

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2462. Did Pa Suba make any difficulty about paying the tax?—None.

2463. Had Pa Suba made any difficulty before then?—Yes: a great deal.

2464. Before Captain Sharpe went on that last occasion, can you say how the tax was asked from Pa Suba?—I do not know.

2465. It was done through the police?—No: they were simply to count the taxable houses.

2466. You do not know who asked Pa Suba for the tax before?—No. He advised his people not to pay.

2467. Then who asked for it?—No one. He knew the Ordinance had been passed as he had received an official letter. He, as well as many other Chiefs, set to work to influence the people not to pay the hut tax.

2468. How should he have set himself to influence the people not to pay, because his people in the first instance would not be liable?—I do not think he knew that. It was only just before the tax was collected that they knew that the Chiefs would be responsible for the whole.

2469. The whole country knew that the land was to be taxed: did the whole country object to the tax?—I believe so: if you could see into the people you would see it was the result of the diplomacy of the bigger Chiefs. The people would prefer to be under the English to being under the Paramount Chiefs. It was in that way that Pa Suba set himself against it, to show the people the advantage of the country not being in the power of the English.

2470. How did the payment of the tax put the country more or less under the power of the English?—They imagine that this is only a first step to be followed by something far greater: such as abolishing slavery, Porro, Bandu, and possibly ultimately depriving them of the country.

2471. You think the opposition to the hut tax came from the Chiefs more than from the people?—Most assuredly I do, in that country. I am in the centre of the Timini country.

2472. Then if I understood you rightly you think that the Chiefs of the country were very much opposed to the English obtaining more power in the country, whereas the young men and common people would have liked it?—I do: while the Chiefs have caused the country people to imbibe their ideas they have allowed the young people to come to Freetown: they go back again and appreciate the difference, what the whole country would be if it were English.

2473. They put no obstacles in the way of people coming to Freetown?—No: a man never comes unless he has something to sell.

2474. When a slave comes to Freetown and goes back again, does he resume his old relations?—Yes: he goes back to the same state.

2475. How would it be if the Government were to proclaim a law that all slaves were free in so far as that their master was not to coerce them at all, but at the same time it should be optional whether existing relations were changed or not?—I do not think it would make any change. These fine points can hardly be expressed in native language so as to be understood by the natives. The proclamation would simply stop in the Chief's house.

2476. So far as things stand now, no one is compelled to remain a slave, from whom does the compulsion come?—From the Chiefs. I have heard reports of Captain Sharpe's treatment of the people. I happened to be present once when he was trying a case of slave-dealing. It was a Sierra Leone lady who was indicted. Her landlord's servants had become her servants: and as she and her son were leaving they had arranged a plan to get these slaves away from Makbele. The Chief reported that she was assisting his slaves to run away. She was convicted and fined £5 or a month's imprisonment. Captain Sharpe has been very kind to the natives.

2477. Was there proof that this lady bought these slaves?—No: it was not a case of slave buying.

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Mr. TRICE.

2478. When the Paramount Chief at Makbele paid the tax were you present?—Yes. The people paid him and he paid the District Commissioner. Sierra Leone people paid for themselves.

2479. Did the Sierra Leone people make any difficulty about paying?—None at all.

2480. You said you believed the rising was a movement of Chiefs rather than of the young men: if that was so how did they follow them to war so readily?—It is part of the Chief's influence over them

2481. If a Chief takes one view of a question and his people take another, and the people are very steadfast in their opposition, what means does he take to enforce his wishes on them?—I have never known such a case. It is more the custom of the country than the Chief that they obey.

2482. You think then that viewing the hut tax as a public question people were at one with the Chief even though as individuals some were in favour of it?—Quite so. There are some people who would prefer to be under the English: but it became a question of giving up a Government under which they had been for centuries. After the Protectorate Ordinance was proclaimed, Pa Suba sent out an order to his people asking them to make up a sum of money, as he wanted to pay back to Government the stipends he had been receiving for years. He said that this tax would take the country out of their hands, and the stipends had been a sort of means of getting power over them: but if they paid them all back again the English would no longer have a hold on the country.

2483. Did the Sub-Chiefs fall in with that view?—Yes, they all made up a sum.

2484. It was not sufficient?—I do not know: they made up quite a large sum: some men paid as much as £2 each.

2485. Have any complaints come to you with regard to the conduct of the Frontier Police?—Yes: the Alimami of Makonde was very badly treated by the Frontier Police, and asked me to write to the Colonial Secretary for him. The Frontier had made him pay a large sum in cows, cloth and produce which he had kept for himself. The Government referred the case to the District Commissioner, and the man was tried, sentenced, and discharged from the force. There were other cases reported of their taking fowls, sheep, and so on. In some cases when they take fowls or palm wine forcibly from the natives, it is the result of the natives refusing to sell when they are asked to.

2486. Would they take fowls if they could not get them anyhow else, and offer to pay for them afterwards?—No. I have seen them offer to pay for palm wine, and on some discussion arising as to the price, take it without paying.

2487. Have you heard of cases of Frontier Police interfering with women?—I have heard of them. I have heard of Chiefs offering them women, and not receiving as large a present as they expected, reporting the matter.

2488. Do many Chiefs send their sons to be educated in Freetown?—Not many.

2489. Do they not consider the education got in Freetown valuable?—They do consider it valuable, I think: but they seem to think it will unfit them for perpetuating the native customs. What they want is just for their children to be taught to read and write: they like to know what is going on.

2490. Has there not been some experience that boys educated in Freetown contracted bad habits?—I do not know any case of the kind.

2491 Have the Chiefs as a rule sufficient means to have their children educated?—Not without help. They send them to the missionaries.

2492. Have you any further suggestion to offer for the improvement of the Colony or the Protectorate?—It will be a matter of time. It seems to me that the present Chief system is a hindrance to the progress of the country. The country itself is in such a state that laws which might be good elsewhere could not be introduced here now. It seems to me that a common gaol in each district would be a good thing, and that a judge should visit each district: that roads should be made: and that good natives of Sierra Leone might be allowed to administer the Government.

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2493. You would propose to do away with the government of Chiefs?—I think so, and let the District Commissioner be the Paramount Chief in each district. Mr. TRICE.

2494. What would you substitute for the Chiefs?—I cannot suggest any substitute. You might do away with the Paramount Chiefs.

2495. What would be the good of doing away with Paramount Chiefs?—There is too much power centred in them.

2496. But if the Paramount Chief is an enlightened man the more power he has the better?—That is so, but out of the twenty-five or thirty I know, none are fit for so much power.

2497. Then you think the Sub-Chiefs are more to be trusted than the Paramount Chiefs?—Not exactly, it is a step towards introducing another paramount power.

2498. You would let the District Commissioner assume the position of Paramount Chief?—Quite so. In Captain Sharpe's district there are about ten kingdoms.

2499. On the other hand, as the country is so large, and there are so many Sub-Chiefs, is it not an advantage that there should be some Paramount Chiefs?—I do not think they are the proper men—civilised men should be substituted for them.

2500. Would there not be a great difficulty in getting a sufficient amount of civilised men unless the expenditure was greatly increased?—There would be a difficulty.

2501. Suppose the young men who will in the course of native affairs succeed to the Paramount Chiefships were to be educated, would there not be a good chance of their governing with discretion and good sense?—Yes; but while you were educating them for the position of Paramount Chief, you might as well call them police-officers or magistrates.

2502. Does not the name of Chief carry far more influence with the people than any Police?—Yes.

2503. So that if the Chiefs were at one with the Government you would have a strong Government?—Yes. Bey Cobola has a son of fourteen who will probably succeed his father; if he was brought up to town and educated he would always be more or less like his own father: the people will not change their ideas of governing. The Police and the Chiefs will always be combatant forces, unless a Chief can be so well educated as to have the Police under him.

2504. Is there anything impracticable in having the young Chiefs educated to that extent?—No, it would be all the better that there should be a native in that place, and if he is well enough educated to take the place of a magistrate that might do as well, otherwise it would be more practicable to do away with Paramount Chiefs entirely, and increase the number of districts.

2505. Would there be any possibility of distinguishing the number of Paramount Chiefs by any process of election amongst the Chiefs themselves?—It would be a very difficult task; it would be very difficult indeed in the case of the Marampah people.

2506. Would it be practicable that there should be a Paramount King over each tribe?—That would not be so difficult: it would hamper the Government. The Timini country is so large. It would have to be carried on as a military post.

2507. Is there anything you wish to add?—It is a little difficult for me. I am a foreigner, and there is disagreement between the Government and part of the people. I am reluctant to say what might possibly injure my usefulness.

19*th August* 1898.

MR. ROBERTS.

Mr. ROBERTS.

2508. My name is Charles Francis Roberts, am a trader. I was in the Kwaia country last April when the trouble broke out. I was at my factory at Macusi.[1] I also had a sub-factory at Rufu. They never sent us printed notices about the licences. I paid £2 for selling rum, and £2 for the ordinary trade licence. I always paid my licence. The District Commissioner came to Rufu. There are two natives in charge of my factory.

[1] Or Marcushay.

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Mr. ROBERTS.

2509. When did the District Commissioner come to your factory?—In April: he levied on all my property, and took away my rice and other stores.

2510. Had he not asked you to pay?—I had paid my licences.

2511. Who came?—Captain Fairtlough and Captain Warren.

2512. He said something to you?—I was not there. It was in charge of Lamina and another native.

2513. How did you come to know about this?—From Lamina.

2514. When did he tell you?—On Sunday morning about the middle of April. I paid the tax on the 11th of April.

2515. When this levying took place you were at your other factory?—Yes: at Macusi.

2516. Did you see Captain Fairtlough afterwards?—No: they broke open the door and took away rice andpalm nuts. On Monday I sent a messenger asking him to count my houses and pay the tax. They went to Captain Fairtlough and paid it. Rufu is fifteen miles from where Captain Fairtlough was.

2517. Have you the receipt?—Yes, this is it: I have ten houses at Macusi and three at Rufu. (Temporary receipt for £3, 5s. signed by Captain Fairtlough produced, dated at Fourudugu 11th April 1898). After paying this tax, Captain Fairtlough sent some one to burn my factory.

2518. Were you present?—No.

2519. Who was in charge?—No one: they had plundered everything.

2520. How did you know that this was done by Captain Fairtlough?—My men were at Fourudugu.

2521. You say the Frontier Police came and plundered the place?—Yes.

2522. You say you made a complaint to the Governor in April last, did you get a reply?—I had no reply: I sent my letter to Mr. Parkes, and he asked me to write to the Colonial Secretary. I was in my factory at Macusi, and one day I saw four Frontier Police come; that was last July or the end of June.

2523. Was this the factory that had been burned?—No: the factory they burned was at Rufu. I sent the licence for Rufu with other papers to the Governor. The four Frontiers took me to Colonel Marshall, who they said had sent for me. I went with them. I went up to Mahera, Chief Smart's town, and about eight o'clock I presented myself at the barracks. I went to Major Bucke. He said, We have heard of you: you kept Chief Sena Bundu's property. I said, Yes, I am keeping it for him. He is friendly to the English. I was keeping his chairs and things. He said, You must go and find him. I said I did not know where he was. A man came in my place to kill me. Chief Sena Bundu came to my place. I asked him to deliver the man to me. He said he could not do so without leave from Bai Kompah, and he left the man with Santiggi Kamara. I then went on with three Frontier Police, but we could not find Sena Bundu. When they got to my place, they told me that Santiggi Kamara had just left. The Police eventually took Santiggi Kamara, and tied him.

2524. Did Santiggi Kamara try to run away?—No. They put me in the canoe, and I went to Mahera, where I found Major Bucke.

2525. Was no one at the barracks?—We landed at Rokell about 6 o'clock. Corporal Jones asked, Where is Sena Bundu? They put Santiggi Kamara in irons, but found a place for me to lodge in. As we had not found Sena Bundu the Police were ordered to burn the remaining houses at Fourudugu, Sena Bundu's place. They went there and killed a cow. They were ordered to kill everything.

2526. What day did you get to Rokel?—A Friday evening in July, about 8th. Did any of your people see the burning of Fourudugu, or did any one who was present tell you?—I can find the woman who was present. Friday morning Colonel Marshall called me and asked me many questions about whether I imported ammunition. I told him no. They got a stick and knocked my men with it, and made them sit in the sun. On Sunday morning Chief Smart said that Colonel Marshall wanted to see me.

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2527. Did you see Colonel Marshall?—No: I saw his clerk, who said Colonel Marshall wanted my boat. They took my boat and the men, and took soldiers down to Matuka and burned it. They sent Mr. Ring and the prisoners. Mr. ROBERTS.

2528. What prisoners?—Santiggi Kamara and others from the Masimera country. Colonel Marshall said, I must go to Kwalu with the other prisoners. Colonel Marshall read the charge against me, 'That you wilfully allowed your cow to trespass upon Malom Cohoo's farm, and had given him 10s. for satisfaction, and have tied and flogged him.' We got to Ronietta and slept there; one of the prisoners ran away.

2529. Who were you taken to at Kwalu?—The District Commissioner, Dr. Hood. The charge was read, and I pleaded 'not guilty.'

2530. Did Dr. Hood call witnesses?—Malom Cohoo made his complaint. They said it was too late. I was bailed. Next day at one o'clock they tried the matter. I asked the man why he had come to my house on Sunday morning. He did not answer. (I knew it was to kill me, Roberts said.) The District Commissioner asked if I had a witness. I brought five, and produced the sword with which Malom Cohoo wanted to kill me. The District Commissioner fined me 20s., and asked Malom Cohoo who had chained him, and Cohoo said it was Sena Bundu. I borrowed the 20s. from Chief Smart to pay with, as I had no money with me.

2531. What more?—They have set me at variance with the country people; they took my boats to burn their towns. The people are making a plot against me, as they say I have made a plot against Santiggi Kamara, and have got him arrested. I dare not go to Macusi, and Santiggi Kamara's children are following me, saying that I caught their father, and I have no rest or peace.

2532. Who is the nearest District Commissioner to your factory?—At Kwalu.

2533. Have you complained of this matter to the District Commissioner at Kwalu?—Yes: I show copy of the letter I wrote to him. I have not yet had any answer.

2534. Was this sent through the post to Kwalu?—No: Mr. Green took it. I have sent a letter to the District Commissioner, not otherwise.

2535. Were you engaged in collecting the hut tax?—Yes: I assisted Captain Fairtlough. He did not ask me to help him.

2536. How did you come to help?—I counted the houses. The people of Kwaia don't fight. They pay their tax and their towns are burned.

2537. What towns?—Fourudugu, Matmio and Rufu. That is the Rufu opposite the factory of Paterson and Zochonis. My factory was at another Rufu fifteen miles from Fourudugu.

19th August 1898.

SIR S. LEWIS, C.M.G.

Sir S. LEWIS.

2538. My name is Samuel Lewis. I am a Knight Bachelor, C.M.G., and a member of the Legislative Council. I am a Barrister of the Middle Temple, Member of the Chamber of Commerce, have acted as Queen's Advocate and Chief Justice, and was the first Mayor of Freetown.

2539. Are you still a member of the Town Council?—Yes.

2540. You have taken, and do take, a great interest in the affairs of the Colony?—Yes.

2541. In their industrial and educational aspects?—Yes.

2542. Have you also taken an interest in the affairs of the Hinterland?—Yes, but for some years I have not visited the Hinterland myself.

2543. You have travelled a good deal in the Colony?—Yes: I have gone to Sherbro, Bagru, and Imperi.

2544. Speaking generally, what would you say are the agricultural possibilities of the Colony?—The Colony itself, speaking of the Peninsula of Sierra Leone, the agricultural prospects are fair in certain districts, that is in the district, say from Hastings to Songa and up to the point where the peninsula ends. The mountainous districts do not offer, in my

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opinion, any very fair prospect for agricultural success. I have myself been largely engaged in the growth of agricultural produce, chiefly coffee, both in the hilly district and in the lower land, which I have mentioned as being favourable for cultivation. I have found that though hilly districts are very favourable to the growth of coffee, and it may be also other things, such as pine-apples, yet the wholesale destruction during years past of the forest land has diminished very greatly the fertility of the soil, and the only hope to get this land suitable for agricultural purposes, would be to get men, as I have sometimes suggested either from America or the West Indies, who understand something of cultivation and the system of manuring.

2545. What has caused that destruction of forests?—It was originally due to the timber trade, which first removed the very large forest, and subsequently and more particularly to the squatters on Government land, burning indiscriminately in the course of their cultivation. It was due more to the want of knowledge than to mischievous intention.

2546. As to the agricultural capabilities of the other parts of the Colony?—The Bagroo, and even other places in the Hinterland seem to me—except where there are hilly rock districts—to offer very good facilities for agricultural purposes, but inasmuch as these places are hardly used for real agriculture, it requires some direction to be given to those who might be called upon to deal with the soil, so that they should not pursue the same method as in the Peninsula. In the Colony I am including Imperi and Bagroo, but not the sandy coasts.

2547. As to mineral products?—I know a little of geology, and have studied the question for years past, but could find nothing but iron.

2548. Has iron been found in any workable quantities?—Not in any extensive way. The natives in the Hinterland make the iron for their own implements. I have noticed between Waterloo and Hastings, large blocks of iron ore seemingly very nearly pure. Those were along the line of the railway.

2549. As things stand at present, what means have you of getting labourers?—Except since the railway work began, labour was plentiful. It came almost wholly from the Hinterland. About seventeen years ago, a large number of Timini people could be had for agricultural work, and were mostly employed by the farmers.

2550. For wages?—Yes.

2551. Could they be employed on such wages as left a good margin for profit?—Yes: at the present time things have changed somewhat, and the Mendis have supplied the labour market for agriculture.

2552. Then the Timinis do not come now?—Hardly at all.

2553. Have you travelled much in the Hinterland?—No.

2554. I suppose no estimate has been formed of the population of the Hinterland?—I do not think that even Government has full materials, it is only guess-work. I think the general opinion is that in the Mendi country, the population is very large. It varies considerably in different parts.

2555. Are the Mendis a tribe who readily adapt themselves to industrial ways. I speak of agriculture?—That is their chief work.

2556. I mean for hire?—They do.

2557. Do they work well and readily?—If they have superintendence.

2558. How many labourers could one overseer take charge of properly?—Suppose you had one hundred men on the same work, one overseer would be enough, but it depends on circumstances.

2559. Superintendence would always be a material item in the cost of labour?—Yes, though native superintendence would be quite enough. With regard to the Mendis, if the Superintendent understands their language, he can utilise their natural intelligence to materially assist in the work.

2560. They are an intelligent people?—Yes: they are very shrewd.

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2561. What character do Timinis bear as labourers?—At present it seems to me that Europeans like them better than Mendis. The Timini is more tractable than the Mendi, but is inferior to the Mendi in intelligence. Sir S. Lewis.

2562. I suppose you could hardly say anything about the capabilities as labourers of other tribes?—The Timinis and Mendis practically include the whole people. Our jurisdiction begins on the North with the Timinis, and on the South with the Gallinas, who are a species of the Mendi. Further to the east you have the Komas and the people at Falaba, who are neither Timinis nor Mendis, but the great bulk in English jurisdiction are either Timinis or Mendis.

2563. Are the Timinis and Mendis pure tribes? or do they mix with other tribe's people as far as you know?—Suppose a person were to be taken as a slave from the Timini country to the Mendi country, he or she would intermarry: that is the Mendi character.

2564. You were speaking of Timinis and Mendis as labourers in the Colony?—Yes.

2565. Is there any reason, tribal or otherwise, for the Mendis, for example, not going out of their own district?—Mendis will go anywhere for hire.

2566. Would there not be jealousy on the part of the native tribes in the places where they were introduced?—I should be afraid there would: the Timinis for some reason, look down on the Mendis. They are generally better dressed for one thing. I have seen the way in which the Timinis treat the Mendis, and also the resentment of the Mendis.

2567. I suppose you are familiar with this list of Treaties?—(Shown list compiled by Mr. Parkes 1788 to March 1891: C. O. African, West, No. 411.)—Yes, I am acquainted with them.

2568. Is it, speaking generally, a full and correct list?—I think so.

2569. The Colony of Sierra Leone originated about the year 1787 in the purchase from the Chiefs of a portion of the peninusula, and subsequently other lands were ceded by other Chiefs?—Yes.

2570. This process was continued until quite lately?—It is important to note that from the time of Governor Turner who accepted the cessions of Territory down to Liberia, All the cessions accepted by the Governor were not ratified by the Colonial Office. The next place taken over was Port Lokko and the district near it by Governor Campbell. That Treaty was not ratified, and a new Treaty was made by Sir John Jeremie in 1841 by which the Treaty was confined to Slave Trade questions and other matters instead of accepting the Territory. This Port Lokko Treaty is fully explained in the Report of Dr. Madden, who was sent out here as Special Commissioner in 1842.

2571. Were there other Treaties in the same position?—Yes the Treaty of 1825. There was a special despatch with respect to this Treaty.

2572. Would it be correct to say that all Territory which now forms the Colony of Sierra Leone was acquired by grant or cession from native rulers?—Subject to the fact that after the Treaties were made, people were given to understand that these Treaties had not been accepted, and afterwards fresh Treaties were made as if the Territory was independent.

2573. In other words, the Chiefs retained the Territories under certain stipulations?—Yes: stipulations which showed that they were regarded as independent Sovereigns making Treaties with the British Government. With regard to Governor Turner's Treaty 14th September 1825 (14 in Vol. II. Ordinances of Sierra Leone), which included the Territory down to Turner's peninsula, though Native Chiefs were allowed to treat the Territory ceded as independent territory. A Treaty was made by Governor Rowe with the Chiefs of the country in 1875 to confer upon the Government fiscal rights in these Territories. The matter was referred to England, the legal opinion was to the effect that fiscal rights could not be exercised without Territorial rights. And after the raising of that question, Governor Havelock in 1881 had to call the Native Chiefs together and get them

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to ratify the Old Treaty of Cession, and thenceforward these districts were treated as British Territory.

2574. This was practically a re-enactment of Governor Turner's Treaty of 1825?—Yes.

2575. As they stand, and independently of the fact of disallowance, all these Treaties purport to transfer Territory?—Yes.

2576. Then practically is the whole Colony dealt with as if it was Territory ceded to the British Crown?—Yes.

2577. With regard to the foundation of the law in the Colony, could you say whether the Colony has been dealt with as a vacant territory settled by British subjects, or as a territory containing aboriginal inhabitants which had been transferred to the British Crown?—It was a cession of Territory for British subjects who were coming into the country, and the subsequent cessions of Territory have all been made under the supposition that Territories taken under the Treaties shall be included as a part of the Colony, and dealt with in the same way.

2578. For juristical purposes the Colony is regarded as a settlement of British subjects?—Yes.

2579. According to this all laws in force in England would become the laws of the Colony—that is laws in force in England at the time of the cession?—Quite so.

2580. Were you in the Colony when the Protectorate Ordinance was passed?—I was present in the Council.

2581. I suppose you have given a good deal of attention to the native law in the Protectorate?—No.

2582. Have you come much in contact with the Chiefs of the Protectorate?—Yes.

2583. Are there any recognised exponents of native law?—None, except the Chiefs themselves.

2584. Is there any way in which uniformity of law is secured among the different Chiefs?—It seems to me that the Poro system is a system by which they try to secure uniformity of law in any particular part. The word Poro itself I believe means uniformity.

2585. Would it be correct to say that Poro means a rule or law agreed upon and given out by native rulers of the country which is to be enforced in certain areas?—Yes. Certain persons who have the Poro marks are admitted to the meetings of the Poro.

2586. Is Poro only binding on the initiated?—It is generally binding on men, women and childrem. I know it in this way. As a rule a Poro man will not tell you the secrets; one or two who have got into the secret have told me it is only kept up as a means of making people obey.

2587. You distinguish between Poro as a law and those superstitious observances which attach to it?—Yes: I have a French work 150 years old which shows that it is by Poro that the country is really governed.

2588. How are the Chiefs, scattered as they are, able to come to an agreement as to any law they want to enfore?—Each Chief would have a meeting in their own counties. Lately we have heard that there was a very big meeting in which Chiefs who had not met before were present. Speaking generally, each Chief who wished to pass a law would call the men to the Poro bush and discuss it.

2589. That would only apply to a law for a limited area?—Yes: not as rule beyond the jurisdiction of a Paramount Chief.

2590. Is there any information about that big meeting that could be deemed in any way authentic?—Yes; certain things that transpired at the time at which the meeting was held are now very significant. I have found (first) a letter amongst my papers, dated 30th November 1896, from a Chief in the Imperi. This man had been suspected of cannibalism.

2591. Apropos of cannibalism, is it well authenticated that cannibalism exists in the Imperi?—It is certainly murder, but I cannot speak for certain as to the eating of flesh.

2592. Is it cannibalism pure and simple or only as auxiliary to certain Fetish practices?

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—As auxiliary to these Fetish practices only. [Sir Samuel read the letter, dated 30th November 1896, in which the Chief asked for his opinion as to whether it would be advisable for him to attend a meeting of Chiefs at Yonni. Sir Samuel read his reply, dated 19th December 1896, in which he advised him not to attend. Sir Samuel then read a letter from certain Northern Chiefs, dated 4th November 1896, sent by a number of Chiefs requesting Sir Samuel to draw up a petition remonstrating against some provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance, and asking what his retainer would be. Sir Samuel read his reply, dated 7th November 1896, declining the retainer, and advising that whatever representation the Chiefs desired to make should be made direct to the Governor. Sir Samuel read a letter signed by 64 Chiefs, dated 18th December 1896.] Sir S. Lewis.

2593. Did you take means of satisfying yourself that the letter truly represented the meaning and wishes of the Chiefs?—Yes: I went to the Attorney-General on receipt of this letter. I wrote to the Chiefs that I should endeavour to make a representation on their behalf. For several reasons I thought it best to speak to the Attorney-General (Mr. Smyly), and asked his views as to what my conduct should be. He suggested that I should not myself act, as it might appear to the Governor that I was taking that course to oppose him. I thereupon did not act, but wrote to the people they should come to town. The Protectorate Ordinance was brought before the Council for amendment. The first reading of the amending Ordinance was on 14th December 1896. The second reading took place on the 22nd, and on that occasion I referred to the letter I had received from these Chiefs though I did not mention their names.

2594. The first Protectorate Ordinance was passed in September 1896?—Yes: it was against that Ordinance they wrote.

2595. There was practically an amendment of the whole Ordinance?—Yes: but I am referring now to No. 34 of 1896.

2596. What occurred next?—I never saw the Chiefs till about January of this year. One came, Momo Kaikai; I had not seen him since 1887; I was rather surprised to see him. I asked him why he came. He said about the hut tax. I told him it was too late to talk about any tax now. I asked him if he had seen the Governor. He said, No. I urged him to go and see the Governor, and arrange with Mr. Parkes about an interview. He seemed unwilling. I have found out why he was so since. He came down with another Chief, Fawoonda. I told him if they liked to come to me in a friendly way after seeing the Governor I would see them. They went away, and promised to see the Governor and come back to me. They saw the Governor, but did not come back to me. I know they saw the Governor, because I saw them coming down from Government House. Recently the Governor told me he had seen Momo Kaikai, and that he was a friendly Chief. There was another document handed to me, by the Chiefs of Port Lokko and the district near. That document was a representation against certain provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance, and it was handed to me for presentation to the Legislative Council about October 1897. The Chiefs came with Mr. Lawson.

2597. Is this letter, dated 15th October, accompanying the letter dated 20th October, addressed to yourself, the one you mean?—Yes, they brought me a letter early in October to present to the Council, I refused to do so unless one expression were removed from it. On that occasion I had a long conversation with them. Having read the memorial I brought up the Protectorate Ordinance and pointed out to them, with regard to certain parts of their complaint, that they were unfounded; or that the District Commissioner had made a mistake in making them pay for licenses, as the Ordinance of 1896 required, not according to that of 1897, and that on representations being made, the Government would direct the District Commissioners to attend to the existing law. The burden of their complaint that day was about the alleged conduct of the Frontier Police to the Chiefs of the country, and also that the Frontier Police took away their wives from them, and also about the hut tax. With regard to the Frontier Police I did not say much, with regard to the hut tax I pointed out to them that I should like to hear what their real objections were. They objected that they did not see

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why they should pay it, and used several arguments. I said, You have accepted the Protectorate: it costs the Government a lot of money, and the money must be raised somehow. You must remember that for the last two or three years the Frontier Police have been costing a lot of money to keep the country quiet, and it has been all paid by us. All we ask now is that you should contribute something. They said they did not think Frontier Police were necessary. I said I could not go into that matter with them. Then they went on another tack, and said they had not the means to pay the tax. I said, if you have not the means to pay the tax in whole, you certainly might do your best to collect it: my idea is that to show your willingness to pay it, you should go an make and effort to pay. When Government see you have done so and find that you really cannot afford to pay, I believe the matter will be considered properly. I told them to go then and write out their petition again, altering nothing except the expression which I had said was not respectful, and that I should deal with it as I thought best. They brought the petition, which I believe is this one (15th October 1897). The Governor was then absent from the Colony, and I retained the document till his arrival.

2598. Did you ascertain that all the Chiefs whose names appear here were present and joined in it?—When they brought this I forget how many were there: it was not signed in my presence. I can only identify one or two of them. Bai Bureh certainly was not there.

2599. From what they said to you about the Frontier Police did it appear to you that there was a very real exasperation?—I had heard it before: it seemed genuine. As regards the hut tax I believe they did not want to pay it at all, whether able to do so or not.

2600. Did it appear that those clauses dealing with the land question had made a great impression—Part IV. of the Ordinance?—Yes, when they came to me they had been withdrawn from the law.

2601. Had it roused feelings of opposition?—Part IV. was withdrawn in 1896: before it was withdrawn there was much heart-burning about it. After the Chiefs had given me this letter, and after the Governor had returned, I presented the letter to him, and suggested he should see them himself.

2602. It was not presented to the Legislative Council?—No, to the Governor himself. I did not intend to present it to the Legislative Council at all. I saw some of them after they had seen the Governor and told them I could not interfere in the matter any more. I remember they said to me 'You big men remain in the town and allow the country to spoil.

2603. Does anything further regarding the matter occur to you; any representations from the people?—It was only the Chiefs who moved in this matter.

2604. Could you tell me, previous to the Proclamation of the Protectorate Ordinance, did the Paramount Chiefs exercise real authority over the Sub-Chiefs, or were they by way of being only advisers?—No man could be said to have what you could regard as real authority. In a few cases where a Chief acquires a reputation as being a warrior he exercises a dominion by fear. Otherwise a Head Chief consults his Sub-Chiefs.

2605. Then are the Sub-Chiefs in any way to be taken as representing the people: is not every one able to make known his wishes to the Chief?—It is in that way that the Porro system becomes important. My information is chiefly from books: it seems as if the Porro association is the means by which the country is governed. The Head Chief calls the Sub-Chiefs and very often his subjects too.

2606. When Head Chiefs want to communicate with Sub-Chiefs do they communicate by messenger or by letter?—If it is a call to Porro, they have a kind of bell made of the carapace of a turtle, and summon them by beating that. I do not know how other calls are made.

2607. Suppose a Paramount Chief wants to call a meeting?—I think I can hardly say how they call it: certainly not by letter.

2608. Many of them have clerks, have they not?—They would not use them for that purpose: they are not really clerks, but they are traders.

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2609. Is it not correct to say they keep clerks?—Certainly not: they get traders to write for them. Sir S. LEWIS.

2610. Are they on good terms with the Sierra Leone traders as a rule?—Yes.

2611. Do they respect and look up to them?—It is only since the late trouble that we know of anything to the contrary.

2612. Have many Chiefs' sons been educated by missionaries?—A few.

2613. Have many Chiefs sent their sons to Freetown?—They used to, but have not for many years: there used to be a Government grant for that purpose.

2614. Are you aware how boys trained in this way turned out? was the result such as to encourage the Chiefs?—I cannot say: I should think the result was satisfactory.

2615. When the office of Paramount Chief becomes vacant, an election takes place among a limited number of persons of the same family; by whom is the election of the individual made in such cases?—In the time of Sir John Jeremy a paper was written on the subject: I will consult the paper.

2616. I have been told that previous to the Protectorate Ordinance that Government might have deposed a Chief and appointed another Chief in his place?—That would be under treaty giving the Government power to do so. Beyond that I do not think Government interferes.

2617. Do you think that the intimacy of any of the Chiefs with Sierra Leone traders is such that they would consult them on their own affairs?—No: in my own case I think they came to me because I had interested myself in the land question.

2618. Do you think they become acquainted with the Sierra Leone papers through Sierra Leonians?—I asked the question myself. I have my very great doubts. I have heard it stated that Bai Bureh must have been reading the papers. The Governor told me that the papers were saying things they should not have said. I told him I did not think so. I have had no connection with the Sierra Leone papers for years. Occasionally, when the local man has consulted me, I have given him advice.

2619. The Sierra Leone *Times* wrote pretty strongly?—After I had heard so much I took the trouble to read that particular paper just to form an opinion. I notice it makes remarks in broken English, especially about the Governor, which would be very difficult to understand.

2620. Did the Sierra Leone *Times* write against the policy of the Protectorate Ordinance before the outbreak?—I do not know. I have told the Editor that whatever our opinion of the thing is, when it has once passed into law, we should not express it. I asked him if he had anything further to comment on the Ordinance. When the Governor came out he went to see him, and said he would not write about the Ordinance.

2621. Then it has been said that after the outbreak began, things were written which encouraged the people to go on?—I have read every paper, and in Mr. May's paper (Sierra Leone *Weekly News*) I have found nothing. On the contrary, he supports the Government. At the time of the arrest of the Port Lokko Chiefs, there was a short article expressing a hope that the same policy which had been adopted in the Gambia would be adopted here as to the reduction of the tax (13th November 1897). Then there was an article about the misconduct of the Frontier Police, 12th February 1898. On 19th February 1898, there was a letter from a correspondent dealing with the Port Lokko traders refusing to pay the hut tax, and being imprisoned: merely news without comment.

2622. When matters went to the extremes they did, I believe the papers deprecated very strongly the actions of the insurgents?—Yes.

2623. And have since continued to do so?—Yes.

2624. I was asking you about the education of Chiefs' sons; could you say if European education would be considered any sort of recommendation, or would it be thought to be a disqualification for the position of Chief?—I. do not think it would be a disqualification. Supposing Porro is a good thing for the country if rightly applied, the question is whether an educated man would care to have his laws carried out in that way.

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2625. Do you consider that the Porro system is so engrafted that the Government could not be carried on without it?—Yes: you hear that Porro is placed on palm trees; no Mendi man would dare to touch the palm trees till it was taken off; the object is to allow the kernels to ripen. On the other hand, it may be done to stop trade.

2626. Suppose Porro had been put on palm trees, or anything else, and a man disobeyed it, what would be his punishment?—I do not know how they punish.

2627. Is there a real method of punishment, or is it only a superstitious dread?—It is a dread.

2628. Are there any Fetish priests?—As far as the Mendis are concerned, they know very little of Fetish.

2629. Speaking of education, do Chiefs prize education for their sons?—I cannot say; I think the Caulkers were at school.

2630. Is the falling off due to bad results or to want of means?—I believe Government stopped it by withdrawing the grant.

2631. You do not think it was due to disappointment at the results?—No: there were several Caulkers educated. George Caulker was trained by his own parents and educated in England: he was very highly educated, and governed his country up to the day of his death. Neale Caulker was also intelligent, but a little addicted to liquor.

2632. Do you think he picked that up in Freetown?—No: the boys in Freetown do not drink. Dealing with the question of education there is one point of general interest. Our education has been too much confined to books; in future education I would suggest industrial subjects being taught; practical teaching. I am educating some on my own property in this way.

2633. Is there any industrial training in missionary establishments?—Very little: it costs too much.

2634. Are you acquainted with the course pursued in English agricultural colleges?—I was at one myself, at Horsely Bay in Sussex.

2635. How would that system answer here?—Excellently; of course it would be rather too far advanced, as in England such things as a slight knowledge of geology, etc., are expected.

2636. As to the ordinary people of Sierra Leone, are they willing to work faithfully for hire, say, at agriculture, without an overseer?—They do not engage in agricultural work at present.

2637. They did formerly, did they not?—Those were the liberated Africans; but as soon as they had made money by agriculture, they gave it up for trading. There are still some, I believe, working at agriculture who are doing well, they do not hire themselves out.

2638. Have the Chiefs any regular sources of income except court fees?—No.

2639. Do they not get contributions from their people?—No. In the slave time slaves worked for their masters three or four days in the week, and the rest of the week for themselves. Beyond that there was nothing.

2640. But I allude to their subjects who are not slaves?—I never heard of anything of the kind.

2641. If a Chief was in a very severe strait?—I did hear that several Chiefs banded together to get a sum of money for a particular purpose. I do not know how it was collected. I do not think it is at all a common thing.

2642. Take the case of the Government, instead of asking for a tax on houses, going round to the Chiefs and asking for a contribution from each, to be collected in any way they might choose; what answer would have been given to a proposal of that kind?—I should like to express my opinion. The very fact of their saying that they do not want to pay for their houses seems to involve another question. What they say about their houses means taxation generally. I have heard some people say that if you had asked the Chiefs they would have been willing to collect it. I wish it had been done. There were one or two mistakes. We did not disclose to the people our full plans. We should have

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said to the people, 'We shall want some money from time to time.' If the people managing the Protectorate Ordinance and dealing with the question of taxation had told the people that we should want them to raise money from time to time as might be necessary, we should have got them to consent, and then should have asked them to propose a means by which they would be able to raise such amount as Government would think necessary; I believe they would have consented to that. But, as matters stand at present, it might be tried to find out how the Chiefs themselves propose to raise the revenue. The Government should tell them that money is wanted for the protection of the country. Sir S. Lewis.

2643. You consider that at the foundation there is a great respect for the English, and a desire for the English to rule the country among the natives?—That is undoubted.

22nd August 1898.

2644. How long have you been in practice as a barrister in this colony?—Since 1872.

2645. Speaking last Friday of the power of Government to depose Chiefs, I wish to give you the following references to Ordinances:—Vol. II., Nos. 15, 20; 29 (sec. 12); 31, (last par.); 32 (sec. 12), 34, 34*a*, 35. Appendices to 45, 46, 59, and 63. All these refer to Timinis, and show that we have no such power except as arranged for in treaties. For Sherbro:—Vol. II., Treaty 48, Vol. V., Treaties 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Parliamentary reports of 1842, Vol. II., pp. 286 and 287; Vol. VI. of Ordinances, No. 5 of 11th July 1876, No. 9 of 16th May 1879, No. 10 of 26th December 1879, and No. 11 of 6th February 1880; Vol. VII. 1 of 16th November 1881, giving certain additional powers. In the case of a breach by a Chief of stipulations of the treaty he may be removed and another person brought into his place. The breach chiefly to which this condition is imposed is not referring any dispute which one Chief may have with another to the Governor, and refusing to abide by the decision of the Governor or officer appointed by him for the settlement of such a dispute. These treaties would not in my opinion justify the far-reaching stipulation in the Protectorate Ordinance for deposing a Chief for practically any cause.

2646. The principal evil that this provision was intended to guard against, was Chiefs taking matters into their own hands?—Quite so.

2647. Can you tell me whether it has come to your knowledge that the deposition of a Chief has ever taken place outside the stipulations of these treaties?—No: there have been arrests of Chiefs by Governors, notably by Governor Rowe, and these Chiefs were brought to Freetown, and it was after these arrests that these treaties of 1876 were made.

2648. Was it thought that hostilities were imminent between these Chiefs when the Governor arrested them?—Hostilities were actually going on at the time. Governor Rowe arrested Tom Cabi Smith and brought him to Freetown. His case was the first that led to the revision of the treaties.

You asked me last time whether any other representations were made to me by Chiefs concerning the Protectorate Ordinance. I forgot for a moment one or two others. I remember that in 1896 Thomas Neale Caulker, regent Chief of Shengay, applied to me for advice on the subject. I believe he wrote to me, but I have not been able to find the letter. He sent Domingo, a special messenger to me, and by him I sent him back the advice that he should do as Government required, and to inform his people that Shengay was Sierra Leone, and though included in the Protectorate originally there was no ground for their objecting to the Ordinance. Sometime this year I received a letter from a Chief who signed himself Bai Kompah, of Kwaia, complaining of very serious ill-treatment received by him from the District Commissioner and the Frontier Police in connection with the hut tax, and asking that I should either see the Governor on his behalf or forward a letter to the Governor.

2649. Who was the District Commissioner?—Captain Fairtlough. I thereupon forwarded a letter to His Excellency the Governor.

2650. In these representations made to you by Chiefs, did they dwell much on the

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inability of their people to pay the tax?—The Port Lokko people that I saw harped upon that, and it was because they took that line that I suggested they should pay as far as they could, and Government would see they were making an effort.

2651. Did it appear that this plea of poverty was put forward in good faith or for want of a better?—My own feeling is that it was their objection to that particular form of tax.

2652. The tax on several people who had a number of houses must have turned out a good deal heavier than 5s. a house would seem to suggest?—I have made inquiries since, and I have found that many who paid the tax have borrowed the money from British traders.

2653. There was not much money in circulation?—No.

2654. Is trade entirely by barter?—The country people do not understand saving at all: they sell their produce and spend the money at once.

2655. What do you consider to be the causes of the rising?—I have been making inquiries and endeavouring to see if the impressions I had formed myself were borne out by the event. I have taken statements from several people. I have noticed very recently that many of the people say they are afraid to come to tell what they know.

2656. Why should that be?—One explained the reason. He was sent to me, and when he came he said, 'I hope you will keep my name private.' I asked him why, and he said because he understood that Government did not want certain things to be said, and if he told them his claim for compensation would be lost: and he asked my advice as to whether he should tell all he knew. I said that he should decidedly tell the truth, and told him to go and ask his friends if he could communicate to me what he knew. He came back and said he was afraid to tell. I pointed out to him and one or two others that all the Government wanted was to know the truth, so as to know in future how the country is to be governed.

2657. These men whose names you are giving me can speak to facts?—Yes. I have taken some of their statements in writing myself, others were forwarded to me. From these statements it seems that the first trouble arose in the attempt to arrest Bai Bureh. I believe though, from these statements, that trouble would nevertheless have arisen anyhow, because the statements show that the natives in the Timini as well as in the Mendi land had made up their minds to oppose the payment of the tax. These matters were accelerated by the arrest of the Chiefs for not readily paying, for not expressing their consent to pay, and by the Frontier Police proceeding to collect the tax in several cases in which they acted, to say the least of it, improperly.

2658. In speaking of the arrest of the Chiefs, do you refer especially to the arrest of the Port Lokko Chiefs?—Yes, as well as the Mendis. Taking the order of events, the immediate rising in Port Lokko was due to the attempt to arrest Bai Bureh, and the main cause is the opposition to the hut tax, and the manner in which the Frontier Police acted in attempting to collect its payment. I can give three instances as to what they did do.

2659. Before you give these instances, do you consider that there was a formed design to resist the hut tax which would have led to its being resisted, however gentle and accommodating the method of its collection might have been?—It appears to me that they would have resisted payment in whatever way it was sought to collect it. You will see that the Sherbro Chiefs, at all events, had made up their minds to passively resist it: it would seem that they had made up their minds to go to gaol rather than pay the tax.

2660. In your opinion it would be an error to suppose that there was any antecedent aversion to English rule that led to their behaviour in the hut tax?—My opinion is this, that where people submit themselves to British rule, we do not sufficiently consider their little peculiarities, but impose unsuitable measures which might have been avoided with a little consideration. They object to the hut tax on the general principle of taxation, whereas they might have been willing themselves to raise in their own way a certain amount of revenue to meet the Protectorate expenditure. We did not consider whether the hut tax

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was a way that they themselves would have adopted or would have considered as most objectionable. I may mention that before the Protectorate Ordinance was even drafted, the Governor mentioned to me that he intended to introduce the Protectorate policy, and that he proposed to raise revenue by means of a hut tax. Sir S. Lewis.

2661. In your opinion there are certain native views respecting the hut tax that make it a peculiarly objectionable form of tax?—They have not been used to it.

2662. Independent of want of use, is there anything in the nature of the tax that makes it particularly repugnant to native feeling?—No.

2663. It has been said that by paying the tax you put away the right of property in your house: is there any foundation for this view?—Taking their statements it seems to be the case: many of them made the statement. In fact, before the raid some of the natives were saying, 'the little sticks and mud we put together we are made to pay for: they will end by driving us out of the country.' That was the way they looked at it.

2664. I should like to emphasise my question. You recollect the Indian Mutiny: although the greased cartridges were the direct reason of the outbreak, yet there was a long-standing and growing aversion to the English, and to this the greased cartridges were the match to the powder: do you think that the hut tax is in any way comparable to this?—Looking at our relations with the Hinterland just before the tax, there was a misapprehension as to what our position was. At one time during the discussion of the Bill, it was stated by the Governor that the fact of a place being in the Protectorate makes it at once British territory, and liable at once to all laws which govern British territory. I pointed out then that the question would turn on the arrangement that was made between the protected state or people and the protecting power: and that if we had treaties with the natives which justified our passing this Ordinance, then it was quite clear that there would be no difficulty in the future, and the success of the Protectorate policy would depend on what the people agreed to and what we were putting down in the Protectorate Ordinance, because it appeared to me, if they agreed up to a certain point that supremacy should be exercised over them and we overstepped that point, a difficulty might arise. We have not been informed what was the nature of the agreement which was made with the people.

2665. You mean prior to the Protectorate?—At the time of the discussion of the Protectorate Ordinance and up to now.

2666. Do you consider that the native Chiefs have a distinct understanding of the obligations they incur under the treaties?—Yes: I speak of treaties from Governor Rowe's time up to 1881. The stipulations of these treaties have been first discussed over and over again so as to be thoroughly understood, both before they were put into writing and after they were in writing before they were signed.

2667. That was at meetings of Chiefs summoned in certain districts for the purpose of discussing it?—Yes: the Chiefs discussed it by themselves and also with the Governor, but according to the native character they always required some little time to consider before they put their hands to anything.

2668. Do you consider, from what came to your knowledge, that the Chiefs have any conception of their position as independent sovereigns?—Certainly.

2669. There are two aspects of the Protectorate: first where the superior power protects from attacks of outside enemies, and secondly, where it protects by preserving order among the people themselves: has there been much or any appreciable protection of the tribes adjoining the colony from foreign enemies?—Historically there have been occasions on which this Government has interfered and settled disputes between two contending parties, but I do not know of any case in which this Government has gone to protect one party from another by any warlike demonstration.

2670. Was there not a raid by Samory a few years ago?—Yes.

2671. On that occasion did the British Government do anything appreciable?—Yes.

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2672. Was that a raid of importance?—Yes: it would always be regarded as such by natives. It appears to me that when the whole situation was in our hands we let it off.

2673. On the Gold Coast, as you know, there were very clear cases of the British Government interposing to protect natives from Ashantis: has there been anything similar here?—Nothing except Samory: and, if I may be allowed to make the statement, it was not that we wanted to protect the tribes, but to clear Samory from the districts where our trade was carried on.

2674. That may have been the ultimate cause; still the mode of action was protective?—Certainly.

2675. Was that a matter of such magnitude, that it would attain much currency throughout the district and live in their memory?—I think so: but speaking of this protection of the tribes in the interior with whom the Government fought against Samory: it does not deal with the Mendis. Government may have papers to show that Samory was coming to fight against people allied to Sierra Leone, but as Samory had been fighting with the French and attacking territory supposed to be within French jurisdiction, it does not seem to me that his object was to attack British interests.

2676. Did he penetrate far into our territory?—I do not think so. It did not affect the Protectorate generally.

2677. What did the Chiefs in their letter of 18th December allude to when they say 'the country has been suffering from war for some years back'?—Their own intertribal wars, which we never interfered with, except to settle matters for them sometimes.

2678. In connection with the hut tax, the Frontier Police in more than one case, with their officers, are alleged to have destroyed houses by burning, to have fired upon the natives, and to have killed some of the natives. Some believe that the wholesale butchery of missionaries and Sierra Leonians in Sherbro was done in revenge, or rather retaliation, for the killing of a few natives by the Frontier Police.

2679. Tell me this: are these allegations supported by reliable evidence?—Yes: the way I have endeavoured to find out the truth was to get people from different districts each one to state what he knows, and in some cases several people from the same district make a similar statement.

2680. Has it come to your knowledge that there were complaints as to the conduct of the Frontier Police antecedent to the collection of the hut tax?—Yes.

2681. A good many complaints?—To me complaints did not come.

2682. Has it come to your knowledge that complaints were made?—Yes; the Port Lokko Chiefs made a very serious complaint when they saw me in October last year.

2683. Have communications been made to you since the collection of the tax begun?—Yes, of firing and burning. If a Chief refuses to pay, it is looked on as a reason for burning his houses and such things, which have led in one or two cases to the killing of natives. There is one notable case which happened near Upper Bumpe. About 24th April this year, a Bumpe Chief sent down a special messenger to Mafwe, complaining of some Frontier Police who had gone to Jose's town and had shot one of the natives, and he wished the sergeant of police in that district to take steps to give some redress; and he then made some threats as to what the Bumpe people would do.

2684. Was that matter investigated by the authorities?—A few days after that the Bumpe people rose. With regard to the reported conduct of the Frontier Police, I have heard a great deal since the outbreak, in several cases from eye-witnesses of the occurrence.

2685. How far would the natives identify the Frontier Police with the English Government; or how far would they consider the Frontier Police were carrying out the wishes of the English Government?—It seems that the natives are so afraid of the Frontier Police, that the mere fact of putting on their uniform and carrying their guns is sufficient to frighten the people away.

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2686. That would speak to a good deal of terrorising?—I am afraid so. Two or three police would go to a village and demand what they wanted for their own use, and would take it against the wish of the owners. Sir S. Lewis.

2687. Assuming that there was that misconduct, how far would it give rise to exasperation against the Government?—Some people say it is no use complaining against the police as you can never get redress. I believe myself, that where there has been proper representation made to the District Commissioners, and where the District Commissioners have been able to hear the people, they do not take the part of the police.

2688. You think the Frontier Police themselves have put obstacles in the way of complaints reaching the District Commissioners?—Yes.

2689. Then there is a long hiatus between that state of popular exasperation against the police and the rising itself?—Yes; we have this intermediate stage, namely, the police going about to collect the tax in the way I have mentioned. In some cases where they went to collect the tax solely, they acted just as they did before, stealing private property for their own use.

2690. I would ask you this question: Looking at the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance, what is the legal remedy supposing a Chief refused or neglected at the proper time to pay the tax?—His property could be seized.

2691. Nothing further?—I have seen nothing in the Ordinance (witness referred to the Ordinance); I see nothing else.

2692. From what I have read about the matter it appears to me that the actual operations of the rebellion were carried on with far greater ferocity in the Bumpe country than in the Port Lokko district?—Yes.

2693. Can you account for it in any way?—In the Port Lokko district, up to the time of the rising commencing, there appears to have been no shooting of natives by Frontier Police, as happened to have been the case in the Sherbro and Mendi land: besides, Mendis are the most revengeful people; and if you draw blood from them they will seek to draw blood from you.

2694. That is their general character?—Yes.

2695. More revengeful than the people of the Port Lokko country?—Far more: and yet more open in disposition.

2696. Do you consider that that revengeful ferocity was enough to explain the murder of the missionaries in the Bumpe district?—They attach the killing of one of their own people to the Government, and they say: 'You are the Government's piccin (subjects),' and they include the missionaries.

2697. Do you suppose there is any dislike to missionaries as introducing a new religion into the country?—That is quite groundless.

2698. Have you ever heard it alleged that they considered the missionaries to be spies for the Government?—I have heard so many things that I cannot be certain of the foundation of certain allegations. I have heard it alleged that the rising is due to the desire to oust the British Government, so as to enable the natives to indulge in the practice of slave-dealing, cannibalism, and other objectionable practices: facts which must be known to every Sierra Leonian are opposed to the correctness of that view.

2699. You have not heard of the murder said to have occurred at Port Lokko by the police of Bai Banguras' brother?—I heard of an arrest: I have a memorandum that the Frontier Police did do something in the Port Lokko district.

2700. Then, as to the missionaries, you consider that there is no other explanation except that the natives joined them all with the British subjects?—Yes: just as they did the Sierra Leonians.

2701. Was there any particular exasperation against Sierra Leonians for unfairness of dealing or harshness in trade?—Nothing of the sort: they were on most friendly terms up to the moment when the trouble arose.

2702. In connection with the representations of native Chiefs about the Ordinance, do

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Sir S. LEWIS: you know anything about a telegram that was sent to the Secretary of State by the Chiefs? —No: I know nothing about it.

2703. Anything else in connection with the rising which you would wish to bring before me?—Nothing more as to the cause. I think I mentioned the arrest of the Chiefs as being among the causes.

2704. Then, if I am not wrong, your opinion in summary is that there was no desire or design to be rid of the English Government, but there was a desire and design to resist the hut tax to the utmost extent of their ability; and hostilities were provoked by what they deemed hostile treatment of themselves?—Yes: they had meant to resist passively.

2705. No doubt you wish to say something about other matters?—As affecting the whole policy of the Protectorate Ordnance, I wish to point out that the course and method of legislation in recent years have been very unsatisfactory. Measures of serious importance are brought before the public and the unofficial members of the legislature in such a hurried manner as not to allow sufficient time for their fair consideration before they are passed into law. Take even this Protectorate Ordinance of 1896, affecting as it does such wide interests, it was published I believe only a few days before the 1st September. It was read the first time on 1st September 1896, read the second time on 8th September 1896, and was in the committee stage the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th September, and passed into law on 15th September 1896. Even apart from the rapidity with which the Bill was dealt with, it was not possible for unofficial members of the council to obtain, though request was made for it, such information as would enable them to deal with the Bill fairly. In the Sierra Leone Weekly News of 1st September 1896 there is an article on the Ordinance: my comments were reported the following week. Well meant suggestions by unofficial members for improvement, according to their opinion, of Bills before the legislature were too often treated with hostility. Dealing with the progress of the Protectorate Ordinance in the legislature: I informed members as we left the room one evening that I could not any longer attend the council, having regard to what passed that evening. I nevertheless afterwards continued to sit, though I felt it was useless to make any suggestions with regard to the Bill.

2706. Apart from the fact of the official majority being enough to carry their opinion was there anything to show that opposite views were not receiving a fair hearing?—That is my opinion.

2707. Could you put this a little more particularly?—During certain stages of the Bill, I was the only unofficial member present, and after I had stated certain objections to which I expected some explanation or reply to be given, the course pursued was for the President to ask for a vote on the particular question. In one particular passage I remember that I suggested with regard to the land clauses of the Bill a certain amendment, with a view to making clear the provision as to the meaning of the words 'waste lands' so as not to deprive the natives of the right of collecting from the forest palm-kernels, kolas, and other such products. Whilst discussing this point I pointed out that unless such a course as I suggested were taken, there would be a risk as to the interpretation to be given to the particular expression. I invited the Attorney General to express an opinion as to whether the clause as it stood would not create the doubt that I expressed: the Attorney General in response to my requirement said that when the question as to the interpretation of the particular provision came before the court it would be time enough for the court to decide it. What I am complaining about is not the majority carrying the views of the Government, but the fact that even the Government measures themselves are not explained when the request is made by the unofficial members. In my view the position of the unofficial members of the Legislative couucil within the past few years is a mockery.

2708. What is the practice as to the publication of bills before the council?—There is a rule of the council itself among the standing orders, with the sanction of the Secretary of State. Last week there were two bills before the council, one for the amendment of the Supreme Court Ordinance, and the other for the amendment of the law of trial by jury, the latter of these bills takes away in capital cases the right of trial by jury. A certain

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association of gentlemen, wishing to consider these bills, sent for copies to the Secretariat where they were supposed to be kept for sale to the public: the members could not get a copy. It turned out that the public also had no means of knowing what these bills were until they became law. I mention this as one out of many cases. Sir S. Lewis.

2709. Are these copies to be obtained at the Secretariat?—Yes: by anyone asking for them.

2710. What was the reason assigned for not furnishing them, may they not have been out of print?—We got no reason.

2711. In the existing law what jurisdiction has the Supreme Court in the Protectorate?—Its jurisdiction is limited by section 13 of the 1897 Ordinance: no jurisdiction at all except in certain cases of appeal.

2712. Neither in civil or criminal cases where the cause of action has been in the Protectorate?—No.

2713. It does not appear to me as if the official members themselves, except in very few instances, were expected to study questions so as to be able to form an independent opinion, even for the assistance of the executive: because it is rarely that one hears of the reasons supporting a measure. And I take it that even though official members may be bound to vote upon Government measures in accordance with the wishes of the Government, it does not appear to follow that they are restrained from giving their private opinion to the Government. At present there are only two unofficial members of the Council, and if one of these members happens, as I did a short time ago, to be unable to attend the Council, the other is not in a position to submit even a motion.

2714. The Legislative Council has recently had conferred upon it certain powers of legislating for the Protectorate, do the Chiefs understand anything about that power?—I do not think they do.

2715. What conception have they formed regarding the Council or its powers?—Some of them, the Port Lokko Chiefs especially, know that the Council has done certain things and passed laws.

2716. Suppose the Chiefs were better educated than they are, would there be any practical advantage in introducing them into the council?—Most certainly: it would be one of the best things possible.

2717. As things are at present, Chiefs could not understand the proceedings nor express themselves?—No; still there might be an intermediate means adopted in the mean time, say an Advisory Board, which would give them the feeling of having a voice in the Government.

2718. Have you any scheme by which a limited number could be brought in as representing the others?—I do not see any insuperable difficulty. It would require consideration.

2719. In principle you are clearly of opinion that it would add confidence to the acts of the Council if there were a certain number of Chiefs who had some way of making their wishes heard?—Certainly.

2720. Then what as to extended representation of Sierra Leonians?—It seems to me that extended representation might to a certain extent cure the present evils: it appears that mercantile interest is not sufficiently represented in the Council.

2721. Has any difficulty arisen from there being two jurisdictions, one being for British territory and the other for the Protectorate; have they not conflicted or clashed in any way?—The clash would consist more in matters relating to Court processes. I know that when the Protectorate Ordinance was first passed, and a certain section was introduced to remove certain cases which were pending or practically settled from the Sierra Leone court. These cases were to be begun again *de novo* in the Protectorate. Several people who had got judgments in Sierra Leone were told that they had become fruitless: that difficulty was at once felt. When a trader is indebted to a firm, and has property in the colony, the firm may not take any steps against him in Sierra Leone if his factory is in the Protectorate.

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Sir S. LEWIS. As the Ordinance stands a District Commissioner can exercise a certain amount of jurisdiction in Freetown, and yet the Supreme Court is powerless in the Protectorate. A District Commissioner can send his warrant for a person whom he expects to find in the Protectorate: that person is found in Freetown, and is arrested upon that warrant which discloses no offence. The man could go to the Supreme Court and move for a Habeas Corpus for alleged illegal arrest in Freetown. The Court says 'whether it is an illegal arrest or not in Freetown the Protectorate Ordinance says I have no jurisdiction.'

2722. Under what section did the Court give that decision?—Section 13; and Section 4 of No. 16 of 1898. In stating that there were no grounds for supposing that the rising was due to a desire on the part of the natives to shake off British authority for the purpose of bringing back certain practices of theirs—slave-dealing, cannibalism, and others. I may mention with regard to slave-trade that the Protectorate Ordinance has nothing to do with the stopping of slave-trade. The natives, beginning with the Timinis country, from about 1837 entered into treaties on that subject with this Government; in 1840 those treaties were ratified under Sir John Jeremy, and all along right up to 1890 the natives knew that they had entered into binding treaties with this Government to abolish slave-dealing. In 1890 Sir J. Hay introduced the Frontier Police, and regulations were then made by which the Frontier Police practically became a stop to local trading in slaves between the Mendi and Susu countries.

2723. Although the Chiefs incurred obligations to Government to prevent slave dealing, yet it was not actually penal until the Protectorate Ordinance was passed: except that Chiefs might take any steps to stop it that they wished?—Quite so: though not punishable by law from 1890 it was practically stamped out. The Governor himself in a speech made in England in 1894 referred to this fact, I believe. In fact, traders who were present when Sir J. Hay went up had the necessity of using the Frontier Police for that purpose particularly pointed out to them.

2724. Do you think that any feeling has grown up among the Chiefs themselves that slave dealing is not desirable?—I think so: it is a rule not to sell a domestic slave: a slave sold outside the country must be a slave taken in war: when war ceased slave dealing ceased.

2725. Domestic slaves then could only be sold as a punishment?—Yes: it is very rare.

2726. Did not the Chiefs feel the stopping of slave dealing as a grievance?—No.

2727. Do you think that the practice of slave dealing has so completely ceased that if the English rule were withdrawn it would not revive?—I should be afraid to withdraw it just yet: as it is easier for the Chiefs and people to make a living by selling slaves, they would resort to it if outside pressure were removed.

2728. Then they are not educated up to a point where they see it is evil in itself?—I should not trust them. As to cannibalism which is alleged to have been another cause: as to that the answer is that cannibalism is not known amongst the whole of the Timini tribes: among the Mendis it is not even known except just a few that are associated with the Sherbros. The location of this alleged cannibalism is the Imperri: in fact, we have never heard of any cases except in that district: therefore it seems to me that the rising in Port Lokko and in Mendi land generally could not be due to a wish to reinstate cannabalism. In the treaties made in 1841 there is a stipulation against human sacrifices. Sir John Jeremy, who himself got this treaty signed, says in his paper on the subject that human sacrifices are said not to have been practised of late years, if ever among this nation. He explains why the stipulation was allowed to remain.

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With regard to the allegation that this rising was due to the desire of the natives to restore the condition of slavery in the country: this could only refer to domestic slavery.

2729. You consider domestic slavery is practically the only form of slavery that has existed for a very considerable time?—Yes.

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2730. Can you make any estimate as to the proportion of persons who, up to the time of the Protectorate Ordinance, were in the situation of being domestic slaves?—I should only be guessing without sufficient data: but it is believed that a very large proportion of people were in that state.

2731. More than one half?—I should not like to fix any proportion. As to domestic slavery, that is an institution which has existed continuously for a considerable time prior to any accounts that we have in the treaties made with the interior tribes, and in none of these treaties was any attempt made to interfere with it whilst it was confined to the Hinterland itself. In the treaty of 16th April 1836, made by Governor Campbell with the people of the Timini country, in clause 9 a stipulation was made for the return to their masters of any slaves (domestic) who should have run away into British territory. But such a step being so contrary to the genius of British law with regard to the liberty of the person, the treaty was not ratified: and in 1841 Sir J. Jeremy introduced the treaty to which I referred yesterday, and excluded that clause. And I believe in his memorandum he explained to the people his reason for the exclusion, so that at least from that time the people in the Hinterland knew that the running away of their domestic slaves into British territory would not be followed by any surrender of them.

2732. In that respect the Protectorate Ordinance does not seem to have made any difference: still on many papers that have come in there have been many complaints?—The Protectorate Ordinance seems to improve the position of the masters.

2733. The only cognisance it seems to take of it is to say that slaves may redeem themselves?—Yes. It has been stated that some of the Chiefs make statements about their slaves, but all the information that I have got is to the effect that they contend that if you prevent them from getting slaves, how do you expect them to pay the tax? So it is used more as an argument for not paying the tax: and it seems to me that the whole bent of their talk in connection with slaves is to found some argument to justify them in refusing to pay the tax.

2734. Is it within your knowledge whether the running away of slaves to Sierra Leone has increased since the Protectorate Ordinance?—For years past, now and again, domestic slaves have come away from their masters into British territory: at one time largely into Bonthe, where they got employment: some even who were runaway slaves after a time returned to their country, back to their masters. That was before the Protectorate Ordinance. Since the stopping of wars in the interior, say about 1890, large numbers of persons, many of whom must be slaves, have come from the Hinterland and pass through Sierra Leone by thousands to get employment in the Congo and other places out of Sierra Leone.

2735. Do you mean they come from regions beyond our Hinterland?—From within our Hinterland. When they return to the Colony with their earnings, received from abroad, they usually return to their country, back to their masters.

2736. And in returning do they resume their former relations?—These slaves are looked upon as children: they go back to their masters, and, in many cases, give them a part of their earnings. That has been known for a long time. The Governor has referred to it in a speech delivered to the African section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce—in 1896 I think it was. It deals with the question under two heads, domestic slavery and the influx of aborigines into Freetown. Speaking from my own personal knowledge with regard to men I have employed for years, and a large number of whom are slaves from the Hinterland, I know that they come to Sierra Leone and take employment during the rainy season, and as soon as the dry season commences for beginning farming operations in their country, they receive their pay and go back to their country to work their farms or the farms of their masters.

2737. Would you say that that fleeing from their masters is connected with any ill-treatment on the part of the masters?—No: at certain times there is so very little to eat that their masters are glad to have them away: and they are also fond of change. In the last two or three years I have taken to a new method of employing them, and that is to

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Sir S. LEWIS. employ them by the year. But as soon as the time is completed and they receive their pay, they buy goods and go into the country, always asking me to give them a memorandum to say where they came from, in order that the Frontier Police might not interfere with them.

2738. Would the Frontier Police have stopped them in returning to their own country?—The Frontier Police might believe that they were robbers.

2739. Or that they were being taken away to be sold?—Not at all; they could see they were free men.

2740. Suppose there was a declaration by the British Government that all slaves were free, coupled with a declaration that Government did not desire to disturb the existing state of things, would that make any difference?—That seems to me to be the present condition.

2741. Of course a slave has always been able to make himself free by coming to Freetown?—Quite so.

2742. Are you aware if the provision about redemption has been much resorted to?—I think not: slaves do not seem to care about it. It will take some time to destroy the patriarchal idea that attaches slaves to their masters; the domestic slave who occupies the same position as the free son, would no more care to free himself than the son does.

2743. Nor probably would there be any practical benefit arising from the destruction of that feeling if it could be destroyed?—I do not think it would be a good thing to destroy it for a long time yet.

2744. Is it a fact that the whole of our Hinterland is covered by treaties with native Chiefs, or are there any parts that are not so covered?—I think they are not covered in all cases. In the second reading of the Protectorate Ordinance I called attention to that fact, and asked upon what treaties we were basing our action.

2745. There is a treaty between the French and English Governments, dated 21st January 1895, in which a sphere of interest is defined: do we not embrace in the Protectorate all these territories so defined?—Yes.

2746. There is an Ordinance of the Governor in Council of the date 20th October 1896, by which the boundaries of the districts of the Protectorate appear to be defined: I ask you whether the districts as so defined in that Ordinance are on their outside margins coterminous with the sphere of interest as determined by the treaty between France and England?—I should say so.

2747. I now come to the question whether, in the whole of that area as defined by the Order in Council we have treaties with native Chiefs covering the whole of that area?—I have asked for information on such treaties, but none was ever furnished. Unless we wished to exercise right of possession against the will of the people we should have some sort of agreement with them: I thought the Ordinance was drawn up on these lines; hence I asked the question.

2748. Then could the boundaries of the territories within which we actually have treaty rights be ascertained from the terms of the treaties themselves?—I think so.

2749. So that any one accustomed to deal with maps, having the treaties and the maps before him, could determine what is to be included under these treaties and what not?—Governor Turner's treaty, which takes in territory from Sherbro to Liberia, leaves that question uncertain: hence in subsequent dealings with that territory, or what is supposed to have been included under that treaty, doubts have been expressed, even by Governors, and amongst them Governor Kortright, as to whether or not the Jong river is comprised in the area covered by the treaty. With regard to the other treaties which give trading rights, and rights other than rights of cession of territory, it is not usual to have a delimitation of that area covered by the treaties. Take a case of Bai Simra making a treaty as to his country, the treaty itself would not show the actual limits of the Masimera country.

2750. Then a great many of these treaties do not cede territory at all?—Very few of

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them cede territory, and with regard to cessional territories it should be noted that the treaty of cession made by Governer Turner, of the country around Port Lokko, and including Port Lokko, not only was not ratified, but it would appear from a note at the foot of the Colonial Ordinances referring to that treaty, that there was a special despatch from the then Secretary of State with reference to it; and by treaty No. 67, dated 27th February 1857, made by Governor Hill, in Section 19, all the treaties with Chiefs of the Timini country, which would naturally include that treaty of cession of Governor Turner's, were revoked. This was done by Major Crookes, who was acting administrator.

2751. Are there any other remarks on this subject which you would like to make?—I said I had nothing further to say with regard to the causes of the rising. One or two matters have occurred to me. So far as the cause of the rising goes, the best means to ascertain it would be to find out the nature of the different kinds of complaints which the Government has received prior to the rising. I mention this because I have heard that several complaints have been sent. I remember that about October last year there was an increase being made in the Frontier Police, and there were then some rumour that the object of that increase was to meet any difficulties which might arise in the collection of the hut tax. In November, when the estimates for the ensuing year were prepared, and noting the increase provided for that force, in order to determine my vote with regard to it I saw the Governor privately and asked him why the force was being increased. And I gathered from him that it was necessary in connection with the collection of the tax. I voted for it.

2752. Is it within your knowledge from what classes the Frontier Police are recruited?—The Chiefs say it is taken chiefly from amongst the slaves of the country, and the Port Lokko Chiefs mention that as a particular grievance: that their slaves should be ill-treating them.

2753. The Chiefs are not then on those ordinary friendly relations with the slaves as in the case of those you were talking about just now, who come back from the Congo and make presents to their masters?—I should hardly think that that would not be so; for though my slave may not ill-treat me he may ill-treat my neighbour, who may be a Chief.

2754. Did it come to your knowledge that the fact that no hut tax is paid in Sierra Leone had anything to do with producing a feeling of jealousy among the inhabitants of the Protectorate?—I do not think it had anything to do with it.

2755. What is the next matter?—I have noticed lately a disposition of people to venture an opinion when not asked, as to the cause of the war. I have told them that whoever knows facts should state facts—because some gentlemen from Sherbro who some time in May stated to me certain facts, which they said they were prepared to substantiate when required, have, I understand, lately been expressing a contrary opinion. But I have sent to say that I am not going to express my own opinion to anybody, and that they would do well to collect all the facts they could for submission to H.M. Commissioner.

I wish just to say a few words about the Protectorate Ordinance itself. Will you allow me to make this statement, which I think it is fair to make, that great praise is due to the Governor for inaugurating the Protectorate policy, and what some of us think, who think that the Protectorate Ordinance itself has not been as happily conceived as the idea, is, that His Excellency did not know sufficiently the character and customs of the native people in this part of the world. It does not appear that the exact position of the people in the Hinterland was taken enough into account, and it seemed to have been believed that the treaty of delimitation between England and France, followed by Her Majesty's Order in Council of 24th August 1895, was alone sufficient to give us jurisdiction to pass any Ordinance Government thought right. The debates in the Council on the second reading of the Protectorate Ordinance Bill of 1896 will show that this was the view taken.

2756. Suppose any question about jurisdiction were to arise, is there any legal tribunal capable of discussing it?—No; I am thinking of that now.

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2757. Assuming that there was a want of jural foundation for some of the provisions, would that have any effect on the obedience of the people of the Protectorate?—When you are treating the Chiefs as your subjects, you must remember that you had left them with the impression that they were not subjects.

2758. That is one of the great difficulties of a Protectorate; can you suggest any method of getting over it?—It is clear to me, having regard to the frame of mind in which the people were at the time the Governor made his visits through the Protectorate, that he might have got distinct treaties made with them, fixing conditions from our own standpoint, upon which alone we could give them the necessary protection. There was this to be said, that to take the whole measure of jurisdiction which our Ordinance had given, it would require much talking and explanation to the Chiefs before they would give their consent to it. I mean, suppose you told the Chiefs, 'For anything I think is wrong I deport you and send you away,' a man would have to think well before he agreed to that. He might not agree to that, whereas if you told the people, 'For anything you do wrong, contrary to the agreement, I will deport you,' a man may say that that is reasonable. Upon the assumption upon which the Ordinance was founded, too great powers seem to me to have been given by the Ordinance over life and liberty, even of the Chiefs themselves. I may mention that I have not stated this opinion to anybody.

Upon the question of taxation, I think it has been stated that the Chiefs of Port Lokko in one of their meetings which they held to discuss the hut tax, and their determination not to pay it, said that if Government had asked each principal Chief to raise so much from his territory for the keeping up of the administration of the country, all would have agreed.

2759. By that one would understand that the Chiefs were to collect the money from their own people in their own way, and using their own methods?—That is, not by any way that would be objectionable under the Ordinance, such as selling their people. That would still leave them a certain amount of independence. My attention has been called, only two days ago, by a gentleman in Freetown, to eleven Chiefs being imprisoned here: it may be that they are imprisoned in accordance with the Ordinance, or it may be that they are not. I myself should be totally disinclined to say a word about them if they are imprisoned in accordance with the Ordinance, but they are in the belief that they are not. I do not know who the Chiefs are: their names have not been given to me; only the number was mentioned. I remember, however, about April, somebody suggesting to me to see the Governor about the liberation of some of the Port Lokko Chiefs. I declined. I explained that at that particular juncture the whole of us must appear to sympathise with the Governor's movements in connection with the Port Lokko difficulty, even though we might individually think that these people were not properly dealt with; and that after these difficulties each man's mouth would be open, and he could say what he liked. This I mentioned generally to the Governor.

2760. Does that close what you wish to say about the Protectorate Ordinance?—Yes. I believe there was a paper sent to you from the Bar Association as to the administration of justice generally.

2761. I may ask you about the divisions of the districts in the Protectorate: the Legislative Council had nothing to do with it?—No.

2762. Is the division a convenient one?—No.

2763. Could you suggest any other method or principle of division?—I will send you a short memorandum. You asked me about education of sons of native Chiefs. Of recent years it seems there were very few. One young man, Soraba, who was not the son of a Chief, but he appears to have been trained by Government on the same basis: he is not now in the Colony. Banidi, a boy of about fifteen, was at the Grammar School for four years, up to a month ago, when he left and did not come back.

2764. Was he a satisfactory scholar?—He is the son of Chief Narabu, who was arrested and is in gaol here.

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2765. But the lad himself?—It appeared that the master preferred that he should go away. Nafodi, about fifteen years old, went away during these troubles to his own country and did not return. Sir S. Lewis.

2766. Did he go of his own accord?—It was the vacation.

2767. David Casadi was in the grammar school for six months and left when he was seventeen or eighteen, four years ago; he is now a Chief and is assisting the Government. Of course his six months training could not have been of much use to him. I mentioned the other day regent Caulker; he was never bright at school, he was too big a boy when he was sent to school. His younger brother Charles was very bright and promising, but he died many years ago. Their cousin, Neale Caulker, was killed in Shengay last May: he was a very intelligent man. I believe the Government does not intend to continue educating sons of Chiefs. My reason for the supposition is chiefly that, whereas the education grant was fixed at £100 a year for 1896, in 1897 it was reduced to £75 and this year to £50.

2768. £100 would be utterly insufficient if Chiefs required help to send their sons to school?—Utterly.

2769. You no doubt have something to say relating to this communication from the Bar Association?—What I would say is that I endorse what is said there. With regard to the Hinterland I feel particularly anxious about it. The public does not like not only the extensive powers given to District Commissioners over the natives, but also what appears to be an interference by the executive with the action of District Commissioners who are themselves judicial officers.

2770. Taking the first article, as things stand at present there is no appeal to any judicial tribunal in the Protectorate?—The people who seem to want it most have none, namely the Chiefs. Appeal is given (by secs. 14 and 15), between persons not natives, and between persons natives, and not-natives, where the subject matter exceeds £25. Appeal in criminal matters (by sec. 15), is given to any person not being a native through the District Commissioner, so that natives are not allowed any appeal at all, either civil or criminal. Supposing any of these Chiefs have not been rightly convicted or for no offence at all according to law, but are suffering a year's imprisonment, there is no court that can assist them.

2771. While the bill was passing the legislature was any explanation given as to the total absence of appeal as regards natives?—As far as the proceedings of the Council were reported, the *Weekly News* has got it fairly. I notice that on the day of the second reading the report of the proceedings which was published in the *Weekly News* of 24th October, states that the 1st to 19th clauses were passed through committee, and passed, and agreed to with some amendments. I was obliged to protest against some of the powers given to District Commissioners. As to explanation, none was given. We suggest that an appeal court might be formed, consisting of the Chief Justice, Police Magistrate, Attorney-General, and the Chief Magistrate of the Gambia.

2772. Do you think that that is a happy constitution?—The reason we suggested the Chief Magistrate from the Gambia was this: Appeal cases at Lagos are heard by two judges from the Gold Coast, and the Chief Justice of Lagos. I say we might use the Chief Magistrate. With regard to the Chief Magistrate from the Gambia the suggestion was made more with a view to meeting any difficulty that might arise as to the Attorney-General being a member of the court of appeal.

2773. Does the Chief Justice constitute the whole court now?—Yes: there is no second judge.

2774. Could a Police Magistrate be expected to exercise judiciously the functions of an appeal judge?—The point is this, that if he is a qualified barrister we would prefer him to nobody.

2775. There is another suggestion as to a district judge for the Protectorate; would there not be a great practical difficulty to a judge travelling owing to the course of the

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seasons?—I do not know how the railway is running: if it took a certain course it might facilitate this.

2776. I allude to the Protectorate as it now is, would there not be a great difficulty?—True: I do not apprehend myself that any very large number of cases would be pending which would require a judge to travel very frequently, the suggestion in the memorandum is that small cases might still be left to the ordinary Justice of the Peace with certain limits.

2777. Would you have this travelling judge only go to places where appeals were pending, or would he have a regular circuit?—Subject to the season he should make a regular circuit without waiting to be informed whether cases were pending or not.

2778. Then practically could he not do that for only half a year, unless he were a very strong man?—True: only about half the year.

2779. You propose that there should be an appeal in all cases where a person is imprisoned by a District Commissioner, do you propose that there should be an appeal upon facts as well as upon law?—I should prefer that the appeal should be open: though a person may appeal on facts, it does not necessarily follow that new witnesses should be summoned.

2780. There may be two sorts of appeals on facts; one where new witnesses are called, and a different aspect given to the case, or secondly where the judge has given a decision which is reversed on the same facts?—I mean where the whole case is reopened, and I would say that the judge of a court of appeal should have power to take such evidence as he may consider necessary. In other words that the court of appeal should have the power to allow fresh evidence to be given.

2781. That would be a different appeal to that where the court reviews the law only and not the facts?—Our position here is, if we had regular trained lawyers we might be content with an appeal: but we are now to leave the matter open to District Commissioners, who, though we expect them to know something of the law may nevertheless not be lawyers.

2782. You propose that the jurisdiction of the District Commissioner in capital cases should be abolished? what substitute would you suggest?—I should make no difference between natives and not-natives in these cases.

2783. Are you aware of any cases where the District Commissioner has adjudicated in a capital case?—I have heard of two or three, but I have only vague information.

2784. Would not such adjudication come before the Governor and be examined by the Attorney-General?—True. I said if it is good for native men to be dealt with in that way, why not for any other person.

2785. I presume you would abolish capital jurisdiction altogether and have such cases brought to Freetown for trial?—Yes: there must be very few of such cases: I have only heard of three. In one a man was condemned to death for an offence which was not capital.

2786. There is a suggestion that if a District Commissioner should exercise judicial functions he should be some one who is acquainted with the law: if he is neither a barrister nor a solicitor, what test would you propose?—He might have been a clerk in the police court: any man who has only a fair knowledge of law.

2787. But then a man who has spent enough years of his life in a police court to give him a knowledge of the law might not be qualified in other ways?—I admit that might be a difficulty. At all events a man who is to do judicial duty should have some knowledge of law: and the suggestion there is that if a District Commissioner is to do judicial duties he ought to have some fair knowledge of the law.

2788. Is it not rather a judicial mind, so to speak, that needs to be insisted on than the technique?—I am dealing with the Protectorate Ordinance as it stands: it says that in dealing with cases the District Commissioner should as far as possible follow the laws of the Colony.

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2789. Are you acquainted to any extent with the native criminal law?—No.

2790. What would you think of an enactment that would declare the English criminal law to be in effect in the Protectorate, at the same time guarding it against any technicalities?—It would be better for the natives themselves: for I take it that the general nature of crimes does not differ between our criminal law and the law of the Hinterland. A theft is a theft, and so on.

2791. Or perhaps a criminal code might be more adapted to the requirements?—It might be even simpler.

2792. Anything else with regard to these representations from the Bar Association?—No.

2793. I have been looking over the Sierra Leone *Times*, and I find that the first article on the subject of the Protectorate of any importance was an article published 17th July 1897: it was a review of the reply of the Secretary of State to the Memorial of the Liverpool and Manchester Chamber of Commerce. The other references are as follows:—

14*th August* 1897.—Some paragraphs in the news items with reference to the petition by Chiefs, to the administrator Colonel Caulfield.

28*th August* 1897.—Leading article as to uselessness of suggesting improvements in the Protectorate Ordinance then to be repealed and re-enacted with amendments.

16*th October* 1897.—Correspondence as to division of the Colony into Protectorate and Colony.

13*th November* 1897.—News item relating to the proposed meeting between the Chiefs and the Governor, and rumour as to concessions to be made to the Chiefs.

22*nd January* 1898.—News item reporting Bai Kompah's arrival in town and complaining of ill-treatment by the Frontier Police and District Commissioner.

12*th February* 1898.—News item. Excitement at Port Lokko and arrest of native Chiefs *re* hut tax: also an article on the same subject.

19*th February* 1898.—Paragraphs referring to want of sympathy by Sierra Leone people with the Port Lokko people in their troubles about the hut tax, because the Sierra Leonians did not pay a similar tax: and reflecting on Captain Sharpe's action towards Chiefs.

26*th February* 1898.—News item, of the force sent to Port Lokko and the state of things in that place.

12*th March* 1898.—Refers to the successful collection of the hut tax ironically in a short paragraph. News item, state of things in Port Lokko: Another item as to the action of the District Commissioner and the Frontier Police in Kwaia seizing and destroying: and killing one man at Bai Kompah's town: and excitement at Waterloo. Stagnation in the city consequent on affairs at Port Lokko.

19*th March* 1898.—State of affairs at Port Lokko (facts without comment). 2. Stating also that troops had burnt towns and villages, and what they spared natives burnt. 3. Leading article, reproducing article of 17th July 1897. 4. Freetown day by day: state of trade owing to troubles at Port Lokko.

26*th March* 1898.—News item. Cause of troubles, stating hut tax was last straw that broke the camel's back: but attributable also to ill-treatment of natives by the Frontier Police and the District Commissioner: and a cutting from a Liverpool paper giving an account of the arrest of Momo Jah. Paragraphs speak of Governor's good intent but defective mode.

2*nd April* 1898.—News item. Death of Colonel Bosworth, Mr. Humphrey, Lieut. Grey Brown, Captain Macdonald and Sergeant-Major Johnson reported, and return of wounded officers and carriers to Freetown. 2. An ode for King Bai Bureh. 3. Leading article deploring death of Colonel Bosworth and Rev. W. J. Humphrey—unnecessary concealment of news by Government. 4. News item as to an order for the arrest of Bai Kompah of Kwaia. 5. Letter—complaining of the burning by the Frontier Police of a

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woman, her child, and a dumb man at Senahu for resisting the payment of hut tax. 6. Freetown day-by-day: remarks in broken English about the Governor. 7. Paragraphs as to hut tax going with demolition of huts.

9th April 1898.—An ode for Bai Bureh (continued). 2. Article—"A voice from the west." 3. News item—War scare at Waterloo. 4. Paragraphs complaining against the Government for want of news. 5. Report of Coroner's inquest on the body of a person killed at Kwaia.

16th April 1898.—News from Port Lokko, amongst other things that Bai Bureh was suing for peace. 2. Leading article—Port Lokko difficulty No. 1.

2794. The ode for Bai Bureh was the thing that struck me most. It must have been written by a very intelligent man. The ode is in imitation of Milton. If Bai Bureh could ever read it at all it would be more a suggestion to surrender than to fight.

2795. If Bai Bureh was to read between the lines and take it the other way?—I do not believe that any man about Bai Bureh could interpret it.

2796. For what kind of audience could it have been written?—I condemned it at once.

2797. Who is the responsible editor?—Mr. Fitz John.

2798. Is he in the Colony now?—Yes.

2799. From your knowledge of the people in the interior, are they what might be called fighting tribes?—The Timinis cannot be said to be a fighting tribe. When there was slave-dealing, everybody had to fight more or less if only in self-defence. Mendis, however, or certain classes of them, are very fond of fighting, particularly those near the coast. The Bumpe people are fighters: their chief work was to get themselves hired out when there were disputes in the country.

2800. I have a communication from the Chamber of Commerce, would you like to make any remarks with regard to that subject?—I think I will not say anything at present.

26th August 1898.

2801. I do not think I mentioned about the people deserting their farms on account of the disturbances: will not the results be very serious for the coming year?—As a general rule there would be a short supply of food for the next season, owing not so much to the disturbances themselves at the start, but to the military operations which became necessary to put down those disturbances. From the general report it would appear that notwithstanding the indecision of the people about the hut tax, and the rising which was connected with it, they have been working their farms in the usual way.

2802. Then you think as regards actual produce the risk is not very great?—Only for this one season: the nature of the report I had, led me to that conclusion.

2803. Are you aware if there was a great destruction of food material in the military operations?—I have heard rumours but cannot verify them. I would suggest that people who are in the neighbourhood might be asked questions as to what actually took place, namely in respect to natives running away from their farms and practically deserting them, owing to the military operations. As to whether the farms were destroyed or not by the operations themselves, the consequence of the desertion would be very much the same.

2804. There is a number of small traders who seem to have lost their all, and who are willing to resume trading if a small sum were advanced to them to enable them to start again. Is there anything by way of a loan fund to help them?—There is nothing of the sort: a loan fund raised in Sierra Leone, if the rate of interest is to be that current among the money-lenders here, would be an absolute impossibility.

2805. One would have thought that it would have been worth while merchants taking up the business?—I do not think they would care to do that: in recent years the credit system has been dying out.

2806. Is the local rate of interest very high among the money-lenders?—It is something fabulous.

2807. That is in the case of loans given without security, I suppose?—Almost all the

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money-lenders take security. In hardly any cases do they give out any loan without some security, such as jewellery, personal effects, etc. Sir S. LEWIS.

2808. Is money-lending carried on to a large extent?—Yes, in Freetown. So much did the evil prevail at one time that in 1882 legislation was introduced with a view to making it illegal to claim any more than a certain rate of interest (on the lines of the old usury laws of Charles II.). The interest allowed here would be higher than that allowed in England. The Secretary of State would not sanction the Ordinance proposed by Governor Havelock, and another was suggested from England and passed here, which regulated the interest on small loans (16 of 1882 was repealed, and 21 of 1883 was substituted).

2809. Do I read that rightly as enacting that interest may be recovered to the full extent of the original loan, and no more, even if for more than one year?—Yes: you can recover for six months, or it may run for ten years, and you can get no more: that is not exceeding cent. per cent. on loans not exceeding £50.

2810. Then in fixing that amount, is it held by the court to be a matter of perfectly open contract?—Yes.

2811. The Protectorate Ordinance contains no provision for the regulation of the fees that Chiefs receive in their courts. Was that intentional?—It would seem so.

2812. Can you tell me whether in their own system the amount of the fees is regulated in any way?—There is no regular fee. Say, in a case of debt, it will not be one head of money, or half a head of money, as the case might be: the Chief would request the complainant to pay a certain sum down, and the defendant has to pay down a like sum before the case is entered upon.

2813. Would that sum vary with the amount claimed or sued for?—I think a Chief would act on that principle.

2814. At all events the Chief would always name the sum to be paid?—I think so.

2815. So that one party could not offer a larger sum than the other openly?—No; but I would not say what might be done privately.

2816. Are you very much acquainted with the working of the District Commissioner's courts and other new courts under the Protectorate Ordinance?—One or two cases have come to my notice, but I cannot say I am well acquainted with the working. From what I have learnt, if a Chief happens to adjudicate on a matter which is supposed to be outside his jurisdiction, according to the Ordinance, and the Paramount Chief happens to hear about it, he complains as to the excess of jurisdiction, and threatens to report the matter to the District Commissioners.

2817. Suppose the District Commissioner was hearing a matter that belonged to the Chief's jurisdiction, what then?—I look upon the Ordinance as making the District Commissioner lord of everything in that district. A Chief cannot complain except to the Governor, and he probably would not consider that advisable.

2818. Do you know enough of the Chief's courts to say whether Chiefs make real efforts to find out the truth in their cases?—I do not know.

2819. I suppose you could hardly say whether there has been any difference in the conduct of the Chiefs' courts since the Protectorate Ordinance?—I heard of one of the new Chiefs appointed under the Ordinance, and if the way matters are conducted in that court is the same in which they are conducted by the ordinary and older Chiefs of the country, it would appear as if native courts were more an abomination than anything else.

2820. Was that a Chief appointed in the place of one of those imprisoned or deposed?—There was no deposition, but a person was taken and placed in the district, and the older Chiefs were told to regard him as their Paramount Chief.

2821. Placed there by Government?—By the District Commissioner.

2822. What you say would be a large induction from a single instance?—I only say 'If.'

2823. Are you aware whether the Chief you speak of was one who would naturally, in

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the ordinary course of succession, have become Chief of that country?—No: it was some one outside the line of succession altogether. As a matter of fact, a trader from the Gallinas country. I may as well say at once that her name is Nancy Tucker: she is now installed at Sembehun. I learnt only yesterday from an eye-witness of the occurrence which I briefly mention now, that one of the first persons the natives attempted to fall upon and seize was this Nancy Tucker, as a mark of their disapproval.

2824. Am I right in supposing that it would be very repugnant to the opinion of the natives, that a person should be made Chief who is a stranger to the tribe, and entirely out of the ordinary line of succession?—Certainly: unless it was done with their consent.

2825. I presume in this case there was no consent?—I did not like to inquire too closely into the case, as it is connected with a matter that I represented to the Secretary of State a short time ago. Some of the native Chiefs even refused to pay the tax through her, and took the money themselves to Kwalu: notwithstanding that they were made to go back and pass the money through this lady.

2826. Are you aware of any other instances of a similar nature?—No: I heard of Soribunki's case, but not the details of it.

2827. He, at all events, was not a stranger to the country or the tribe?—No.

2828. Could you tell me what means the Chiefs have according to native law of enforcing their decisions?—I must go back to this same Porro idea.

2829. I mean in a litigated case, after a given decision?—It seems to me as if they never refuse to abide by the Chief's decision. There must be some unknown force, and I should rather think the Porro idea must prevail. I have never heard so, but suggest that they might be able to seize the person's property.

2830. You have considerable knowledge of the trade of this country and the manner in which it is carried on?—Yes.

2831. Up to the time of the recent disturbances was the trade between Sierra Leone and abroad (the oversea trade) in a prosperous state?—There is always a conflict between Government and the merchants. Taking the exports as a gauge, I have been comparing the customs returns from 1885 to the present time, and I found that there has been a rise in the quantity as well as the value of the exports.

2832. Does that rise go up steadily?—There is one year that I am not able to account for. Dealing with African produce, it has been steadily rising except for the year 1892, and there appears to be a very serious depression. The only way I can account for it is by careful study of the trade of 1891 and 1892. This fact is disclosed, that whereas, say from 1885 to 1890, the progress has been steadily continuous, reaching in 1890 to £236,638, 8s. 3d., in 1891 it rose suddenly to £329,750, 14s. 1d., and in 1892 it went down considerably, and from 1893 it went up again steadily from £300,000 to 1895, after which year I have not studied the returns.

2833. There seems a large exportation of European goods?—Yes: they were mostly carried to the French territory, but now things brought from Sierra Leone to the French territory are at a disadvantage as compared to goods imported direct.

2834. Suppose Sierra Leone loses its trade as an intermediate port to the French territories, would it be of material damage to the Colony?—Yes: I think so.

2835. Then, were goods that were brought here for French territory landed and bonded?—Yes: they paid no duty here at all; but we had the advantages of warehousing and tonnage dues.

2836. Do you remember when these French duties came into operation?—Some time last year.

2837. Is there any means to ascertain, or is it known what proportion of goods imported are consumed in Sierra Leone, and what proportion go to the Hinterland?—The Customs would not know: the merchants might assist in ascertaining that.

2838. What proportion is retained for consumption in the Protectorate, and what proportion goes beyond the Protectorate?—I cannot say that either.

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2839. There are no workable deposits of coal in the Protectorate as far as you know? Sir S. Lewis. —I would suggest that you should examine a gentleman who gave me certain information in 1885, if you wish to obtain information as to that, namely, Dr. Davis of George Street.

2840. Is he well acquainted with that subject?—He has made it his purpose to go into the interior and study the mineral question.

2841. Can you tell me, generally, the principal articles of export?—Ginger, palm kernels, palm oil, which form the bulk of the trade from Sherbo and the Mendi country: benni seed and rubber. There used to be a large quantity of hides exported, but that quantity now is small.

2842. Is that from diminution in the number of cattle?—The French territory used to supply the hides, but now there is the duty. Benni seed used to be largely exported once from the Timini country, and ground nuts, but they have practically died out during the wars 1880 to 1887.

2843. It has been said that there is a very inferior quality of spirits brought into the Colony?—It is a matter we have been considering for years.

2844. It seems spirits are very cheap, but is there anything to show that they are deleterious if not taken to excess?—No: my chief objection to the class of spirit introduced amongst the natives is, that its very cheapness attracts what capital they have too much to the purchase of it, so leaving a very poor chance for the native to be benefited by the volume of trade.

2845. You mean they spend their money on spirits?—Yes: and when they do that, they do not save.

2846. Then, is there not the palm wine in the interior, equally intoxicating, and very plentiful and cheap?—Yes: it is an argument very generally used; but I do not agree that they should compare the intoxicating character of the palm wine and that of the cheap spirit sent into the interior.

2847. I refer to fermented palm wine?—The usual thing is to drink it fresh, when it is not deleterious.

2848. But then they keep it till it is fermented, and get very drunk upon it, and the effects are even worse than those of spirits?—I never heard that.

2849. Could you say whether the increase of spirit duty materially lessened the import of spirit?—There are two standards—proof and measure: in December 1896 the principle was altered, and instead of proof being the standard the measure was taken as the standard. I believe the customs returns for the first four or five months, after this rearrangement of the tariff, show an apparent sensible decline of the spirit trade. I have not followed the figures after that time.

2850. Then the allowance for under-proof was abolished?—Yes.

2851. The effect of that, one would suppose, was that merchants would import proof spirit?—That is what might be expected.

2852. Was it so?—I have not studied the question. It is an argument whether that arrangement by which you increase the duty on this cheap spirit is to the advantage of the native at all: whether it is of any advantage to him to have the very strong and good spirit and drink it neat, or adulterate it with water, and so bring it back to the condition of under-proof: so that I myself doubt very much whether the humanitarian object of assisting the native against the drink traffichas been attained by the measure.

2853. I believe that a recommendation was made by the Chamber of Commerce that rather than have a duty of 3s. for any spirit, a duty of 5s. for proof spirit should be charged, and so on in proportion?—Yes.

2854. Do you think it was a wise recommendation?—Yes.

2855. Was it thought that a better revenue would be derived from it?—The merchants thought they would get a better value for it, and the Government a better revenue.

2856. Is there any reason to believe that, so far as you know, there is any smuggling

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Sir S. LEWIS. of spirits?—I cannot speak for the last year, but it was a very common thing until the Government found it necessary to adopt more stringent measures for the capture of canoes coming from French territory to Sherbo with spirits, and even to Port Lokko.

2857. It would be very difficult to prevent it by any precautions, unless the French would agree to uniform duties?—Yes.

2858. Is there much trade between Sierra Leone and other than British ports?—Not very much now; what there is is chiefly with Holland.

2859. Mainly spirits?—Yes; and lumber and breadstuffs from America.

2860. Is there much cotton produced in the interior?—No; but there might be. The people who used to make cloth were the Upper Mendis, who made coarse cloth: fine cloth came from Sangara. I doubt if cotton could be produced in this country to compete with the Egyptian; the modes are different, with the result that the labour is too expensive.

2861. Expensive labour is one of the great difficulties standing in the way of most cultivation?—The expense is not so much the actual cost of labour, but the want of knowledge in employing that labour in the most economic manner. Where one man with two oxen would work a piece of land, he would probably require in the same time about twenty or thirty men to do the same work.

2862. There are no beasts of draught in the Colony?—There are none in use.

2863. Do oxen thrive here?—Yes: but natives are unacquainted with them as draught animals.

2864. Would European firms be handicapped in the matter of labour?—No.

2865. Have you ever thought of making systematic plantations of rubber in the interior?—Yes, I have.

2866. Would there be any likelihood of its being successful?—It would depend whether the stimulus, which is at present given to the collection of rubber in the forest, would continue for a long time.

2867. That would depend on the market value?—Rather upon the different uses to which it could be put; it has been much extended lately. It is believed that unless plantations are formed, the native product in the forest will be exhausted.

2868. That would tend to supply the encouragement?—Naturally; I was alluding to the destructive method.

2869. Could that not be prevented?—You would have to teach them some other method. There is a vine that makes nearly as good rubber as the Para, which grows well in Sierra Leone. It used to be very plentiful at one time, but the supply is being fast exhausted. I understand that the Fula people know a system of extraction, which leaves the vine intact for the future supply of rubber.

2870. Then is there a practical system of extracting from the tree as well?—Yes, there is one which will save the trees.

2871. Is gum copal an important export?—It is; I forgot to mention it; a large quantity was formerly brought from the northern rivers.

2872. Could that be systematically cultivated?—It has been found in the forest and in the hills of Sierra Leone.

2873. Is that obtained without destroying the trees?—The trees are not destroyed. It is found in large quantities in the Protectorate.

2874. I believe there are no direct taxes in Sierra Leone at present, except some taxes that go to the Municipality?—There are none.

2875. What would be the effect of a house tax calculated upon an *ad valorem* basis?—I may say, as far as Freetown is concerned, we have so trained ourselves to it that people have been inviting the imposition of rates upon houses, in lieu of these trade licenses which they have been paying.

2876. You mean those in the Colony?—Yes, in Freetown, which are calculated on the basis of the value of the premises in which business is done, and which is, therefore, a

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modified house tax. With regard to Freetown I may say that, speaking for municipal purposes, the question of house tax is a settled question: the authority, however, of the municipality to collect that tax is limited. Sir S. Lewis.

2877. Then that would be a tax for municipal purposes to come in the place of certain trade licenses?—Not that exactly: the trade licenses do not supply us with all we want. We had to adopt trade licenses with a view to training the people to accept a house tax in lieu of it.

2878. It is a provision of the existing Municipality and Ordinance that they may impose a rate?—We raised it by means of these licenses, which at the time we knew to be wrong in principle.

2879. That would be a tax applicable only to Freetown?—Certainly.

2880. How as to house tax in the rest of the Colony?—With regard to the rest of the Colony, the same principle should be made to apply to it as to Freetown, and that is, that inasmuch as Freetown will pay a rate, then the other places, making allowance for the poverty of some of them, should be made to pay a rate of a like nature: but I would suggest this, that to make it acceptable to the people, the fund raised, at least for some time to come, be applied for local improvements in the different places.

2881. Would not that local application of the fund require some local organisation?—I was going to suggest that; but where it is not possible to form a board, the Government could be relied on to administer the fund; but in such cases, if the Government have to form a board, they must use the fund in the way I suggest.

2882. Do the villages require local expenditure?—Some of them are in utter neglect and ruin.

2883. Then there would not be much raised?—No.

2884. If this fund was administered by Government would it not be necessary to provide for the salaries of the officers who administered it?—Suppose a district raised say £300, and instead of so applying it, should apply it for general purposes, it would lead to much grumbling.

2885. In order to enable Government to apply it locally, would it not necessitate the appointment of officers who would be a burden on the fund?—The staff in the Colony is not sufficient to do the very work for which they are appointed; with regard to these villages they might not be able to carry it out in all cases for want of funds.

2886. In the present Government establishment do you consider that there are the necessary officers to carry out the necessary works?—Yes; the point to be considered would be, that if a house tax were to be raised and applied for general purposes in the hands of the Colonial Government, there is always this fear, that the fund so collected would not benefit the people who raised it.

2887. Then in your view a house tax in the Colony would not be available for general revenue?—In Freetown, as the Government is at present constituted, we should decidedly object to it.

2888. To what point, as regards the constitution of the Government, do you refer?—We have no representation of any kind.

2889. Then you think if there was a truer representation there would be more willingness to raise the revenue?—Certainly.

2890. In this connection I might ask whether that clause in the Protectorate Ordinance which provides that the tax should be paid into the general fund was discussed?—Personally, I did not discuss it.

2891. This raising of funds for Colonial purposes, are you prepared to offer any suggestions?—I should like to consider it for a day or two.

2892. With regard to this local expenditure, suppose you had got a provision that the tax is to be expended locally, is there not a great difficulty in carrying out the provision?—As far as Freetown is concerned there is no difficulty: with regard to the other places that have no recognised bodies, the two questions that would arise would be, first, by whom

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Sir S. LEWIS.

is the tax to be collected, and second, the expenditure for each particular district or section. As to the first question, suppose there was to be a general house tax for the whole community, the persons who would collect would be the same that should collect for those districts other than Freetown: in other words, a house tax for the whole of Sierra Leone would be collected by some officers appointed for the purpose by the Government. These same officers, perhaps fewer in number, would be sufficient to collect for the whole of Sierra Leone less Freetown.

2893. But then after you have your tax collected and paid into the Colonial Treasury, how would you ensure that it really is devoted to local expenditure?—That is my second point; we must trust to Government that the money so raised would be expended in that particular district in which it was collected, and the Government guarantee must satisfy any person.

2894. Apart from the rights of the Chief in the Protectorate, I mean both rights in the soil and as sovereigns, do you see anything to prevent the whole of the Protectorate being governed as a colony, along with Sierra Leone?—I will answer that question later.

30th August 1898.

2895. You spoke of having received a letter from the Chiefs: did that letter come from the Chiefs of the Lokko district?—No; I gave you the substance of a letter, dated 4th December 1896, from the Chiefs of the Skarcies.

2896. I find there have been many letters and many petitions, and I want to localise them?—I did hear of a number being made after these disturbances. The Port Lokko Chiefs made no representation to me till October last year.

2897. You have some matters still to bring before me?—You asked me on the first day as to whether I could account for the treatment of Sierra Leonians and missionaries and others between the Port Lokko people and those who had risen in the Sherbro country. I omitted to mention that, as I learnt with regard to missionaries, though they had been established in certain parts of the country for thirty years or more, in the Sherbro and Mendi country, in every case of rising amongst the people the mission stations had always been considered the safest places of resort for security of property, but during the present rising many of the Sierra Leonians, and others, took their property to some of the mission stations (Avery Station, Mano Bagru, and Shengay) for security, and, contrary to precedent, these places were about the first to be attacked and destroyed, and everything was lost. We have seen in the newspapers that the Mendis were mimicing the missionaries in the presence of the Sierra Leone women and others caught by them, and, professing to read from books and singing, made statements to the following effect:—opening a book they said: 'God say we must pay tax,' and then pretended to be singing and made jokes.

2898. Was that at the mission stations themselves?—When they had destroyed the mission stations, and had taken away the captives from the stations, these things were done. From information I have received from people, whose names I will give, it seems clear that the explanation of this action and mimicry on the part of the Mendis, and very likely of their attacks on the mission stations, was due to sermons which were more than once being preached by the missionaries, advising the natives not to resist payment of the hut tax but to do it willingly. The Rev. Mr. Burtoner, an American, was one of those who preached to that effect at Bagru, and I think a Sierra Leone man, a missionary, also, if it is true, preached even more foolishly by telling the natives from the pulpit that they would not come willingly to church to hear the Word of God, but now the Government had come to the country, and they would be compelled by the Government. This Sierra Leone missionary was one of the first killed at Avery station, and the station was destroyed.

2899. Then I suppose that your idea is that the people from these sermons got the idea that the missionaries were on the side of the Government, and especially as regards the hut tax?—I do not think except as regarding the hut tax, for from time immemorial these people had been there, and always very friendly with the natives.

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2900. Then was there not any similar idea as to the attitude of the missionaries in the Port Lokko country?—No; in the Port Lokko country, if such a thing happened at all, I have heard nothing to that effect. Of course Mr. Burtoner's sermon was just an ordinary sermon, which might be preached under ordinary conditions, in Freetown for instance. Sir S. Lewis.

2901. Can you supply me with the names of the people who heard these sermons?—My brother himself, who was chased for his life and had to fight his way from the place, E. A. Lewis, and he knows the names of others. I believe that Mr. Burtoner preached similar sermons at Kwalu. It was shortly before the rising that these sermons were preached.

290 . Was there any reason to suppose that the desire for plunder was an appreciable factor in the attacks made on the merchant's stores?—When a Mendi man goes to war plunder forms part of his object; but there is no ground for supposing that it was the chief motive in this instance.

2903. It might be a correlative cause to lending a motive?—The chief idea seems to be to take from you because you have taken from them, in the hut tax.

2904. So far as you have followed the history of events characteristic, so to speak, of the war, was to this effect, that it was a war having for its object to deter from the payment of the tax, *i.e.* to punish those who had already paid, and to deter those who were willing to pay, in the Mendi country?—Certainly; the object was to punish those who had paid; and in that particular answer I particularly would include Sierra Leone people and missionaries who had paid, and not so much the natives of the country; but certainly the natives did pay in many cases after they had agreed with the others not to pay. Some of these natives, who were Chiefs, who consented to pay and did pay, appeared to have been seized and killed; but the natives, other than Chiefs, who did pay do not appear to have been so killed.

2905. Were there not cases in which the marauders gave those natives of the country who had paid the option either to be killed or to join with them in carrying on the war?—In hardly any of the cases have the natives paid before joining in the war. From what I have seen, they seem to have made payment under pressure, with reserve of intention to take action with the more rebellious spirits.

2906. Then there seems also to have been a pressure put by the more resolute class on those who were less resolute, to join in the war?—No doubt.

2907. So that that would account for the cases which appeared anomalous of those who had paid joining in the war?—That is not anomalous. You would find in scarcely any cases that the pure natives paid willingly.

2908. But the Chiefs had paid, so that there was apparently an acquiescence of the district in paying the tax?—I will take the case of Richard Caulker: he was wanted at different places and was hiding himself: he would not pay, and the Chiefs who were in his district (the Bumpe district) all more or less showed a disposition not to pay; but after certain action of the Frontier Police seemed to have frightened some of the Chiefs, and Caulker amongst them, he then promised to pay. That would be about the same as regards the whole Bumpe district. Take the Shengay district: the only Chief there who seemed to have been honestly desirous of paying the tax was the Head-Chief, the late Neale Caulker: but the others under him more or less including Duma Bai did not intend to pay, though Duma Bai afterwards made it appear that he was collecting the tax. In the Bandajuma district Berri, chief Bongo, Vandi and another, who were arrested by Captain Carr at Mafwe; these chiefs who seem to have been deputed by the others to be present at this particular meeting showed a disposition not to pay the tax: hence they were arrested and taken to Bandajuma, and after an imprisonment of some weeks they consented to pay, and were released.

2909. Did they pay the whole amount?—No; though it appeared that Bongo thought that £5 was the whole amount he had to pay for each town. It would appear as if Bongo after that event meant honestly to endeavour to pay.

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Sir S. LEWIS.

2910. You alluded to certain Chiefs being induced to pay by certain action of the Frontier Police, to what action do you allude?—There is a certain village in Bumpe which they attacked, very likely in the belief that Chief Caulker was hiding there, and it is related that some people were fired on, and that a house was burnt, and a poor woman in one of the houses was burnt to death. Also in other places the Frontier Police, going in couples to collect hut tax, committed such acts as were calculated to terrify the people.

2911. It is a fact, then, that the Frontier Police were employed in small parties to collect the tax?—Yes; sometimes in parties of two or three. Of course many Chiefs would now very likely, to secure themselves against punishment by this Government, endeavour to suggest that they were compelled by others to join in the raid. It seems to be a natural thing for them to do.

2912. The two motives might be concurrent; there might be an unwillingness on their own part and also a compulsion from without?—Yes; certainly.

2913. In your opinion, in the event of great severity being exercised by the Government in punishing on account of the present rising, is there not a risk of these parts of the country becoming depopulated by the people leaving them and going to Liberia or elsewhere?—Certainly any attempt to mete out to them full justice by punishment would have that tendency, and, I think, that result. I think myself that if, instead of wholesale punishment of the whole country, the principal Chiefs who were proved to have taken part in the rising were even severely punished, an impression would be made on the natives of the country favourable to the future of good government of the country.

2914. Do you mean by the force of terror upon the people?—Certainly.

2915. My question goes to this; would not an establishment of a thorough feeling of fear of the English Government tend to bring about a depopulation of these regions?—No: an impression of fear would be created connected in their mind with a sense of the power of the Government to reach and punish every future infraction of the law. In talking of this about the French Government in comparison with the English, and speaking even with the utmost possible caution so as not to make that comparison invidious, I am always clear that the natives would in any case prefer British rule and connection to those of the French.

2916. The French rule in their opinion is more oppressive than the English?—Yes; they do not look on the English as oppressive at all, hitherto.

2917. Have you any further remarks to make about the rising as regards the Sherbro and Bumpe country?—I have mentioned already certain matters which are unfortunately connected with a matter upon which I made a representation to the Secretary of State, and I should wish to keep it separate and therefore will not mention it.

2918. Have you anything to add to your remarks already made with regard to the rising in the Port Lokko country?—I think I mentioned the alleged killing of a boy by Frontier Police for refusing to do some work. I have nothing more to add.

2919. I showed you before some correspondence from the Chamber of Commerce?—I wish to call attention to the communication from the Chamber, dated 2nd September 1897, with reference to the Protectorate Ordinance, and to the expression of opinion contained therein, chiefly with reference to the hut tax upon the natives, and also to judicial matters and to provisions contained in the Ordinance, and the expression of their apprehension regarding powers conferred upon District Commissioners.

2920. Are you aware whether the Chamber got any reply?—I do not remember.

I understand the Chamber itself is making its own representations to you as Commissioner, and therefore I prefer to say nothing as to what they collectively might wish to represent.

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20th August 1898.

MRS. READER.

Mrs. READER.

2921. My name is Rebecca Reader. I was trading at Bagru and Gbambaiah. I was there when the war came. The Frontier Police came for the tax in April. All the Sierra Leone people paid. They tied some of the country people because they did not pay.

2922. Was there a white officer with the Frontier Police?—I did not see one.

2923. How many Frontier Police were there?—Two or three.

2924. Did the people pay when they tied them?—Yes: they got others to pay for them.

2925. You say there were only two or three Frontier Police: how was it that the people allowed them to tie them?—They were afraid of Government men. After that the war came. They caught people and plundered all our things.

2926. Did you see the war-boys come?—Yes: they were Mendis mixed with Sherbros.

2927. Was there any Chief with them?—I did not see one. They said we helped the English Government by paying the tax, and that they would kill us. They burnt my store and plenty of others.

2928. How did you escape?—The Chief of Gbambaiah, Twaiamu, sent men to fetch me, and told them not to kill me: they told the war-boys I was not a Sierra Leone girl, and they brought me to Gbambaiah. The Chief sent to the Commandant for a boat to take me away.

2929. Have you anything more to tell me?—It was the tax that made all this difficulty. That is what the war-boys said.

2930. Were there many Sierra Leonians in Bagru?—Yes. They killed Mr. Davis and many others. They used to wave a sword before me and say, 'You go die to-day,' and they said, 'We consented to clean the roads and not sell slaves, but are not going to pay this tax.' The war-boys said this to me. There were plenty of war-boys: they had guns and sticks and long and short cutlasses and machetes.

20th August 1898.

MRS. ROBERTS.

Mrs. ROBERTS.

2931. My name is Sally Roberts. I lived at Konko mission.

2932. Where Mr. Goodman was?—Yes, the same mission. The last day of April, Chief Sandi of Tikonko came to me and said that the Chief of Bumpe said war was coming and we must go. Mr. Goodman asked Sandi what we were to do, and said that he must send to Bandajuma for police. Sandi refused to do so. Then Mr. Goodman said he must hide us. Then Mrs. Johnson and I and Pratt went into the town. Mr. Goodman stayed at the station. On Monday at 6 o'clock we saw the town full of war-boys. About 1.30 the war-boys went to the mission. My husband went to Mr. Goodman and helped to pack some of the books. As soon as he got into the house the war-boys got into the compound, and my husband and Mr. Goodman ran into the bush. I did not see Mr. Goodman, but he sent to say afterwards that he was in Sandi's house. We were there till Tuesday, 3rd May. Sandi said he had delivered Mr. Goodman to Bumpe. On 3rd May they killed Mr. Johnson. We were there till 8th May. When Sandi heard the war-boys come, they tied my husband and carried him back to the mission, where they killed him in the gate. They afterwards came back for me and tied me and took me to the place where they had killed my husband, and made me sit in his blood. Then they were going to kill me, but one of them said they must wait till Captain Carr was killed. They took all my jewellery and my wedding-ring, which I had hidden in my hair, and carried me back to the town.

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Mrs. ROBERTS.

One man said Mrs. Johnson and I must stop with his sister in the fakki. We were there a week. Chief Sandi sent to call us from the fakki, and the war-boys put us in the Barri and they said: 'Government say we have got to pay this tax, but we are not going to pay it.' They then carried me back to the fakki. Mrs. Johnson and I were there for a month and a half. One morning I saw four war-boys come into the room where I was, with swords and cutlasses. They said, 'God is come for you.' I said, 'Are you going to kill me?' They said, 'White man has sent a letter to Sandi.' Then they took me to the town again. When we got there we started about six and walked all that night till eleven the next day, when we reached Mafwe and the Commissioner. Chief Sandi came to the Commissioner at Mafwe. I told the Commissioner that Sandi had my property, and he made Sandi prisoner, because he took my husband.

2933. But he protected you afterwards?—Only because he got a letter.

Mr. PALMER.

20th August 1898.

MR. PALMER.

2934. My name is Thomas Silas Palmer. I am a schoolmaster at Bumpe, to the Wesleyan Church. I was there last April. On a Sunday, about 20th April, four Frontier Police came to Bumpe. A little boy came to me and called me. I went out, and the Chief and the natives went and hid. The Headman's name is Bandibrah. The Frontier Police took me and said they wanted the Chief. They said they wanted to see all the people in the Barri; so the Chief called the people together. The sergeant sent for a small table, and told the natives to sit down. There was one Mendi man standing and the constable told him to sit down. The man said he could not, the constable insisted, and the man caught hold of the constable. The people then all got up and got arms, and two of the constables were wounded. The people came back from the bush and the Mendi tied up the constable. The town was upside down.

2935. When the Mendi tied the policeman, what did the other policemen do?—They sent for the other police who were with Inspector Davis at Mafwe. At the same time I found all the things plundered in my house. I started for Mafwe and met three Mendis; they asked me where I was going, and I said 'to buy tobacco,' so they let me pass. I found the police at Mafwe and told them what had happened. The Mendis in Bumpe were ready to fight the policemen, but they did not actually fight. Davis was going with three policemen to Bumpe but the wood was blocked with people: the fight began three days later. I was at Bumpe when they sent the people about the tax, and they said they were not going to pay. They said they had to pay £5 and a cow for six small towns.

2936. Were there many Sierra Leonians at Bumpe?—Only myself and Collier.

2937. Who was asked to pay the tax for the town?—Grubru is the Chief, but he is paralysed, and Baiwa was acting Chief.

2938. How did you get away?—I knew them well.

2939. Were you at Bumpe when the law about the tax was explained to the Chiefs?—I was at Mafwe.

2940. Did you hear Captain Carr explain it?—Yes.

2941. Did the Chiefs say anything?—They said they had not got the money.

2942. They did not say they would not pay?—No.

2943. What did Captain Carr say to the Chiefs?—'As you cannot pay, I am going to take you away with me till you do pay.' He took several Chiefs to Bandajuma.

2944. What did he tell them?—He said they must pay for the good of the country.

2945. When they said they had not money to pay, what did Captain Carr say to them?—He said they must pay.

2946 Is that all you have to tell me?—Yes.

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24th August 1898.

MR. MORRISON.

2947. My name is Albert Nathan Morrison. I belong to Freetown. I am a trader at Manoh Bagru in the Sherbro country. I went up to Damballa with my father last April: my father was appointed to the United Brethren Mission there. Damballa is two days' walk from Kwalu. I was there for a few weeks in April and was going back to Manoh Bagru.

2948. What day did you leave Damballa?—On the 29th April, Friday. I walked by way of Manoh. I got there on Saturday evening and passed on to a small village, where I slept. The two boys who were with me refused to go any further. I thought little about it, and started for Banju. I was caught there by the war-boys. They took my bundle of clothing and stripped me, and I was given to some other boys to take to Chief Cassaoi. I got to his town that evening, but the Chief was not there: they said he had gone to gather his war-boys. I was then delivered to two boys, and after being stripped naked was taken down the road to be killed. Some one in the town called them back, and asked for the things they had taken from me: the boys who took me would not give up the things and gave me back instead. They said that at such a time as this any Sierra Leonian or Frontier Police who was sent must be killed at once, for they all had the same mission, to take their country from them and make them pay tax; and whatever places they were found in they should be killed there. The boys refused to give up my property, and they refused to take me back to the town. Finally, I was told I was not to be killed in the absence of the Chief. A native boy, my father's interpreter, who was with me, begged that I should be loosed. I offered them six country cloths to loose me: they consented. They took me to the village where I had left my cloth, and while they were sharing the cloth amongst themselves, I ran away from them with the boy, and got clear away. He asked that I should let him go back to my father to tell him about the war. We got back to Damballa, and two men in the town took my father and myself and the boy and hid us in a small fort in the bush: my father caught cold and died. Sopo, the Chief, sent a message to the men who hid us to bring us out, and we were taken to Gundana. The people of the town near where we were hidden were not very anxious to join the war, but they said to them, 'unless your children have not been ill-treated, unless you have not been made to carry loads without payment, and unless you have not been asked to pay the tax, you are forced to join the war.' The people refused to deliver us up, and gave them a head of country cloth and four shillings in cash, and told them to take it to the Chief at Tyama, and if the Chief was willing that we should be hidden we should stay there. The English came to Tyama before the men got there. We stayed in the bush for a month, when we found a Frontier Policeman who sent me to Kwalu. I got there I think on the 6th of this month.

2949. Then from Kwalu you came here?—I came with Captain Sykes last Sunday.

2950. Then there was not much war where you were?—The war-boys that came from Tyama were the only boys. It was not really a war, it was a kind of slaughter: the people meant to kill all those not belonging to their country. They killed a few native boys at Damballa because they had helped us to escape.

2951. Why did they kill Sierra Leonians?—They said we were all against them, on the side of the English, because we could read and write.

2952. Did they say why they were against the English people?—They said the English people brought much law into their country; they were afraid that the time would come when they would not even be allowed to walk in their farms without paying for it.

2953. Did they speak about the hut tax?—They said they were not able to pay it, and on that account they are not satisfied with it.

2954. You have been asked to go to the District Commissioner at Kwalu?—Yes; I was taken to him and told him of my troubles. I was asked to go and see the District Commissioner, and the sergeant who told me to go said I must be very careful not to mention anything about the hut tax.

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Mr. MORRISON.

2955. Who was the police sergeant?—Edward Coker.

2956. Did he tell you why you should not speak about the hut tax?—He said it would tell bad against the Governor.

2957. Did you tell the District Commissioner what you had heard about the hut tax?—Yes. The men who hid us told me that they were dissatisfied with the English people and with us. They sometimes paid money unlawfully to the Police. They were not free enough in the country. Big men were sometimes tied and their wives taken from them. The greatest thing is the hut tax: they are not able to pay it. It was that that gave rise to the war especially.

14th August 1898.

Mr. MACAULAY.

MR. MACAULAY, J.P.

2958. My name is Moses Zacchæus Macaulay. I am a J.P. for Sierra Leone and am a trader by occupation.

2959. What was the nature of the dissatisfaction and grumbling that you observed among the Chiefs and people after the proclamation of the Protectorate Ordinance?—They were grumbling and saying that white men wanted to take their country. They made a law to pay tax which meant to take their country.

2960. Has the paying of the tax a particular significance with the natives with regard to their property?—Yes; they sometimes asked me why the Governor made a law that they should pay a tax; they asked me if we paid a tax in our country. I said 'Yes.' They said they did not understand it, why should they pay for their own houses.

2961. Do the natives make contributions to their own Chiefs when the Chiefs want the money?—Yes; whenever the Chief wants any amount from them, a basket is sent round to collect kernels and each town gives so many bushels.

2962. About that collection of money to employ a lawyer, did you take any share in that?—Yes.

2963. What did you do?—The men that collected at Kambia said they must collect a certain amount; they collected cash and kernels which were to be taken down to Sherbro.

2964. Who took charge of this money after it was collected?—They gave it to the Queen Bess; she took it to the Chief at Yonni.

2965. Did you go there?—No; I knew where they were going.

2966. Was the money taken to Freetown?—I do not know.

2967. This Porro meeting, did you know about that?—I have been in the country a long time. Whenever they want to make a law, they call it Porro. This law in particular, when all the Chiefs went to Yonni, we found a great change. All the men stopped working, and they told me they had made a Porro law not to cut kernels.

2968. What was the object of this?—They said they would not cut them until they had got a note about the tax from the Governor in Freetown.

2969. Does Porro mean a law among the natives?—Yes.

2970. Do not they usually make Porro in a secret part of the bush?—Yes; it is a secret society: unless you are initiated you cannot go there.

2971. Are there many Sierra Leonians initiated?—I do not know. They make sometimes a different Porro, a law to keep the trade and to protect creditors, in which Sierra Leonians may join; but in this particular one they were not allowed.

2972. Then after the Chiefs had gone to Freetown to see the Governor, you went to Bandajuma to pay your licenses?—Yes.

2973. And then after you had paid your licenses the Chiefs returned from Freetown and made another Porro?—Yes.

2974. That no trade was to be done with you and the other Sierra Leone people and no provisions sold to you?—Yes: and no workmen.

2975. What was the reason of that Porro?—When they made this law we ourselves had a meeting and asked the Queen. She told us we had no right to pay licenses in their

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country; and that by paying licenses in their country we were giving the Government a hold on it, and they would soon be driven away from the whole country. Mr. MACAULAY.

2976. Then the District Commissioner having heard of this ordered the Porro to be removed?—Yes.

2977. It was not removed properly?—No.

2978. Until September last year, when the District Commissioner arrested some of the Chiefs?—Yes: he arrested Beale of Moryowah who was taken to Bandajuma, and Ki Tele of Gambia who was arrested by Davis. He advised me not to let him be taken to Bandajuma, or he would call his people to take up their fetish. He was not taken to Bandajuma.

2979. Then in the beginning of this year you were going to Mafwe to pay licenses and tax?—Yes.

2980. And told your landlord you were going to do this; and you could not get carriers?—As usual before leaving my factory I reported to my landlord, and asked for some carriers. He asked me where I was going. I told him to Mafwe to pay licenses and tax. He said if I was going for that purpose the Queen had told him not to supply labourers.

2981. What Chiefs attended the meeting at Mafwe?—Berri, Thomas Bongo, Sissi Kokki representing Queen Bess, Ba Fama of Kambalo, Vandi of Ting, and many others.

2982. And a great many of their people?—Yes, about three thousand. They were not all with the Chiefs. They hid themselves in the bush: only about one thousand attended the meeting. They all came together after the meeting.

2983. Then Captain Carr asked the Chiefs if they were ready to pay the tax?—They said they were very poor and not able to pay the tax, and had gone to tell the Governor the same at Freetown.

2984. Do you consider that they really are unable to pay tax from being too poor?—The situation is this, a town is owned by only six or eight Chiefs, and of these Chiefs perhaps each has about six wives and ten slaves, and each slave may have two wives. This Chief has to build a house for each wife, each slave, and each slave's wife. Altogether it makes about fifty houses for one man to pay for. The man who has about ten slaves cannot make more than ten or twelve pounds a year from their labour.

2985. The slave, then, does not work for his master only, he works for himself?—Whenever their master has work for them to do, he calls them to do it.

2986. The master who paid tax on behalf of his slaves would never get it back from them?—No: if the slaves were working directly for their masters he might make up the amount, but a slave will never give a farthing to his master.

2987. Then is there any particular reason why the slave, though he would pay the amount of the tax to the master for any other purpose, would not do it for the tax?—If the slave incurs any palaver the master has to pay for it; so if there is any money to be paid to the Government their masters have to pay it for them.

2988. Then if the master pays all this for the slaves and the slaves never pay for anything, they must be better off than their master?—Yes.

2989. Would it not be better for the masters if the slaves were free, so that they could hire them when they wanted them and pay them wages?—The masters do not pay any attention to slaves just at present; they are occupied in raising cattle and trading.

2990. Have they good grazing land about there?—Yes. The masters find they lose by their slaves. For instance, one slave who had been away from his master for twelve months had a palaver, and came back and made his master pay for it.

2991. Then these chiefs who attended the meeting and were asked to pay said something to the Sierra Leonians about the Sierra Leonians paying the tax, what was that?—The Chiefs had a meeting first, and then we traders went to pay our license and tax. When the Chiefs left the barracks they said that if any Sierra Leonian paid the tax they would drive him away from the country.

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Mr. MACAULAY.

2992. You paid nevertheless?—Yes.

2993. Were the Chiefs aware that you had paid?—Yes.

2994. At that time a number of armed people were coming in from the country?—Yes.

2995. Then after paying your tax you went back to your own place?—Yes.

2996. Then you were not present at any other meeting at Mafwe?—No.

2997. You say the Chiefs told their people that they would rather die in prison than pay the tax?—Yes, I heard that myself. Each of the Chiefs paid £5 and were released on the promise that they would see that their people paid the rest of the tax. These were the Chiefs that were taken to Bandajuma.

2998. In April what happened?—Captain Wallis came to Gambia.

2999. Captain Wallis said the full sum had not been paid and asked for the balance?—Yes.

3000. Then somebody was sent to you from Humpe Congo; what was the message brought to you?—Humpe Congo came to me, and I advised him not to follow the example of the other Chiefs, but to pay the tax. He then paid. I lent him £3 cash to make up the amount for his town. After he had paid and gone home he sent me a message by Adolphus Dick, who had also paid, to say that he heard that the Bumpe Chiefs were preparing war to come to Gambia. I understood that they were bringing war to those Chiefs who had paid the tax; this was on 22nd April, I think. On the Monday I got a letter from Adolphus Dick which I handed to Captain Wallis. On Tuesday, 26th April, I sent for Adolphus Dick, and he saw Captain Wallis. On 27th April they attacked my factory.

3001. Then there was another Porro meeting held?—Yes: when Captain Wallis went round to count the houses, a Porro meeting was held at Bumpe, Yonni, and Moryowah. This was the last meeting they held before the war broke out.

3002. Was there not a peculiar arrangement by which the date was fixed?—I only found it out afterwards. A friend of mine told me that they had arranged to give a certain number of stones to each Chief, and they were to throw away one stone every day; and the day they threw away the last was the day for the rising.

3003. Was your friend present himself?—I could not be certain.

3004. Is he in Freetown?—He is in Sherbro. He was taken, but by paying a cow, a sheep, and some money he bought himself off. Captain Wallis promised him protection.

3005. What was it that the war-boys said or sang when they attacked your factory?—The attack was made at 7 A.M. on the 27th April. Captain Wallis was with me taking coffee. He had about twenty Frontiers with him. They rushed into the factory when they heard the war noise. The boys were singing, 'We are coming for tax money, your head will not be left.' There were about three hundred of them. The fight lasted about an hour and a half. The Frontiers drove them away and they did not come back again. They killed one Sierra Leonian and one catechist who were outside the factory in the town.

3006. Did they burn your factory?—Yes; I was not there. Captain Wallis was out of ammunition and had to go back to Bonthe. I left then.

3007. Previous to the proclamation of the Protectorate Ordinance, used you to have many complaints against the Frontier Police brought to you?—Yes; Gambia is on the frontier, and every one passes there.

3008. Of what nature were they?—Sometimes of seizing fowls and rice.

3009. You examined into these complaints?—Katta, a Chief, came to complain of their seizing three of his ducks. When the Frontier Police returned I inquired into the matter, and found it was true, and made the man pay for the ducks.

3010. Since the Protectorate Ordinance have you had complaints?—They are always complaining.

3011. Have you investigated these complaints?—When they are in the town I always investigate them.

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3012. You said that some Chiefs asked you if you were paying tax in your country; you told them, 'no tax on houses'?—Yes. Mr. Macaulay.

3013. Did they think it was an unfair thing?—He was very cunning; he knew we were not paying tax; but I said, 'we are paying other taxes, licenses, etc.' Then he said, 'Why should we pay what you are not paying?' I tried to show him, but he would not be convinced.

3014. Did they think it was an unjust thing that they should be called upon to pay a tax which Sierra Leonians themselves did not pay?—They would feel it easier to pay if they knew the people in Freetown were paying: they like to imitate them. They look upon it as unfair. They say, 'Every other law has come through them to us: this law has jumped over them and come to us.'

3015. Have these Chiefs a good knowledge of what goes on in Freetown?—Yes.

3016. How do they obtain it?—Through their children, who go backwards and forwards.

3017. Is there, in your opinion, any other form of tax upon the natives in the Hinterland that would be less objectionable to them?—As far as my experience goes in that country, the usual way to get money for any purpose is, they tell the Chiefs, 'you are to get so much from your town'; the Chiefs collect it from the people and bring it. In April, when they were paying the tax to me, each Chief went round his own town and got so much from each person; they made up the £5 easily. They paid me over £80 in cash and produce. I gave each Chief a receipt. When Captain Wallis came they showed him their receipts, and he sent to count their houses, and said there was a balance still due; then they stopped paying.

3018. Then the method that you would recommend would be to go to the Chiefs, and say 'you must pay so much for each town,' and leave it to the Chief to collect it. Do you think they would pay willingly?—Yes, because that is the usual way in which they collect money in their country.

3019. You speak of the Chiefs in the Protectorate?—Yes.

24th August 1898.

Mr. Dixon.

Mr. Dixon.

3020. My name is Frank Charles Dixon. I live at Shengay in the Ronietta district. I was clerk to Chief Thomas Neale Caulker. Last year there was a meeting between Chief Caulker, and Beah Boker, and Seneh Lebbi, and there was some talk about Chief Caulker having brought the tax and licenses upon them.

3021. What did Beah Boker and Seneh Lebbi say about the hut tax?—They said that if Chief Caulker insisted on levying the tax they would cause a disturbance.

3022. Then Captain Moore came to Shengay and called the meeting at Yorgborfor: you were there?—No; it was Chief Caulker who called the meeting. In that meeting Chief Neale Caulker told his big men to pay the tax. One of them refused, and feared that there would be war. They had heard that the first town that paid the tax would be destroyed and its Chief killed.

3023. What did Chief Caulker then do?—Told them they should go to Shengay and arrange with Captain Moore.

3024. Did you go with them?—Yes.

3025. What happened at the meeting?—Captain Moore asked them if they had paid; they said 'No.' Banna Bome asked Captain Moore if after they had paid the hut tax there would be no war. Captain Moore said that was nonsense, that he had a large enough force to prevent it. It was in February that Captain Moore went to Shengay to collect the tax. Some two weeks after this meeting some Frontier Police were sent from Kwalu to Chief Caulker to collect the tax. They went to a town, Trevanna, about two miles from Shengay. I saw Bai Kari Salape, the Headman, and asked him for the tax. He did not refuse, but

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Mr. DIXON.

said he wanted time to collect it. They tied him and put him in the sun: his wife sent to call the men who were working: they came and paid the tax, and he was loosed.

3026. Were you present on this occasion?—Yes. They went to Bendu Thumba on Sunday 27th February, I think. They caught a man, Daniel Caulker, and made him pay 10s. for a house and 10s. for a disused kitchen.

3027. Did you say that 10s. was paid?—Yes: I was present.

3028. After that, Chief Neale Caulker sent you with the Frontier Police to help them to collect?—Yes: we went to Torgbombo. The people caused a little disturbance, and they burned five huts. One of these belonged to Mary Macaulay, who had paid her tax. We went on to Mor Yangor, and they broke two houses and destroyed two dozen empty oil tins.

3029. Why did they do that?—The men were away, and so they did not pay.

3030. What after that?—We went to Larwanna: a cow was seized there for a balance of £2.

3031. Did the man refuse to pay the balance?—He said he would pay in a week's time, but Davis refused and seized the cow, which was sold for £3, 14s. Afterwards the man paid the £2, but neither the cow nor the money was returned.

3032. Why did he give you the £2 when they already had the cow?—On the way to Kwalu he paid it.

3033. What became of the £3, 14.?—It was added to the £299 that we collected.

3034. What was the next thing?—After we left there we went to Mor Fuss: four houses were to be broken there, but I gave the natives 20s. out of my own pocket to pay for them.

3035. Why were they to be broken?—They were poor and had nothing: there was a sick woman in one of them.

3036. Then at Walpallah?—I was not present.

3037. You were present at all the things you have told me about so far?—Yes.

3038. Who was the man called Dark Eye?—A man Chief Neale Caulker gave us to assist.

3039. Where is he now?—At Congo Town.

3040. Could you find him?—Yes.

3041. The Frontier Police said they had instructions as to breaking houses?—They said that they had instructions: if any one caused a disturbance they were to break down their house.

3042. Had they guns with them?—Yes; guns and cartridges.

3043. Is there anything else?—Yes: at one town eight goats and a sheep were seized. A widow's house at Morcon Betty was broken; and at Key-ricke a woman's bullock was hurt.

3044. What was the general feeling?—They were greatly displeased, and threatened that there should be war. They asked me to plead for them with the Frontier Police. I asked them where the war would come from: they said they did not know; they only knew there would be war. They also said that Government had stopped their slaves and had made them pay £2 for licenses, and were now going to make them pay hut tax. They said they did not like the way the Frontier Police were treating them in the collection of the tax, and there would be war.

3045. The Sierra Leone people paid a good deal of money for the natives?—Yes.

3046. How much?—One Domingo paid about £30 for some towns belonging to the natives. Samuel Caulker paid something, but I do not know how much.

3047. Anybody else?—I paid 20s.

3048. Was there a great deal of money paid by Sierra Leone people on account of this tax?—Yes: natives used to go to them and ask them for money to pay for their houses. Jabez Smith and Robert Henty used to lend them money to pay.

3049. Did those who lent this money ask for interest?—One man borrowed 10s. and he was to repay 18s.

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3050. Did you collect any more details as to interest?—Mr. Domingo lent money with interest. Mr. Dixon.

3051. Were all these loans on interest?—I think not all.

3052. If the country people disliked the tax so much, why did they borrow money at such big interest to pay it with?—So that their houses might not be destroyed; they have wives and children. I remember when the natives were afraid there would be war, Captain Moore used to say that he had enough troops at Kwalu to protect them. He told them that Government would defend them and their property with the money they got for the tax. The police used to take 10s. worth of country cloth for 5s. and so on: the natives resented it bitterly. The people were bitterly against me, and said I had pointed out their towns to the Frontier Police, and that I was the cause of their paying the hut tax. Two houses were broken at Bumpe: one had a sick man in it.

3053. What became of the sick man?—He had to move to another house. He was very ill.

25th August 1898.

Mr. Caulker.

Mr. Caulker.

3054. My name is Allen Edward Caulker. I am the younger brother of the late Chief Neale Caulker.

3055. What place was it that you were present at when the tax was being collected?—At Marthin, in the Shengay district.

3056. Who were collecting at that place?—F. Dixon and two Frontier Police.

3057. Anybody else?—One Dark Eye, a messenger to the Chief.

3058. What did you see occur?—Before the tax was collected, last December, my brother placed me over that part of the country to see that peace was kept.

3059. Were you there when they began to collect the tax?—Yes: I paid for my own town. My brother came over last December and collected the people, and told them that the District Commissioner had told him to collect money and send it up to Kwalu. The people said they were too poor, and begged him to see the District Commissioner and plead for them. He said he knew they were poor, but the District Commissioner had said it must be collected. The people refused to pay, and told my brother that they had heard that the first who paid the tax would have the war put on them. The Chief asked them where they had heard that, and they said they had heard that the Chief of Yonni had collected a lot of people ready to bring down. The Chief said he did not believe anybody could raise war in the country, as the English had promised to protect them from war, and the tax had been raised for the protection of our lives and property by the Frontier Police. Reports came that they had some different people among them, whom they suspected of being spies from the interior. The third week after the people went and begged the Chief and said they were afraid of war: they begged the Chief to go down to Shengay and call all the big men. The Chief was at Lavanah. He consented and called a meeting of the whole country. Having some matters to see about, he was there for some time. He then heard that the District Commissioner was coming to Shengay to see him about the tax, so he left me at Marthina and asked me to see that the big people came over to him at once. Captain Moore came to Shengay early in February, and met a lot of the people with the Chief about this tax, but none of those from the other side were present. The District Commissioner got through his business in one day and left. Two days after the District Commissioner had gone, I went to Shengay myself to see my brother and hear the result of the business. When I got there he said that the District Commissioner said the tax must be paid. The people say they will pay the tax if the District Commissioner insists, only one thing they were afraid of, and that is that war will be raised in the country. My brother told me that the people had said plainly to the District Commissioner that they had heard rumours of war daily. From Bumpe, Berri, and Yonni reports came that upon the first person who pays the tax they will wage war. The

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Mr. CAULKER

District Commissioner replied that the person who had said that word was on the slippery part.

3060. The District Commissioner insisted on the tax being paid?—Yes; I was not there, but my brother told me. The District Commissioner said none would venture to bring war into the country; the troops alone that he had at Kwalu were sufficient to drive them away. He said the tax is not for Government, but for the protection of their country and of their lives and property. He left word with the Chief that he came that time mildly, but if they did not pay in two weeks he would come and force them.

3061. Was that Captain Moore?—Yes. It was he who gave that message to the people.

3062. What more happened that you know about?—My brother asked for some police to assist in collecting the tax, and two were sent. Whilst the tax was being collected the people made the remark that the Chief would suffer by and by if he insisted. Reports kept coming to me of property being seized and houses burned and broken by the police.

3063. Did you examine any of these reports?—Yes.

3064. With what results?—I went to Bayundu, where they were, and inquired from Dixon, who told me that some houses were broken in the village. I told the policemen that they should be more lenient; the people were poor and ignorant, and they should give them time. The corporal told me the instructions they had from the District Commissioner were very strict.

3065. Then the corporal did not deny these things?—No. I know that at Torgbombo five houses were burned. At Rembi the Headman complained that two houses were broken and the people were helpless. They tied people as they liked.

3066. Did you investigate these cases?—It was true; I have seen the houses myself. I tried to advise the Frontier Police, but they would not listen.

3067. They admitted breaking these houses?—Yes. They tied a man on an alleged charge.

3068. What did they charge him with?—That he had said that if they were in his place they would not have paid the tax. The police said, 'Do you not know that we have power to shoot anybody who will not pay? We shall only report to Kwalu, and we shall be praised for it and promoted.'

3069. You heard that yourself?—Yes; Davis would not deny it in my presence.

3070. (Witness handed a list of Headmen and people in the Shengay district who he said could give evidence.) The people would be glad to come.

3071. Are these people who make farms?—Yes.

3072. Do they make their farms now?—Not in the rainy season. They plant from April to June.

3073. What are they going to do for food?—They will starve. I have made application to His Excellency to send my people back; there are over two hundred starving.

3074. Is there anything to hinder them going back and planting cassada?—They must have the Governor's permission.

3075. Is there war going on now?—No; I do not think it will break out again.

3076. Was this country where the collection went on invaded by war-boys afterwards?—Yes. This tax was the cause of my brother being killed: he supported the English.

3077. Did you see anything of the war yourself?—I was there when it broke out; but my brother wrote and advised me to make my escape at once, so I went. I had not time to save anything. Even the clothes I am in now are given me by friends. The people in my country have been forced to join the war. The questions they asked them were:—'Did you pay tax?'—'Yes.' 'Does it please you?'—'No.' 'We have come now to fight with the English: go out of the country at once if you do not want to fight, or join us to fight against the English.' The Government do not seem to have taken any notice of my brother's death, and have not inquired after his murderers.

3078. Did you see Mr. Parkes about it?—Yes, and I have written to the Governor.

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I went to Shengay to try and get provisions for my people, and I have picked up my brother's bones and preserved them in case the Attorney-General may want them. I have a list of names, those whom I know were killed. (Witness handed in the list.) If only a little sum were offered, I think they could find the murderers. The Chief was killed by the country people because he insisted on this tax. Mr. CAULKER.

3079. You think the people who killed those mentioned on the list could be found?—I think that if a small sum were offered I could undertake to find the people who killed them, and get evidence to convict them.

3080. When the country people came down and told your people to make war on the Government, they were very willing to do so?—Yes; they had paid the tax, and were willing to do so.

DEPUTATION OF SHERBRO TRADERS.

27th August 1898.

MR. WILLIAMS, J.P.

Mr. WILLIAMS.

3081. My name is James Albert Williams. I am a trader on the Bum and Kittum rivers, and have factories at Mafwe and Weima. I did business at Kambia as a trader for the French Company. On the evening of 27th April I heard that war was coming, and that they were attacking Gambia on the small Bum. About 9 P.M. I got a letter from Mr. Allen to say that war was coming. I wrote to the District Commissioner telling him what I had heard. On Tuesday morning I went to the chapel and told the minister. The same day I saw a war party at Yele: they were crossing from 4 A.M. till 9 or 10 to a point about an hour and a half from the factory. On 28th April, when I got to my factory, I saw they were enemies and wanted to take me, and I got away with my wife at once. We got in a boat, and crossed over to Bonthe. They plundered my factory. I was not present.

3082. Did you see the war-boys?—Yes, at Yele. They were people from the Bum and Kittum.

3083. Did the war-boys say anything?—They said: 'We come for you; your fathers put war on us.' I said: 'You are doing what is wrong.' They said they would catch the whole of us.

3084. Did they say why?—No.

3085. Do you know why they came?—I heard it was on account of the hut tax.

3086. Did the war-boys say so?—No: it was a neutral man.

3087. Had your part of the country been quiet up to that time?—Yes.

3088. Is there any estimate of the number of people killed?—About 400. The Weima and Mafwe factories were destroyed entirely and plundered. I should like to suggest that better protection be afforded us.

3089. This letter of 30th July (produced) is signed by you?—Yes.

3090. In it you state that in your opinion the war is to be attributed to the placing of District Commissioners in the Hinterland: how do you explain that?—That is to say, the Government, having taken hold of the country to keep peace, it seems as if the people did not like it, as they did not have the same privileges as before.

3091. What are the barbarous customs of the natives to which you allude?—Sometimes they would catch and brutally beat one another, making great disturbances, and sometimes many people suffered.

3092. Surely the people would not feel discontented that an attempt was made to stop these barbarous fights?—They take pleasure in them.

3093. You say you think that Government might take on itself the sole task of administering the country: have you formed any estimate of the cost of that administration?—Not as yet.

3094. You think that the Frontier Police should be increased: to what extent would you propose their being increased?—There are now perhaps about 150 in Sherbro. I do not exactly know how far they should be added to.

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Mr. WILLIAMS.

3095. Were the Frontier Police very successful in preserving good order?—At first they were not very good; but when it was represented to Government, and they had better officers, things were greatly improved.

3096. Had you already paid hut tax when the war-boys came?—Yes, for both my places.

Mr. PARKINSON.

MR. PARKINSON, J.P.

3097. My name is John Bradshaw Parkinson. I am a trader at Bonthe in the Colony. With regard to this rising, I remember that sometime in the latter part of May 1897 we were invited by Queen Betsaigai, myself and a few other traders, and when we went there we met a large number of Chiefs of the Protectorate, assembled at Queen Betsaigai's town on the Jong river: Berri of Bongi was there, and I think each of the several places sent a man to represent them.

3098. Are you sure that they came from the whole Protectorate?—I asked who composed this meeting, and Berri said each place was represented.

3099. Were they representative Chiefs of that part or of the whole Protectorate?—I am not sure. It was after they had put a stop to trade. They said to us: 'You have been in the country for some time; we do not know exactly what to do. Government stop us from keeping slaves, and now threaten to make us pay the hut tax. We are very poor and cannot pay the tax. We went to see the Governor, and got no redress, so we went to the merchants and asked them to help us to put the matter before the Governor.' I said: 'You have called us at a wrong time; we are offended with you for stopping the trade. If you say you are friends of the Government, and want us to help you, you should have asked us before, but now we will not have anything to do with it: you have upset the trade.'

3100. When was trade stopped?—January or February last year.

3101. What was the reason?—Gbanna Lewis, a little before the hut tax was enforced, called the people to Yonni, and said that Government wanted to take his country; and when they went to Freetown to petition the Governor and the Governor refused, they stopped trade. It was at that meeting they made the Porro. When they called us to the meeting before, they told us that if Government would take away the hut tax, they would try to get on without their slaves. They promised to have another meeting, which I hear they held at Mafwe: they did not call us again. We had a meeting before we got up this memorial which we sent you, and I expressed my opinion, from what I have seen and heard, that it is nothing but the hut tax which caused the rising.

3102. You think it was not the stopping of slave trade or any other Government measure?—No, nothing but the hut tax.

Mr. DAVISON.

MR. DAVISON.

3103. My name is Frederick Davison. I am a trader at Mokollone on the Big Bum river. I have been in Sherbro for about nineteen years. I was in Freetown when the outbreak took place. The agent I left in charge of my factory was murdered, and all my goods plundered. On hearing of the outbreak I returned to Sherbro, and found the whole country in flames except Bonthe. There had been rumours that the Bumpes would not pay the hut tax. Since I returned to Sherbro many of the people who are resident in the adjacent towns have come to see me, and I have endeavoured to gain from them the real cause of the rising. I have spoken to no responsible Chiefs, but some of their boys have said to me, that they have been prevented from slave dealing and from talking their woman palavers, two very great sources of revenue, and now this tax has been placed upon them. As they had no source of revenue, where were they to get money to pay the tax, and one or two suggested that if they were allowed to resume slaves and woman palavers, they would pay more than 5s. a hut.

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3104. Did these young men express their own views or those of their Chiefs?—Their own views; they may have heard them from the Chiefs. Mr. Davison.

3105. Is there any real control by the Chiefs over the people in that part of the country?—Yes.

3106. How is it exercised?—Whenever they wish to have meetings, a messenger is sent with instructions, and the people generally obey.

3107. Can you tell me, when a Chief makes an order, how the obedience of the people is enforced?—Since the Protectorate Ordinance they are not so prompt in obeying as they were before. If a Headman refused to attend a meeting, they used to seize him or put one of the people of his town in the log till the Headman came. Some of the Headmen do not go readily, but are sent for over and over again till they do go.

3108. Can you explain from anything you know why the animosity of the war-boys was so much directed against the Sierra Leonians. I think it must have been for plunder. In former years Sierra Leonians were not killed in these raids; they used to run away, and the people just plundered their factories. My opinion is that they now kill you that you may not be able to point out the plunderers.

3109. You think it is merely because they would be able to give evidence against the plunderers; no other reason?—I cannot think of any.

3110. Do you give the same explanation for the murder of the missionaries?—Yes.

Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Lewis.

3111. My name is Alfred Walter Lewis; I am a trader in palm nuts in Turner's peninsula at Mamu, ten miles from Mr. Williams' factory. About the month of October or November 1896 several natives informed me that Bai Sherbro, Chief of Yonni, had sent for a lot of Chiefs from the Protectorate and Colony to meet him at Yonni. I was given to understand that Mr. Johnson, a pilot, had come to Yonni and told Bai Sherbro that the Government was passing an Ordinance to take the whole of his country from him. I did not attend the meeting myself. I came to Freetown about September; when I was here I got a letter to say that Bai Sherbro had stopped trade. When I got down to Sherbro, the District Commissioner went over to Yonni about this stoppage of trade, which continued till August 1897. In March I went to the Ronietta district. When I got there I saw some of the Chiefs collecting hut tax, and in conversation with every one of them they said they were willing to pay the tax, but that Government had put a woman, Nancy Tucker, over them, and wanted them to receive her as their Paramount Chief.

3112. Is she a stranger to the country?—She is a trader, a native of the colony: her people belong to the peninsula. The Chiefs said their chief grievance was that Nancy Tucker got Frontier Police to oppress them.

3113. What Chiefs complained of that?—Sidulu of Mano Bagru, Si Bahu of Parama, Tenbaifa, and several others. That was in March this year.

3114. Had these Chiefs already paid the tax?—They were collecting; they had paid a portion. They asked me to make some representation to the Governor about Nancy Tucker, but I refused, as Government had said we were not to interfere in these matters. These Chiefs seemed willing to pay the tax; some of them asked for police to help them to collect it. Si Bahu was one of them.

3115. Did anything come to your knowledge respecting the collection of the tax?—They complained that Nancy Tucker was collecting the tax in rather an oppressive manner; she was compelling their subjects to work without consulting the Chiefs. The Chiefs would not recognise her.

3116. Suppose her position as Paramount Chief was unexceptionable, could she have made them work on her farm?—They would have consented without any difficulty. They told me that whatever information Nancy Tucker gave to the District Commissioner it was acted on because she was the Paramount Chief. I left Ronietta district and went to the

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Mr. Lewis. Bandajuma district with Mr. Williams. As we got up the Big Bum we went on shore at Tomba to see the Chief, Sei Bura, and he said he was still collecting his tax. We went on to Mr. Williams' factory at Waima. A day or two later Sei Bura came and said that he had almost finished collecting his tax, and asked Mr. Williams to get a man to go up to Bandajuma with him to see the District Commissioner. When we asked why, he said he wanted to let Government see that he was friendly. We left there and went up to Mafwe. Next day Chief Berri of Bumpe came to see Mr. Williams, and said he was trying to collect his tax. They were willing to pay the tax, but the people were very headstrong. That evening a letter was sent to Mr. Williams to tell him that the District Commissioner had gone to Bumpe about the tax; and that the people had consented to pay. Berri asked me to write a letter to the District Commissioner to say he was just going to pay the balance of the tax. I said I could not interfere in Government matters. I got to my own place on the 28th, and received a letter from Mr. Williams to say that war had gone to the Bum, and that my nephew had been taken. The man came in a canoe and said that I should escape at once; so I went to Bonthe. After I got there I heard that my place was burnt down. On the morning of the 28th some people crossed over to my place and told me they had heard that war had come to Gambia: in the evening these same people were all crossing back in the dark, saying they found that the war was only for Sierra Leonians and white people, but not for them. They did not say why.

Mr. Pynches.

Mr. Pynches.

3117. My name is Frederick William Pynches; I am a trader at Yele, about five miles from Mr. Williams. About 8 P.M. on the 27th April the clergyman told me he had heard there was war in Gambia, and that it was very strong there. About two hours afterwards a man came over to my place and told us that the war in Gambia had spread all along that side, and he had narrowly escaped. Mr. Williams landed from his place a few minutes afterwards, and told us about the war and a letter he had received; that Chief Bumpe of our district had received orders to close up the river that very morning; and he advised us to get away. We then got ready to leave, and got into a boat, and scarcely had we pushed off before the war-boys came and plundered the factory. We got to Bonthe that night, and next day I heard that everything in the place had been burnt and plundered. I inquired into the cause of the outbreak. I was informed that Bai Sherbro had made a one word Porro which took in all the people there; they say he had determined to take back his country.

Mr. Bobb.

Mr. Bobb.

3118. My name is Thomas Augustus Bobb; I am a trader at Matuba Island on the Jong river, where I have a factory. Some time in January 1898 Mr. Carr, District Commissioner of Bandajuma, sent round to say that all taxes and licenses must be paid. I was not able to go to Mafwe myself, but sent one of my men to pay the license. They had a large meeting at Mafwe, and the District Commissioner was there. On 27th April, in the morning, I saw many canoes coming down, and was told war had broken out at Gambia. About 3 P.M. a boat with three Frontier Police and a dead Sierra Leonian passed. Ten minutes afterwards another canoe came, and the people told us that the war-boys were behind the factory. So we jumped into a boat and got to Bonthe. I spoke to Moosa of Bumpe in December 1897, when he came and asked me if it was true he had to pay hut tax. I told him Yes. He said, 'It is very hard lines; we are very poor, and cannot afford to pay.' I said, 'We cannot help it; the Ordinance is passed, and we must all pay.' He said, 'We have been deprived of our domestics, most of them have gone away overland to Freetown, and it is very hard for one man to collect palm kernels. We have sent Adolphus, Dick, and Berri to Freetown, but they came back without redress. We have borne patiently many other grievances, such as having no slaves, even our own family slaves

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have been declared free, but this hut tax we cannot bear.' I told him to pay the tax and make a petition afterwards. James Tucker, on the 25th April, came down to me and said Captain Wallis at Gambia had come and asked for the tax; they had taxed him for 20s. before, but now they asked £2. I lent him the money, and he went away. Mr. Bobb.

3119. Had the people generally paid the tax?—They said there was some brutal treatment by the Frontier Police; I only heard that, I did not see it.

3120. None of them spoke to you about it?—One or two. The Headman of Bogo told me they had taken his things.

3121. Did you sell much spirit at your factory?—Not a large quantity.

3122. Is there any great demand for it?—Not very great. They do not carry it to the interior; it is consumed locally.

Mr. Yorke.

Mr. Yorke.

3123. My name is Alexander Sawyerr Yorke; I am a trader at Kibalwa town, on the Bagru river. Sometime in November 1896 Bai Sherbro sent a messenger to our district to say they must help him with a certain amount of money. He wanted to go and see the Governor about the hut tax. The people went round to the different towns and villages and collected the money, which was sent to him. He then went to see the Governor. When he got back he reported that the Governor had not given him a good reception, and he then sent round to stop the trade. Then we complained to Chief Nancy Tucker, and she reported to Captain Barker, the District Commissioner. He sent some Frontier Police to the different Chiefs to warn them that they must beware. Afterwards Bai Sherbro, who was then in the Colony, said, as there was no proper king, he would like to have a meeting of Chiefs at Roballa to elect a king, as they were not satisfied with Nancy Tucker. At this meeting there was a one word Porro. In February this year Captain Moore came down to Sembehun, Nancy Tucker's place, to collect the hut tax, with a number of Frontier Police, who were sent round to the different places which had not paid.

3124. Were these Frontier Police sent out in small parties?—Three to five.

3125. Where was Captain Moore?—Staying at Nancy Tucker's place.

3126. A letter was sent on to me from my landlord to say that he had been called to Sembehun about arranging for tax payment. He said he would not go for two reasons—first, because they would not submit themselves to Nancy Tucker's government, as she was quite a stranger in the country; and the second reason was that Bai Bureh had sent to them to say that if they paid the tax he would come and fall on them. I told him not to be afraid, and offered to go with him to the District Commissioner. He reluctantly consented to go, and he himself talked over the matter with the District Commissioner. The District Commissioner asked him if he was ready to pay the tax, and he said he must consult with the others. When we got back he called his people together, and I helped him to explain what had happened with the District Commissioner. His people said, 'Very well; we will consult about it.' At that time the one word Porro was going on at Roballa. When you asked them, they said they were afraid of Bai Bureh bringing war to the country; they were paying the tax, but grumbling. We did not know then that the one word Porro was the very thing that was making the war to drive us from the country. Then suddenly, on 28th April, I was surprised by a young man, who told me to go out of my factory at once, or else I would be killed. This young man was suspected of helping the Government, as he had helped to collect the tax. I had to go away from my factory overland to the Shengay district, about thirty miles off, and from there to Bonthe.

3127. What was the date of the meeting at which Bai Bureh was said to have sent a message?—That was the one word Porro.

3128. Is Bai Sherbro the Paramount Chief of that part?—No; he is in the Colony. Nancy Tucker is Paramount Chief, but the people are very dissatisfied.

3129. Has Bai Bureh any authority over that part of the country?—No; but the news frightened the people.

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Mr. YORKE.

3130. Did these Chiefs say why they particularly disliked the hut tax?—They did not say at all. My landlord told me about it.

3131. Are the people in the country which has been disturbed going back to cultivate their fields?—Not yet; the country is burnt flat.

3132. Are they rebuilding their houses?—No; because Nancy Tucker is at Kwalu, and they are afraid she will bring another war.

3133. How did they connect Nancy Tucker with the present war?—She helped Government to fight the people.

The deputation then had some general conversation with the Commissioner, in the course of which they stated:—

3134. That they considered there should be some sort of hut tax, but that the present rate was too high.

3135. That there seemed to be some sort of misunderstanding on the part of the natives as to the payment of the tax in produce; they thought the District Commissioner preferred to be paid in produce, and they sometimes had to carry it ten or twelve miles to the merchant appointed by the District Commissioner to take it.

3136. That there was a great abhorrence of direct taxation not only among the natives, but in the Colony itself.

3137. That the one-word Porro Society had done a great deal of harm in the country, and it is impossible to govern the country on English lines in the presence of the Porro. That in their opinion, if it is the intention of the Government to develop the country, the Chiefs should be done away with.

27th August 1898.

MADIEU WILLIAMS.

MADIEU WILLIAMS.

3138. My name is Madieu Williams; I was living at the river Bagru in the Shengay district. They came and asked me to pay the tax. My house was burnt, and I had just built it again. The volunteer who came from Kwalu told us he would burn our houses if we did not pay the tax. He came with two Frontier Police and one clerk.

3139. Then he said if you did not pay the tax he would burn your house?—Yes: then I paid the tax. (Witness produced a receipt for tax for five houses dated Mo Gbackoh, 21st March 1898, and signed by F. Dixon *pro* Corporal Grant.) After I had paid the tax the war-boys came and burnt my house and goods.

3140. You paid your license for your store and to sell spirits?—Yes. (Witness produced receipts.)

3141. What made the war come?—The tax brought it. They say if they pay tax it is a bad thing; they said if they do not pay, they tie them up and make them pay.

29th August 1898.

Mr. DAVIS.

MR. DAVIS.

3142. My name is John Theophilus Davis; I am a trader at Mokabe, where I have a factory. I also have a small factory at Mano. One day I found war-boys plundering my factory at Mano, and when I appeared they threatened me with cutlasses and sticks. I asked my landlord to speak to them. I escaped from them, and hired a man to show me the road to go to Jimi to complain to Chief Caulker, who is the head Chief of that district. He laughed at me, but gave me a place to sleep. There were two other Sierra Leonians there, a young man called Johnson from Mafwe, and Metzger. At daybreak several people came in from the towns round about, and said to Caulker, 'Why do you keep Sierra Leone people here?' Then Caulker said to me quietly, 'You had better go to Bandajuma, where the District Commissioner is.' Then I got away to Bandajuma.

3143. Did you pay rent for your house?—I made my landlady a little present of kola,

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or cloth, or tobacco. My landlady had said to me before, 'You are a stranger here; you must not pay the tax, the land belongs to me.' Mr. Davis.

3144. Were there many war-boys who came to Mokabe?—A lot.

3145. Of what tribes?—The ones at Mano were boys from the town, afterwards Mendis came.

3146. Were they speaking Mendi?—Yes; I understand the language.

3147. Did you know any of the people?—Yes; I had traded with some of them.

3148. Had you paid your license when they first came to your house?—Yes.

3149. What did the boys say?—They said, 'We going to carry you by the way.' Nothing more.

3150. Whilst I was at Mokabe town my landlady (Mami Lango) had great influence in the country. She used to be always complaining of the tax matter. She called me one day and said, 'I hear you have paid the tax and license; you should not have done that; you pay me a little kola; the land belongs to me; I am not going to agree to pay this tax; I have only very small houses.'

3151. There is one thing I should like to tell you about: you know the war commenced at the head of the Big Bum, and gradually spread down, but they did not begin to kill Sierra Leonians till a burnt leaf was sent round. I saw the burnt leaf myself. A boy brought it; it was half burnt, and tied up like a broom; it was a signal to begin killing.

Mrs. Bonki. Mrs. Bonki.

3152. My name is Catherine Bonki; I am a trader, and was at Port Lokko at the beginning of this year. The District Commissioner came and told us we were to pay the tax.

3153. Did you have palaver before you paid the tax?—I said I rented the house, and it did not belong to me, and the others said the same thing.

3154. What did the District Commissioner say?—He told me I must go to my landlord; he then made me a prisoner.

3155. Did not Captain Sharpe tell you that the law was that the one who lived in the house must pay the tax?—Yes.

3156. When he said that did you agree to pay the tax?—No; he made me and Phoebe White prisoners for three days.

3157. Did you tell the District Commissioner you were afraid of your landlord?—Yes: my landlord said I must not pay for the house, or he would burn it.

3158. Did you tell your landlord that you would pay the tax and take it off your rent?—Yes; the landlord did not agree.

3159. After three days you paid the tax?—Yes; and I had to pay a fine of twenty-five shillings as well for not paying quickly.

3160. While I was in prison they broke open my house and took all my things.

3161. Did you see Captain Sharpe make Bokari Bamp prisoner?—Captain Sharpe said that Bokari Bamp caused Sierra Leonians not to pay the tax, and so made him prisoner.

3162. Was it true that Bokari Bamp had prevented you from paying?—No; it was not true.

3163. What rent did you pay for your house?—Five shillings a month: only Sierra Leonians paid rent; natives born did not.

30th August 1898.

Yan Kuba. Yan Kuba.

3164. My name is Yan Kuba; I am Chief of Mabobo. Mabobo is three days from here.

3165. Are there many people there?—Yes; Mabobo is a village under Pofi in the Bumpe country.

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YAN KUBA.

3166. Have the people made their farms for this year?—No; the war stopped them. The sowing season is past now.

3167. What are the people going to do for food next year?—They will have to suffer hunger.

3168. Do you remember when they began to collect the hut tax this year?—Yes.

3169. Who came to collect the tax?—A Mohammedan Chief, Alfa Abdullah; he went first to a place called Fulla Town, near Rotofunk: when he told the principal people in the country to pay the hut tax, the elders collected the tax and delivered it to Alfa Abdullah.

3170. Do you remember about the tax being collected at Mabobo?—Yes.

3171. What people came to collect the tax there?—Policemen went there, but not on account of the hut tax.

3172. Why did they go there?—They were passing on to Mafouri, and called at Mabobo. The police came when we were in the Barri settling a matter: a woman came and told us the police were coming. When they reached the town, a young man was coming from one of the fakki; and as the police were coming from the other way, they met. The police asked him to give up the sword he was carrying: the young man refused to give up the sword, and the police fired at him twice; one shot broke his arm, and the other shot went in athis back and came out of his stomach. I was not on the spot, but one of my boys witnessed it. At the time the man refused to give up the sword my boy wanted to help the police to get the sword; the police told him to keep clear, so as not to share his fate: he then stood aside and heard the two shots. The white officer hearing the shots, came out, and asked who fired the shots; the policemen said they did. The officer asked, 'What has the man done?' and the policemen said he had drawn his sword and attempted to chop them. Then the officer asked me whether there was any war in the town. I said, 'No war'; and the officer asked again, 'Is there any war here?' and ordered the police to load their guns and fall in. They turned towards me: I said, 'There is no war,' and the officer said, 'There is war: what has given rise to this man attempting to chop the police?' I said the man was just coming into the town and met the police; and one of the police said it was true that the man was coming into the town. I then entered my house, and was followed by the policemen. I said, 'What is the matter?' They said, 'We thought you were going to run away.'

3173. How many policemen were there?—I do not know exactly: more than ten.

3174. When this young man met the police, did you see the meeting?—I saw them when they pursued after him.

3175. Was the boy running?—He was walking.

3176. How many police were together when they fired?—I do not know how many were present; I know that two policemen fired. I do not know who they were; it is said one of them was Sanisi. I could not identify them.

3177. I want to understand this clearly: did you see the shots fired and the man fall down?—I myself was not on the very spot.

3178. Were you inside your house when the shots were fired?—I was in the piazza.

3179. Did you hear any loud talking before they were fired?—No; only the police asking the man to give up the sword and the man refusing.

3180. What did the police say to him?—They said nothing besides asking him to give up the cutlass.

3181. Did you hear the man say anything to the police?—He said nothing: when they asked him to give up the cutlass he did not agree, but was going away.

3182. What countryman was the boy?—A Sherbro.

3183. Did the police speak English to him?—Yes.

3184. Was the boy who wanted to help one of your boys?—Yes; he is coming.

3185. Is he in Freetown?—He was with me at Rotofunk, and went back to prepare to come here.

3186. What is his name?—Kanreh.[1]

[1] *See* 4047.

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3187. Were the police collecting cutlasses from other people at that time?—I could not say: not at Mabobo.

3188. Did they ask any one else to give up cutlasses?—They did not tell any one to give up cutlasses, as they none of them had cutlasses with them.

3189. Had the people at Mabobo paid the tax at this time?—Not yet; no one had been to collect it.

3190. Were the police collecting the tax when they came?—No.

3191. What month was it?—During the dry season, while they were brushing their farms. I think after Ramadan.

3192. Was Ramadan done when this occurred?—I think so; not long past.

3193. After this happened, did the police go away quietly?—When the officer came into the town, and the policemen who followed me into the house asked me to come out of the house, the officer told them not to disturb me any further. He asked me if I was the Headman of the town, and I said 'Yes.' I was then told to collect my people to clear the road. He asked if the road to Mafouri was in good condition. I said 'Yes.' They passed two of my fakkis without disturbing the people. When they got to Kangama, the third fakki, they heard continuous firing, and had to go to Mafouri, and from Mafwe they went to Bagru.

3194. Did anybody come to Mabobo after that time to collect the tax?—Nobody came. They would not go to collect the tax at Mabobo, but the Head Chief Bäoum, who is now sick, would collect it. I am under Chief Caulker of Bumpe, and he generally sent to Bäoum if there was any news, and Bäoum would tell me.

31*st August* 1898.

3195. You referred to continuous firing (3193); did you hear the firing?—Yes.

3196. Did you find out what it was about?—No.

3197. You heard it at Mabobo?—Yes; the whole day. The police went to Mafouri and burnt it down, and did the same to all the towns along the Bumpe.

3198. Was there any fight with the country people?—I do not think the people were fighting. But at Kangama it is the custom when strangers come into the town to blow their horns and beat drums so as to call those who are out in the fields. As soon as the police heard the noise, they thought it was to call the people to fight them, so they burnt down the town.

3199. Do you know for a fact that the police burnt the town?—Yes; they burnt all the rice and ground-nuts at Kangama, Mafouri, and other towns. After Mafouri the police shot one man dead on the road and wounded another. The man was running into the bush, and they shot him, and he fell down dead.

3200. Is that a different man to the one you told me about?—Yes.

3201. Did you see the second man killed?—No; but it was close to Mabobo.

3202. Did you see the dead body?—No.

3203. Who saw it?—Some of the men at Masimbara; Sisi is the Chief of the town.

3204. Can you tell me any one who really saw it?—Chief Sisi, I think. There could be no persons present, as they were all running away. The police fired a volley, and this man hid behind a tree and was killed by a shot that penetrated the tree.

3205. Is there any one who saw the police firing at the people?—Another Chief who was present has been killed now: many others who were present have been arrested and taken to Kwalu: I cannot remember any names just now.

3206. The firing lasted from Kangama to where?—They continued firing till they got to Vahu, close to Bumpe.

3207. What river is Mabobo on?—The Bumpe. It is far from the sea.

3208. Was the firing going down the river?—Yes; from Kangama towards the river, and afterwards they turned back and went up from Mafouri to Vahu, in the direction of the Cockboro river.

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YAN KUBA.

3209. Did you see the dead body of the man you first told me about?—Yes.

3210. He had one wound on his arm?—Yes; on his right arm.

3211. And on the back also?—He was shot through.

3212. When Chief Richard Caulker returned from Freetown he went to Mayamba and Mafouri, and called a meeting of Chiefs and people, and told them about the hut tax. He said he was asked to pay the hut tax, and that was the reason he had called them together. The people said the matter was in his hands, and if he said they must pay they would pay. The Chief then said he would like to see his brother. It was after this meeting that the police came and burnt down my place.

3213. You collected the tax and paid it over to Alfa Abdullah?—Yes. Alfa Abdullah told us that the white man at Kwalu said if we did not pay the hut tax, they would come down and burn the place. Richard Caulker succeeded in collecting about £10, and gave it to Alfa Abdullah to take to Kwalu. When he returned again he asked them to complete paying the tax: it was a large amount of money. The whole of us were occupied in collecting the hut tax. While we were collecting it we heard shots at Bagru, at Nancy Tucker's; and when I asked the people to pay the tax, they said they heard firing, and would not pay until they knew what was the cause of the firing. After this the general outbreak took place, and the people hunted the Sierra Leone creoles. There was a Sierra Leone woman at Mabobo; and I, hearing of this general outbreak and intention of killing Sierra Leonians, offered her a canoe to escape down the river; but she said she must wait for her husband.

3214. What caused these war-boys to come and hunt the Sierra Leonians?—Because they were asked to pay the hut tax.

3215. Did your chiefs think that Sierra Leone people made you pay the tax?—I was not with the chiefs who got up the war, so I cannot say whether that was their reason.

3216. Did the war-boys say why they were searching for Sierra Leone people?—They said nothing besides the hut tax. This talk was because white people asked them to pay hut tax; and they would not spare any one who paid the tax, but would kill them. The other day certain Chiefs were cruelly beaten by the policemen, and were taken to Kwalu with ropes round their necks.

3217. What were the names of the Chiefs?—Chief Bayo of Wallaia in the Bumpe country; Momo Duku of Kibau; Konshendi of Moyomo and Bangayemdi, brothers of Richard Caulker; Sisi Warman of Morpeter.

3218. When did this happen?—Last Sunday.

3219. What were the Chiefs accused of?—The Chiefs had gone to tender submission to the District Commissioner and to declare their loyalty to the Government. It was arranged that they should meet the District Commissioner on Sunday morning; but as the village was too small, they had to go to another village to sleep, and were late in coming. The District Commissioner sent for them as they were late, and arrested them.

3220. Did the District Commissioner send for these Chiefs?—Yes; he did send for them. While the people were at Rotofunk, suing for peace, Madam Yoko's people went and plundered Masa and captured ten peasants; and they went to Gambia and captured thirteen peasants. One of the captives who ran away is in town now; the others are with their captors at Yawayama.

31st August 1898.

MURANA CARIMOO.

MURANA CARIMOO.

3221. When you were here before[1] you told me about a young man who was shot because he would not give up a sword?—Yes.

3222. Did you see the shot fired?—Yes; I did.

3223. What did you see?—When the white man came from Pettifu to Mabobo I was following after them. We were on the hill after crossing the swamp, and we saw a man coming from the bush towards Mabobo. The man had a sword in his hand. The policeman

[1] *See* 1981.

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asked him why he had the sword; he said it was his; the policeman asked him to deliver it up, but the man did not agree. The white man was on the wharf close to the landing stage. When the man refused to give up his sword the policeman tried to take it from him. Yan Kuba and others came up the hill and were looking down at them from the wharf. The Captain ordered the police to keep clear from the man and then the police got clear of the man and the Captain shot him. When he went up he caught hold of Yan Kuba, and asked him if there was any war. MURANA CARIMOO.

3224. Which policeman shot the man?—It was not the policemen.

3225. Who shot him?—Captain Moore.

3226. What did he shoot him with?—A long gun with a bullet.

3227. Was he carrying a long gun?—Yes: he had a revolver tied round his waist besides.

3228. Whom were you in company with at that time?—I was with three Timini men, Konta, Sissi, and Banabu.

3229. What place does Konta live at?—He lived at Makombo, and the others at Bramah, but they are now scattered.

3230. What were you and those three men engaged in doing at that time?—We were then going to see what would be done with the men they had carried by force from Pettifu.

3231. Did you see the body of this man when he was dead?—Yes.

3232. Think well and remember where the wounds were?—I did not take notice of the particular place; I saw blood gushing down from his side.

3233. Was the blood at only one place?—He was covered with blood; he was struggling to die; he died hardly.

3234. Did you not examine as to where he was hit?—No.

3235. Did you not say that you had not seen the shot actually fired but saw the body afterwards?—If I said so it was a mistake: what I meant was that I was not present at Pettifu (cf. 1982).

3236. But in 1987 you said you did not actually see the shot fired, and that Yan Kuba told you of it?—I might have made a mistake.

3237. Why did you make a mistake like that?—I followed the people really to that place, but as to this mistake it may have been that he (the interpreter) did not hear me well.

3238. But to-day you say one thing and before you said another?—I do not mean to deceive you.

3239. Which is the truth: what you say to-day or what you said before?—What I say to-day is what I spoke last time.

31*st August* 1898.

MR. JOHNSON.

MR. JOHNSON.

3240. My name is William Henry Johnson. I am a farmer at Mafwe on the Big Bum river. I am a Liberian. I have been settled at Mafwe for four years with Mr. Williams; and during my stay I have never seen such treatment of the natives as this year. I had workmen there and lately they began grumbling. I threatened them as I usually do in such cases: but they said it was no use threatening as they would soon be no good as workmen. They said the Government had stopped the slaves and the women palavers and now wanted them to pay a tax: but sooner than do that they would die. Their houses were not worth anything. That was about November or December last year. I said, 'What do you mean by saying that you all go die?' They said they were unable to pay the tax as they had no money. They talked that till the beginning of this year. When Captain Carr came to Mafwe to collect the tax, the people all gathered at Mafwe. I suppose Captain Carr got scared, for he told them to go and come in six days time. All the big men were there the first day, but the second time all the men in the country as far as I could see were there. After the six days were over they came again, and Captain Carr said he only

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Mr. JOHNSON.

wanted the principal Chiefs; and he chose about four that day. Thomas Bongo and Berri and others. I do not know how a fight was averted; the country people were passing their command not to knock creoles, and Captain Carr was ordering the police not to knock the country people. The Chiefs were then taken to Bandajuma and remained there, and I hear were not well treated; the people then began to collect money so that they might pay the tax and get them released. After that they were released. Captain Wallis went to the Small Bum patrolling. When these Chiefs had arrived from Bandajuma, you could hear no sign of war or confusion; those who were paying the tax kept on paying; all you could hear was, 'Make haste and get Captain Carr's palm nuts.' They continued this up to the day of the beginning of the plundering. Then the people escaped; and I went to Bandajuma.

3241. Did the people of Mafwe join in the war and the plundering?—I cannot say rightly. The Chief did not join. He was killed because they said he had consented to give the country to the English. In eight days they had gone right through the place. They came to Bandajuma but we drove them away.

3242. Were any of the country people killed by the war-boys?—None that I remember except the Chief.

3243. Did the Mafwe people join with the other war-boys?—I do not know that. The conclusion that I have gathered from the country people and from what I know, is, that it was through this hut tax that the rising came about. It was not slavery. I have seen men catch natives and tie them and flog them for debt, and I have seen men take men's wives and they did not make war.

3244. Who did that?—Some of the Sierrà Leonians.

3245. You have seen that?—Yes.

3246. Did those country people whom Sierra Leonians abused in that way not complain to the Commissioner?—I am speaking of the time before the Commissioner. After he came things were a little better.

3247. From what you know of the condition of these country people, are they well off or very poor?—Some are well-to-do, some very poor.

3248. Would it be really difficult for them to pay five shillings for their huts?—I should think so.

3249. The war came on the second day when Captain Carr had this meeting. The majority were hidden in the bush behind the barracks?—I never heard anything of war before this tax came.

3250. With all these war people about how was it that Captain Carr was able to take the Chiefs to Bandajuma?—The Chiefs told them not to do anything; they said, 'Let them carry us off and see what they will do with us.'

31*st August* 1898.

Mr. DILLET.

MR. DILLET.

3251. My name is Dennis Nathaniel Saul Dillet. I am a trader near Shengay, near by Chief Thomas Neale Caulker: I used to act as his writing clerk.

3252. Did you keep his books?—I copied out his letters.

3253. What have you to tell me?—In 1896 the Governor went up to Shengay and called a meeting of the Chiefs, at which I was present; he told us the place would now be a Protectorate, and that the following year all would have to pay hut tax; and that all matters were to be brought before the District Commissioner. The people did not seem at all pleased about it.

3254. When the Governor made that announcement to the meeting, did the Chiefs return any answer?—Not then: they dispersed to talk about it. As time went on, Chief Neale Caulker, who was a more sensible man than his people, tried to show them that they must agree to these things. After that we heard that the interior Chiefs said that they would bring war to the first place that paid the tax. In October 1897, the District

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Commissioner sent a letter to notify the Chiefs that the tax must be ready for the beginning of next year. Mr. DILLET.

3255. Who was the District Commissioner?—Dr. Hood or Mr. Hudson. The Chief told the people and they said, 'If we pay the tax the others say they will bring war on us.' The Chief said, 'That cannot be, because the English Government have promised to protect us from war, and that no war should come to us.' In February Captain Moore came to hold a meeting at Shengay and told the Chiefs that he had thought that Shengay would have been the first to set the example by paying the tax. This time he came in a friendly way, but next time he might come and enforce it. The people did not refuse to pay the tax, but said that war would come upon them if they paid. Captain Moore replied that that was foolishness, and the man who said that stood on slippery ground, and that there would be no war. And if there was any war his force could drive the Mendis as far as the Sofas. He said, 'Pay the tax and see where the war will come from': he then returned to his district: and they began to pay one by one. The country people said, 'surely there will be war, and this money will not go up.' In the latter part of April the police were collecting the tax, and on the following Friday we heard of the war. The Government boat had just come up with two Frontiers and some labourers and a court messenger. We told the Frontiers, and said we did not know where war was coming from. The Chief sent a letter at once to say he must have some Frontiers as protection. We then heard at that time that it was Francis Caulker who was bringing the war. On Saturday we heard firing. After that we received a letter from our nephew to say that it was true that there was war. That Saturday I tried to move myself and my family to the Mission Station for protection.

3256. Was there any particular safety attached to the Mission Station?—It was a stone house, and had a wall round it. I told the Chief that we would stay at the Mission Station for the night. The Chief said he was going to one of his fakkis. I waited for him till night, but he did not come. I heard that the war would come that night: the Chief believed that protection would be sent at once, and so did not like to run away and leave his place. On Sunday night, after we had crossed over, we commenced to see fire. They plundered the places first, and did not burn most of them till Tuesday. On our own side we heard from our own people that if we paid the tax there would surely be war.

3257. You mean war would be made on anyone who paid tax, whether countryman or Sierra Leonian?—War would be made on any Chief who gathered tax.

3258. Was the Mission Station attacked?—Yes; it was burnt to the ground. The missionaries escaped.

1*st September* 1898.

MR. BULL.

MR. BULL.

3259. My name is John T. Bull. I am a carpenter, and was in the Sherbro district last April. I was on my way up to Mr. Coles' place at Kambolo on the river, and we met war-boys. They were armed with cutlasses and sticks, and there were a great many of them on both sides of the river. I was very nearly caught by them, but managed to escape in the canoe. After the Governor had been up in that district to tell the people about the Protectorate Ordinance, they had a meeting in the bush, and a country woman, named Bangbatu, overheard them making a plot to kill Sierra Leonians. She told me of it.

1*st September* 1889.

MARY PARKINSON.

MARY PARKINSON.

3260. My name is Mary Parkinson. I was in Imperri at Sukan's town when the war-boys came. They caught me, and then they caught Mr. Hughes who was there. They tied a rope round him. That was on Thursday (April 28th?). They brought him to the Barri. On Friday, Sukan sent to tell me they were going to kill Mr. Hughes. I was sitting in a house looking out of the window, and I saw one of Sukan's people, Lalupa,

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MARY PARKINSON.

chop Mr. Hughes on the thighs, another boy chopped him afterwards, and they killed him. Sukum wanted to kill me too, because I was a creole, but I escaped; I was in the bush for eight days; and a boat came and picked me up, and I got here.

2nd September 1898.

Captain SHARPE.

CAPTAIN SHARPE, District Commissioner, Karene.

3261. My name is Wilfred Stanley Sharpe. I am a Captain.

3262. Are you seconded?—Yes; I was in the Inniskilling Dragoons, and now in the Royal Irish Rifles.

3263. What was the first appointment you held in the Colony?—Inspector of Frontier Police. I was appointed in March 1894.

3264. When were you first connected with the Karene District?—1st November 1896: before that, I was there in February 1896 as a Frontier Officer, before I was District Commissioner.

3265. You continued to be District Commissioner at Karene till 30th April 1897?—Yes; I went on leave then: I was acting from December 1896.

3266. You were relieved till 16th January 1898?—I have been on duty there ever since 18th January 1898 till last Sunday.

3267. You were in the Karene District at the time that the Protectorate was proclaimed?—Yes.

3268. And when the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896 was published?—Yes.

3269. What is the general scope of your duties?—Practically looking after and governing the natives from the native point of view: and in addition to political work there is tax collecting.

3270. Is Karene the official head quarters of the district?—Yes; it is the seat of Government.

3271. Is there an Inspector of Police stationed there as well as yourself?—Yes.

3272. He is under your commands, I presume?—Yes.

3273. Generally, what are your instructions as to acting on your own responsibility and consulting the Government?—I have to submit every legal step to the Attorney-General, and he passes his opinion on it. Practically, every legal act of mine is passed on here, and in due course comes before the Governor as a check to my sentences.

3274. And as to other matters?—Licensing, for instance; I send down a monthly return, and my license and tax books are subject to inspection by the local auditor at any time to see that they are properly kept.

3275. These are matters of routine, what of matters that are not of routine?—I cannot think of a single duty that would not reach the Governor's ears.

3276. Suppose a Chief made some important communication to you that would lead to immediate action, would you act at once or would you obtain advice first?—If immediate action were necessary I should take immediate action and then report at the first opportunity. I have frequently done this in French boundary cases. If it did not require immediate action I should take advice.

3277. Have your duties brought you much in contact with the life and customs of the natives?—Not so much as I should have liked. They have not taken advantage of the Protectorate Ordinance to bring their disputes to me. There was very little communication between myself and the Chiefs before the Protectorate Ordinance.

3278. Approximately what is the extreme length and breadth of the Karene District?—About 130 miles by 90 miles.

3279. Have you travelled over the country very much?—Not much in the wilder northern parts; but a good deal over the rest.

3280. Is the land high in your district?—It is very low by the sea; there is a great deal of swamp, especially in Bullom. None of the hills are more than 2000 feet high. The higher parts are towards the North.

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3281. Are there any grazing lands?—Colonel Trotter considered the mountain land good pasture, but he only saw it just at the best time; it is all rocky subsoil.

3282. Are there many waterways that open up the interior of the country?—We are very well off for big rivers; we have the Great and the Small Skarcies.

3283. Can you get to Karene by water?—No; you can get to Port Lokko which is only 26 miles off.

3284. Can you get to Port Lokko by the Colonial Steamboat?—Not quite; you have to go three or four hours by row-boat.

3285. How long a time does it take to get from Karene to Freetown?—It is a day and a half from Karene to Port Lokko; and the time from there to Freetown varies with the tide. I have taken three days to do it, on Sunday I did it in six hours. You have to wait for three tides in a boat that cannot go against the tide.

3286. What tribes inhabit the Karene District?—Limbas, Timinis, and Lokkos, and a good many Susus and Mohammedans. There are four or five languages spoken in the district.

3287. Are they radically different tribes and not mere branches of one tribe?—They are all separate.

3288. The Timinis are the leading tribe?—I should not say so; the Susus are a very strong tribe.

3289. Do they all speak different languages?—Yes; most of them speak Timini except in the north.

3290. What is the language there?—Limba; Timini is not understood in the Lokko district or in the Susu district.

3291. Have you made any estimate of the number of the population?—No; except from the estimate of houses. Speaking from memory there are 80,000 houses, and allowing five persons per house we got 400,000; add a quarter to that, possibly 500,000; but it is practically guess-work.

3292. I presume that the recent troubles have very much disorganised the native life of the district?—Yes; one might say they have thrown the district back many years. The area affected is quite desolate. However the actual area of the disturbances is only a small part of the district, a radius of about 30 miles around Karene would about cover the whole; and outside that radius, as far as I know, the natives are going on with their farms and other industries just as usual.

3293. What was the nature of the cultivation in these parts where the war came?—Rice; there was no rubber: part of the country is very fertile, and they do not even have to cut the bush in some parts. The mud-banks in the Skarcies valley are very fertile.

3294. I have been told that the price of rice has risen very much in Port Lokko, is that so?—The natives tell me they cannot get rice at all.

3295. What is the cause of that?—The war-boys go about and seize every caravan and every bit of rice they can get; they are so hard up for food that they are compelled to go round robbing every village which has a rice store. This includes a much larger area than the actual war area (witness points out the region on the map), especially the Saimu country.

3296. Is the Karene district the principal rice producing district in the colony?—I have found a good deal of rice there, but I could not say how much finds its way to Freetown.

3297. I believe the price of rice in Freetown has risen from 6s. to 12s. a bushel?—Yes; I can give no proof of it, but I heard it was practically cornered by the French Company; when they got wind of how things were going they bought up all the rice they could get hold of and forced the price up.

3298. While things were in their normal state what were the principal industries in the district?—There are hardly any I think beyond supplying their ordinary wants. I have seen them making very little cloth, and they plant just enough rice to last them for

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Captain SHARPE. the season; beyond that they have no idea of trading unless it is forced on them. They would never go out of their way to make trade

3299. They have then no idea of cultivating for export?—No; the Portuguese force a little trade in kolas on them, they come twice a year in the kola season, and bring up goods in canoes to exchange; but the natives would never think of bringing kolas down here.

3300. Do they make the cloth from native cotton?—Yes; that is more a Mendi industry.

3301. Is cotton grown in the district?—It grows wild, but they do not cultivate it.

3302. Is the soil suitable for growing cotton?—I should think so. There is much cotton in the low grounds which I believe is wild.

3303. Is there wild tobacco?—I have never seen it. I have seen it in the Limba country. They do not trouble to grow it near the towns where they can get the American leaf which they much prefer, and which is very cheap.

3304. Is much of the country suitable for rubber?—I have never seen a rubber tree; I know very little about rubber. My own impression is that anything that was planted would grow in the country.

3305. Then one might say that the agricultural possibilities are almost wholly undeveloped?—I should say so.

3306. Have you any idea what proportion the Mahomedans bear to those inhabitants who are not Mohammedans?—Only as regards the towns. They exceed the pagans almost by two to one, certainly three to two.

3307. The only cultivation then was rice for their own immediate wants?—Yes, practically.

3308. Can you give me any information regarding the mineral or geological features of the Karene district?—I have had quartz brought me by some of the Frontier Police, which looked as if it might be valuable. I have no technical knowledge. It was a sort of glittering stone or had bright particles.

3309. Has there been any gold mining or prospecting?—No.

3310. Do the Chiefs possess much gold in the way of ornaments?—Yes, a very fair share.

3311. Where do they get the gold?—It comes down from beyond Falaba, from beyond our boundary.

3312. I think you said it was only small trade, carried on chiefly by individual traders, I suppose?—Yes.

3313. From Freetown?—Yes: mostly Sierra Leonians from Freetown.

3314. What are the ordinary articles of trade?—Cloth and tobacco in exchange for kola.

3315. Before the Protectorate Ordinance came into force, did they carry spirits?—Yes: the natives of the better class do not care about the local palm wine: the lower classes drink it.

3316. This palm wine in its fermented state is, I believe, very intoxicating?—Yes: Europeans and doctors have told me it is non-alcoholic, but I do not believe it. It makes bread rise quickly.

3317. Have you ever heard of insanity being produced by the excessive use of it, among Chiefs or others?—Never.

3318. Has it any particular evil effect?—None beyond drunkenness.

3319. Before the Protectorate Ordinance did the trade in spirits bear a large proportion to that in other goods?—I should say so, that is, judging by the number of bottles and cases I have seen about the country.

3320. Under the Protectorate Ordinance the sale is prohibited except in licensed houses: has that restricted the trade very much?—It is not so much the licenses as the restrictions, such as not being allowed to sell less than a pint at a time.

3321. Then it might not be sold at all except in licensed houses?—No: and then not in quantities less than a pint.

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3322. Before the Protectorate Ordinance would you say there was excessive drinking of spirits?—Only in individual cases: The native himself I do not think is a drunkard, and I have only seen Chiefs drunk.

3323. It is said that the spirits imported are of a bad quality, have you ever had evidence in support of that fact; by bad I mean deleterious?—The price would prove it, I should think.

3324. Have you ever been aware of any cases of poisoning from it?—No: but when Chiefs drink trade gin any disease they may have assumes an aggravated form, such as elephantiasis.

3325. But then a drunkard's constitution is generally deteriorated though the quality of the liquor may be good?—When a man drinks trade gin he generally has any disease (especially venereal disease which is very common), worse than another man who does not drink it.

3326. Do the traders feel the restriction on the sale of spirits to be a grievance?—Yes, certainly. But it is not particularly the spirit license, it is the store license, which a native must take if he wishes to sell a little cloth. I have never heard them complain that they could not sell spirits without a license.

3327. Can you give me any idea of the proportion of domestic slaves to free persons in the district?—Very roughly, I should say, including women and children, rather more than one half.

3328. I mean those who are really slaves?—The so-called slave sits at his master's table and is treated as one of the family; they are really unpaid workmen. Of course there is still a good deal of bartering, pledging and selling slaves going on still; but they never work actually in chains now.

3329. Did they *ever* work in chains?—We have often seen them in chains in the old days.

3330. But were those ordinary domestic slaves?—No, they were slaves in transit.

3331. Down to what period did the practise of buying and selling slaves continue?—It goes on now.

3332. As regards the Karene district, are the slaves taken over to French territory? or are they brought into the district from outside?—Both. Many have been taken over there in exchange for powder, and some have been brought back. All the actual buying and selling is done on French territory; they think there is not so much chance of being convicted of slave-dealing there. Only a day or two before I came down there was reported a gang who had escaped the constables; the constable got two little girls, however, who did not know where they had been brought from. The trade is chiefly east and west.

3333. Are they taken out of the Karene district itself and removed to the French territory, or are they taken from some other district?—Most of the cases have been of slaves taken out of my district across to the French territory and *vice versa*. There may be some brought from beyond my district and only taken through it.

3334. Have these cases been at all numerous in recent times?—We have so few police to spare that the few cases brought to me prove that there must be many more.

3335. Are there many roads?—It is a network of by-paths; they can leave the road so as to avoid any particular spot, and strike the big road again, later, quite easily.

3336. I suppose the big road itself is only a narrow road?—Yes; it is the road we keep clean to be used by Government.

3337. Is there anything done on the big road beyond cutting down the bush?—The road itself is scraped, rivers and swamps are bridged, and the ferries are supplied with canoes.

3338. Does Government do that?—The Chiefs do it. It is considered part of the duty of stipend Chiefs.

3339. Then do the natives themselves keep these by-paths open?—Only by walking along them.

3340. Are the lands in your district which belong to different tribes well known to

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Captain SHARPE. the tribes themselves and to their Chiefs?—They are most difficult to trace, very few of the Chiefs themselves know the boundaries of their districts. There are little marks, such as stones in streams, which are easily lost sight of. I have never yet met a Chief who could tell me accurately the names of the towns in his district.

3341. Have you given any attention to the gradations of rank among the different chiefs?—I cannot tell much about that. There are so many tribes. You are told that Bai means king, yet it seems that anybody may be called Bai.

3342. Have you not studied the question of rank much?—I have tried; but it is difficult to get information.

3343. Speaking roughly you are acquainted with Chiefs called Paramount Chiefs?—Yes; but that is surely a Government distinction.

3344. It goes back further than that; I mean Chiefs who have no Chiefs over them?—Yes; I am aware of such Chiefs.

3345. Are you aware whether Paramount Chiefs in your district are grouped so as to be subordinate to one of their number?—In reality they all look up to the man they call their father who has crowned them. In very few cases would they act without consulting him. He is generally an old man.

3346. Is it an office that belongs to some of the Chiefs to crown the others, and he who holds that office is much looked up to by the others?—Yes; he is generally a very old chief. It is not even always a chief in the same district. As an instance, a Chief living outside the district of the Paramount Chief of Karene asked him to come and crown him, and now he considers that he cannot do anything without consulting the Chief who crowned him, although he is in a totally different country.

3347. Is that a mere personal feeling or a matter of organisation?—I think it is an old custom, that their 'daddy,' as they call the Chief who crowned them, should be consulted on any important step.

3348. Then there is a class called sub-Chiefs more or less in subordination to the Paramount Chiefs, can you tell me the extent of the authority of the Paramount Chief over the sub-Chief?—I should say his authority is almost despotic. For instance, Bai Kobba is the head Chief of the Upper Lokkos, and there are a lot of important Chiefs under him; but none of them will do anything without consulting Bai Kobba, who is bedridden and in his second childhood. Knowing this, Government appointed another man to be Chief in his place, with Bai Kobba's consent; but the other Chiefs would not recognise him or pay their tax to him. Kandisayo was the man elected in Bai Kobba's place.

3349. Does a Chief's power and influence depend upon his fighting strength, or reputation for wisdom, or what?—There are very few fighting Chiefs who have authority to collect armed gatherings. Fighting Chiefs are worth fifty times as much as other Chiefs.

3350. You can only speak, I presume, of the condition of these Chiefs since the Protectorate Ordinance?—My own opinion is that the Warrior Chiefs alone have any real authority. The ordinary Chief gives decisions to the man who pays most, and there is no real justice.

3351. When you say there is no knowledge of what justice is, do you speak from your own observation?—Yes, from the way natives have come to me to complain. I always investigated the case and in many instances found that they had not been dealt fairly with. Both sides must make a present to the Chief before the case is begun to be heard.

3352. Have you ever sat in the court with the Chiefs under the Ordinance?—Never, I never had a single case that could come under that court.

3353. Have you made the method of conducting the Chief's court generally a study?—I did at first. I thoroughly investigated every complaint that the natives made to me and drew up a report of it which I sent to the Chief with a recommendation as to what judgment he should give: and they usually acted on it. But now I find under the Protectorate Ordinance that I may not do this, and there is now very little justice to be obtained in the Chief's court, I believe.

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Captain SHARPE.

3354. Which of the Chief's courts are you now specially alluding to?—The Chief's court itself.

3355. There are many Chiefs and many Chief's courts in your district: do you allude to any particular case?—Wherever I have gone people have come. I can find many letters written to me to say that people have come to complain. I have investigated the complaints and have written letters to the Chiefs to put the matter before them. When I have done that the matter has been properly tried. I have sometimes sent one of the Frontier Police with the letter.

3356. Are you aware if there are any recognised and definite fees that are taken for summoning a man to a Chief's court?—There is no recognised amount. When the party comes he has to bring something with him, such as a cow or a sheep, and when the other party is summoned he is expected to give something too. The one single exception is our own home Chief who has been educated up to a scale of fees, which are only a little more than Government fees; and as far as I know he is a very fair man.

3357. On the model of the District Commissioner's court fees, I suppose?—Yes; so much for a witness, etc.

3358. Which Chief is that?—Brima Sanda, of the Sanda district.

3359. Is he a Paramount Chief?—Yes; a stipend Chief. Karene is in the Sanda district.

3360. Do you know how a Paramount Chief is chosen when the Chiefship becomes vacant?—There is a different rule in every district. I have never known the father-to-son system carried out. One instance I can give is of the Port Lokko Chiefs, who alternate between two families. When a Chief dies the people send his successor's name to us, it is then sent on to Mr. Parkes, and if the Governor has no objection he is duly elected.

3361. Are the Paramount Chiefs appointed by some of the Headmen?—Generally the nominee of the most influential Headman is elected. In some rare cases the people cannot agree. That happened in my district: nearly a year after the death of the Chief they were squabbling about his successor. At last, I said, if they did not elect a Chief in two months time, I should elect one myself. The man I selected was a Santigi who had been the right-hand man of the late Chief, and I sent his name to the Governor, who approved it; and after much difficulty he was elected.

3362. I gather that this Santigi was not in the direct line of succession?—No; there was no one in the direct line. I am sorry to say it has turned out a failure: and the people do not recognise him. It was with the greatest difficulty that we got them to crown him in country fashion.

3363. Then according to the native scheme and organisation there would always be a great unwillingness among the people to recognise a chief who was not in the proper line of succession: apart from Government interference such a thing would hardly ever happen?—It happened in that recent case: two nominees, neither in the proper line.

3364. How would such a case have worked out if left to itself?—In fighting, and ultimately division of the country.

3365. Then the Sub-Chiefs who are under a Paramount Chief, how are they appointed?—I think when a new Paramount Chief is elected, he sweeps away all the old Sub-Chiefs, and puts in his own. It is like a new Cabinet with a new Government.

3366. These Sub-Chiefs hold courts also?—No. They may settle cases and take fees whenever they can; but not close to where the big Chief is living.

3367. What are the functions of these Sub-Chiefs then, according to native custom?—There is very little work for them. The Paramount Chief sends to the Sub-Chiefs to tell them to clean the roads in their districts: and they are liable to be summoned to the big Chief in a big matter.

3368. By what instrumentality do the Chiefs communicate with the District Commissioners?—By messengers.

3369. Have they any badge of office?—When they go from Chief to Chief; but not

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Captain SHARPE. from Chief to District Commissioner. From Chief to Chief they take a staff or spear or something of that sort.

3370. Then each Paramount Chief has his staff or his spear by which he is known? —Yes; some have medals and chains. I have known a case where a Chief has sent a ring: very often the Chief's brother carries the message.

3371. Very few Chiefs can read or write, I suppose?—Very few; I cannot mention one.

3372. They scarcely know what education on English lines is?—No; most of them have their clerks.

3373. Do they write in English?—Yes.

3374. How are they remunerated?—They are mostly of a very low class, who come here and pick up English, and then go back again to make their livelihood by writing for the Chiefs. Before the Protectorate Ordinance a great deal of harm was done by what they have written unknown to the Chiefs in their names.

3375. Then if these clerks wrote something that was not intended by the Chief, would he not have some means of punishing them?—I can give you an instance: I wrote to a Chief on some matter and he sent me back a most insulting reply. So I sent Police and summoned him before me and read the letter to him, and asked him what he meant by it. It had been written without his knowledge or sanction, and he punished the clerk who had written it by imprisonment, and expressed himself delighted to have been told about it.

3376. Did it appear what the reason was?—The clerk thought he could manage the matter better in his own way: he was a Sierra Leonian, I believe. Many of the Chiefs would be far more inclined to obey the Government if it was not for these clerks and Sierra Leonians.

3377. Having so little education, then, the Chiefs attach probably no value to it: is there any tendency to send their sons to school?—No; sometimes the missionaries teach them.

3378. Do they consent to the missionaries doing this?—Yes; but I have never known them send their sons to school of themselves. The Mohammedans are very strict, and educate their children themselves.

3379. They teach them to read and write Arabic?—Yes.

3380. Then, are many of these Mohammedan Chiefs able to read and write Arabic themselves?—Yes; I have never known a Mohammedan Chief who could not read and write Arabic.

3381. Have you a qualified interpreter?—Yes; but he is no good at Arabic: there is a man who writes my letters in Arabic for a small fee.

3382. Do the Chiefs know what is going on in the other parts of Africa?—No; they have no knowledge: some of the higher Chiefs may know a little.

3383. Do they know, for instance, of the Soudan expedition?—No; it is only in such cases as when Prempeh was brought here: they would want to know about him.

3384. Would a Chief in your part of the country know much of what was going on in the Sherbro district?—No; not in the ordinary course of events.

3385. Have they any knowledge of the Queen of England?—Only through the Government: we always take any opportunity of referring to her.

3386. Have they any conception of the power of the Queen?—I do not think they can have. In this late insurrection some of the Chiefs were in doubt which side would get the best of it, and actually waited to see who would win before declaring themselves.

3387. Do you think they respect the Sierra Leone clerks and look up to them?—They would look up to them.

3388. The Chief would look up to the Sierra Leonians?—Yes; I think so.

3389. Would he respect them?—Only as being able to read and write—things he himself could not do.

3390. They attach a value to reading and writing?—I think so. It is beyond their reach in the ordinary course of events.

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3391. Then if they value reading and writing they would probably come in time to wish to educate their children?—I do not think they can look ahead sufficiently. I cannot imagine a Chief providing for the future of his child. They do not see why their children should be able to do what they cannot do.

3392. Do these messengers that you spoke of just now speak English?—No.

3393. Then you would have to employ an interpreter?—Yes; it is always in Timini; I have never had a direct message in English.

3394. Do they not speak even a little English?—No; far less than the Chiefs themselves.

3395. Then the Chiefs speak a little English?—Yes; a smattering. In the old days they used to come and see Mr. Parkes and to get their stipends. There is not so much inducement for them to come to town now.

3396. Do any of the Chiefs carry on trade at all?—I have never issued a license to a Chief yet. They trade in cows.

3397. Do they not send out hawkers?—I think, perhaps, if a Chief had a good supply of kolas he might realise on it. All the cattle are owned by the Chiefs.

3398. Some of them have cattle farms?—Yes; we are trying to get them to breed cattle, but it is very difficult. They prefer to tramp all the way to Foota Jalom and get them from there.

3399. There is also a class which is below the Sub-Chiefs, called Headmen?—Yes; they are practically the men in charge of the villages.

3400. Are they appointed by the Paramount Chief?—Whoever owns that particular part of the country where their village is situated appoints them, whether Paramount Chief or Sub-Chief: Sub-Chiefs may hold the country under a Paramount Chief.

3401. That supreme sway of one Paramount Chief over a number of other Chiefs, is it not rather nominal?—I think you misunderstood what I intended to convey about Paramount Chiefs. A Paramount Chief is not subject to any Chief. I think the natives would call the Paramount Chief the man who was Chief of that particular part of the country, even though that Chief might be under another Paramount Chief.

3402. So if you went to a village and asked who was their Chief, they would give you the name of the Headman of the village?—Yes; in their idea the man who gets the country is the man who gets the town.

3403. The man who gets the country would have many Chiefs under him?—Yes.

3404. Is there any instance where several Chiefs of a country look up to one whom they call their father, and consult him?—I can only fall back on the upper Lokko country, which is a huge district, and is divided into five or six districts, and each Head Chief of these districts looks up to Bai Kobba.

3405. Have these five or six Chiefs some Chiefs under them?—Yes.

3406. And the big man or father has a real influence?—Yes; I think so: so long as he does not reach the extreme age of Bai Kobba, who is bedridden, and no one now thinks of consulting him.

3407. The power that such a Chief exercises is one of influence only and not of force?—It is only influence.

3408. In point of practice, I suppose the power of Paramount Chiefs over Sub-Chiefs is one of influence?—It is only nominal.

3409. He would have no means of enforcing his orders?—No; in boundary cases the Sub-Chief does not recognise the Paramount Chief's decision: he will continually encroach as much as he can.

3410. Were you at Karene when this Proclamation of the Protectorate (21st August 1896) was made known?—Yes.

3411. Do you remember its being promulgated?—I cannot remember it, we get so many.

3412. You do not remember anything being done to make it public?—Not in this particular case.

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3413. The Proclamation was succeeded by the Protectorate Ordinance being published?—Yes; I remember that.

3414. Were you District Commissioner at that time?—I was acting.

3415. Look at this paper (N.A. 459)?—I remember it well.

3416. Along with this a printed copy of the Ordinance itself was sent?—Yes; several copies.

3417. What was done by way of making these known to the Chiefs and people?—When the paper was brought, a special messenger came who went round to each Chief to explain it to them. There was a paper written in pigeon English.

3418. Then was there any meeting of Chiefs called?—It was explained to each individually; by these messengers and by ourselves.

3419. Do you remember the name of this messenger?—No.

3420. Was it Renner?—I could not say.

3421. After this explanation of the Protectorate Ordinance was sent round in the form you say, did anything come back to you as District Commissioner in the shape of answers or representations or communications of any kind?—Yes; there was a good deal of correspondence with different Chiefs. Some came themselves, and we explained it personally; others felt aggrieved and wanted to know why this change was brought about. I remember that most of the dissatisfaction went straight to Mr. Parkes at Freetown. It was a long time before they would understand that they must make their complaints through the District Commissioner.

3422. In point of fact the office of District Commissioner was quite new at that time?—Yes; I should not like to trust my memory as to what happened exactly.

3423. This Ordinance, as you are aware, was repealed in 1897 and a new Ordinance was enacted; this new Ordinance was sent to you?—It was sent to the man who was acting for me. I was away for eight months, and only came back in January 1898.

3424. Who took up your office as District Commissioner?—It was Captain Cave. He was wounded, and is home now.

3425. You cannot remember any particular points of the Ordinance to which comments made to you were directed?—Yes; particularly about land. There was something about a thirty years' claim, in which they considered they were dealt unfairly with by the Government, and also that grants of land made by them should have to be approved by the Government. There was some law about lands to belong to Government if ownership could not be proved for thirty years. That was the cause of most of the discontent. I might also say that they were dissatisfied about some of the cases which the District Commissioner had power to try, and which were taken out of their hands. The slave-dealing is an old matter. These were the two chief points.

3426. About Government having the right to give away waste lands?—Yes.

3427. Do you not remember any representations on the subject of the hut tax?—Not till afterwards. They did not realise that it would ever be really enforced.

3428. Then these representations came afterwards?—Yes.

3429. I am speaking of representations that came to you about the Ordinance of 1896?—Very little was said about the tax at that time.

3430. Are the police at Karene solely under the Inspector, or are you in supreme command?—The Governor sent up an order a week or two ago that the disposal of the Frontier Police was absolutely under the District Commissioner. In some cases there might have been friction between the Inspector and the District Commissioner.

3431. Until this order was given the Frontier Police were under the command of the Inspector and not of the District Commissioner?—We could only ask before that such a thing should be done: now we can order it to be done.

3432. Before this the Inspector might or might not have acted on your suggestions?—Just so.

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3433. Referring to your answer to 3273, you speak, I suppose, of criminal cases?—Civil as well as criminal: every case has to be reported to Freetown every month.

3434. Was there not some change made upon that afterwards?—No; the order still obtains: every case, civil or criminal, has to be reported on with a sort of *précis* of the case to the Attorney-General at the end of every month. Concerning my estimate[1] of the population of my district, I have ascertained that the houses instead of being 80,000 may be taken at 100,000, and five to each house gives 500,000. Also, the proportion of slaves you asked me about: it is considerably on the side of the slaves, about three to two, I should think.

3435. Speaking of the number of persons in a house, is it not a fact that a wealthy man often owns several houses, one for himself, one for his wives, one for strangers, and one for his adult children, and so on?—Quite so: he may have four or five houses, but it is the exception; it would only be a big Chief: no ordinary man ever owns five houses.

3436. In your answer to 3332 you use the words brought back; do you mean that some of those originally taken have been brought back, or that people from French territory were brought?—No; I mean slaves from the French territory, and there are also a considerable amount of refugee slaves from French masters.

3437. What happens to them?—If they are in fear of their lives they are protected: they are asked where they want to go to and sent there if possible, whether to Freetown or to some part of the district. In no case are police allowed to keep them as servants, for fear that the French should say we enticed them away for our own ends.

3438. Has it ever been traced that these runaway slaves have originally been taken from our Protectorate?—Yes; only last Sunday, two who had originally been taken from the Mendi country came in, who had been in French territory for many years and had only now been able to make their escape.

3439. Would it be correct to say that a great proportion of those who came over from the French side had belonged to this side?—Not a great proportion, a fair proportion.

3440. Then there are slaves who belong to the French side?—Yes; who have never been on this side till they escaped.

3441. Has it been traced in these cases what is the motive for their escape and coming over here?—General ill-treatment.

3442. Then they expect better treatment on this side?—I think so: they expect absolute freedom.

3443. There is an apparent discrepancy between your answers to 3348 and 3408?—In each answer I was thinking of a different instance. I could give instances in support of both. In some cases their authority is very strong, almost despotic, and in others it is almost nil.

3444. I suppose the personal equation comes in largely in this relation?—Yes; that is so. Bai Bureh's authority is absolutely despotic; not only in his own country, but also outside it, his slightest word is law. Though the Chiefs consult Bai Kobba on any step they may take, still his power is that of a child compared to Bai Bureh.

3445. Then what would you say Bai Bureh's great power depends on?—Being a noted warrior himself: and also morally, he is a very strong character.

3446. Has he a strong following of his own? or does his character attract a following from outside?—Kassi, his own country, is so very small that his own people are not many: but his influence extends far beyond his own country. His example is followed throughout the country. Some of the Chiefs said they would pay the tax if Bai Bureh did.

3447. He is looked upon as a leader of opinion?—Decidedly so.

3448. I omitted to ask you whether there is much large timber in the district?—The only large trees are the cotton-trees; but in many towns sawyers make a good living: I do not know what wood it would be.

[1] *See* 3291.

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3449. Then is the country where it is not cleared for cultivation covered with thick bush?—Yes; in different stages of from one to four years' growth, where the land has been farmed. Round my district there is not much bush which has never been cut. It is generally just round the villages that the bush has not been cut.

3450. There is no forest where the ground is clear beneath the trees?—No; I have never seen it.

3451. Is all that bush-land under such a rotation of cultivation that after lying fallow for a certain number of years it is cleared and cultivated?—I think so: you never see the bush above a certain height, which makes me think it is cut down and cleared at regular intervals. You see successive stages of bush up to a certain height.

3452. You spoke of clerks that many Chiefs keep, what do they employ them in doing?—I do not know, besides letter-writing.

3453. But I thought you said Chiefs sent messengers and not letters?—Only Chiefs who have no clerks send messengers. There are fewer clerks now. There is a law that a man is held responsible for what he writes in another man's name. Chiefs would always prefer to send a letter if they could.

3454. You say since that law there are fewer clerks?—I think so. They feel there is a risk in writing these letters now, which did not exist before.

3455. How are these clerks paid?—My own opinion is that they live on the fat of the land. I do not mean that they are paid in money, but the Chief gives them lodging and food and wives, etc. The Chiefs are practically afraid of them: the Chiefs are so ignorant that the clerks can frighten them into keeping them by threatening to report to the Government that they have been breaking the law. They make the Chiefs keep them against their will.

3456. Have you known any instance in which a Clerk terrorised a Chief in this way?—There was a man I asked the Governor to deport from the country altogether. He used to go from Chief to Chief, making them keep him by means of threatening to report them and so on; and all the time collecting wives and goods.

3457. Was there any prosecution in that case?—I think it was before the Protectorate Ordinance was in force. I think I asked the Governor to let him be sent out of the country altogether, as he was doing so much harm.

3458. It is rather a difficult subject to deal with; if you send him out of the district you send him into another?—I sent him to Freetown; I think he was too frightened to venture to take it up in the Protectorate again.

3459. Would it be going too far in your opinion to prohibit the practice of writing for an illiterate man unless the writer had a licence?—I think that would be rather a breach of the privacy of the life of the Chief.

3460. I do not mean that; I mean that nobody should exercise the profession of a letter-writer without a licence?—It might be hard on the sons of Chiefs who have learned to write, and would write letters for their fathers.

3461. That could be provided for?—I do not think it would be advisable. I think it would be an unnecessary tax on the Chiefs to have to pay the licence.

3462. I do not mean that the Chiefs should pay it, but the man who writes the letters?—I do not think they would engage a professional letter-writer, they generally use some one they know. Where they have these stranger clerks, they have generally been terrorised into using them.

3463. I showed you this Proclamation of the Protectorate yesterday, you said you did not remember particularly what steps had been taken in regard to it; you notice that it is not an ordinary Proclamation, it is something very important. Would not some special steps have been taken when you received it?—I do not think that the printed Proclamation would be the first intimation I had received. I am sorry to say I cannot remember what was the first intimation I had of it.

3464. After that Proclamation came to you with instructions, something would have

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been done, and you would have remembered it?—My own idea is that this Proclamation merely comprised what I had already told the Chiefs. As far as I remember this merely corroborated what I had already announced.

3465. Have you any remembrance of having published to the Chiefs the fact that their territory was going to be converted into a Protectorate?—I remember a letter in pigeon English being sent round.

3466. I allude to a previous measure, the Queen's Proclamation of a Protectorate over the territory?—I think that came up together with the Protectorate Ordinance. They are together in my mind.

3467. You cannot recall any Proclamation of the assumption of the Protectorate separate from the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896?—No; I cannot recall telling the Chiefs that the land would belong to the Queen, without telling them of the new laws also. I cannot separate the two.

3468. I think I asked you yesterday, whether in your opinion the Chiefs made any real endeavours to do justice in their courts, your opinion was against that idea, and you cited a land case (3409); you are aware I suppose that the subject of their land rights is one the natives adhere to with great pertinacity, and when they think they have a right to land they are very unwilling under any circumstances to give it up?—That is so. It is a most difficult matter to settle a land dispute.

3469. Do the Chiefs sit alone in their courts, or with their counsellors?—I think with their counsellors. I have once or twice come across them unexpectedly when they were settling a case, and they have always had their santigis.

3470. But then, would the fact that an owner of, or claimant to, land complained of a judgment, be very convincing evidence that the Chiefs do not try their best to deal justice?—I should say, as a general rule, that in land disputes within the Chief's district, the right would be given to the wealthiest side. Cases between Chiefs are the most difficult.

3471. Do you know instances where the right has been manifestly given to the wealthiest side?—It has been generally shown from the complaints brought to me.

3472. Did you examine into these cases?—No; I had not the power to do so. I heard what the man had to say, and wrote to the Chief on the subject. I used to say that if the man came to me again to complain I should summon the Chief, and make him judge the matter in my presence. I found it impossible to investigate these matters owing to pressure of work, and I had to say, in many cases, that it was a matter for the Chief's court, and that the man must go back to him. This was after the Protectorate Ordinance.

3473. In these cases you allude to where you sent letters, do you think the Chief was intimidated by the letter?—Yes; very often an envelope is enough. I have told the complainant to come back again if he is not satisfied with the Chief's judgment.

3474. Did the other side come and complain?—Never two sides, only the one; that is, except in cases outside the Chief's court.

3475. What I am thinking of is this, if the Chief reversed his decision through the terror imposed on him, it might not be a very satisfactory proof that his original decision was wrong?—I suppose it might be that I was forcing the Chief's hand, but from the reports brought to me I felt that the thing was usually so one-sided, that I thought the best thing to do was to tell the Chief to rejudge the matter.

3476. This petition $\frac{7058}{1896}$ which I now show you was sent to you at Karene, written in Arabic I think, your own covering letter shows this?—Yes: I remember that.

3477. What was the date of the petition?—The true copy is dated 17th December 1896.

3478. You sent it on to the Governor?—Yes.

3479. Did a reply come?—My books alone could answer that: I think I remember the Governor saying that he approved my reply.

3480. After that did you make any communication to the Chiefs who signed the petition?—That would be done in the ordinary course of office business. I do not actually remember doing so.

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3481. Could you tell me about the status of the Chiefs whose names are there?—The first Alikali Marrabah is just dead. He died at the beginning of the trouble. The next, Bai Forki, has given a lot of trouble.

3482. What is his status?—He is a Paramount and Stipend Chief of Maforki.

3483. Is it a big country?—Bigger than the Kassi country.

3484. Do the Port Lokko Chiefs look up to him?—Yes; decidedly.

3485. And consult him?—Not as a general rule.

3486. Would they consult him?—I should think so. They are all hand-in-glove together. When he was summoned to receive his gold-headed staff of office (there are eight of these staffs), he refused to come. I thought that they should come and have the staffs presented in open court, and make a little ceremony of it. Some of them said they did not want to come. My successor at last was so tired of sending for Bai Forki that he sent some constables up, not to arrest him exactly, but with orders not to come back without him. They brought him and put him in the barracks, but he was rescued. This was at Port Lokko.

3487. How?—They beat the war-drums and summoned all the people in the town, and forcibly took him out of the barracks. He had been met by people on the way who told him he was going to be imprisoned. This was long before the trouble began.

3488. About what time?—November, last year.

3489. Is Bai Forki alive now?—Yes.

3490. You were speaking of what occurred in your absence only from what you have heard?—It is all down in the books and I have studied the case. It became a criminal case.

3491. Did you try the case?—No: Captain Cave.

3492. Was the case against Bai Forki?—Against Ansumani Bali, for rescuing him.

3493. How was it that Bai Forki was imprisoned at all, he was merely requested to come for his staff?—The language used to the police was doubtful; they were told not to come without him.

3494. Was the barracks considered to be the prison in Port Lokko?—There is no prison there.

3495. If any one was to be imprisoned there, how did they do it?—They would probably handcuff a man round the centre post of a hut, or make the Chief responsible for him.

3496. Who is the next?—Bai Farima. He died a few days ago; he was a Paramount Chief. He was weak and diseased.

3497. Was his territory large?—A little smaller than Bai Forki's.

3498. Then comes Bai Kohari of Kinkatupa. He was a Paramount Chief.

3499. Is that a big territory?—It is marked so on the map, but is not in reality.

3500. Bai Sheka died, and a new chief was elected a few days ago.

3501. Is his territory large?—No.

3502. Bai Bureh is Chief of the Kassi country.

3503. Then these are all Chiefs who had their territory bordering on or near to Port Lokko?—Yes, they were all adjacent to Port Lokko.

3504. You said yesterday that there was a number of letters and petitions respecting the Protectorate Ordinance?—Yes; very many.

3505. Were they all from Chiefs?—I think there were cases where Headmen sent. My books would show.

3506. You cannot recollect the tenor of these letters?—They were generally against the tax and the courts: even the same old complaint about the slaves: very little against the license.

3507. You allude to the time that immediately succeeded the promulgation of the Ordinance of 1896?—Yes.

3508. They were mostly of the same tenor, complaints of hut tax, courts, and slavery?—Yes: the license was the least cause.

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3509. The license was imposed the year before?—Yes.

3510. Were licenses paid in 1896 without demur?—There was no trouble about the licenses to speak of.

3511. There is one petition from Sierra Leone traders of Port Lokko, asking for abatement of license?—Yes: I remember that.

3512. Did these traders have places of business in Port Lokko?—Most of the names are familiar to me. Of course I could prove that from my books.

3513. Do they carry on trade at Port Lokko, or was it merely a centre?—There is very little of the travelling trader. They trade in Port Lokko.

3514. Can you remember any petition of Sierra Leonians against the hut tax about this time?—No: all that came afterwards.

3515. Did the Sierra Leone traders begin to petition afterwards, against the hut tax?—No: not till they were asked to pay.

3516. Not before there was any call made on them?—No.

3517. Was there anything to show up to the time they were called upon to pay, that the Sierra Leonians were opposed to the Protectorate Ordinance?—I should say the general feeling shown by Sierra Leonians was against the Protectorate Ordinance, though they availed themselves of it for debt recovery to a considerable extent.

3518. When did you become aware of this general feeling on the part of the Sierra Leone traders against the Protectorate Ordinance?—When I knew for certain it was coming into force, I was travelling a good deal, and always held a meeting in every town to which I went. I remember when I had finished talking they always showed a feeling against it. Not hostile, but they were opposed to it and hoped it would be repealed.

3519. Were there any particular provisions of the Ordinance that Sierra Leone people objected to?—Beyond the license and tax, I think not: it concerned the natives more.

3520. Are Sierra Leone traders a numerous body in the Karene district outside Port Lokko?—No: in each of the largest towns there are twenty or thirty of them.

3521. In the aggregate that is a good many?—I have only five that I can call large towns: beyond the towns they are very much scattered.

3522. Travelling traders or having a fixed place?—There are very few travellers: mostly fixed places.

3523. Then am I correct in supposing that you had no Petitions or letters, objecting to the Protectorate Ordinance, from Sierra Leonian traders, besides the one from Port Lokko?—Speaking from memory I should say not: there may have been one or two more.

3524. But there were not many?—No: certainly not.

3525. How is the Frontier Police recruited?—Chiefly in Freetown.

3526. Do they speak the local languages?—Almost invariably.

3527. They are not Sierra Leonians properly so called?—No: they are natives living in Sierra Leone.

3528. Who have left their own part of the country and come to Sierra Leone, and have become free men?—Yes: I do not think that they were originally slaves: most of the Frontier Police would be very much offended if you suggested that they had been slaves.

3529. They think themselves very fine fellows?—They are very conceited: it is the curse of the force.

3530. Then they are mostly entirely recruited from country people, who have for some reason or other left their country and come to Sierra Leone?—Yes: that is shown by their speaking such bad English, and such good native language.

3531. You say very few can read or write?—Very few.

3532. And the non-commissioned officers?—That is supposed to be the qualification for promotion, but many of them cannot. It is a great drawback.

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3533. Before the Protectorate Ordinance you had this Frontier force, it is not a new force?—No: it was begun in 1890, formed on the backbone of the civil police.

3534. Before the Protectorate Ordinance, what was the disposal of this force, how was it employed?—At first it was in a slipshod way, no districts, no companies, a very slack organisation, men scattered over the country.

3535. You speak of their being scattered over the country, were they scattered in small parties?—The smallest was a corporal and three men, up to a corporal and twenty men on some Frontier stations.

3536. Then in these parties where there were twenty men, was there a white inspector?—No.

3537. Did the white inspectors not go into the country at that time?—Yes: when opportunity occurred. At first white officers only went on expeditions.

3538. Then at this early time of which you speak, the parties whether large or small, were practically out of touch with the white officer altogether?—Practically; that is proved by the large arrears of pay.

3539. Pay that had run on without being claimed?—They were hidden away; the acting pay-master did not know exactly where the men were.

3540. Then you found arrears of pay had been standing for a long time?—In one case I think eleven months; that is including allowances.

3541. What would be the longest arrears of pay properly so-called?—Six months would be the maximum.

3542. Whilst they were thus scattered about, what were their duties?—To stop any slave-dealing: to prevent any intertribal fighting amongst natives; and to generally watch the country; they were practically little judges and governors, to settle small native matters.

3543. That state of things lasted till when?—The beginning of 1894, some time after my arrival. Everything was re-organised. There was a new Governor, and a new Inspector-General.

3544. Previous to 1894, could you say whether complaints regarding the conduct of the police ever reached headquarters?—Seldom I should say. Whenever an officer went up into the country he was inundated with complaints; some were three years old.

3545. Then what was the system as regards distribution of duties after matters were re-organised in 1894?—The Hinterland was divided into districts, the force was divided into companies, one company with a white officer to each district.

3546. Was that division for police purposes made before the Protectorate Ordinance?—Yes: not exactly as it is now.

3547. How were they stationed and distributed?—That was left to the discretion of the white officer.

3548. The Inspector-General?—The Inspector of the district.

3549. Each district for police purposes was under a European officer?—Yes.

3550. And he had a certain force under him?—One hundred and eight men complete: we were short of officers, and had to have black men acting as Sub-Inspectors.

3551. Then the district inspector disposed his force according to his discretion?—More or less: I did myself.

3552. Taking the exigencies of the case?—Yes: there were certain places where there were always police stationed.

3553. Then was the practice of sending out small parties discontinued?—You mean patrols?

3554. I mean parties of three men or so?—No: I only had one strong station; that was a sergeant and twenty men.

3555. You knew where they were at all events?—Yes: I made that my first duty.

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3556. You said they were conceited, does that character still attach to them ?—Yes : no sooner does he get his uniform than he considers himself at once superior.

3557. Is there a sort of feeling that the power of the Government is behind them, backing them up in what they do ?—Decidedly : their uniform is their authority. So great is it, that a man can get into a sham uniform, and do more or less as he likes. Bogus police use to cause us a great deal of trouble and anxiety.

3558. So that the natives really meet the police half way, the native deference was equal to the assumption of authority on their part ?—The natives gave way to the police completely in those days. Now of course it is different.

3559. In those early days there would be nobody to whom complaints could be made with any chance of getting redress ?—Mr. Parkes was the recipient of complaints : but they did not come from far up country.

3560. The native still has a very great deference for a policeman in uniform ?—Yes in most places. In other places they have quite got over their fear of them as Government officials.

3561. You spoke of great numbers of complaints being made to you, when you first went up into the district ?—Yes.

3562. Can you tell me generally what was the nature of these complaints ?—Bribes, general bullying, complaint about women.

3563. Were the complaints by Chiefs ?—Yes : there were complaints by Chiefs, but mostly by lower class natives.

3564. Was it possible in these cases to bring the accused policeman face to face with the accuser ?—Yes : there was the five years enlistment in those days, and there were very few changes in the district.

3565. Speaking generally, what was the result of these investigations ?—Dismissal from the force in extreme cases. In robbery, I used to put the men under stoppages till they had compensated the complainant.

3566. Was a large proportion of these complaints well-founded ?—There were many both well-founded and false.

3567. By false complaints do you mean where the complainant had clearly trumped up a charge or where he failed to show it was true ?—I can remember many trumped-up charges brought by natives who wanted to get rid of the police, that they might indulge in lawlessness.

3568. Then was it traced, what was the particular kind of lawlessness that was followed by those people who made false charges ?—Where might was right, or in slave transactions, or one man raiding another man's goods.

3569. Did the police endeavour to prevent that kind of lawlessness ?—I think so as a rule. They used to make themselves very comfortable in their stations. In most cases I think they did more good than harm.

3570. Then in these investigations was there much beyond the statement of the complainant, and a counter-statement ?—Sometimes the police would acknowledge it, and bring forward a charge against the man as a reason for their action.

3571. Was there much evidence in support of the policemen except their own statements ?—No : unless he could get some of the natives of the town on his own side.

3572. Then the police were occasionally corroborated by natives ?—Hardly that ; natives would give evidence that they had been flogged, and the policemen would give counter reasons.

3573. When a policeman said a man had been stealing, for instance, would there be evidence corroborating the policeman's statement ?—Yes; very often there would be evidence which would not be given when he first brought the complaint.

3574. Do complaints continue to be made against the police under the new system ?—Occasionally since the Proclamation of the Protectorate.

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Captain SHARPE.

3575. And between the date of re-organisation and the commencement of the Protectorate?—Yes, more then than now. They were not so much in touch with the Protectorate.

3576. Before the Protectorate Ordinance would their complaints be made to the European Inspector?—If there was one: often when they were short of officers and they were on leave there were black men acting.

3577. Or they might be made to Mr. Parkes?—Yes; the more serious ones: the minor ones were made to the Inspector.

3578. All that reached would be investigated?—Yes.

3579. In your own experience while you were Inspector, and before the Protectorate Ordinance, did many complaints come to you at that time?—Yes.

3580. You were Inspector in the Karene district?—Originally in the Panguma district, and then about ten months at Karene.

3581. At Panguma were there many complaints made?—Principally old standing ones.

3582. After you went to Karene, did many such complaints come to you?—There were about eight. (Witness handed the Commissioner extracts from the police book.)

3583. You were ten months in the Karene district, before the Protectorate Ordinance, that must have gone back to 1895?—District Commissioners were not appointed till January 1896: I went up in February or March 1895.

3584. Had you no complaints during the period from March 1895?—From memory I should say there were a certain amount during that time.

3585. I think in all these complaints you found the police really had been doing something which they ought not to do, and that there were grounds on the part of the aggrieved party?—Yes: there were also a lot of false charges to try and get the police into trouble.

3586. I show you a minute (Native Affairs $\frac{181}{1898}$) relating to the brother of Bangura who was killed by the Frontier Police; I should be glad to have particulars about that case?—We left Port Lokko when the disturbances began, 17th February. We left a small detachment of police at Port Lokko, and they heard most alarming reports of the opening of hostilities, such as that I myself had been captured, taken to Bai Bureh, and killed. The whole town of Port Lokko was in a very disturbed state, the town was patrolled day and night by armed warriors, presumably warriors of Bai Bureh, and they were constantly threatened by messages from Bai Bureh, who said that Port Lokko having begun to pay this tax against the general order of the country, he was coming to destroy the whole place.

3587. Were these messages given to you?—No: to the police I had left in Port Lokko.

3588. To whom were they delivered; was it to the Inspector?—There was a Lance-corporal and three or four men, and there is no doubt their nerves were very highly strung owing to the alarming reports continually coming in. The Lance-corporal in charge of the police issued an order to the few men under him that the safest plan would be to disarm all natives, as they believed they were all war-boys. But unfortunately they failed to recognise the difference between friendly natives and hostile natives. They seemed to have forgotten that owing to the disturbed state naturally every friendly native would go about armed if he could. One afternoon the native boy named Mormobangura passed the barracks; one of the police who was sitting in the barracks called out to the rest of the police, 'Look, there is a boy with a cutlass, he is come to spy on the barracks.' The Frontier Private named Mormobangura (the same name as the boy) ran out to disarm the boy according to his orders. The boy refused to give up the sword, and when Private Mormobangura tried to take it from him by force he threatened to chop the police if they tried to take it. The policeman called back to his comrades in the barracks, about twenty yards from where he was, 'Look, he has threatened to chop me with his sword, shall I shoot him?' Lance-corporal Gilbert Jones who was in the barracks called out, 'No; do not shoot him,' and

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immediately ran out to assist in his arrest. He saw the boy struggling with the police with a naked sword in his hand, and, in order to carry out the arrest at once, he came up behind the boy and hit him on the back of the neck with the butt of his carbine. He was then easily disarmed and arrested, and was taken to the barracks and his hands padlocked round one of the roof-posts to prevent his escaping. About a quarter of an hour afterwards he asked for some water to drink, and said to the police, 'Look, you have killed me. Do one of you take a sword and kill me outright'; he said this evidently being in pain. They immediately took the handcuffs off and ran for water and dowsed him all over. About five minutes afterwards he died. Captain SHARPE.

3589. Did you collect that narrative yourself by inquiry?—Yes, at Port Lokko, and subsequently from the Frontiers.

3590. Was that the method of disarmament the police adopted?—I do not think there was any case of disarmament but that one.

3591. There is another case of a man alleged to have been shot by the Frontier Police at a place called Madonkia?—That was in the Ronietta district.

3592. By the Protectorate Ordinance of 1897 as originally drawn, the native Chiefs were ousted from all jurisdiction in questions relating to land; then by a subsequent Ordinance passed in the same year, an amendment was made which had the effect of restoring to the Chiefs jurisdiction in cases relating to land where the disputants were both natives: was this amendment promulgated in any way?—I took it over from my *locum tenens* as a paper filed and presumably already promulgated.

3593. Did these instructions come to you (Local Confid. No. 44, under Confid. 85/97)?—To my *locum tenens*: of course I read them.

3594. And you acted upon them?—Yes, certainly.

3595. Then I take it that the Ordinance and these instructions were the sole instructions you had?—I had MS. instructions besides.

3596. I mean with reference to the collection of the tax?—I have them with me; I will look through them. I can remember several single sheet instructions.

5th September 1898.

3597. I was asking you about your judicial returns; are the civil and criminal cases returned separately?—I think the form is a two-sided sheet, as far as I remember. May I point out, as regards treatment of natives by the Frontier Police, when I first went up there in 1894, the Frontier Police were almost entirely Sierra Leonians: they had been enlisted from the civil police: since then Susus and Timinis have been enlisted.

3598. Then at that time the Frontier Police would have a very scanty knowledge of native languages?—Yes; only what they had picked up.

3599. Had the civil police been reduced in numbers by the formation of this force?—It was before my time, but as far as I know they called volunteers from the civil police to start the Frontier Police.

3600. Now that natives are employed and speak the native language, is there any rule as to detailing the men to that part of the country where they know the language?—That is one of the rules: another is, as far as possible, if the non-commissioned officer of a detachment is a native, not a Sierra Leonian, to put him in that part of the country where he came from. Another rule is, where there is a good deal of correspondence we have to try to get men who can read or write even if they cannot speak the native language. There is generally a privive who can.

3601. The rule as to sending them where they could speak the language would naturally tend to take them back to their own part of the country?—In my district they almost all speak Timini, so that a Timini-speaking man might be sent there, and yet be far from his own place.

3602. Was Port Lokko the first place where you began to collect the hut tax?—Yes; I began there.

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3603. I read your reports on what took place there; this, I take it, is what one may call a record of the transaction written immediately after?—This is merely a monthly return (8th March).

3604. Then this, dated 12th February, is really the report?—I think this accompanied the five prisoners. It would be the first report.

3605. The first thing you did was to send a notice to Port Lokko stating that you were coming to collect the tax?—The first thing I did was on my way up to Karene. I told the traders and natives I was going up to relieve Captain Cave, and that I should be back again in two or three days; and after I got to Karene I supplemented this with a letter, so that they could not say they had not been told.

3606. You started from Karene and arrived at Port Lokko on the 5th February, or, anyhow, you got to Port Lokko in the early part of February and began with the traders?—Yes.

3607. Were they Sierra Leone people who were settled in Port Lokko?—Yes.

3608. What did they say to you?—As I was going up they hinted that I should have difficulty with them; for it appeared that the law allowed the tax to be collected from the landlords and not from the tenants. I was just out from England, and I told them I should look up that part of the Ordinance when I got to Karene.

3609. Who gave you that hint?—The traders in Port Lokko; they practically said they were not going to pay, and that it was a matter for their landlords.

3610. This was when you passed through Port Lokko on the way to take over your duty?—Yes. When I reached Port Lokko the second time they still harped on the same grievance. I told them I had looked up the point and was satisfied that it was their duty to pay, and not their landlords, and they must pay.

3611. What did they say upon that?—They grumbled very much at first. But I said, 'There is the law and it cannot be altered.' Then they said they were frightened to pay.

3612. Did you arrive at Port Lokko in the evening?—In the morning early.

3613. Did you commence operations that same day?—I do not think I actually held a court that day; but I sent round a message by the senior non-commissioned officer to say that I should start collecting next morning.

3614. You arrived early on Saturday morning?—Probably.

3615. That was the first answer you got from the Sierra Leonians about the tax?—Yes.

3616. Did they talk then about deducting the tax from their rents?—Yes. They said, 'We do not mind if the landlords deduct it from their rents as long as you get it from them.'

3617. You told them the tax was payable by them personally?—Yes; payable by the tenants as being the occupiers.

3618. What was the next excuse?—That their landlords had told them that if they paid the tax it would give them a right to the houses, and therefore, in the interest of their landlords, they could not pay.

3619. Was there any other excuse put forward?—They said they had been threatened that the first man who paid would be murdered and his house burned down.

3620. Did they say who had used these threats?—Not personally; they said it was the general talk of the town. The order had been given by the Head Chiefs.

3621. Then after you had listened to these excuses, what did you tell them?—I said it was only an excuse on their part; those who paid would certainly be protected, and that I could not possibly collect the tax from their landlords on account of the threat.

3622. Did it appear to you that the statement that they had been threatened was a *bona fide* one?—No, certainly not; from the way they were talking to the natives directly they left me.

3623. You do not think, then, they were really in fear of the natives at that time?—No; it struck me that the natives and the Sierra Leonians had arranged this programme.

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3624. Then what was the next thing you did?—I warned them that they were gradually getting into the grip of the law by refusing to pay, and then they said that if the Chiefs would state in their and my presence that they would not be molested in any way for paying the tax, they would be perfectly willing to pay at once.

3625. What did you do then?—I then summoned the acting Chief, Bokari Bamp, with all the Headmen and principal men of the town, in order to ask them that question, that is, if it was true that the order had been given out that the first man who paid should be murdered or turned out of his house or his house burnt.

3626. Were the Sierra Leone people present when the Chiefs came?—Yes.

3627. Then the Chiefs came?—Yes.

3628. Where was this transaction carried on?—In the big compound, where I was staying, composed of five or six houses.

3629. Which of the Chiefs appeared upon this summons?—The five Chiefs who are now in prison here, and many other Santigis and Headmen; the place was crowded.

3630. Did the Sierra Leone people say in the presence of the Chiefs that they were willing to pay the tax?—I said to the Chiefs: 'These traders say they will pay the tax if you will not molest them,' and the Sierra Leonians assented to what I said.

3631. Did the Chiefs make any reply?—Yes.

3632. Who was their spokesman?—Bokari Bamp.

3633. What did he say?—At first he absolutely refused to undertake that these people should not be molested if they paid.

3634. I see in your report[1] you say that the Sierra Leonians 'seemed willing but afraid'?—This is what they actually said. If that is what I wrote I should be inclined to alter my opinion: that was my first impression.

3635. The Chief refused to give the assurance that you asked from him. What did you do then?—I used all the patience and tact I could, and coaxed them, as they say; of course I knew that if once I made a good start with the tax the rest would be easy; if I made a bad start it would be disastrous.

3636. Did the Chiefs say that the traders and Sierra Leone people would claim the right to the houses if they paid the tax upon them?—They said that if they paid the tax they would refuse to pay rent; and from memory, I think they said that in time the Sierra Leonians would claim the house, having paid the rent to the Government for them, mixing up rent and tax.

3637. They said they would claim the right to the houses, and refuse to pay rent?—Yes.

3638. And then you explained that if the Sierra Leone people should attempt to do that, and the landlords sued them in the court, the judgment would be given in favour of the landlords?—Yes: the traders who were present denied it at the time.

3639. Denied that they had made such a claim?—That if they paid the tax they would refuse to pay rent.

3640. It was part of the answer the Sierra Leone people made to you, that if they paid the tax the house would belong to them?—They did not say so: they said the landlords said so.

3641. Then at last the Chief stated that he would not interfere with the Sierra Leone people if they paid the tax?—Before that he made a distinct denial to two questions put to him.

3642. The first part of the minute appears to me to refer to the first day's proceedings?—Yes.

3643. Then on the Saturday after getting these answers from the Sierra Leone people, did you drop the matter?—The Sierra Leonians said they were willing to pay if the Chief guaranteed they should not be molested.

3644. The Chief finally said on the same day he would agree?—It was when he came

[1] *See* Appendix II., xxxix.

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Captain SHARPE. out of custody on the Monday that he agreed. On the Saturday he said he would not agree, and was placed in custody. I asked him why he would not agree, and he said he had no power over the people.

3645. Did nothing further pass with the Sierra Leone people on the Saturday?—They denied that they had said if they paid the tax they would not pay rent. I was afraid if I pressed the matter then Bokari Bamp would run away; so I said: 'I will give you till Monday to make up your mind.'

3646. The Chief at that stage was put into custody?—I only made him remain in the house where I was: he was not put in prison. I summoned each Sierra Leone trader and their landlords to appear on the Monday.

3647. Having warned the Sierra Leone people to appear on the Monday, that closed the proceedings for that day?—Yes.

3648. Did you do anything on the Sunday?—We had a trying night. I was woke up suddenly in the middle of the night by Mr. Crowther (the Sub-Inspector), who had just heard a report that a crowd of armed natives were entering the town all through the night. I thought as the acting Chief was a prisoner, they probably contemplated an attack on my quarters, in order to rescue the Chief.

3649. Did you ascertain the truth of Mr. Crowther's report?—It was true: they were coming in all night. I thought it right to remove the ammunition from the barracks, and to bring it down to my quarters.

3650. Was Chief Bokari Bamp detained in the barracks?—In my quarters. We brought the ammunition down, and left a few men at the barracks. The bulk of men were brought down and placed as sentries all round the compound. About 3 o'clock I heard a man shouting in Timini (Mr. Crowther and I were walking up and down armed in the compound). He understands Timini, and he turned round to me and said: 'That man is calling out to the Chief, and telling him not to give in, and say that the traders would not be murdered if they paid; but rather than say that to die first; and that he would be rescued if he was kept there.' We tried to catch the man, but owing to the darkness it was utterly impossible. Nothing further happened that night.

3651. Where is Mr. Crowther now?—He is stationed at Karene: he is now arresting some Chiefs.

3652. That took place on Sunday night, on Monday morning were there war-men about?—The town was crowded: they came to see me unarmed.

3653. Do I understand you to say that these people who came to the town on Sunday night were strangers?—Yes: we understood that they were Bai Bureh's war-boys.

3654. Why was that?—The native Frontier has a knack of recognising one tribe from another and said, 'These are not Lokkos, these are Timinis.'

3655. How would that prove them to be Bai Bureh's men?—They all came in from the direction of the Kassi country.

3656. On Monday morning the Sierra Leone people presented themselves, I understand, in obedience to the orders they got on Saturday?—Yes.

3657. And you asked them separately to pay the tax? No: I changed my programme on that Monday morning.

3658. Referring to this report, how did you find out that Keareh had summoned Bai Bureh's people to rescue Bokari Bamp?—From the report through Mr. Crowther, who is very much in touch with the natives.

3659. The traders after the Chiefs had given consent not to molest them, refused to pay because they were then thoroughly frightened?—Yes: the actual reply that the Chief made was, 'All right, I will consent not to molest these people, but I refuse to be responsible for the action of my people.'

3660. Were you of opinion at that stage that the Sierra Leone people were really frightened?—At the time I certainly thought so, but it is hard to say, they are such actors.

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3661. Then you go on, 'The Sierra Leonians were all accordingly arrested and the Chief was discharged?'—Yes.

3662. Did the Chiefs go away then?—Yes: the Chiefs all left the yard. They had about 1500 people with them.

3663. The Chiefs were relieved from any further pressure at that stage and were discharged?—Yes: because they had consented, although unwillingly, not to molest the Sierra Leonians.

3664. About what time of the day were the Sierra Leonian people arrested?—Only four were arrested at that time (Monday).

3665. Who were the four arrested?—I am afraid I cannot remember.

3666. On what charge were these four arrested?—Refusing to pay the tax: by arresting, I do not mean that they were placed in custody or prison. It was a case of binding over under £10 to appear the next morning. It was getting dark. I took the four leading traders as an example: and even then I was only able to proceed with two of them: the rest were summoned to appear next day.

3667. No one was detained on the Monday beyond what you have stated?—No.

3668. On Tuesday?—I started to work on the traders. They all appeared in answer to the summons.

3669. You say they were 'brought up'?—That is more a military expression: they were not in custody. One tells a sergeant-major to 'bring up' a man.

3670. Then they all appeared voluntarily?—Yes: on the Tuesday morning.

3671. Were they then on the Tuesday morning charged with anything?—That charge came afterwards. Yes: they were charged, each was charged, and each refused. Each was brought up in front of me and each was asked, 'Will you pay the tax?' each refused and they were then all put in custody.

3672. This was Tuesday morning?—Yes.

3673. Were they removed and locked up?—They were detained, and put in an empty hut, men and women separate.

3674. On what charge were they detained?—For refusing to pay their tax.

3675. Then according to your view it is an offence under the Ordinance to refuse to pay the tax?—I think the Ordinance says that where a man refuses to pay I can distrain on his goods; and if I can get his goods, not to punish him, I take it. I read that before I could convict and punish them I must seize their goods.

3676. Where does the provision of the Ordinance as regards punishing come in?—This is the view I acted on: I had no power to punish until I had seized his goods to the amount required: if I found his goods were removed or he had none, my duty would be to punish him by fine or some other way. The other punishment would come under Section 68 or 71.

3677. Then I take it that you consider that under Section 68 or 71 there was the power to punish for non-payment of the tax provided the amount was not recovered under the provision of Section 48?—Yes.

3678. Then these Sierra Leone people were detained from the Tuesday at what time?—Before midday.

3679. Till next day?—There were one or two discharged on Tuesday evening: the rest till Wednesday morning.

3680. On Wednesday morning what was done as regards the Sierra Leone people?—As the sergeant brought in their goods, in every case he said there were no goods of any value—they had all been removed during the night. There was nothing but a huge collection of rubbish.

3681. When you detained the traders on Tuesday were they allowed any opportunity of securing their houses?—I never detained a husband and wife. In every case the sergeant found some one in charge of the house.

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Captain SHARPE.

3682. Did you make inquiry who were husband and wife?—Yes: where the husband was charged I should not charge his wife.

3683. Did you inquire, with regard to all those whom you detained, whether they had left behind sufficient means of securing their houses?—No: the sergeant made a report about having been to the houses and not having found sufficient goods. Those whose houses had been searched were brought up before me on the Tuesday afternoon: those whose had not were remanded till Wednesday morning.

3684. We will deal with those whose houses had been searched: as to these, eight were convicted of refusing to pay house-tax. Then, as I follow your return, upon the finding being given, without any penalty being imposed, they at once paid the tax and were released?—They evidently were not fined.

3685. Then is that charge-sheet substantially correct as to the eight?—It must be correct: they were not released at once.

3686. If they did not pay, and they were not released, what was done to them?—I called them up on the Tuesday. Those eight were released when they paid the tax, and were not fined. But I think I only had those brought up on Tuesday whose houses had been distrained upon.

3687. Then those eight men were committed on the Tuesday night, but brought up on the Wednesday morning?—Yes; that was it. They were found guilty and they paid. I think I can make it a little clearer. First, on the Tuesday morning they were all called upon to pay, and refused; the sergeant was sent to distrain on their goods: meanwhile they were brought back to be tried, and were tried and convicted. That was on Tuesday. Those eight had given no trouble as the rest had, and tried to persuade the others not to give trouble, so I told them I would release them when the tax was paid. But the others who had given trouble were fined when the tax was paid.

3688. That which you stated about their giving no trouble refers to the first eight —Yes.

3689. Then we come to several who are apparently charged on two counts—(1) refusing to pay the house-tax, and (2) fraudulently evading to pay the house-tax: the fraudulent evasion, if I follow you, consisted of having removed their goods: there appear to be six in that category?—I think there were more than that.

3690. Then you come to the third category who were charged (1) refusing to pay, (2) fraudulently evading payment, and (3) contempt of court: the proof of the fraudulent evasion consisted in the report of the sergeant?—More than that, he certified to me he knew the men; some had big spirit stores. I should like to point out that in no case did the sergeant report to me that he found the house empty.

3691. But was that a special point of inquiry whether anybody was in charge or not? —No: he volunteered that statement.

3692. What did he say?—He said he knew perfectly well that all their stock of goods was in their houses to begin with, and that, when he went round, those in the house (in some cases a wife or a paid servant) had evidently removed all the goods of any value.

3693. I take it it was a point to which your attention was clearly directed, that there was some one in the house who was authorised to be there by the owners?—Yes, certainly; the sergeant ascertained that. I remember asking the sergeant if the people in the house had resisted the police; he replied, 'Only in one case,' thereby implying that people were in the other houses.

3694. As regards the contempt of Court, they misbehaved themselves while in Court? —Yes.

3695. All the fines were paid, and that finished the matter as regards the Sierra Leonians?—Yes.

3696. I may ask you as to the alternative sentence, a fine or one month's hard labour: where does the hard labour come from?—I never knew that there was imprisonment without hard labour. I never had it questioned by the Attorney-General.

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3697. I will take it in this way, that you believed that there was due authority by the Protectorate Ordinance and have had previous sentences submitted to the Attorney-General without remark?—Yes: I never had any sentences questioned. I thought it was provided by the Ordinance.

3698. This Chief Bokari Bamp and others came to you on Wednesday?—They were summoned. I found Bokari Bamp had left the town; I sent for him, and the reason I sent for him was because the night before one of the traders had sent his boy up to his house to ask whoever was left there (I cannot say whether it was his wife or who) to give to the boy the amount of his tax and fine, in order that he might be released that evening. Bai Salamansa, one of the Chiefs now in prison, met this boy and said, 'Where are you going?' The boy said, 'I am going to the District Commissioner's compound; I have been sent by Mr. So-and-so to get the money for his tax and fine, and am now taking this money to him.' Bai Salamansa took the boy into his house, very much frightened, and took the money off him, and told him to go and tell his master that if he attempted to pay he would be murdered and his house burned. That was the cause of my summonsing the Chiefs the next day.

3699. Was that statement made to you by the boy in person?—By the lance-corporal who reported it to Mr. Crowther, who investigated it.

3700. Then was the charge made against Bai Salamansa in connection with that particular matter?—No; I thought it best to work through the Chief. I think I accused him the next day when he was brought up; I do not think he was legally charged.

3701. Then Bokari Bamp and the four other Chiefs came before you on Wednesday?—Late in the afternoon, after being repeatedly sent for.

3702. They were not brought in custody?—No; I simply sent for them.

3703. And you spoke to them?—Yes.

3704. Who was their spokesman?—Bokari Bamp.

3705. They were all present and you addressed them all?—Yes; and I allowed all their Santigis to come in too.

3706. What did you say to them?—I then spoke very strongly indeed; I told them that by this last act of stopping the boy they had contradicted what they had said before about not molesting the traders, and I intended to deal with them strictly according to my duty.

3707-8. Did Bai Salamansa make any admission of having stopped the boy?—He denied it. I then spoke to the five leading Headmen (the same who are now in prison); I put two questions to each of them—(1) Will you do your best to order all your people not to molest the Sierra Leonians for paying their tax? (2) Will you undertake to start collecting the hut-tax due from you at once?—To each of these questions each one of the five Chiefs separately answered 'No.' The next step I took was to clear the yard: I estimate at the time there were 2000 people there: and we had previously heard the man in the night call out that any Chief arrested would be rescued. As soon as the yard was cleared the five Chiefs were tried, convicted, and sentenced.

3709. What was the offence for which they were tried?—First, inciting others by threats to defy the law (offence under Section 67).

3710. That referred to what had already taken place between the Chiefs and the Sierra Leone people?—Yes.

3711. Secondly, refusing to collect the hut-tax due (offence under Section 68). Thirdly, overawing by force a public officer in the execution of his duty (offence under Section 68).

3712. In what did the refusal to collect the tax consist? what was the evidence?—Verbally: that was one of the questions I put to them.

3713. Then the negative answer to that question was the sole evidence of the refusal?—Yes.

3714. The overawing by force, what did that consist in?—I think the corporal was

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Captain SHARPE. evidence of Bai Salamansa's stopping the boy. I think all Bai Salamansa's people got up and overawed him: I can hardly remember.

3715. It seems that all the three charges applied to every one of them?—It might apply to any number of armed followers they all had.

3716. Then I may take it that your view of the Ordinance is, that notwithstanding the provision of Section 48, which enacts that if any person liable to pay tax refuses or neglects to pay, levy on his goods shall follow: nevertheless by giving an order to the same person that he shall pay, an offence can be raised up which is punishable under Section 67?—I read the Ordinance that where a man refuses or neglects to pay, I can take my choice of these two Sections.

3717. I may draw your attention to the fact that Section 68 does not deal with the subject of tax, whereas Section 48 articulately deals with payment of tax. I am speaking of the Chiefs.—I shouldread it that that verbal refusal was resisting.

3718. Section 68 does not bear any relation to the payment of the tax?—I should say that in asking for the tax I was exercising my duty, and by refusing to pay he was resisting me in the exercise of my duty.

3719. It comes round to the question I put before, namely, although under Section 48 neglect or refusal to pay tax is dealt with in a particular way, yet another alternation is left to the officer under Section 68, under which if a person liable to pay tax is ordered to pay tax and does not pay, he is guilty of an offence?—Yes.

3720. Then I would like to be clear upon this point with regard to these five Chiefs: was each one of them convicted of the three offences that are named on this sheet, viz.: (1) Inciting others by threats to defy the law (offence under Section 67); (2) Refusing to collect the hut-tax due (offence under Section 68); (3) Overawing by force a public officer in the execution of his duty (Section 68)?—I can only go by the sheet. I cannot trust my memory. It is apparently so by the sheet.

3721. Upon these convictions these Chiefs were apprehended and sent to Freetown?—Yes.

3722. Now in the whole course of your conversation or remonstrances with the Chiefs on this occasion, do you remember them saying that they wanted to consult Bai Forki?—No: I never heard his name mentioned in Port Lokko.

3723. Was he a man whom the people in Port Lokko look up to?—If you had asked me before the war I should have said No; my experience since the war shows me that he is.

3724. As to this sentence of hard labour, I may take it your answer would be the same you made before?—Yes; my sentences have never been questioned, or hardly ever. I fancy I can remember the expression somewhere, 'with or without hard labour.'

3725. Then I show you this conviction that you sent down as warrant for imprisoning them; this is not in your handwriting?—No; it is my clerk's.

3726. Just read it. You see that this is not the same charge as on the sheet?—I did not understand it was to be the *verbatim* charge.

3727. You see on comparing this statement of offence with the other they are different?—It is certainly different verbally.

3728. I should say more: it is quite a different offence?—Would it not have the same meaning legally?

3729. Were those statements of charges written at your dictation, or was it left to your clerk to fill in?—I left it to my clerk; I rely upon him for legal points because of his legal training.

3730. Are you quite sure that these Chiefs did not at any time during their conversation ask for further time to consult?—Yes: they did.

3731. Among themselves or with some one else?—They never mentioned any one outside the district.

3732. They were all there?—Yes.

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3733. They asked for time?—They shilly-shallied. When I asked a question they said they would tell me to-morrow. Captain SHARPE.

3734. Would you go so far as to say you are clear they did not say they wanted to consult any one else?—To the best of my recollection I should say so now.

3735. Supposing some one else had said that they had asked to be allowed to consult with Bai Forki, would you go so far as to say such one was telling a falsehood?—Yes; if they had made that request to me I should have said, 'Why did you not consult him a week ago when I told him about it and Bai Forki was here?'

3736. I would like to know a little about the progress of events after the arrest of these Chiefs?—The Sierra Leonians paid their taxes and fines.

3737. I did not understand that the Chiefs had been arrested before the Sierra Leonians paid?—Yes: they had been arrested and sent away. I was three more days in Port Lokko collecting these fines and tax, and then appointed an acting Headman to carry on the work of the Government.

3738. Was that Sori Bunki?—Yes; previously I asked the people who they wished to look over them during the absence of these five Chiefs, and they said Sori Bunki. I had a big interview with him and his Santigi.

3739. Who were the representatives of the townspeople?—I asked the leading traders, and I asked the sergeant to find out who was the most popular person, and he confirmed what the traders had said to me, that Sori Bunki was.

3740. Was Sori Bunki one of those in the line who would or could have succeeded to the chiefship if it had been vacant?—No.

3741. What was his position in the town then?—I said to him, 'You are the leading man in the town now; are you willing to act in Bokari Bamp's place during his imprisonment? He said Yes. I particularly told him I had no power to appoint him king; in fact the king himself was alive.

3742. Bokari Bamp was only acting?—Yes.

3743. Was the Alikarlie in the town at that time?—Yes; he was sick and could not recognise anybody.

3744. But apart from the request of the traders and the report of the sergeant?—It was not a request: I asked their opinion.

3745. Apart from their opinion and the sergeant's report, what was Sori Bunki's position in the town?—He was the most influential man in the town.

3746. The wealthiest?—He was the oldest inhabitant, had most followers, and was most looked up to by the people.

3747. Did he accept the duty?—Yes; and asked for a police escort, which I gave him—four policemen.

3748. He went on collecting?—He started at once, in spite of rumours of war. That night was another alarming night. In the middle of the night they removed the old Alikarlie.

3749. His own family?—I cannot say: it might have been anybody. Alarming reports kept coming in all night that Bai Bureh was coming to attack us; and again we had to get up and post special sentries all round. Sori Bunki had to be furnished with a special guard that night, as there was a good deal of feeling against him.

3750. Was that Thursday night?—Yes.

3751. May I ask you, with reference to this proceeding at Port Lokko in the collection of the tax, was your attitude this, that you considered that there was a strong opposition to paying the hut-tax, and that that opposition must be met by bringing the forces of the Government strongly to bear on it?—Exactly: I realised then how serious it was.

3752. Then on Friday?—I had an interview with Sori Bunki: he heard I was going off to continue the collection, and he asked me to remain to protect him as he was in fear of his life: meanwhile he was bringing in money throughout the day. I told him I was obliged to leave, but in order to comply with his request I left behind me Mr. Crowther and the bulk of my escort, and went off practically alone on Saturday, 12th February.

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3753. In your report you say, 'The acting Chief continued to collect tax from the few people who remained, and he has now sent round to those who have removed that if they do not return in twenty-four hours they will be fined'; that was his message, not yours?—Yes: the town emptied when he was appointed.

3754. Had Sori Bunki as a Chief any authority to fine people for leaving the town? —He was never a Chief; but, I think, being appointed by Government was equivalent to it.

3755. Would leaving the town be an offence according to native law?—Yes: it would be an insult to the Chief.

3756. He thought he had the power then?—Yes; he was reckoning on Government support.

3757. What day did you leave?—Saturday.

3758. You went to collect the tax in other places?—Yes.

3759. With a fair amount of success?—Yes.

3760. Did people make excuses?—They said they had not had time to collect it: the ordinary excuse. They brought all they had got, I think.

3761. What place did you collect at?—Mabele.

3762. Who was the Chief?—Pa Suba under Bai Cobba.

3763. Did Pa Suba continue to be well affected throughout these troubles?—The Government had suspicions against him, but I never had any myself.

3764. Did you collect at any place besides Mabele?—No: I was going to Bai Forki, but unfortunately I heard he had smallpox, and I had to give it up.

3765. I think you spoke of Bai Forki having been arrested?—No.

3766. There was no story came to your ears of Bai Forki having been shot at by policemen?—He has been fighting openly.

3767. I mean previous to these troubles?—No: I never heard of it.

3768. In conclusion of this report you ask for a reinforcement of at least twenty men: I think the particular object for which you ask for that reinforcement was to effect the arrest of Bai Bureh?—Yes.

3769. Was it your own proposal that Bai Bureh should be arrested?—It was the result of a letter I wrote to him. I wrote him a very civil letter saying I was now in Port Lokko collecting tax, and that my intention was to visit him next. I hoped he would have the tax ready by the time I came. He sent back that letter with the message that he wished to have nothing to do with me, and that the first time I set foot in his town I should be a dead man. It was on the strength of that that I applied for the police.

3770. It was a verbal message?—Yes.

3771. Did you see the messenger?—Yes: I had sent a Frontier. I sent the letter by a corporal and three men. The corporal brought the letter back with that message, and said that Bai Bureh had refused to accept it.

3772. Do you know if Bai Bureh speaks English?—He understands it, but does not like to speak it.

3773. On the occasion of previous interviews were you and he on the best of terms? —Not the very best: he was always a troublesome Chief. He was the only one who defied me.

3774. Did he defy you on any previous occasion?—Yes.

3775. What were the circumstances of this previous occasion?—After I returned from the Boundary Commission, I was instructed by the Governor, with the assistance of the surrounding Chiefs and on payment, to get some barracks built. At that time there were none at all at Karene. I drew up a plan of the barracks, and sent round to every neighbouring Chief a letter, asking him to come in and assist in building barracks, giving him some idea of the nature and size of the actual buildings that it would be his duty to build, and telling him the amount that he would be paid. With the one exception of Bai Bureh they all came in. Bai Bureh, I may state, is the nearest of them all: it

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would have been least hardship to him being so close, and he has a stronger following of the working class than any of the others. He took absolutely no notice of my letter. I think I again wrote to him a second time, to say that if he did not come in as the rest had done, I should have to use stricter measures than sending a messenger. After several weeks he had made no reply at all to the second summons, and I then sent a sergeant and ten men, and he came at once: he brought a revolver with him: he sent up to my house after he came in to say he was coming to call. I sent back a message to say I must refuse to see him as a visitor in my house until the work was finished. He completed the building that was apportioned to him, and, as soon as this was done, he did what in the eyes of a native is very insulting, he left the town secretly without saying a word to me. No other Chief has ever done such a thing. I sent him his money some time afterwards. As far as I remember the vouchers were merely witnessed to his mark and brought back.

3776. How long ago was that incident?—The beginning of the rainy season of 1896. I met him once more after that. In the beginning of 1897 I was passing through one of his towns, and I heard he was in the town at the time. I sent a message to say I should like to see him, and he came, and we had a friendly chat. I told him I hoped he would never again neglect to come at once when I sent for him, and that he would keep his roads open and his bridges in good repair, and we shook hands and he left.

3777. Was that building of the barracks a part of the obligation that the Chiefs incurred under their stipends?—I should hardly say it was. I think by the treaty they expressed their willingness to help the Government when called upon.

3778. Previous to these disturbances, was there any reason to suppose that Bai Bureh was not friendly to the English Government?—Yes: my *locum tenens* had sent for him once or twice and he never came, and rather boasted of it to me.

3779. Did he ever refuse to come to the Governor?—Yes: in 1894 I was sent to arrest him.

3780. Tell me about the arrest in 1894.—I had just come out and for some reason unknown to me Bai Bureh's arrest was ordered. I was junior officer at that time, and merely received an order to accompany the escort. We went to his fighting town, but unfortunately we lost our way, and the farm people ran in and told him we were coming and he escaped. We remained there two or three days, sending out some detached parties scouring the country, to try to gain information as to his whereabouts. He managed to evade us by cleverly leaving all his warriors in our town, most of whom were armed with guns, and by hiding in the small fakkis with just one wife with him. The attitude of his people the whole time we were there was most threatening. Several of his slaves seized the opportunity to come to us for protection. One was recaptured by them and murdered: I saw the body. Finding it useless to wait any longer we left with one of these slave women. His war-boys followed us for several miles, attacking us all the way and trying to rescue this woman, but we managed to keep her. No shot was fired, and when we got to the outskirts of his country the war-boys turned back. The Secretary for Native Affairs then sent up a message to him telling him to come to Port Lokko to meet the Governor. He refused to come unless Mr. Parkes would guarantee that he was not arrested. Mr. Parkes gave the guarantee, and he finally came down to Port Lokko and the Governor met him there. I believe he was fined sixty guns for attacking us, and I believe the fine was paid well within the time allotted.

3781. The attacking on that occasion consisted in trying to get the girl?—They used the police very roughly, but no shot was fired.

3782. Their object was to get this girl?—Yes: they would have killed her if they had succeeded.

3783. Are you aware if Bai Bureh ever was arrested by the Government?—I cannot say; he was an ally

3784. Why did he change into an opponent?—I think it was more to suit his own purposes than ours in the first instance. He was well paid for it, and got the loot.

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3785. Did you get the reinforcements that you asked for?—In numbers but not in quality.

3786. What happened then?—Major Tarbet came up with Captain Hastings, an Inspector who had just come out, and some of the men had only had a month's service, and had never had a carbine in their hands before.

3687. What was the special object aimed at in arresting Bai Bureh?—I applied for these men to arrest him as he had defied me.

3788. Then you went in search of Bai Bureh?—On the 15th I returned to Port Lokko, and on the 16th Major Tarbet came up with the reinforcement, and on the 17th we left in the afternoon and reached Malal, and to our astonishment found it absolutely deserted.

3789. Did you remain there for the night?—Yes: we sent out spies to find out where Bai Bureh was; one of them located him, and next morning we started off, intending when we got to Romani to send on our non-combatants—of whom there were about sixty altogether, with about £200 Government money, which I had collected, on to Karene with a small escort, while we branched off from there into the Kassi country to effect the arrest. When we approached Romani we saw from the high ground overlooking the town that it was full of war-boys and armed men; we saw no women or children at all. The town was strongly barricaded; the central pathway through it was open, but the doorways and spaces between the houses on each side were barricaded with loop-holes, and we saw armed men behind the houses watching us.

3790. Is it a war town?—Yes: with a central path, with walls from door to door of the compound, all of which is connected by a loop-holed wall.

3791. Are the roofs thatched?—Yes.

Just beyond the town we halted in a large open space where several different roads diverged. We called a halt. In the distance along the road we saw bodies of armed men approaching; and about twenty yards down each of the small bush paths were two armed sentries watching our movements. Major Tarbet and I approached them; as we did so the sentries immediately retired, watching us all the while. As soon as we returned they took up their position again. I then left the party, accompanied only by a bugler, and entered the town. I saw an armed man who appeared to be a leading warrior, and after a little persuasion and giving him the country salutation, I persuaded him to stand still while I talked. I said, 'We do not come to make war on the country, but we have come to arrest Bai Bureh for disobeying the Government.'

3792. You spoke in English?—The salutation I spoke in Timini; the rest was spoken in Timini by the bugler. I would not take a private because I did not want them to see any armed men.

3793. Did he make any reply?—He refused to communicate. I then said through the bugler that we had not come to make war; and when I asked him where Bai Bureh was, he said he did not know. At the time we were fairly certain that Bai Bureh was there; and afterwards we heard for certain that he was.

3794. Upon this answer being given what did you do?—Mr. Crowther had come up behind me, unknown to me, and I suddenly heard him call out, 'Look out, sir! Run back, quick; the war-boys are surrounding you.' I saw that it was as he said, and thinking that we might get some information out of this man who was standing near I called to him to come back with me. He refused and I made a dash at him, and with the assistance of the bugler we brought him back by force.

3795. Was that in the town?—Yes.

During all this time their attitude was becoming more threatening every minute; they were calling out insulting messages from behind the compound wall, and the whole of the time we were being stoned. We took no notice, and though the men were very excited no man was allowed to load.

3796. You had rejoined the force by this time?—Yes.

The fact of my having brought this man back by force greatly excited them, and I

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immediately gave the order to release him, seeing that it would be useless to try to get any information from him. He was immediately released, but I believe his sword was kept. The stoning then was becoming rather serious. Major Tarbet and I had a conference, and we agreed, first of all, that Bai Bureh was probably there, and therefore it would be useless to branch off to the Kassi country for him; secondly, that it would be very risky to send our non-combatants and money off without a very strong escort; and thirdly, that with the very weak escort we had got with us, raw recruits, it would have been madness to have attempted to arrest Bai Bureh there and then.

3797. How many men had you with you?—Thirty and sixty non-combatants, whom we had to defend. We therefore concluded that it was as much as we could do to get our party safely on to Karene. We left amidst jeers from all sides, but no shot was fired. For several miles we were followed by a large armed body of these people.

3798. Was this what was considered an open road?—Yes; a main road, a big road, but with bush on both sides. At last their attitude was so threatening and the approach so close, that the Inspector-General gave the order to the rear-guard to turn about and fire.

3799. What were the war-boys who were following doing at that moment?—Jeering: they were all armed with guns.

3800. Was any warning given to them?—They were so close that they could see the men load and take aim: they had quite half a minute's grace.

3801. Then the rear-guard fired a volley?—It was independent firing: they were very excited, too much so for volley firing.

3802. What was the result of their firing?—They immediately returned our fire, but I saw none of them hit.

3803. How far apart were the two parties?—About eighty yards or less.

3804. Were the war-boys in a close body?—Yes; they were pretty well closed up. I afterwards heard that one man was killed outright.

3805. Did the war-boys retreat?—On hearing the firing in the rear, the Frontiers in front immediately ran back without orders: meanwhile the war-boys had advanced on either flank, and seeing the carriers deserted by the Frontiers, they were seized, their loads stolen and looted, and to this day most of these carriers have never been heard of. We heard that they had been sold as slaves in the French country. In some instances, I believe, the carriers were frightened, and threw down their loads and ran off into the bush, and were afterwards captured.

3806. The order of march was that there were Frontiers in front, then carriers, and then the rear guard?—Yes.

3807. Then you halted for firing?—Yes; but I do not think there was the order given.

3808. Then the Frontiers in front ran back past the carriers?—Yes.

3809. After this did the war-boys disappear?—Yes; except they went ahead out of range and gave the news of our coming.

3810. Did you get to Karene without further molestation?—We were fired on at Massangballa and Mabanta, and there were continually men on our flank. A good deal of Government property was lost. We finally arrived at Karene about 5 P.M.

3811. Were there any casualties from the native firing?—No; there were none.

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3812. (Witness handed the Commissioner a letter (printed copy) from Rev. W. J. Humphrey, dated 19th March 1898)—In connection with this letter I may state that the Alikarli had nothing to do with affairs in Port Lokko: he was quite old and bedridden, blind and speechless.

I should like to offer an explanation why my reason for the committal of the five Chiefs did not agree with the magisterial return charge.[1] The arrest of these five Chiefs was a matter of military tact more than anything else: I knew that directly this crowd of people, who were in Port Lokko, knew that the Chiefs were arrested, they would

[1] *See* 3726.

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attempt their rescue. I therefore had to purposely delay their trial till just before high-water, allowing that by the time they had been tried and convicted the tide would suit to send them down. The time was very short: a night or two previously we had been warned that they would be rescued if arrested: and I considered it was a matter which, unless I exercised very great care, would lead to very alarming results. If the people had known that they had been arrested before they were got into the boat, there would probably have been some bloodshed. I must admit that my clerk, who was very nervous throughout the whole time, made out the warrants very hurriedly, and I thought, perhaps wrongly, that as long as the charge broadly agreed with the crime, it was sufficient authority to the gaoler to accept the prisoners, under the circumstances one could not be so careful of details as one would have liked. I was nervous at the time; and the return was sent in quietly at the end of the month, and then we exercised more care and entered it in accordance with my court notebook.

3813. With regard to the antecedents of these Chiefs who were arrested, I understood you to say that Bokari Bamp was not a strong man, but inclined to be loyal if the people would let him?—Certainly; but he was overborne by the natives.

3814. Had he ever been in any antagonism to the Government before that?—He had been summoned to Karene as a witness, and I took the opportunity whilst he was there of severely reprimanding him for trying to stir up the people of the Sanda district against the election of the new king.

3815. Which king's election?—Brima Sanda.

3816. Brima Sanda was enthroned by the Government?—Yes.

3817. Under what circumstances?—The old Brima Sanda died about April 1896. During the rest of that year I was continually calling the headmen of the country together so that they could be of one mind as to the new king. It was a cause of great inconvenience to myself and to the Government officially that there was no Chief to this very large district. Still, a year after this king died, the headmen had taken no steps to elect a new king: the truth being that several of the leading headmen each hoped to be elected. When I called them together, twice, about a year after the death of the king they practically voted each man for himself. Then I had to name a time: I gave them two months. At the end of that time they told me they had not agreed: I then said finally, that if at the end of another month they had not agreed as to the new king, I should be compelled in the interests of the policy of the district to recommend to the Governor the man I thought to be most fitting. A month later I saw they were still no nearer to agreeing, and I recommended to the Governor, giving my reasons, a man named Santigi Dura to be elected. He was the former Brima Sanda's right-hand man, a man in the prime of life, and had proved his loyalty to the Government. As far as I remember the Governor referred my recommendation to the Secretary for Native Affairs, and to the best of my recollection he concurred in my recommendation, and the Governor approved it.

3818. Was this a man who had any claim to the post under the native arrangement in these matters?—I cannot say; so many different men claimed that I think they had no hereditary law in that district; and by their long delay it was evident that there was no legal heir from the native point of view.

3819. You called them together and put the situation before them, what was said at the time?—It was very difficult to get them to speak. I could see that they did not like my decision, that if they did not agree in a certain time the Government would take the matter up.

3820. Could you say whether a similar course had been followed in any other cases?—Since I have been in that district I should say that about six Paramount Chiefs have died, and their successors have been named, and the Governor's approval asked for through me within a week or two of their death in every case.

3821. You are not aware of any antecedent cases where there had been long delay of this kind?—No.

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3822. In some of your reports you refer to the possibility of recommending the release of Bokari Bamp if matters have quieted down?—Yes.

3823. Have you formed any opinion as to what would be the result of his release at the present juncture?—It would have two opposite effects. If he was released now before the tax was paid, I think the rebel leaders now at large would look upon it as a sign of weakness: at the same time, I think that if he were now released it would do a good deal towards restoring confidence in Port Lokko: people would return, and would rebuild their houses when the weather permitted.

3824. Do you think that his influence as a Chief would be in any way affected by the fact that he has been in prison?—No; he is looked upon as a martyr. He would never really be Chief. The next heir is also in gaol.

3825. If he went back he would take up his duties as Acting-Chief, supposing that he alone went back?—I cannot say; since he left the Alikarli has died. I do not think the followers of the present king would look upon him as their representative; as there are two families who supply the Chief alternately.

3826. The present Alikarli has a clear right to the position?—Yes; a clear hereditary right. He will not be called Alikarli; he will be called Bai Salamansa.

3827. Was there anything against Bai Salamansa antecedent to these troubles?—He has never come within range of the law; but I have always looked on him as a dangerous man, and not particularly loyal.

3828. Could you say in what ways his want of loyalty showed itself?—He is a man whose sympathies have always been with Chiefs who were known to be unfriendly towards the Government. I have always been given to understand by Mr. Crowther, the Inspector, who has a very deep knowledge of that district, and of the natives, that he was a man who might at any time give trouble. I cannot say that I have ever known him to give trouble until this matter occurred.

3829. Was there anything against Ansumani Bali apart from the occasion of his taking Bai Forki out of the custody of the Police?—He had been warned and threatened by the Governor that he would lose his title if he were not careful.

3830. Could you say anything as to the antecedents of Alfa Saidoo?—No; only that, irrespective of this business, the Sub-Inspector gave him a very bad name: I cannot say why.

3831. The value of the Inspector's opinion will depend on his attitude towards these native Chiefs?—Except that for several years he has been commanding the district in the absence of any white officer.

3832. Without reference to present occurrences, is it not a great indignity to a Chief to be arrested by the police?—I think so; of course handcuffing especially, and the mere fact of being arrested and imprisoned.

3833. Being taken away from his own place by force, whether handcuffed or not, would be a blow to his dignity?—I should think so.

3834. I think there was no attack on Port Lokko at this time; it was a considerable time after, not in connection with these arrests?—The first attack was made the night the boy was killed by the police.

3835. That was the boy Mormobangura?—Yes.

3836. When was he killed?—25th February.

3837. There is a minute by yourself in which you say that Mormobangura was practically murdered in cold blood by the Frontier Police before any hostilities broke out?—At Port Lokko, not in the district.

3838. Last time you were here you described an endeavour made to arrest Bai Bureh; there was a man you got hold of and brought away from a short distance: it is said that you struck him on the head and that his head was broken?—He was certainly very roughly handled, his clothes were torn, but he was not wounded in any way.

3839. Did you know anything of Sori Bunki before you went to collect tax at Port Lokko?—Yes.

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3840. You knew him as an influential man in the place?—A big judgment for debt had been given against him to the Coaling Co. here, it was for over £100. I do not think there was any fraud, it was simply a debt.

3841. Did he express to you his opinion respecting the collecting of the hut tax at Port Lokko before you commenced operations?—I do not think so.

3842. Or while you were there?—He was a nonentity while these five Chiefs were there.

3843. Did he volunteer any information?—I have no recollection of having any conversation with him at all before I went down the second time.

3844. When you went down the second time did he volunteer or give any advice to you on the subject, prior to the arrests?—Certainly not.

3845. Or after the arrests?—We had long talks on the best way of collecting the tax; but I do not think he offered any advice: it was more the other way.

3846. In your report to the Government of 12th February, on which I have already examined you, I do not gather that you directly recommended the arrest of Bai Bureh, but you assumed it as a thing to be done?—Yes; certainly, after his defiant message. I had mentioned the probability of it in my report.

3847. Anyhow the Governor clearly understood the report of the 12th February, to recommend the arrest of Bai Bureh, for on the 15th February he makes the instruction to Major Tarbet to effect the arrest?—Yes; but he had received no other communication from me.

3848. Your report was on the 12th, his order on the 15th?—I think I wrote down at once on receipt of the defiant message from Bai Bureh.

3849. Is Bai Bureh one of those Chiefs who keep writing clerks?—I could not say.

3850. Can you say if he had one at the time you sent that letter to him?—I can positively state that he had means of reading my letter.

3851. How?—It was an understood thing that in writing to Bai Bureh one need not send a man to interpret the letter. He always could get traders or clerks to read it. Just before we had sent a letter to tell him to keep the roads clean, and got a verbal reply, 'All right.'

3852. As a rule was Bai Bureh in the habit of returning written replies to your letters?—The letters were sent by my *locum tenens*. My impression is that I have seen his signature to a letter.

3853. You cannot say whether it was a prevailing habit?—I cannot say. Did I make it clear that my letter was returned unopened with the defiant message. The letter was not opened as far as I know.

3854. Was the messenger a private of the Frontier Police?—A non-commissioned officer and one private, I think it was.

3855. Was the message delivered to you by the non-commissioned officer?—Yes; in Port Lokko.

3856. Could he read and write?—I could not say.

3857. I suppose you could not say whether he had been long in the force?—My impression is that he was not a recruit.

3858. As a non-commissioned officer he would naturally not be a recruit?—We have had to make non-commissioned officers with little more than a month's service.

3859. Was he a man of staid and sober character, who would not be likely to play tricks with the message?—He was a man specially chosen by Mr. Crowther, who was on fairly good terms with Bai Bureh, who had been sent to him before. The expression Mr. Crowther used was, 'He is a man Bai Bureh likes.'

3860. About the time of the arrest of Bokari Bamp and the other Chiefs, or soon after, was it given out in the neighbourhood of Port Lokko that Bai Bureh would be arrested?—Not given out, but I remember I stated it, to show that I meant to enforce the authority in

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collecting the tax. I have just come across the name of the messenger to Bai Bureh. Corporal Samuel Williams, a man who could read and write, and a fairly old soldier.

3861. Lance-Corporal Williams is presumably a Sierra Leone man?—Yes.

3862. He might have changed his name?—Yes; a native man who married a Sierra Leone woman would change his name to hers.

3863. Was there anything said about that time, as to Bai Bureh being taken dead or alive?—I cannot say. I have no recollection of such an expression having been used, but at the same time I cannot say it was not used.

3864. In your report of 19th February 1898 you use the words, 'I consider that sufficient force should be employed . . . to capture Bai Bureh and the ringleaders dead or alive,' it must have been an idea floating in your mind at the time?—I may have said it, but I do not remember having said it to any native.

3865. Major Tarbet made a report about the same date that you did, about the attempt to capture Bai Bureh, and he also expressed a similar opinion, that the strength of the force was not sufficient for the purpose?—Not to effect the arrest and to preserve the safety of Karene. There were twenty police to garrison Karene, fifteen as a baggage escort, leaving only thirty men to be actively employed in the arrest.

3866. I wanted to ask you this question, it was in consequence of your report and Major Tarbet's, that a company of the West Indian Regiment with a seven pounder and a maxim was sent up?—They had a seven pounder, but I am not certain whose the maxim was.

3867. There was a hitch about the disposal of this force; if there had been no hitch, and it had been at your own disposal, would it have been sufficient to accomplish the end in view?—It is hard to say. At the time we should certainly have attempted it.

3868. This force was to have been left to garrison Karene and you and Major Tarbet were to take on the Frontier Police and go and effect the arrest, and if that was not successful you would call the West Indian Regiment to assist?—I do not think that was part of the instructions.

3869. It appears in a letter from the Governor to the Officer Commanding the Troops in which he asks for a company to be sent up, he proposed that the troops should be quartered at Karene, leaving the Frontier Police free to operate, and goes on to say, 'should the police meet with a reverse and the Officer in Command be called on to assist, he should do so'; do you think that that was not in your instructions?—It may have been. I do not think I received any instructions by which I could have called on Major Norris to carry out the arrest.

3870. I understand you could hardly say whether that West Indian force was enough?—They were enough to garrison Karene.

3871. Was yours enough to arrest Bai Bureh?—We should certainly have considered it not imprudent to have attempted the arrest with the force we had at our disposal.

3872. Then there was a hitch through the stores, Major Norris felt he could not remain at Karene more than three days, which would have necessitated Major Tarbet's being back in three days at Karene?—Major Norris arrived on the 28th February, and the next day he said he could not remain after to-morrow (2nd). The late Major Donovan informed me that he had eight days' rations with him, and at my request he wrote officially to Major Norris saying that he had eight days' rations here, and that if Major Norris would give him a small escort and the carriers that they had with them (500), he could go to Robat get the stores, and be back in Karene before the eight days' supply was exhausted.

3873. Then Major Norris did not agree to that?—No; he did not agree.

3874. He thought it would be imprudent to divide his force, I presume?—Yes; he said he would not split up his company in any way.

3875. That upset your scheme for going to Bai Bureh at that time?—Certainly; because Major Tarbet said he would not undertake to be back in less than four days, or, anyhow, before Major Norris left.

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3876. Was Major Norris hostilely opposed on his march up from Port Lokko to Karene?—He did not go by Port Lokko, he went by the Skarcies river and disembarked at Robat. He was not opposed.

3877. Did Major Norris leave Karene at the end of those three days?—He left on the morning of the 3rd March, having arrived after midnight on 28th February.

3878. Do you know anything about a diversion that was proposed by Captain Fairtlough marching through the Kwaia country from Kwalu?—I never heard of any such thing. I think Captain Fairtlough was in England at the time.

3879. Did any such force come to Port Lokko to your knowledge?—No; never came into our district at all.

3880. On the 3rd March, Major Norris marched from Karene to Port Lokko unopposed?—He was decidedly opposed.

3881. Then upon that Major Norris requisitioned for two additional companies?—I believe he did so.

3882. When Major Norris left Karene did you remain there?—Yes.

3883. Then there was an attack on Port Lokko on the 6th March?—That I know very little about. I was still at Karene; no official report of that attack has ever reached me yet.

3884. Then how long did you remain at Karene?—I left on the 9th March and went straight to Port Lokko.

3885. What force had you?—Twenty Frontier Police, with an officer and twenty West Indians, with an officer, and two hundred and sixty carriers.

3886. Were you opposed?—Yes, five were wounded.

3887. Was there any attack made on Karene before you left on the 9th March?—Yes: at 4 A.M. on Sunday, 6th March.

3888. Was that a determined attack?—Yes.

3889. Had you only the Frontier Police then?—Ten sick West Indians, who were left behind footsore, and Major Norris had taken ten Frontier Police with him. One of the Barrack houses was burnt.

3890. After that attack was any reinforcement sent to Karene before you left?—The day before I left, a company of the West Indian Regiment, eighty men under Major Stansfield. I presume you know we were in conflict with the natives before Major Norris arrived. Every day from 18th February almost. We had several wounded.

3891. On 22nd February, Major Tarbet made an attack on Mabonta?—Yes.

3892. Were you present?—Yes: the war-boys were driven off.

3893. I think that on 2nd March, Major Norris took over the command of all the military operations?—He proclaimed martial law on the 2nd.

3894. Did that mean all the military operations passed into his hands?—Military and civil. As far as I was concerned, it meant the suspension of all law.

3895. After that you remained with the West Indian troops, and in fact accompanied them?—I left on the 9th, and went to Port Lokko, and was with them till May. After that time until the rainy season there were a succession of military operations carried on.

3896. Generally, so far as you can say, what beyond the arrest of Bai Bureh was the objective of the operations?—The impression that I had was, that being unable to arrest him, we destroyed his country, and that of other Chiefs also whom we were unable to arrest.

3897. A great many towns were burnt in the course of these operations?—Yes.

3898. I think that led to a remonstrance from you on the subject of burning towns?—I remember writing; but whether privately or officially I cannot say. It is only fair to state that the commander did not go through peaceful country burning revengefully, but every road was stockaded, and we were fired on from many of the towns.

3899. Colonel Bosworth writing on the 22nd March, stated that you had no native allies, I presume that was the situation?—We could not even get a native guide.

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3900. It seems to have been considered throughout, that Bai Bureh was the leader of these hostile forces?—I should have no hesitation in saying so.

3901. During all this time was there any attempt to open up friendly communication with him?—No, we never could find out where he was.

3902. Was it apparent if Chiefs accompanied the war-boys?—Bai Bureh's brother was killed in attacking a town, and Fodi Manti was killed; both were celebrated leaders. I should say in many cases parties are sent out with small leaders, but occasionally I should certainly say that Bai Bureh was there himself. He was at Romani.

3903. And that he directed the operations?—Yes.

3904. Then during all these hostilities there was a reward being offered for the capture of Bai Bureh?—Not from the first.

3905. What was the reward offered?—I could not say from memory; the Governor refused my first application.

3906. In your letter of 2nd March, reporting Major Norris going back to Port Lokko, you express regret for his having taken this step, as you thought at that time and think still, that if your scheme of going with the Frontier Police to seize Bai Bureh had been carried out there would have been a good probability of success?—I thought so at that time.

3907. There was a number of Mission Stations in the country which was more or less the seat of hostilities?—Yes.

3908. Were you acquainted in the course of your travelling in the district with the position of the Mission Stations?—I knew Port Lokko and Kabunta; I had visited Maybunkita in Bai Forkis country; also Makomp and Roberri.

3909. Mapoli or Funknin?—No: Kambia I knew, and Robethel.

3910. Was any attack made upon any of these Mission Stations by any of the war-boys?—When Major Norris advanced on Kabantama, he was very strongly opposed there. The war-boys did not attack a single one of the Mission Stations.

3911. So that in fact the only missionary who was killed in that region was Mr. Humphrey?—I think so. I never heard of any others.

3912. Was there any police force or other force stationed for the protection of Mission Stations?—No; we never recognised them in that way.

3913. There was a question about the burning of a fetish town called Mapolonta; there had been a strong opposition there I believe?—The column marched to Mapolonta, and halted there, not meeting opposition, and not intending to burn the town. Whilst in the town the carriers broke loose and began looting the houses. The natives, who must have been in the bush close at hand, fired on them, and wounded five; so the officer commanding the column, on leaving, burnt the town. I speak from the report I have heard.

3914. Could that be said to be necessary from a military point of view?—Purely military. No; you could hardly call it a military step.

3915. When would it be a military step so called?—Whenthe column had to go through a town, and it would entail loss of life if left. This town was burnt on the principle of burning every town where we were opposed.

3916. Do you consider that burning every town where you were opposed is a sound military principle?—Would it not be more a political matter.

3917. An act that is done with the military, one looks upon as a military act. If it was not a military act, was it justifiable?—It is a difficult question. I think I should consider myself justified if the people of the town had fired on some of my men without my firing on them.

3918. As a matter of casuistry, it might be said this column which marched through the country, for the purpose of destroying the country, were hostile invaders, and the bush people were merely defending their country?—You have taken me out of my depth.

3919. There is a set of queries, sent by the Governor to yourself and other District Commissioners, dated 18th July 1898 (Confid. $\frac{102}{98}$), to which you returned answers. (1) As to the causes of the insurrection, are you aware of any facts to support the view that

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Captain SHARPE. they acted under bad advice from more enlightened quarters?—I think the traders of Port Lokko were more responsible for all the trouble I had there than all the natives. It is my opinion, but I can hardly support it by facts.

3920. Are there any facts in support of this, other than you have already communicated to me in the course of your examination?—I knew a case of a leading man at Port Lokko, who has a Sierra Leone wife, who is always putting him up to resisting the law. That I should put under the head of bad advice from more enlightened quarters. This is not my own experience, but I have it from Mr. Crowther.

3921. Then that suggestion with regard to the tax, that they might expect the sympathetic ear from England. What do they know about England or the sympathies of the English?—There was a great deal of consultation between the Chiefs and the lawyers in Freetown; and I have always understood that their one complaint about their slaves would never draw any sympathy from England, and by these lawyers in Freetown they were told that the people at home would sympathise with them about the tax.

3922. To begin with, you must have the minds of the Chiefs with a certain amount of knowledge, is there anything to show how they got it?—My opinion is that they gathered that from the lawyers in Freetown.

3923. Is that more than a surmise?—I cannot support it by facts, it is only an opinion.

3924. Then the question (2) is the tax obnoxious, etc.? You say they would rather pay hut tax than poll tax, but resent having to pay hut tax while houses in Freetown are exempted. I may ask what are the facts upon which that opinion is founded?—From memory, I think that very point was specially mentioned in one of the petitions sent to me against the Ordinance. The same remark was proved by the traders in Port Lokko: that is taking it for granted they were hand in glove with the Chiefs.

3925. Then I draw your attention to the broad negative, that the tax is not peculiarly obnoxious. Is that founded on any facts?—I have answered that question as if it was whether the hut tax was more obnoxious than any other: as if it were a matter of comparison.

3926. Then (3) whether the collection of the tax was carried out in a brutal way: of course all the attempts that were made to collect it in your district, you made yourself? —Yes.

3927. Then (4) whether the amount was necessarily high, you gave certain details about the money in the district, and then you say that all Government works, such as barracks, are paid for. Tell me about the rate of pay for such work?—The barracks consists of about eight houses, and I should say between £100 and £200 was paid to the Chiefs for those buildings.

3928. The estimate of the tax was about £20,000?—Not under the present system; it was about £8000 in my district.

3929. That would show that a considerable portion of the houses were grouped in towns of less than twenty?—Yes.

3930. Then in (7) whether there are any instances of powder and arms being sold to the insurgents by the Sierra Leone traders. Are there any proofs that gunpowder or arms were sold after the commencement of the rising?—No; I could give none after. When I went to Port Lokko to collect the tax, a new Ordinance had just been put into force; the sergeant reported that many of the traders had kegs of powder in their houses, and he told them not to sell or dispose of them until they heard the new regulations. These all disappeared when the rebellion broke out.

3931. Then in question (8) Whether the Sierra Leone press has any circulation, etc., your answer was that news probably was regularly circulated; are there any facts to show that the traders communicated the contents of the Sierra Leone papers?—No; only on the principle that the Sierra Leone traders were the only people who could read and write: and if news was communicated it must have been by them; that is only my opinion.

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3932. (10) How far attributable to Porro; do you know anything about Porro in the Karene district?—Practically nothing except the circumcision Porro, which is merely a rite. Captain SHARPE.

3933. Does that exist among Mohammedans?—I never heard of it.

3934. It is said there is no such thing as Porro among the Timinis?—When I went up there there was a piece of devil-bush cleared where young girls were kept, and it was always called what was translated to me as Porro-bush.

3935. The complaints by Bai Suba and others were referred to you and you investigated them?—Yes.

3936. You had, I presume, only the written charge before you; the party making the complaint was not sent up to you?—They were not sent up.

3937. What was your method of investigating the complaints?—Personal experience, many of them. Many of the occurrences took place in my own presence. I do not say that these took place, but the incident alluded to took place.

3938. And as to the other cases?—By cross-questioning Mr. Crowther, the confidential clerk, who was there at the time, and by reference to the books, and by personally interrogating the Frontiers who were sent to summon those people.

9th September 1898.

3939. I should like to emphasise the fact that the insurgents commenced hostilities; I admit that we fired first, but while we were waiting peaceably in Romani they stoned us for no reason.

3940. Who were the stone-throwers?—We could not see them; they were hidden behind this loopholed wall.

3941. Was any serious harm done?—Several men were hit, my interpreter amongst them; but no serious harm was done.

3942. Nothing requiring medical attention?—No; they were throwing them blindly.

I think I am justified in saying that it was clearly evident that Bai Bureh and his people were prepared to fight long before he was called upon to pay the tax, and long before any active measures were taken to collect the tax. There was a missionary man named Elba who lived near Karene belonging to the Church Missionary Society; this man Elba, after the hostilities broke out, travelled down through the Kassi country and had a personal interview with Bai Bureh. I make this statement on the evidence of his own statement (he was interviewed by the editor of the paper, and the article was written as Mr. Elba's statement), and I think I am justified in saying that it is quite possible he was aware of the preparations the Kassi people had made to resist the Government, before my visit to Port Lokko.

3943. You used the expression, 'Bai Bureh was prepared long before the collecting of the tax to resist the Government'; could you qualify how long before?—I should say it would have taken many months to have collected the arms and ammunition we found they had when hostilities broke out. I should say at least six months. I left Port Lokko to start collecting the tax on the 4th February; the night before (3rd February) I was aroused about the middle of the night by the sergeant-major of the Frontiers. He was sent by Sub-Inspector Crowther to tell me that a report had just then reached Karene that Bai Bureh was coming that very night to attack the barracks. This report had been brought in by the father-in-law of one of the Frontiers, who said he had walked from the Kassi country that night specially to warn us; and I was told that it was confirmed by another native from the Kassi country.

3944. This native was not sent as a messenger, but came of his own accord?—Yes; he was very frightened lest it should leak out that he had brought the news.

3945. This native warning did not turn out to be correct?—No; he did not attack us. Natives have no idea of dates: what he thought was to-night might have been a week later. I left the next morning for Port Lokko. I met two missionaries on the road belonging to

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Captain SHARPE. the Church Missionary Society. I asked them where they were going; they said they had been sent to warn me that my life was in danger; and that they were carrying a letter to Mr. Crowther to that effect.

3946. Who were these missionaries?—Two missionaries stationed at Kabantama, a town in the Kassi country. Black, of course. I asked them why my life was in danger, and they said that the Santigi of their town, who was, of course, Bai Bureh's Santigi, had told them that Bai Bureh was plotting against my life, and would shoot me if I entered his town. They passed on and delivered their letter, which was to the same effect, to Mr. Crowther. The sergeant in charge at Kambia, after the hostilities broke out, wrote to me officially, and said that Alimami Lahi had told him that he was willing to pay the tax if Bai Bureh did. You asked me for the name of the trader who sent a boy up that night to get money, for his tax and the boy was stopped: his name is Schlenker. I forgot to tell you in my examination of the difficulties I met with at Port Lokko: the traders there told me several times, that though the tax was only 5s., they were perfectly willing and prepared to pay fines, suggesting themselves as much as £5, rather than that I should insist on their paying the 5s. tax.

3947. Was it traced how Bai Bureh got supplied with arms and ammunition during the time hostilities were being carried on, or was it supposed that he had the whole stock when he began fighting?—There are only reports to go on. I think I told you that several of our carriers had been caught at Romani: there was a report that they had been taken over to the French country and sold for powder.

3948. I find the minute containing your adjudication regarding the policeman who killed Mormo Bangura, dated 19th July 1898, long after the occurrence itself?—Yes; I took the evidence on the 15th March.

3949. You came to the conclusion that 'undue violence was used which greatly incensed the people and which caused the boy's death, and probably was the cause of the subsequent attack on Port Lokko, and perhaps of much of the subsequent fighting': that was your opinion on the 19th July last: are you still of the same opinion?— Yes.

3950. There is a minute of the Governor's of 15th February 1898, authorising the offer of a reward of £20 for Bai Bureh's arrest?—I think I told you the other day that no reward was offered till afterwards.

3951. Can you tell me what was done in the way of publishing this notice?—I wrote a letter to the Governor in which I sent a draft of a public notice: he said he did not think it necessary, not carrying out my suggestion of printing the notice, and rather, I think, hinting that until that order was confirmed I should look upon it as held over for the present.

3952. Then you think no offer of reward was published at that date?—No; previously I published it verbally to Chiefs who came in, but when the Governor sent that letter I told them it was withdrawn for the present.

3953. Then a reward of £50 was offered on the 14th March?—Yes.

3954. There was a letter drafted by the Secretary for Native Affairs to the Chiefs: that would have been distributed by you, I suppose?—No; by special messenger.

3955. In that letter there is an offer of £50 reward to any one who would give information that should lead to the arrest of Bai Bureh: was there no offer of a smaller sum before this?—Yes; the £20 which I offered.

3956. That you withdrew?—Yes.

3957. From that offer of £20 till the one in March of £50 was there no other offer of reward made?—Not through me, or that I am aware of.

3958. In that retreat from Romani, can you remember, before the firing occurred, what part of the column you were marching in, and what part Major Tarbet was in?—We were marching irregularly, and sometimes he was in front of me, and sometimes I was in front of him.

3959. It must have been rather a long column?—Not very: when I walked I over-

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took his hammock. Our position was between the middle and the rear. Captain Hastings was in front. Captain SHARPE.

3960. At the time that Major Tarbet gave the order to fire, were you beside him, or were you in front?—I was beside him.

3961. At that time did it appear that the war-boys were in a mass on the road behind you?—Yes; I saw them distinctly.

3962. I mean, were they on the road only, or in the bush on each side?—I did not see them in the bush till the firing, when they ran there. I may add that I did not turn round to look till the firing began.

3963. I suppose there was a good deal of jeering by the war-boys, addressed to the Frontiers?—Yes.

3964. Was the jeering kept up as they followed you?—Only for a short distance. They closed in straight behind us as we left, then they dropped back and gradually closed up again in about half an hour.

3965. It was about half an hour after you started that the firing took place?—Yes.

3966. Was there any stone-throwing after you left the town?—Not to my knowledge.

3967. Then you were fired on at Masamballa and Mabanta?—Yes.

3968. How far on was Masamballa?—About eight miles, I should say, and Mabanta another six miles further.

3969. Did it appear at all whether there had been ambush parties at Masamballa and Mabanta, or did the firing take place from some war-boys who had followed you?—I think the word was passed on by paths that we had fired at them and they must fire at us, because we repeatedly saw natives passing us on our flank. I do not think there was an organised ambush. Dr. Maxwell had previously passed over that very road in the morning and met us at Kabantama, coming from Karene to Port Lokko: he reported meeting parties of war-boys on the road, and that one of his boys who had been in the rear of his column had been seized and ill-treated.

3970. I suppose the fact that there were no casualties on your side at Masamballa and Mabanta rather pointed to the fact that there was no organised ambush?—Yes: and I may state that the firing was not from close quarters.

3971. Karene is twenty-six miles from Port Lokko, and it was a road much infested by war-boys, so that convoys going up to Karene were very often attacked?—Yes: after hostilities began.

3972. What were the advantages of retaining Karene at that time?—Moral and financial: it would have been a great sign of weakness on our side in deserting it. We had just spent several hundred pounds in building it, and it was the seat of government. I cannot imagine any step that would have more pleased the insurgents than to have seen the place abandoned.

3973. I can easily understand that the retention of Karene as the seat of government was an important matter, but I am looking at it from this point of view: Matters had come to this state that it was a matter of importance to put down the rebellion as soon as possible: was the retention of Karene from that point of view good or bad?—If orders were received here to go up to Kassi and put down the rebellion, it would have nothing to do with Karene.

3974. Port Lokko would rather be the base of operations?—Yes.

3975. Do you remember if it came up as a point in consultation between you and the officer commanding?—I was ignored: I was very sore: I went to the officer's room and asked him that very question: he said he was going to abandon Karene, and practically declined to discuss the political point.

3976. Was Karene abandoned?—No: Colonel Bosworth came up. I wrote to the Governor after the conversation I had had with Major Burke saying what an error I thought it was to abandon the place, and I believe that that was the cause of Colonel Bosworth coming up.

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Captain SHARPE.

3977. Then Colonel Bosworth did not carry out the intention of abandoning Karene? —No: I had several consultations with Colonel Bosworth myself, and the subject of giving up Karene was never mentioned.

3978. Then you said Colonel Bosworth came up with a different policy: what was that?—Different, so far as deserting Karene went.

3979. Was there any general change of policy?—No: the one point was to get in touch with Karene and get supplies up, and he continued that policy which Major Burke was going to abandon.

3980. Then, as a matter of fact, was there not a great waste of force in carrying of supplies and ammunition to Karene?—I hardly understand you.

3981. I mean there was a considerable force employed in carrying these supplies, and they were continually liable to be attacked on the road, and there were considerable casualties?—I think so: but that might have been avoided by having flankers in the bush, and taking defensive measures, and so on.

3982. Then the column was never guarded in this way?—I was never with the column.

3983. But from what you learned?—The officers were far senior to me: but I should not hesitate to say that their tactics were very poor.

3984. That came to your knowledge?—Each convoy reported to me their tactics along the road. Might I point out to you that for nearly a month in Port Lokko there was only one offensive step taken against Bai Bureh.

3985. At what date was that?—Major Norris arrived there 3rd March. The head-quarter's column left on 7th April, and, with the exception of one day's excursion which Major Burke, took there was only one offensive step taken the whole time.

3986. What was the date of that offensive step?—Major Burke's march through the Karene district: they started on Sunday 13th March: I think they took three days to reach Karene.

3987. Then the natural effect of that period of inactivity would be to allow Bai Bureh to organise his forces better and to increase his numbers if he did mean to resist?—Yes.

3988. Could you say whether it was from the force under Major Norris being insufficient that this inactivity took place?—I should not like to answer that question.

3989 Did it occur to you that the force was insufficient?—No: I ought to say that the reason I do not like to answer the question is because it is a personal matter.

3990. Can you give me any estimate of the number of towns which were burned in the war operations?—I should say certainly not less than 100 and it might have been 200: that is up to the end of June, including fakkis as towns.

3991. Would it be correct to suppose that the whole of the inhabited places in the district were destroyed?—I think there were a few left which we could not find; but practically the whole are destroyed: that was our object.

3992. At the time that you left the district about ten days ago, were the people beginning to return to their towns, and rebuild their houses?—I do not think so: it is impossible to build during the rains.

3993. You speak about a pretty wide country outside the actual scope of hostilities where the war-boys had roamed about, seizing the rice and so on: can you say on what supplies the people in those districts are now depending?—I should not think that these war-boys had absolutely denuded the country; but they have made food very scanty.

3994. But, then, although they have not absolutely denuded the country, the people must be very much pinched?—I have heard that they have to live on cassada, fufu, and guinea-corn.

3995. During the military operations was there much looting by the carriers and followers?—What was looted was burned. We endeavoured to discover every rice store and burn it. Of course there was a certain amount of organised looting for supplies.

3996. Then I take it that practically all the food-supply of that country, which was

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the seat of the war, was destroyed as well as the houses?—No; it was so well hidden. Captain SHARPE.
One day when we had lost our way, we came across a supply of some tons, where we would never have dreamt of looking for it. It was rice in the husk, and of no use to us.

3997. But then all you found was either destroyed or appropriated for use?—Certainly, we left nothing.

3998. So that what you left was merely what you had not found?—Certainly: in the towns in the Kassi country we found very little, so we assumed that it had been removed and hidden.

3999. Has it appeared where the non-fighting inhabitants of that region have taken refuge?—Women and children crossed the Skarcies river and were scattered through the Talla country, and Bai Simara's and Bai Inga's countries.

4000. Taking you back to that occasion when Bokari Bamp was arrested, I think there was a great number of his people in the town at the time: I think you said he came to you accompanied by about 2000 people?—His people and those belonging to the Chiefs who were with him.

4001. Was there any attempt at rescue or resistance?—No: owing to the precautions I took. I waited till high tide and removed the people before I tried them. They did not know about it.

4002. But then from the time that you had these Chiefs at your residence till the time they were sent away in the boat were there none of the people near them at all?—No; except that when they were convicted, I allowed each to see a friend to give him instructions as to the disposal of their property and so on.

4003. There was no threat of rescue while they were detained at your residence?—The people did not know they were detained. They thought they were there by my invitation.

4004. When you sent away the crowd of followers, did the Chiefs co-operate with you in telling the people to go away peaceably?—Yes; at my request.

4005. Where is Inspector Crowther now?—He is stationed at Karene: he is arresting some Chiefs just now.

4006. Can you identify the policeman that you sent with the letter to Bai Bureh at this date?—Yes; as I told you, he was S. Williams.

4007. Is he still at Karene?—I can let you know later.

4008. The first of the allegations by Bokari Bamp do you remember if it was a debt of Sori Bunki's?—No; I do not remember for certain. [The Commissioner is here referring to a report by the District Commissioner, Karene on alleged misconduct of Police. N. A. $\frac{213}{1897}$.]

4009. Was he wearing his medallion?—No.

4010. Were you present on this occasion?—Yes.

4011. You think it was a debt due by Sori Bunki that was then in question?—I think so. I think it was Sori Bunki's case. I know he came in for a debt case: but unless I so stated it in my answer I could not be certain.

4012. In case (2) Alikali of Robat-Kambia, in June 1897, you were not personally present; the explanation with regard to this you got from reports and books?—Yes.

4013. As to case (3) you say that in November 1896, the Headmen and people of one of Alimami Housene's towns were convicted of setting fire to the town of Alimami Koleh; was Alimami Housene present when these people were tried and convicted?—No: he was ordered to bepresent, but he would not come.

4014. Alimami Koleh (4); he complained that he was apprehended for returning slaves to their masters in his district: you state that he was repeatedly sent for and failed to come, so finally you sent some Frontiers to escort him in, was that not a virtual arrest?—There is a difference between an arrest and an order to bring a Chief in. He was not handcuffed.

4015. What is the distinction you make?—It is a little difficult to explain. In an arrest I should have instructed the police to take no denial, to allow of no delay; in short,

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Captain SHARPE. to stand no nonsense, and if they experienced any further difficulty, to bring him by force; and I should send a much stronger force.

4016. That is how you define an arrest; what is an order to bring a Chief in?—I should send a corporal and one man to show there was no force about it; and they would understand that they must make some allowance for native delay, and coax and humour him. My experience is that non-commissioned officers of the Frontier Police are quite able to draw a distinct line between arresting and escorting a Chief.

4017. But then would the success of an order to bring a man in, depend on his voluntarily complying with the order?—Yes: I think so; they would sit down and wait for him, and then he would see that he had got to come; whereas a messenger would give a message and return.

4018. If he would not come, the messenger would go away notwithstanding he had an order to bring him in?—A messenger would not have the order to bring him in.

4019. But I want to get at the distinction between an arrest and an order to bring in?—One of the distinctions is in the number of men employed. There is a difference between a summons and an order to bring a man in.

4020. I asked how the order to bring a man in would be worked out if he would not come?—Unless they were told not to come back without him, they would come back and say, 'He refuses to come.'

4021. In case (5) Sori Kabiuti, June 1897; you were away then?—Yes.

4022. In case (6) Bai Kobblo, he complains of having been dragged out of his room, and other things; he was requested to come and receive his staff of office, and would not come, and Inspector Cave sent some Frontier Police to bring him. Why was he unwilling to receive his staff of office; I suppose it was rather an honour?—It might have been that he was disloyal.

4023. But Government would not have given a staff to a disloyal man?—I mean in his sympathies; again it might have been that he feared arrest. His is not the only case where they have refused to come for their staffs.

4024. The order in that case in which the police were told not to leave without him would be interpreted by them that them might use force if necessary?—I should say that would be the distinction; they would understand that they should only use force if absolutely compelled.

4025. Had you any evidence regarding the way in which he was treated before he was brought to Karene, and before the attempt at rescue, except the statement of the police themselves?—Only what I have submitted there. I had no other testimony. May I add that after that occurred, and before this complaint was made, he met me on the best of terms and mentioned nothing about it; but paid part of the tax.

4026. Then Bai Forki was another who was asked to go to receive his staff of office?—Yes.

4027. There was an interference with him on the way by Ansumani Bali's people, notwithstanding which the police brought him into Port Lokko, after which there was a rescue from the barracks; probably there was a scrimmage in this attempted rescue?—The police tried to get him back after he was rescued. Bai Kobblo is being arrested and Bai Forki turned out a noted leader of rebels and fired on us repeatedly.

4028. Then there are four cases, (9), (10), (11), (12), which simply stand in the position that there is no information about them?—Yes.

4029. You surmise with regard to some of these cases that they might have been mixed up with that rescue?—Yes.

4030. At the time that Bai Forki's case occurred you were not present?—No; it was Inspector Cave.

4031. Also in case (13) Ansumani Bali, you were not present; it arose out of the same matter?—Yes.

4032. I may mention that the Port Lokko Chiefs have now paid the balance of their

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tax and have been released. They borrowed the money at ten per cent. per month, and had to give security on property in Freetown. Captain SHARPE.

4033. They must have been very anxious to be released?—I think their release will have a very good effect. They are most particular in asserting their determined loyalty in the future. They say they have never had a sympathetic word from Bai Bureh from the time they came down here, and they look upon themselves as martyrs.

4034. I suppose the tax they paid was their personal share?—No; it is very mixed up in Port Lokko: half was collected by a man who was not popular and was murdered.

4035. I was thinking of that when I assumed they had paid their personal tax; Sori Bunki collected a large portion?—Yes; there was only a small balance, which they have now paid. We were obliged to hold them responsible for it. It would be impossible to collect from individuals.

4036. The Sierra Leonians were bound to pay personally?—The Chief was not bound to pay for them; that was deducted from the total amount for which the Chief was responsible. He will get a rebate of 1s. in the pound.

2nd September 1898.

MORMOR. MORMOR.

4037. My name is Mormor. I was a carpenter at Mafwe with Mr. Allen, who was burnt with his house by the war-boys. When Captain Wallis was at Kambia he sent seven Frontier Police to Semabu, where I was, to look for Katta. They could not find Katta and began to plunder and seize things from the people. Some of the people got sticks and hit the police. The police then began to fire on the people and shot one man dead. His name was Pindayiyi, and he was shot through the chest. A man called Banga was shot through the shoulder but not killed. Battu, the Chief of Semabu, was wounded in the arm by a bayonet. Then the police went back to Captain Wallis at Kambia. Four days after I was at Mafwe and the war came. The war-boys set fire to Mafwe and killed eight Frontier Police there; they also burnt nineteen other towns. The tax caused the war.

3rd September 1898.

KANREH. KANREH.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

4038. My name is Kanreh Ruko. I live at Ro Mabobo, on the Bumpe river.

4039. How long does it take to get here?—Three days by land; one can come by boat too.

4040. Do you know Yan Kuba?—Yes. He is Chief of Mabobo.

4041. Do you remember a young man getting shot?—Yes.

4042. Do you remember seeing his dead body?—Yes, I was present.

4043. What was his name?—Bankam Boyu. He was a Bullom boy.

4044. You were present and saw what happened?—I saw all. I was lying in a hammock.

4045. What time did it happen?—Between eight and nine.

4046. What month?—After Ramadan was finished (after 22nd March).

4047. Tell me exactly what you saw.—I was captain of the boats to Joseph Morrit. I had come in the boat to Mabobo and was lying down in a hammock. Some boys began to run in the town. The police came; when they came I got up and went from the piazza towards Yan Kuba's house, and I met three policemen. There were many behind with the white man. I met the boy Bunkam Boyu coming from a small village into the town: he was carrying a sword in a sheath. He met the three policemen, and they asked him to give up the sword; the boy did not agree and ran away. Some people asked him, 'What is the matter'; he said, 'The police ask me to give up the sword.' The police came up with him again; they were carrying their guns, and they went to take his sword

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KANREH

from him. When they wanted to take it from him, he said 'No.' The headman of the police said, if he did not give up the sword he would shoot him. Two of the police were in front of him to the right and left. The man on one side shot him in the chest, and the man on the other side shot him in the arm. He fell down. They took his sword. When they took his sword I was with them. The man in charge of the police, when he heard the guns, it brought him quickly with all the police. The officer had a revolver and pointed it at Yan Kuba, and said, 'Have you got war here?' Yan Kuba said, 'I have no war.' The officer said, 'Where does this man come from?' Yan Kuba said, 'From a small village.' The officer asked the corporal, 'Why did you shoot this man?' The corporal said, 'He wanted to fight us.' The officer said, 'All right,' and they passed on. I stopped in the town a little time and then went on in my boat.

4048. Was the policeman who killed the young man one of the three who were in front from the bigger lot behind?—He was one of the three.

4049. How many police were there in all, do you think?—I cannot tell how many: more than ten.

4050. Did the police fire at anybody else besides the young man at that place?—Only at that young man.

4051. Did you hear any firing when they passed?—When they passed I did not follow them. At a town called Rofrowna there was no firing. The boat went to Kangama, and there I heard a noise and saw smoke in the town. But they killed nobody there. We passed on to Mafouri: when we got there we met a young man called Lenka: they said he was wounded in the heel. I was not present. His little brother told me about it.

4052. What is his name?—Langbam. He lives at Rokai.

4053. When the police came to Mabobo did the people run away?—They all ran away. Only I and Yan Kuba remained in the town.

4054. Was this before the war began?—A month and a half before.

4055. Do you know what errand the police were on when they came to Mabobo?—Perhaps they came from Kwalu.

4056. Is the young man who was shot in the foot able to travel now?—He can walk a little.

6th September 1898.

MOMODU GITTAI.

MOMODU GITTAI.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4057. My name is Momodu Gittai of Kundoma. Kundoma is one day's walk from Taiama, and about two weeks from Freetown, and is in the Taiama country, part of the Mendis. I was a farmer.

4058. What do you wish to tell me?—We live in the interior of the country. Some time ago we were asked to build barracks at Kwalu: we were all gathered there.

4059. Who is your Chief?—Madam Yoko. While we were building the barracks the District Commissioner said to us: 'As you are now engaged in building these barracks in the country, you will have to cease dealing in slaves.' He also said that after the building of the barracks we should be called upon to pay tax.

4060. Who was the District Commissioner?—Captain Barker. After we had built the barracks we were informed of this, and the Chiefs said that they would first take counsel, and let the District Commissioner know what they decided. After being asked to pay the tax they said they had no money.

4061. Who said that?—The Mendi people.

4062. Was there a meeting of the Chiefs?—The principal men of the country were called together at Kwalu.

4063. Were you present?—No. The principal men who had gone came back and told us.

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4064. Who told you?—Arwa Bengeh: he is here. MOMODU GITTAI.

4065. What else did he tell you?—The chief men questioned the District Commissioner. They said their slaves had been made free men, and the question was how they would be able to earn the money required by the Government. What I saw myself was the gathering of the war-boys of late. I saw them at Kwalu, and the war-party came and attacked us there. They came, and they were scattered by the English troops. I was there.

ARWA BENGEH. ARWA BENEH.

6th September 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4066. My name is Arwa Bengeh, Chief of Bangwama. Bangwama is within earshot of Kwalu, on the bank of the river.

4067. Were you called to a meeting of Chiefs by the District Commissioner?—Yes: Captain Barker called a meeting at the beginning of the planting time, a year before the commencement of the outbreak (March 1897).

4068. Tell me about the meeting.—Madam Yoko sent for all the principal Chiefs when Captain Barker called the meeting. He asked them to start building a barracks.

4069. Which Chiefs came to this meeting?—The Chiefs of the whole country. Forivong of Tiama, Yagbetter of Jama, Bindi and Laibuma of Mano, Soko of Gundama, Kani of Lungi, Momo Grama of Moyamba, Boango of Larwana, Sandimboka of Tanino, Kamanda of Bowia, and several others. Some have been killed in the war.

MADAM YOKO. MADAM YOKO.

6th September 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4070. My name is Madam Yoko. I am Chief of the lower Mendi country.

4071. What is your principal town?—Senahu, in the Bumpe country.

4072. What have you to tell me?—Some time ago I had a letter from the Government: an Ordinance was sent some time ago, and part of it was read to me by my clerk, Samuel Paris. Then I summoned all the other Chiefs, and we met together.

4073. Whom did you summon?—Kongomah of Kwalu, Momo Grama of Moyamba, Sandimboka of Tanino, Boango of Larwana, Yayi of Bunjima, Bindi and Laibuma of Mano, Furivong of Tiama, Kokwaia of Tiama. These are the ones I sent for at the time.

4074. Can you remember any more names?—These are those who were present.

4075. Who were present when the Ordinance was read?—Yes; I sent for the others after.

4076. Who was the District Commissioner then?—At the time there was no District Commissioner.

4077. When was this?—Just after the reaping-time two years ago. (Latter part of October 1896.—S. Paris.)

4078. Who read the Ordinance?—My clerk, Samuel Paris.

4079. Was no officer from the Government there?—There was no Government man at Kwalu.

4080. Will you tell me the principal parts of the Ordinance that you remember as having been read at that time?—They said I must tell my people that the Government requires them to pay tax for their houses, five shillings for each house. That is one part. We were prohibited from pledging our children, and no Chief is allowed to flog his wife in public.

4081. Might he do it in private?—Yes.

4082. Do you mean that that is all that was read, or that you do not remember any more now?—More was read; this is all I remember now. At the meeting I told my people the laws that had been read, and they agreed to them.

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MADAM YOKO.

4083. Do you remember what laws you told your people?—Those that I have just related.

4084. No more?—There was something more.

4085. What was that?—We took counsel together, and they said we shall not refuse the English laws, but they then pointed out to me that their slaves had been taken to Freetown, and that if I should require them to adhere to the Ordinance I should intercede with the Government for them. I advised them to prepare a letter, and said I myself would undertake to write a letter and forward it to the Government. It was after we had that meeting that Captain Barker came up.

4086. Did you write a letter to the Government?—No; I told the people to write first and that I would send a letter with theirs: but they never wrote one, and consequently I never did. I did not write a letter till Captain Barker came. Captain Barker pointed out to us the whole Ordinance.

4087. Was Captain Barker the District Commissioner?—Yes; he was the first District Commissioner.

4088. Did he call a meeting of Chiefs?—Yes; as soon as he went up I gathered the Chiefs to meet him at Manjamo. (Manjamo is an adjoining town to Senahu.)

4089. Then did Captain Barker come to Manjamo?—Yes.

4090. What Chiefs did you call to the meeting?—Those above named.

4091. Did they all come?—Yes; they were all present.

4092. What happened?—The District Commissioner passed on to Kwalu, after he had explained the Ordinance to us.

4093. Do you remember what the District Commissioner explained?—What I have already said.

4094. The hut tax, not to flog women in public, and not to pledge your children?—Yes.

4095. Did Captain Barker explain any more than that?—No; he asked that we should all go with him to Kwalu and then he would tell us.

4096. Did you go with him to Kwalu?—Captain Barker went up with Chief Kongomoh and the rest remained at Senahu.

4097. Did they go to Kwalu afterwards?—When the District Commissioner got to Kwalu he wrote a letter to ask us to go to him: I went, and all the others.

4098. What happened at the meeting at Kwalu?—When we met at Kwalu the District Commissioner asked that houses should be built for offices for the Government. We then built houses and barracks. The District Commissioner thanked those that were engaged in building, and after that he was removed from that district.

4099. What happened next?—After the building of the barracks I received an official letter from Dr. Hood advising us about the payment of the tax. I again collected the Chiefs, the same Chiefs again: two Chiefs were left behind at first, but they were brought this time. They came, and I told them what was the order. The Chiefs took counsel without me, then they came to me and I questioned them: 'How is it you did not call me to your council: am I apart from you? you have set me apart from the country.' They said 'No.' I said, 'Why, then, have you held council in my absence?' They said, 'You are the person who brought the Government to the country; you are the person who is the cause of our slaves being taken away from us; you are the person who has stopped our woman palaver.' I said, 'I am not the person who brought these things.' I asked them about the hut tax. They said if it had been simply for the hut tax they would have been able to pay it, but their wives had been taken away and their slaves had been set free. I said, 'You are not aware that I am myself a subordinate: let us all prepare a joint letter to the Government.' The other Chiefs said I was the person to write the letter, because I had brought the Government to the country. I then prepared a letter and sent it over to Mr. Parkes to tell him that my people were willing to pay the tax.

4100. About what time was that letter written?—I cannot remember; after the Diamond Jubilee celebrations.

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4101. Did Mr. Paris write the letter?—Yes.

4102. Is this the letter (N.A. 351—26/10/97)?—Yes.

4103. And you sent it to the Governor?—Yes; I was greatly troubled by my people, and was obliged to write this letter. After writing this letter, there was a reply sent that I should tell my people that they should bring their children before the District Commissioner: they were also told that the Government would object to their ill-treating their children. I called my people together and told them that. The people said I had been deceiving them, and that I had intended to turn over the whole country to an English country; but they would try to pay the tax, lest the English people should consider them against them: but they refused to bring their children to the District Commissioner, and I said, 'All right.' I told them that since they had agreed to pay the tax they should pay; but if they were to cause an uproar about slavery the Government would hold them responsible. Some of the Chiefs began to pay the tax at once. The Chiefs are very thankful to the Government for having built the barracks in the country. It was simply the fear of the Government that prevented war. They began to pay the tax, and then they went away. I said to the District Commissioner that I was not pleased at the way the people left me, and that he should ask that they should be gathered again. I referred to the Chiefs who had been called to take counsel: they went away abruptly, and when summoned to another council they would not come. The way they left me was not pleasant. The District Commissioner promised that he would see that they came. After that I was asked by the Government to send some labourers over to Port Lokko. I sent some, and sent word to the other Chiefs to send some. The people said, 'Our labourers will turn into warriors; let them go to Kwalu.' And that was the time the outbreak began.

4104. Have you any more to say?—Nothing but the trouble I have undergone. The ringleader of the outbreak is R. C. B. Caulker of Bumpe: it was this man who tried to give an ill report concerning me which was converted into a war. Before the Ordinance was sent up, R. C. B. Caulker and others had called me five times to take counsel about the government of the country. I said, 'What shall we take counsel about?' They said, 'The English people are doing another thing in this country to what they are doing in their own.' They invited me to the meeting as I was the principal Chief. I said it was all very fine for R. C. B. Caulker, who was a man and could stand everything, but I, being a woman, it was out of place to allow myself to be put in irons. I said, 'How is it you have sent for me?' If he can do anything by himself, let him do it. I was reported to Chief Alfa; and R. C. B. Caulker asked this Alfa to send a messenger to bring me. Alfa sent one man, and R. C. B. Caulker gave a man. These two men came to ask me, and I refused, and said I was not going. There was a large meeting at Rotofunk of the Ribbis and Timinis, but I never went, as I had refused to go. After that the Ordinance was sent up. R. C. B. Caulker sent another man with a message to tell me that I should not answer the Ordinance that was then sent up; that the English were a deceptive (*sic*) people. They told the messenger not to deliver this message in public: they said they would have written a letter to me, but the clerks are Freetown people; and then I called my clerk and asked him to be in the back of the room, and Momo Grama. The messenger said R. C. B. Caulker sends that you should go and take counsel with him; if you would only join him in council the English people would not be in possession of the country, and if you now consent to the Ordinance you will regret it.' I said I simply took the Ordinance for myself and not for others: if R. C. B. Caulker wanted to refuse it, let him refuse it. Since R. C. B. Caulker is one with the people against me, and brought this war against me, I thought it was my business to act loyally to the Government.

4105. Did R. C. B. Caulker say why he was against you?—He said if I accepted this Ordinance that was being sent up, he would go against me. He said that I sold the country to the Government for a large sum of money, and so whatever Ordinance was passed I was quite satisfied. He said even the money that was paid for the tax would be given over to

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MADAM YOKO. me; and so he went on converting the people to his side. My reason for telling you these facts is that the other Chiefs who are now with me might think I had been receiving a certain sum of money from the Government. I am happy to be able to make this statement in their presence. It was their own wicked devices that brought these laws against them.

4106. Do your people complain of the British law having been heavy on them?—Yes.

4107. What law do they most complain about?—Their general expression is about slavery and woman palavers.

4108. Is it the law against buying and selling slaves that you mean?—Yes; when they were in need of money they used to give up one or two of their children.

4109. Do your people think it is a heavy grievance being stopped pawning their children?—Yes.

4110. Do you think so yourself?—It has been the custom.

4111. Do you think it is a serious loss?—Yes; we feel it as a heavy loss.

4112. Do your people ever sell their children outright to be taken away?—No; never now.

4113. How long since they ceased?—A very long time ago. They simply pawn their children amongst themselves.

4114. They do not want to sell them to the French country?—No.

4115. Do they ever buy from the French country?—I have never seen it.

4116. How many houses does a man who is well off have?—There are some with two houses, some with three; I have a good many houses.

4117. Has he houses for himself, his wives, his children, his strangers, and his servants?—Yes; women and children have their own houses. If any one is sick there is a house for him.

4118. So a big man has six or eight houses?—There are some Chiefs who keep a whole town.

4119. How do the country people build their houses?—They build one spacious open hall.

4120. Round or square?—Most people make round houses, others square houses with rooms like the Sierra Leonians.

4121. The ordinary house you make with posts cut in the bush?—Yes.

4122. And fill in the sides with cross pieces and clay?—Yes.

4123. You make a roof of grass or palm leaves?—Yes; grass and bamboo leaves.

4124. How much money does it cost to build a house?—I have never been accustomed to seeing them buying and selling houses.

4125. How much do you pay the labourer?—Some will give five or seven pieces of cloth according to the size of the house.

4126. Do they put doors and windows?—Yes; there are sawyers and carpenters who make them roughly.

4127. Glass windows?—I have not seen anybody able to afford it. I have carried it up to my place, but I have not seen others.

4128. Do you think the people of your country are a rich people?—They had money before, but just now I do not think they are rich.

4129. You mean the war has spoilt things?—Yes; war from time to time.

4130. That is war with each other to catch slaves?—Yes; the Chiefs formerly used to keep a good deal of money.

4131. Before these troubles did the people in your country have plenty of money to pay the hut tax?—My own people have paid everything; it is not a rich country.

4132. There was plenty of money to pay this year, and next year, and so on?—After this war there is no money.

4133. If there had been no war how would it have been?—The other Chiefs who are here now may be able to give better reasons. The country has not kola, or rubber or hides; we simply deal in rice.

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4134. Are there palm trees in your country?—Yes; by the rivers and near where MADAM YOKO. I live.

4135. Plenty of kernels?—Yes; by the rivers there are a good many oil-nut palms, not cocoanuts.

4136. There is one matter of a certain affair at Bumpe. There are three towns, Wobange, Mokelle, and Taninahu: these three places have been used as places of refuge, where the war-boys go to take refuge. This is in the mind of my people that the wicked warriors are taking refuge in these towns. A lot of their children and property have been taken there. The troops from Kwalu, and Bandajuma, did not reach there. I am troubled lest these parts of the country should not remain quiet. They will spoil the towns all round. They generally have done that in the past: they collect in these three places, and spoil the country from there.

4137. What people are they?—Banta people. Beango is Chief of Taninahu, Balu is one of them, and Bullun is another. These are the people who go about asking people to join the war, and whoever refuses is in danger of his life. Formerly one town warred with another. This is a peculiar war, it is brought by envy. When they see another man's property they envy it, and kill the man to take his goods. If they owe some man anything they simply take the opportunity to kill that man and get rid of the debt. This is the kind of war it is. All the evils that have come about of late have come from these places.

4138. How many people are there in them?—The whole of the Banta people, just between the Mendi people, and the Bumpe people. There are some Europeans gone up in search of gold, and the people believe that there is gold about there, and that this gold has been found by strangers, and they have no share.

7th September 1898.

4139. Had you any warning of the war coming?—As I said yesterday, the people said that I had brought the Government to the country, and the new law, and they should prepare war on that account.

4140. Was there no more particular intimation?—After that I never heard any more about the war till Nancy Tucker was driven from Sembehun to Kwalu.

4141. When the war-boys came for Nancy Tucker was it the same occasion as the big rising from Bumpe, or was it another rising?—It was the single war from Bumpe, but they afterwards divided, and one part came to Nancy Tucker, and the other to my country.

4142. Was it the same time they killed the missionaries at Rotofunk?—It was the same war. The very war that went to Nancy Tucker, went on to Pittifu, Mosanisi, and gathered to go on to Rotofunk: at Kambia they gathered a lot.

4143. Do you know anything about a rising that took place in the Kwaia country somewhat earlier?—I heard first about a rising at Bekeleko, some time before the other war; they were the first people who commenced the rising.

4144. Do you remember when that was?—About December, I think, they began it long before they took to arms in my country; they did it very quietly so that people never knew.

4145. What was the meaning of that war in the Kwaia country?—I have not been there, but some of those people brought the war over to my country.

4146. Have you never heard any explanation of it?—No: only Makole, Yayiama, Kwalu, Bangama, and Moyamba, did not take arms against the Government. My very children, even those that would be anxious to have part of my property, joined the war so that I might be killed. Not only Sierra Leonians were killed, even the country people were themselves killed. I gave three of my boys as labourers to go with Captain Warren to Panguma, these boys were caught on their way back and killed, because they said they were my labourers. They complained that my children took an active part in leading the Government to the country, all those who are caught are killed, even the girl with me now was

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MADAM YOKO.

taken to Jama, and she would have been killed if she had not been rescued. It was the Susus, Fullas, and Mandingoes that assisted the natives, but I do not know their reasons.

4147. Was the Kwaia war altogether before the Bumpe?—Since the English troops went up and put an end to the fighting they have remained quiet, but I cannot speak for the future.

4148. Is Nancy Tucker your own sister?—Not my real sister.

4149. But she is not a Chief the same as you, you are of the proper family?—Yes.

4150. But Nancy Tucker was not of the proper family?—Nancy Tucker is a woman always attentive to take orders from the Government.

4151. The Government made Nancy Tucker Chief?—Yes; the owners of the land were willing. After she took active part in the Government these very people were dissatisfied.

The Commissioner asked SAMUEL PARIS, Madam Yoko's clerk.

4152. Could you tell me any more about the war in Kwaia?—It was Pangombo and Chief Smart's people. I thought you were talking of the Port Lokko war, I do not know anything about the Kwaia war. I think it was in March.

4153. What was your occupation before you went to be clerk to Madam Yoko?—Shoemaker.

4154. What made you leave that business?—I have heart disease.

NANCY TUCKER.

NANCY TUCKER.

6th September 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4155. My name is Nancy Tucker, I am Chief of the Bagru country, my principal town is Sembehun on the Bagru river.

4156. What can you tell me?—We had been in Bagru when Captain Barker went to Kwalu, and an official letter was sent over to me, telling me that we should be asked to pay hut tax after a year. I called the people and told them. They said, 'When it comes to the time when we have to pay, we will tell you if we are prepared to.' Captain Barker left, and Mr. Hudson came as District Commissioner. He also sent a letter advising me that he was coming, and there was only six months before the time to pay the tax. I called a meeting and asked my clerk to read the letter in the Barri to the people. They said 'Very well, when the time comes we shall speak.' They did not refuse to pay at the time Captain Moore came over and asked me to send for my people. They all came, and were seated. I explained to my people what Captain Moore said. They said 'We have heard, but we shall have to take counsel.' I asked them to do as they wished. They asked me to be in their midst. They said 'You are our Chief, but the Government tells us to pay tax: we have not refused, but we are black people, and our ancestors have not been doing business in copper and coin: our simple money is our slaves: they have stopped our buying slaves, and pawning children: our slaves have taken freedom, the Government wants us to prepare roads: those that had slaves before to clean the roads are now left empty, and the old people are obliged to do it now: if they are unable to do so they are badly treated, our labourers have gone into the country to work for the Government, they have taken our wives, and you now meet your slaves in the street, and they abuse you.' They advised me to go to the District Commissioner, and tell him that they would not refuse to pay the tax, even 10s. a house, if only their slaves were returned to them.

4157. To buy and sell?—No; when these slaves have gone to take freedom from Government, let them return to their owners. They have stopped buying and selling before; we were pleased with that law, for it is not necessary to sell a faithful slave elsewhere; but now they go when they like to Freetown. They asked me to speak for them to Captain Moore, and I said I could not do so I said that as we were gathered together

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they must show their intention to Captain Moore, but as they had called me to the council I would not say anything of that sort. I advised them to go to Captain Moore and say distinctly what they had to say, and I would support what they had to say if it was necessary. They all went to meet Captain Moore but said nothing of what they had said in council. Captain Moore asked me, 'What did your people say about the hut tax?' I said, 'In a week's time we shall be able to pay it to you.' While Captain Moore was there some of them began to give payment for their house that very morning. After Captain Moore had gone away they still continued paying their tax and I sent the money over to Kwalu. The doctor at Kwalu sent a letter to me to tell my people that all those who held slaves must take over their slaves to the District Commissioner at Kwalu. I called them together and said, 'In such a large quantity, how is it possible to take them all over to the English?'

4158. What was the object of taking the slaves to the English?—Because they had been grumbling that all their slaves had gone to take freedom. Those in Bagru were going down to Bonthe. They were to take their slaves to be registered at Kwalu so that wherever they went in future they should be easily found. The natives thought the English were going to take their slaves from them.

4159. Did the District Commissioner tell you you were to bring your slaves to be registered, or did he say, 'Let those who are going to work in the Congo be registered'?—I did not allude to those who were going to the Congo.

4160. Are you sure that the District Commissioner said all were to come to be registered?—A letter was sent to that effect by the doctor who was at Kwalu. I kept the letter, but it has been burnt in the war.

4161. Were your things burnt in the war?—Just a few things I was able to take with me: the war-boys took what they could and the rest they burnt. After that the District Commissioner sent over to say that we should send labourers if we could spare them. I collected the people and told them and they agreed. Then they went away and there was not one to be found. After that meeting they hid themselves in the bush and there were none to be seen about the town. It was not until that morning when a man ran and told me the war-boys were coming and had already killed a Sierra Leonian, and were coming to kill me. I asked the policeman to take me up to Kwalu. It was after I left that the war-boys came and burnt the town.

4162. Can you tell me anything as to what people it was made the war on you?—Yes; Banna of Bauta, Baboum of Banke, Beah Boka of Mokdobo, Manu of Mokassi, Tenibaiifa of Mokassi, were those that collected the people and were the principal men who brought the war against my town.

4163. What time was it that the war came to your country?—About the end of April.

4164. You were gone to Kwalu by this time? Just about the time the war began the man managed to give me information. The serjeant in charge gave me two policemen to take me to Kwalu. Every town we came to the people threatened to take me, but did not dare to because of the policemen.

4165. Did you see the war-boys?—We travelled that morning till we got to Kobotoma where there were Europeans in search of precious stones. There were three of them. It was these three who helped to protect me that night. The natives of that town had put on their war-dresses, and just about daybreak I heard the sound of horns. A party were coming to overtake me on the road but never reached me. We got where these Europeans were. One of the Europeans was killed and another was wounded, but he got safe to Kwalu.

4166. Did you get safe to Kwalu?—Yes: I got first to Manjama, my sister's place. I slept there that night and was protected by Madam Yoko's men. In the morning the war-boys got to Pettifu.

4167. Did you see them?—We heard them. I got to another town and passed on. We got to Momo Grama's place at night. He gave us a place to sleep. I could not sleep

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NANCY TUCKER. and ordered my children to follow me at once. Just then the war-boys got to the next town. Momo Grama fled into the bush. About daybreak we got to Kwalu, and as soon as we got to the barracks there was a noise in the old town and the war-boys came to attack the barracks.

4168. Did you see them?—Yes: we watched the fighting.

4169. Were there a great many war-boys?—Yes.

4170. How were they armed?—Swords, guns, and pieces of stick.

4171. Were there many guns among them?—Plenty of guns and swords too. The Morri men (Arabic Susu) came along with them.

4172. What country people were the war-boys chiefly?—The whole country including Mendis, Timinis, Sherbros, Krim and Gallinas took part in the war.

4173. Those who had paid the tax as well as those who had not?—Even some of these who had paid.

4174. Why did those join who had already paid?—Whoever is not a well-to-do man and has not enough money would join the war simply for plunder. Some would join because they had been owing money to the party on the side of the Government.

4175. Who was the party on the side of the Government?—The old man at a town called Taiama: they tried to kill him: he was one on the side of the Government: the others were against the Government.

4176. Were there Sierra Leonian people living in your country or not?—Plenty.

4177. Did they join the war-boys?—No; they were most of them killed by the Mendis, and those that were saved took refuge in Bonthe.

4178. Why did they kill the Sierra Leone people?—I have not heard the reason. Since the commencement of the outbreak I have never been permitted to go to my own place.

4179. Do you know anything about those three towns Madam Yoko mentioned which contained the war people?—Those three places are the headquarters of the war-boys, and every war that is brought about originates in those towns. The war-boys that came to my town came from these places. They got first to the French factory and plundered it and killed the agent.

4180. You are speaking from report, of course?—My brother, Albert Tucker, who saw it, told me: he was caught to be killed and is now in town.

4181. You said your people used to complain about the Frontier Police?—They never complained concerning the Frontier Police. The policemen that were there never gave that trouble.

4182. You never heard any of these complaints?—I used to hear, but they had not done it in my town.

4183. You have heard complaints?—The former civil police who were at Kangama, a short way from my place. The wives of the Chiefs would go to the policemen and tell them that they were slaves. They were immediately sent to Freetown by the police: that displeased the people a great deal, and they complained. These civil policemen have now been removed, and Frontier Police are there.

4184. There were never complaints against the Frontier Police?—I never heard any.

KONGOMO.

KONGOMO.

6th September 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4185. My name is Kongomo, Chief of Kwalu, Sub-Chief under Madam Yoko.

4186. Do you know about these three towns where the war-boys live?—Yes.

4187. What can you tell me about them?—The people of these towns are the people who incited the Mendis generally to make war.

4188. Do you mean recently or in olden times?—In olden times.

4189. This does not apply to the recent war?—Even now in this recent war.

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4190. Are you intimately acquainted with these people and these towns?—I went to KONGOMO. Taninahu long ago.

4191. Have you any real knowledge of these people or places?—The former people whom I knew are all dead.

4192. Do you know anything as to what actually goes on at these towns, or is it mere vague talk?—It is a report.

4193. Could you tell me what a District Commissioner would find at these towns supposing he were to go to them?—I do not know what they will find there now. These are the towns where the war is generally gathered. All the people who took part in the war are there.

4194. They must be big towns?—Yes.

4195. When Colonel Cunningham went down there with the soldiers, did any one tell him about these towns?—I pointed them out to Captain Fairtlough.

4196. Did Captain Fairtlough go there?—No.

4197. Why not?—I do not know.

4198. What else have you to tell me? It is about the outbreak; this war that people brought against us. The people were grieved concerning their wives and their being prohibited from slave dealing and pawning their children; it was not for the payment of the hut tax.

4199. You rather liked the hut tax?—Yes.

4200. How much did you pay yourself?—Twenty pounds for the town.

4201. But for your own houses personally?—For six houses, thirty shillings.

4202. Furi Vong of Taiama said that Madam Yoko had got all the principal Chiefs under her: they used to have their big meetings at Taiama, but this time they met at Kwalu: this is what Chief Furi Vong was annoyed about. He said, 'I have become an instrument of Madam Yoko. The respect that is due to us as Chiefs of the country has been taken away from us and given to policemen.' For this reason they tried to make up a war to scatter the foreigners.

4203. Was that at a secret meeting of the Chiefs?—At every meeting that expression was used. Kamanda of Baya generally makes use of that expression, consequently they decided to make a war.

4204. Then I understand that the Chiefs complained about the policemen?—The Frontier Police are taking our wives, and having taken our wives they set a snare in case the owners are questioned, and watch very closely whenever they do anything contrary to the law. Some of the women slaves have been advised by the Frontier Police to leave their masters. The Police use some of the slaves as labourers, and when they are asked to give them back they refuse. The old people have to clean the roads.

4205. Are you speaking of what has happened recently?—Yes.

(MADAM YOKO remarked that it was the slaves who desired to follow the Police, and that the Police did not take them.)

4206. Was it the people who made the war who you knew to be grumbling in this way?—Yes.

4207. Can you explain how it was that the war broke out over such a large portion of the country at the same time?—No.

MOMO GRAMA.

MOMO GRAMA.

6th September 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4208. My name is Momo Grama, Chief of Moyamba. I have always been in company with Madam Yoko. If she had done anything evil in the country I have taken my oath upon it: we go together, and all she has done has been in my presence, and I know what others are doing against her. You ask what brought the war: I speak for Madam Yoko's land. Since the Government went into the country the people commonly under-

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MOMO GRAMA. stood that it was Madam Yoko who brought the Government to the country, and was receiving large sums of money from the Government. I have always been present in councils held while Madam Yoko was away. They said they would pay the tax, but the treatment they are receiving as regards their wives grieved them. We were willing not to deal in slaves, but we are not allowed to use our slaves in our own country: our wives have been taken by the Frontier Police and brought to Freetown, and many of them have stayed there: and the labourer boys that return to the country would take their masters' wives; the very slaves who had gone as labourers under the policemen; and whenever we wished to oppose that the policemen used to stand against us. Our very wives would go out into the street and give us abusive words, so as to incite us to do things which would bring us into the hands of the police. We were willing to pay the tax, but our children having gone away to Freetown we have to clean the roads ourselves. It is a hard thing, but after paying the tax we would ask Madam Yoko to speak on our behalf to the Government. I used to be a member of that council, and though I took no part in the war, I was against the treatment of the officers.

4209. What council are you speaking of?—The Chiefs generally assembled in houses.

4210. Were you speaking of any particular assembly just now when you said you were willing to pay the tax but complain about the police?—At Majom; about the time of the building of the barracks (1896).

4211. The Chiefs at that meeting were willing to pay the tax, but wanted Government to give them more power over their slaves?—Yes.

4212. Did the war-boys come to make war on your country?—My town was attacked.

4213. Did the war-boys blame you for paying the tax?—Yes. The general idea was that the tax was collected for the support of Madam Yoko.

4214. What was the objection to that?—That I and Madam Yoko had jointly consented to pay the tax.

4215. Have these war-boys any chiefs or leaders?—The principal warriors had all been arrested at Kwalu.

4216. But when they came to attack your town?—I cannot say.

GUWA.

GUWA.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4217. My name is Guwa of Kwalu. About the war: it was the hut tax that brought it. Nyagua, Chief of Panguma, took part in this war. The Frontier Police have spoilt the country: the fault is not so much with the police as with our children. Our children used to catch our fowls and goats and give them to the police: we are always afraid to offend the police. The police would take our wives, and in return, perhaps, give us a piece of tobacco. That is what has brought the war. They would take a man's wife in the absence of Madam Yoko, and the Chiefs have it among them commonly that it is Madam Yoko who has spoiled the country. The war is such that whatever town the war-boys come to there is no one to refuse. Whatever town the war-boys came to, as soon as they told them the reason of the war, that it was because the policemen had been ill-treating the country, they were quite ready to join the war-boys. This is the chief reason of the outbreak.

4218. Do not the people complain to the officers?—They are afraid to do so: and they would not go before Madam Yoko as she is supposed to have brought the Frontier Police into the country.

4219. When you say that the Chiefs and the people are willing to pay the tax, do you mean in Madam Yoko's country only, or everywhere?—In Madam Yoko's country.

4220. But still the people in Madam Yoko's country were willing to join the war-boys on account of the misbehaviour of the policemen?—Yes: our children were all able to start the war on account of the treatment of the policemen.

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BIRIWA.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4221. My name is Biriwa: my father was the late Chief of Taiama. I will say what I have seen. Madam Yoko is the Paramount Chief: I look on her as a mother, and she is also a native of Taiama. She received her chiefship from the British Government and she has not to deviate from it. Kamanda and his people brought clash in the country: they had been trained near the English: they own themselves publicly to be subordinate to Madam Yoko.

4222. What are the names of these people?—Kamanda, R. C. B. Caulker of Bumpe are the two I can remember.

4223. Are there more besides?—Bundu of Panguma and Momor Dowa of Panguma. This Bundu has a war even now at Panguma and Makaia. These were the very people who had been brought over and allowed to go back into the country again: they have brought the war about. A man who is caught for an offence and is allowed to return to the same spot will do worse. He is a man who has seven towns. The spot where the war commenced is still untouched; and if these places are seen after, those also who have suffered in the recent outbreak will be satisfied. They say Madam Yoko is the only woman who is deriving benefit from the country, and that a portion of money is measured in baskets and given to her; that upset the other Chiefs. They refused to clean the roads because they say the woman is receiving the money for it: that is the reason why the people of each town the war-boys go to join the war. There is no Head Chief of the war. The war-boys go to a town and ask each man, 'If you have had no ill-treatment at the hands of the Government you shall not join the war.' They have all been ill-treated, so they all join.

4224. If I understand you right, the cause of the war is that the people think that Madam Yoko is getting too much money from the Government?—Yes.

4225. Is that the reason that brings the war into Madam Yoko's country, or over the whole country?—I only know about Madam Yoko's part of the country.

4226. You mean that is why the people in Madam Yoko's country joined the war?—Yes. I do not know about the war elsewhere.

JAMES COLE.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4227. My name is James Cole, Chief of Banooma. I am Sub-Chief to Madam Yoko and always go to the meetings. R. C. B. Caulker and Kamanda called me to them at Mosenisi last year. We had a meeting, and R. C. B. Caulker offered to give Madam Yoko's place, Senahu, to Kamanda. Caulker said, 'Before we pay tax we must have Madam Yoko up to Taiama. Caulker asked me if I would drive Madam Yoko from Senahu and give it to Kamanda. I said I would not join. He asked me to give him a writing to say I would do this before he paid the tax: I refused to give him the writing. After that they all went to Kwalu.

4228. Did you go?—Yes; after then I drew a bargain for a gold-mine on my land.

4229. With some Frenchman?—I do not know.

4230. Anything more?—I reported Saidu (a Chief) for slave dealing about three months ago.

I paid my tax at Kwalu: then they sent the war: R. C. B. Caulker, Banna Saidu. Boker and Buango had all made a bargain to fight in my absence, while I had gone to Kwalu to pay the tax.

4231. Is it true that the people in Madam Yoko's country who joined the war did so because they thought Madam Yoko was getting too much money?—Yes.

4232. Did these war-boys of Madam Yoko's country go away and make war in other

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JAMES COLE. places, or only in Madam Yoko's country?—They sent over to Chief Berri and other Chiefs to meet them to make war in Madam Yoko's country.

4233. Why did these people from outside come to make war in Madam Yoko's country?—They were paid for it: they sent money over and 'bought the war.'

4234. But then these people made war not only in Madam Yoko's country but all round: why did they do this?—I do not know.

SAISAI and WIFE.

SAISAI AND WIFE.

(Morrison interpreting.)

4235. My name is Saisai Lenga.

4236. Do you know a man called Yomra?—Yes: he is at Kwaia: he is a farmer.

4237. You used to live at Madonkia?—Yes.

4238. Did you know a man called Mormoh?—No.

4239. Do you remember one day in the morning some months ago when a man was hit by a bullet and there were some policemen passing on the road?—What road?

4240. Near Madonkia?—Yes.

4241. You were near him at the time?—I was not near by.

4242. Do you know the name of the man who was hit by the bullet?—I was the man.

4243. Tell me what happened.—The Frontier Police were going from Kwaia to Kwalu. They met me lying in front of my house: my back was turned to the wall: it is a farm house near the road. I was lying down taking rest. I never knew when they came: I simply was conscious of being shot in the ear and nose. When I was shot I got up to run, but turning I saw the policemen, and I said, 'You are my people: I am not a man of Kwaia: I am a British subject: you have shot me.' As I said that they fired at me again: the second shot missed me. I thought if I remained there to say any more I should be killed, so I ran into the bush.

4244. Was any one else there?—My wife and the little child.

4245. Where did this happen?—In a farm near Madonkia.

4246. You have palm wine on your farm?—Yes.

4247. Did you see the policemen?—I had not sufficient courage to notice the man who hit me.

4248. About how many police were there?—Plenty.

4249. More than twenty?—Yes.

4250. More than thirty?—I believe there were as many as forty.

4251. Did you see any white officers?—I saw none.

4252. Were you taken to the hospital?—Yes; at Freetown: that very day I was brought to Waterloo and taken to the hospital.

4253. If Yomra says he was beside you when you were shot would he be telling a falsehood?—I never saw him: he might have been hidden in the bush.*

4254. Did your wife see it?—My wife was there.

SAISAI'S WIFE.

SAISAI'S WIFE.

4255. My name is Damah. I live at Madonkia.

4256. Tell me about your husband getting shot.—I was standing behind the shed with my daughter: my husband was just in front of the shed.

4257. Was he lying down?—Yes; he had brought a low seat and lay down and rested, and his head on the back of it. As we were there, my little daughter said to me that she saw some people coming. As soon as my little girl gave the alarm my husband stood up and a gun was fired at him. We came out of the shed and ran together with my husband.

* Saisai's memory appears to have been affected by this wound in the head. *See* Yomrah, 6583.

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4258. Did you see any one on the road?—No; I was on the other side of the shed. SAISAI'S WIFE.

4259. Did you not look round when the shot was fired?—I did not look at all. I simply heard my husband say that he was shot.

4260. Was it tall bush?—Just low bush.

4261. Was it high enough to hide men walking along the road?—Yes.

4262. What became of your husband afterwards?—My husband ran from the spot to the bush: then a man went to the bush (Beah Lopi was his name) and took my husband and brought him to the town. I kept hidden in the bush: when I came out and heard crying, and some of my friends told me my husband was shot.

4263. When you heard the gun and your husband called out that he was shot, did you not run to see what was the matter with him at once?—I was so much afraid that I was not even able to go to see: I simply ran into the bush.

4264. Your husband was taken to the hospital at Waterloo?—Yes; he was first taken to the hospital at Waterloo and then to Freetown.

4265. (SAISAI) Did the bullet pass right through?—From the lobe of the ear through the face and out at the right nostril.

4266. Does the inside of the mouth hurt?—Yes; it is painful even now.

4267. Did you find the shot?—No.

4268. Do you remember there being an iron bucket in the house?—Yes.

4269. Did the bullet strike the bucket?—Yes.

4270. Was the bullet not produced in the hospital at Waterloo?—No; the manager went to the spot where I was shot and took the bucket to Waterloo, but not the bullet.

8th September 1898.

NANCY CAMPBELL.

NANCY CAMPBELL.

4271. My name is Nancy Campbell. I was a trader at Bagru. I was at a place called Mokamatefu with a child, when the war-boys came and caught me and wanted to kill me, because I was a creole. A young man called Lamina hid me, so they caught him and wanted to kill him, but his own people paid for him, and they did not kill him. I was in the bush for three days: after that I went to Chief Mawa: he said he would not kill me: he sent me to Vangawa, who kept me for three months at Bumbakalle. After three months the commandant at Mafwe sent for me: then I came over to Waterloo.

MR. JOHNSON.

Mr. JOHNSON.

4272. My name is Samuel William Johnson: I am a trader on the Upper Bumpe river at Mongray, behind Rotofunk. My place is by the broad Government road, and many people are always passing, and generally stop at my house, and I talked with them.

4273. What did they say?—The country-people were grumbling: they say they have to knock off woman palaver, and slavery, and swearing,* and vow they must pay the tax: they fear it will be too strong for them They said the constables oppressed them too much. They come in tired from their work, and the constables make them carry their loads, sometimes for ten miles, without letting them rest. They threatened my wife once for saying that one of the boys had only just finished some work.

4274. Did you understand that policemen were authorised by law to catch people in that way?—I do not know: I thought so.

4275. How did you come to believe that they were authorised?—When they came together in a group, and sometimes even the District Commissioner himself with them, they took these men from the town.

4276. If he took these people for carriers, did he not take them with their own consent?—No: when they heard the police were coming, the whole people ran away: they stood up and declared before me that they did not fear the police, but feared their compelling them to carry their loads. This has been done over and over again in my presence.

* Swearing on medicine and witchcraft.

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Mr. Tucker.

Mr. Tucker.

4277. My name is Albert William Tucker. I was a carpenter at Sambehun, my sister's place (Nancy Tucker's). As I was coming back from one of the towns I was caught by the war-boys, and they were going to kill me. They then told me I must join the war, and I said 'Yes,' I would. We came to a Sierra Leone man's place, and they caught and tied him and killed him. While they were plundering his shop I got away, and went to my sister's place, and told her the war was coming. I was with the war-boys for four hours.

4278. What people were they?—People from Bamballiaso and Taninahu.

4279. What time was this?—28th April.

4280. Did they say why they brought the war?—They told me that the Government took their country, and prevented their having slaves, and woman palaver, and then they say they must pay for their small houses; they would not agree, as Bai Bureh was fighting and the Government took them to be carriers, to go to Bai Bureh's war. They would not agree, so they made the war. I asked if that was all that caused the war, and they said 'Yes, and we will go and kill your sister and all Sierra Leonians; will you come?' I said 'Yes;' then I got away and warned my sister, who was taken to Kwalu by two Frontier Police.

4281. Were you taken to Kwalu?—Yes; and I got away off to Bonthe and then here, and made a statement to the Governor; I accompanied Colonel Woodgate's expedition.

4282. Before the war-boys came to Sembehun, did you hear any rumours?—No.

4283. Do you know where the war-boys came from?—Bamballiaso and all the villages and towns surrounding us.

4284. Had you paid your tax at that time?—Yes.

4285. Did they say they killed Sierra Leone people?—Because they say if they have to take anything to Government, it always listens to the Sierra Leonian: and there shall be no more Sierra Leonians, as they have need of their land.

Porroh.

Porroh.

9th September 1898.

(Hunningston Williams interpreting.)

4286. My name is Porroh. I live at Furudugu.

4287. Tell me about what happened there?—We only saw war-boys come into the town, and they began to kill the people and burnt the town; the people paid the tax.

4288. Who burnt the town?—Chief Smart, Fula Mansa with the European; the white man from Kwalu.

4289. What was his name?—I do not know.

4290. When did Chief Smart and the others come to the town?—March 1898. On a Wednesday about the middle of the month.

4291. Why did they burn the town?—Because they had not paid their hut tax. I was there and stood up and heard what they said.

4292. What who said?—Chief Smart of Mahera.

4293. Then, at this time that Chief Smart came, had the hut tax for Furudugu not been paid?—It was not paid at that time.

4294. Is Furudugu a big place?—I do not know; there are over a hundred houses.

4295. Good houses with doors and windows?—Yes; and plenty of rooms.

4296. Was the whole place burnt?—It was half burnt at first. After it was burnt they paid the tax, and those people whose houses were burnt went and lodged with the others whose houses were not burnt.

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4297. You say the whole tax for the town was paid upon its being burnt?—Yes; Mr. Davis paid for the whole town. PORROH.

4298. After that the people came and took property?—Yes.

4299. Whose people were they?—People from Mahera. Charles Smart sent them. They said if they met people in the town they must kill them.

4300. What happened then?—After they had burnt the remaining houses they took all the property to Mahera.

4301. Did they say why they took the property?—I do not know the reason.

4302. What became of all the people who lived in the town?—They killed them and we (the women) ran away into the bush.

4303. Was there a fight. Why did they kill the people?—I do not know; they did not fight.

4304. Do you say that the people to whom you paid the tax burnt the town after you had daid that first time?—They burnt the town because they did not pay; then Mr. Davis paid.

4305. Did he pay it to the same people who burnt the town?—Yes.

4306. Did they give any reason?—No.

4307. What language did the people who burnt the town speak?—Timini.

PORT LOKKO CHIEFS.*

PORT LOKKO CHIEFS.

10*th September* 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

4308. I am glad to see you at liberty now. I presume you are returning at once to Port Lokko? I think I told you before that I was not here to support the hut tax, and I was not here to condemn it. I am only here to inquire and to advise the Queen as to what I think best for the country; so that you may have no fear whatever in telling me whatever may be in your mind. I fear that the Kassi country has been very much desolated by the war. Captain Sharpe, whom I have seen, has told me that almost every town is ruined, that food supplies have been burnt and destroyed, and that the women and children have had to take refuge as best they could across the Skarcies river. Is there any step that occurs to you which could be taken to induce people to return to their towns and rebuild their houses and cultivate their farms?—We are very glad to be here. We hear that the towns have been burnt up. Port Lokko is the largest town, of all the others Port Lokko is the head, it is an important town just in the same way as Sierra Leone is a small village belonging to England, Port Lokko is a small town belonging to Sierra Leone. The Government is strongest of all, and they have destroyed the towns. The people ran into the bush: black men are not able to fight for their towns. There are more than 1000 huts in Port Lokko, and this has now been ruined, and the people are now in the bush. We are very glad to get our release and pay our respects to the Governor and to you, and to tell you the step to take how people will come to rebuild the town. We beg and pray to you and the Governor to help us to bring people back to our town. Government have now built barracks at Port Lokko, the country is still in fear, and there is still war; so many towns were destroyed on account of that treacherous man Sori Bunki.

4309. Perhaps you will be able to answer my question better later on? Do you remember Captain Sharpe giving you notice some time before February that he was coming to Port Lokko to collect the tax? About eight or ten days after that he actually came to Port Lokko; during the interval had you any talk on the subject with Bai Forki?—No; we had no talk.

4310. Would it not have been a good time to consult him?—Captain Sharpe simply said, 'Give me people for my load, I will come back for the tax.' When he had been gone a little time he came back and asked for the tax. I said I am going to Bai Forki; I and Bai Forki got the country together.

* Bokari Bamp, Bai Salamansa, Santigi Keareh, Alfa Saidoo, and Ansumani Bali. Bokari Bamp was spokesman.

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PORT LOKKO CHIEFS.

4311. When Captain Sharpe asked you for the tax had you any knowledge of Bai Forki's mind on the subject?—We and Bai Forki had nothing to say. He lay in a place far off, sick with the small-pox. I told Captain Sharpe Bai Forki was not well.

4312. At that time you did not know at all what Bai Forki considered, and before you agreed to the tax you thought it was necessary to know what Bai Forki thought?—Bai Forki is the paramount Chief; we wished to know his mind before we paid the hut tax. Captain Sharpe said, 'No; I will not give you time.' He made me a prisoner at once.

4313. Suppose some one said Bai Forki was in Port Lokko at the time Captain Sharpe was there, would he be speaking the truth?—It was false; Bai Forki had small-pox.

4314. But that first time he passed through, was not Bai Forki at Port Lokko then?—He was at a small village in his own country far from Port Lokko, very bad with small-pox.

4315. I want to ask your opinion calmly and fairly as to what is the ability of the people to pay the tax, not speaking with reference to the present wasted state of the country, but as things were before, and as we hope they will be again?—We consider ourselves to be the Queen's subjects; we have nothing; we only labour under Government; concerning the hut tax, forgive it us, we pray you. The Government is great and able to destroy things; if the hut tax remains the country will be in a ruined state. We have borrowed this money in Freetown, so that we might be released we have to sell our gowns to pay off this money, and still there is the interest. Let the people come home and rebuild the country; we have been in prison a long time; as soon as we got out of prison we began to collect the money; we would not go to Port Lokko before we had seen you. We will tell you that the Frontier Police were given orders to burn our towns; Sori Bunki was murdered by our countrymen. Captain Sharpe left Inspector Crowther in charge of the Frontier Police, they are going to ruin all the villages now; I pray that this may be stopped. Inspector Crowther is now plundering the villages where the property of the late Alkarli is.

4316. What information have you that Inspector Crowther is plundering now?—Sori Bunki was murdered by our countrymen while we were in prison. Captain Sharpe told Mr. Crowther to look after Sori Bunki's property; on account of his property they are looking for the people who murdered him.

4317. Is it true that the Frontier Police are still burning villages up there?—Not burning, only plundering.

4318. I did not know that that was the case; are you sure that your information is correct?—My own boy came down yesterday. The boy then stated that Mr. Crowther and Sori Bunki's brother had gone to a place called Yoshimi with one big gun, and the people had all run away, and were scattered.

4319. I want to ask you this question: suppose all the police were taken away out of the country, and the District Commissioner remained to advise the Chiefs and tell you what was good to do, and tried you for crimes, stealing, murder, etc., would you, the Chiefs, with your own people, be able to carry out the decisions of the District Commissioner?—We should be very pleased.

4320. I am only asking so that I may be informed what would happen if that were done. I am not promising anything?—That is what we want; every one would come back; all the Chiefs would say the same thing. We would protect the District Commissioner. When he ordered us we would obey; what we were able to do we would do it if it were not too heavy.

4321. Would it be too heavy for you to preserve order and carry out the District Commissioner's orders?—We would carry out any orders of the District Commissioner.

4322. How would you be able to do it?—We would tell all our children, 'This is what the white man said,' and they would do it. When we have these Frontier Police in our country, the country is not safe. We hate them. We give them money, they fine us, they punish us unjustly.

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4323. I know there are many things said about the Frontier Police; I am not asking you about that now. I ask you how the country would be if the police were taken away and only the District Commissioner left?—We would protect the white man.

4324. Suppose some big Chief were to do a bad thing, and the District Commissioner were to tell you 'you must catch the big Chief,' would it not be a question of fighting?—We would send to call the big Chief.

4325. Suppose he said he would not come, and called his people together?—All the chiefs would be together; if one big chief were to say he would not come, we should succeed against that one chief. If the big chief said, 'I will not come,' we would go back again and tell the white man. What the white man ordered would be good, and we would carry it out.

4326. Do you understand me: suppose the police were not there, would the country not go back into the old state of chief fighting against chief everywhere?—Every man would give security to carry out any order the District Commissioner gave if the police were removed; we could arrest any chief who disobeyed. Before, there used to be petty wars, but we have understood now; for one white man in our country now would hear no gun. We have given up slave trade altogether; it is the same thing with war, we have given it up. All the native chiefs amongst themselves say, 'No war, no fighting.'

4327. Is there any recommendation you can make to get the people to come back to their towns and cultivate their farms?—It is in the hands of the Government to let the people come back. If any disturbance arose the Government used to send to the Chief of Port Lokko and give him some amount, and he used to go and make peace. He would report to the Government. But now Government has authority over the whole country, and all the places are ruined, and all the people in the bush. It has brought a little peace to their minds that the Queen has sent a Commissioner. The Government takes charge of Port Lokko; all the houses have been ruined; there is no place to sleep.

4328. It is quite true that the country is in the hands of the Government. What I ask is whether you can recommend any general plan by which the country can be made good?—We are very glad. We have come out of prison and are half mad. We are very concerned at these troubles. Let the Government take the soldiers out of the country; then people will come back to Port Lokko; if they take them out of the place all the people will go back. About Sori Bunki's matter, there are certain people who have murdered him; let the Government put that matter in our hands; Sori Bunki was one of us. If the soldiers were out of Port Lokki we would go there. If we go there now we do not know how to look after the people. We have long friendship with the Government, those chiefs who have got in trouble will all come and tell you the same thing.

10th September 1898.

MR. NICOLLS.

4329. My name is Josiah Williamson Nicolls. I am a catechist in connection with the Wesleyan Church.

4330. Where were you stationed?—At Bandajuma on the Big Bum river.

4331. On Monday, 3rd January, this year, Captain Carr, who was District Commissioner, called a meeting with regard to payment of license duties and of the hut tax, which was adjourned; then there was a further meeting on 10th January; you were not present at the beginning of that meeting?—No.

4332. Were there a number of people present?—Yes, many.

4333. You were told something about the arrest of some chiefs?—Mr. Jones told me that four chiefs, Thomas Bongo, Berri, Baha, and Sissi Kokki *alias* Adolphus Dick, were arrested. I know them; I went and saw them myself.

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Mr. NICOLLS.

4334. You went and had conversation with these chiefs?—Yes, at the police barracks.

4335. Were they locked up?—They were detained, but the door was not locked; one entered by permission; there was a sentry at the door.

4336. You had a talk with them, what was the effect of your talk?—I inquired why they were arrested; they told me that Captain Carr had arrested them because they had no money to pay for their houses.

4337. Did you form any estimate of the number of people who were at the meeting?—About 8000 at the second meeting.

4338. What country people were they?—Mendi people.

4339. You know Captain Wallis, what was he?—Inspector of Police.

4340. Something happened with regard to him?—Immediately after he came away he was going to the house where he lodged; the native people would not let him enter; he asked them why they prevented him; they said as the chiefs were detained from going to their houses, the Captains themselves would never get to their houses. Captain Wallis then selected four people to go and ask the chiefs to advise the people to let him get into his house.

4341. Did these four men go to the chiefs?—Yes.

4342. What followed upon that?—Brimgard, the fourth man, came back and called out 'silence,' then the people were silent, and he said 'the chief has sent me to you all,' and that the chief advised the people they must not make any disturbance at all, as they had no money to pay for their houses they should be arrested; they should just wait and see what the English would do; if they killed them they might go and ask for their dead bodies, but they must make no disturbance, and everybody must go to their place quietly.

4343. Then you heard about this time some reports as to the intentions of the Mendi people?—The Tuesday after they were arrested, that the people said, as the Sierra Leonians had paid the hut tax, which means that their country was sold, they would not allow such a thing; rather they would be dead men; that they will have to do some evil because the chiefs were arrested for not having money to pay the hut tax.

4344. At this time Chief Vandi of Kim came?—By Captain Carr's invitation; he met us where we were consulting, and we sent him on to Captain Carr; he was arrested and sent with the other four chiefs.

4345. Then you made a representation to Captain Carr about your situation, and he told you you were quite safe?—Yes.

4346. Was any request made to Captain Carr?—We asked him if he could discharge the prisoners; we believed we should be safe then, but if they were not released we were afraid that our lives would be in danger, from what we had heard the boys say. He said it was absolutely impossible, as these men were arrested by the instruction of the Government.

4347. Are you quite sure that your recollection is accurate 'by the instruction of the Government'?—Yes. I remember speaking about it to Mr. Cole just after.

4348. Then the next day was Wednesday, 12th January, was anything done with these chiefs then?—They were removed from the barracks at Mafwe, and taken under police escort by Captain Wallis.

4349. You did not go with them?—No.

4350. Did you go with them at all?—Yes, for about three-quarters of an hour.

4351. Were any of these chiefs connected with the Wesleyan Church?—Chief Bongo and Baha belonged to the Mafwe church.

4352. You sent some things to the chiefs when at Bandajuma?—Yes.

4353. What caused you to send them?—Chief Bongo complained of the bad diet; biscuits, sugar, and coffee were sent gratis by some people.

4354. Some time after this Bongo returned to his town?—Yes, to Mabongo.

4355. Did you know how he got his release?—He sent previously one of his nephews borrow £10 from Paterson, Zochonis & Co. He asked that it should be charged on his to

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ground rents; he sent £5 for his own town, and £5 for Berri's town. He was released on condition that he would see that the other chief's tax was collected in that district. Mr. Nicolls.

4356. Then Chief Bongo called a meeting?—Yes. I was present.

4357. Who were called to the meeting?—The sub-chiefs and headmen, together with the Sierra Leone people near by.

4358. Then what occurred at that meeting?—He told them about his sufferings in prison at Bandajuma: and how he was released, and he thanked Mr. Cole for borrowing the £12 for him, which was the means of his being released from prison.

4359. Then did the sub-chiefs agree to what he told them?—Yes; although they were not pleased, yet they could not do otherwise.

4360. Then after this Chief Bongo left for Bandajuma; at what time did he leave?—It was an urgent call by letter from Captain Carr, about the end of March.

4361. Then did he find what had been the reason of this urgent call?—Yes; he summoned another meeting on his return on the third day.

4362. What passed?—He said he was summoned to Captain Carr to answer a question if he gave them all instructions that each town was to pay £5; Bongo said it was his own idea as his own town had paid £5, so he told the people.

4363. What did Captain Carr say?—He told him the payment of each town would be according to the number of houses therein: Mabongo was rated at £10, therefore there was £5 still remaining to be paid: and Captain Carr told him to pay it before the end of April.

4364. And then did the Chief explain something to Captain Carr as to the state of the houses?—He explained that some of the houses in Mabongo were not good: most of them were inhabited by sheep and goats: but Captain Carr said he had not anything to do with that: all must be paid for.

4365. To whom was the payment to be made?—To James Cole, agent for Paterson, Zochonis & Co.

4366. After that this meeting dispersed, did they show any feeling?—Great ill feeling was shown by the people, there was great grumbling, and they were not satisfied.

4367. Then on Sunday, 24th April, you went to conduct service at Mafwe?—Yes.

4368. And found rather a large meeting; what people were there?—Sierra Leone traders, chiefs and headmen, Sergeant Nicolls, and a few Frontier Police.

4369. Was the Chief of Mafwe there?—Yes.

4370. The Chief called on two messengers who made their appearance: did you see them?—Yes.

4371. Did you hear what they said?—Yes.

4372. Do you understand Mendi?—Perfectly.

4373. What was the message?—One of them explained that the Chief of Bumpe, on behalf of the people, had sent them to complain about the action of the Frontier Police in one of their villages.

4374. What was the substance of the communication?—A few Frontier Police went to one of the villages to inquire for a man called Katta; the villagers told them there was nobody of that name in the village: then after a long argument between the Frontier Police and the villagers, about three policemen were observed chasing their fowls and goats. The headman asked the reason of this, but the police gave no answer. After a time one fowl was caught and the goats rushed into the bush: so one of the villagers went and caught hold of the fowl which was in the Frontier's hand, and there was a struggle between the Mendi and the policeman: during the struggle another Frontier loaded his rifle and fixed his sword, when to their surprise, the policeman fired at the man struggling with the other policeman: the bullet passed through his breast to the back shoulder of the Mendi man: as the people standing by ran to grip at the Frontier Policeman he wounded another man: but eventually they gripped him and tied him and took him to the big town.

4375. The message was specially to the Sergeant at Mafwe?—Yes; that he should go and see the action of his men: if he went, well: if he did not go, it would not remain on them.

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Mr. NICOLLS.

4376. What did that mean?—It meant they would revenge the evil done.

4377. Then you went to the chapel for service?—Yes; after I left service I went over to my place, and on Monday the 25th, I left my station according to orders, and went to Yele on the Bum river.

4378. Then you reached Yele on the 27th?—At night: and heard a report that war was taking the Small Bum, and that many of the Sierra Leonians were murdered.

4379. Then on the 28th you saw many natives?—Crossing the river in small canoes and coming to the town.

4380. Did you find out what their object was in crossing?—They were crossing over to await our assembly in church and then they would fall upon us: although the town people gave us to understand that they were merely crossing over for protection, for fear of the war in the Small Bum.

4381. Were you close to these war-boys?—Yes.

4382. What countrymen were they?—Mendi people mixed up, and armed with knives, sticks, and cutlasses.

4383. You got away to Bonthe?—Yes.

4384. Anything more?—Except about the explanation given by the messengers who came to the Chief. He asked me a very queer question: he said, 'Master, how is it some Governments come and say, we must not fight, and some other Government come and say, we must fight?' I asked him what he meant. He said, 'The English come and put law upon us that we must pay tax and we have no money: and now these very Frontiers come and catch, and plunder, and shoot men, which shows us that we are to do likewise: the Government are teaching us what to do: but this thing will not remain upon us.' Then I said he must not believe such things, and that Government never taught people to fight.

4385. You were not engaged in trade?—No.

4386. Had you ever been in trade?—Yes; about twenty years ago.

4387. You know something about trade?—I was for years in the firm of Paterson, Zochonis & Co.

4388. You recollect the Protectorate Ordinance was passed toward the latter part of 1896?—Yes.

4389. Could you say whether during the time after the law came into operation, and before these troubles began, the trade in the Big Bum district increased or not?—It was not so brisk after this Ordinance came into operation.

4390. Do you know who stopped the trade?—They say trade stopped just about the time the Ordinance came in: but you cannot get the nations to say that it was stopped by this Chief or that Chief.

4391. Before these troubles did you ever hear Mendi people complain against Sierra Leone people at all?—Never; they have helped the native people in many ways: such as giving them money to pay off their debts.

4392. But when they advanced money to pay debts they claimed big interest?—I do not exactly know: sometimes the natives paid them in produce instead of money.

4393. To your knowledge, Mendi people never complained about Sierra Leone people treating them badly?—Not to my knowledge.

4394. Can you explain in any way the animosity of the Mendi people against the Sierra Leone people?—Immediately after this period, one of the clerks was severely beaten because they said Sierra Leone people had sold their country to the English, and all the more because their chiefs were taken and put in prison. Besides, Captain Carr himself broke off that idea from the people in Bandajuma.

4395. But had any chiefs been imprisoned at that early stage besides those arrested at Mafwe?—Not to my knowledge.

4396. Do you know anything about the Porro?—I used to hear about it: they used to put it on palm trees, so as not to pick the kernels before they were ripe. At times they called it Porro, when they were going to pass a one-word law; they must be unanimous.

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4397. Have you any knowledge about any one-word Porro they made in this case?— Mr. NICOLLS.
No; if it is necessary to state the other grievances, they say, 'Government has put down slavery, and woman palavers, and made them clean the roads and pay hut tax; their wives and slaves were taken by the policemen. As a rule they have wives and slaves to cut down kernels, but now they have been taken away from them who will do it for them.'

4398. You heard of four grievances—slaves, cleaning roads, taking wives by Frontier Police, and hut tax?—Yes.

4399. Which of these was spoken about as the biggest?—Hut tax and Frontier Police troubled them most. I could very well believe that. When I was in Government service, when we met slaves tied up, we used to set them at liberty.

4400. What position did you hold under Government?—I was corporal in charge of an out-station: I left in 1892.

4401. Was your time fully up?—I left because I wished to: we signed for no particular time.

10th September 1898.

CAPTAIN BIRCH, District Commissioner, Falaba.

Captain BIRCH.

(Commissioner produced some answers to written questions.)

4402. These fifty-four answers are all correct to the best of your knowledge?—Yes.

4403. In the court, where you sit alone, are there many cases of crime that you have to deal with?—From November to August I think I had twelve or thirteen cases in my own court.

4404. Both civil and criminal?—Yes; altogether in the court of the District Commissioner.

4405. Do people come to the court of the District Commissioner from any considerable distance, or from Falaba itself?—Generally from near Falaba: there was a trouble between two Chiefs, Bafadia and Loggo. The people of Bafadia persuaded the people of Loggo to desert their town and go there. There was one case of natives raiding the barracks and one murder case.

4406. Was the case between the two Chiefs amicably arranged?—I sent an order for the people to go back; the Chief refused to let them go, and I had to send to arrest him.

4407. What happened then?—I had to sentence him. I had no trouble in my district in fining or anything.

4408. Was he imprisoned in Falaba or sent to Freetown?—At Falaba: the road to Freetown was closed.

4409. What was the term?—Six months.

4410. What was the charge?—Disregarding my orders, which would be likely to lead to a breach of the peace: after that I had no more trouble.

4411. In question (5) your answer is not quite full: you deal with matters of court generally. Suppose some communication of importance came to you from a Chief, would you act upon it at once, or would you refer the matter to the Government first?—It depends on circumstances. Suppose another big Chief was going to take his town, and a loyal Chief came to ask for assistance, I should act on the spot, and report what I had done.

4412. What kind of town is Falaba?—A circular town, enclosed by very large cotton trees, and a deep ditch about 15 feet deep outside. Before the Sofas took it, it was very thickly populated. Two armies were sent against it, and the Falaba people destroyed them; the third time the Sofas made war fences, and sat down round the town. Falaba held out for nine months, and then Samadu took it and massacred the people. The town itself is in a hollow, with hills round it. The whole place is full of bones of Sofas and natives, which are exposed whenever it rains. There are very few of the old Falaba people there now.

4413. How long ago did that war take place?—From seven to twelve years ago, I think.

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Captain BIRCH.

4414. Does it stand on any river?—The Falaba river is half a mile from the town, from the extreme edge of the cotton trees.

4415. Is the town walled?—No; there is a dry ditch.

4416. How does the town get its supply of water?—There is a stream that comes down from about 300 yards beyond the town.

4417. Do the people of the town carry on any industries?—They farm a little and grow rice; very little cloth is made: being so near the French country, they go south and collect kola and take it to the French territory, and exchange it for rubber or cows, which they take down to Freetown to sell.

4418. Have they no cows of their own?—They breed a few now: the number is increasing rapidly. At Bumban the Chief has about 300 head of cattle, and the same at a place called Karena, where the country is all level and grass.

4419. Is there good grazing land in the district?—Not at Falaba itself; it is all hill from Bumban to the French boundary. When you pass the French boundary it is level and good grass land, and the climate is much healthier.

4420. How is the climate at Falaba?—Once you get outside the town, I should say it was healthy.

4421. How is the rain?—I believe they get most of their rain this month (September) and next: it is rather later than the rains here.

4422. Are the roads kept fairly accessible?—Yes; until the trouble started.

4423. The main road?—I had no men to send on patrol, so I cannot say; but I should say it was kept open. They are not kept as well as the French roads. I was above my waist in water most of the time coming down here.

4424. How did you get into so much water?—You are in a valley below Bumban to Port Lokko.

4425. Did you cross many rivers?—I crossed the Mabole twice in canoes, and another river we crossed by a bridge which was three feet under water.

4426. Who makes the bridges?—Natives; each Chief is responsible for a certain portion of the road.

4427. Was this an unusually high flood?—No; in the wet season all the rivers rise fifteen or sixteen feet.

4428. You say there are a great many rubber trees?—Near Neta Kuta.

4429. Is that an extensive district?—No.

4430. Is the soil suitable for rubber?—Yes; I think it would do if you could get white men and labour. The missionaries have planted 6000 vines, not the trees, which are doing very well.

4431. Is the soil in that uninhabitable portion which you allude to favourable for rubber?—I could not say: no one lives there at all; it is a very large area—old bush.

4832. Can you give any idea of its extent?—About 200 to 250 square miles, I should say.

4433. Has there been any prospecting for gold or mining at Neta Kuta?—No; I believe an English company has been trying to get a concession. I understood from the Chiefs that there was gold in a mountain there, but the devil that lived there had given them orders not to remove it: they were sacrificing to this devil the day I was there.

4434. The tribes are Yalunkas, Limbas, Korankos, and a sprinkling of Mandingoes?—Yes.

4435. Have the Mandingoes settled dwelling-places, or are they roaming about?—They have their own little towns.

4436. Are these Mohammedans who are not Mandingoes?—Yes.

4437. Have you any idea of the proportion of Mohammedans?—In Falaba there are only two, but in other towns there are more: natives listen a great deal to Mohammedan priests.

4438. Do the Mohammedan inhabitants, as a rule, read and write Arabic?—There is

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generally one in each town, sometimes more than one; but if there are two, perhaps one will go to a town where there is not one and take up the duties of a priest there.

4439. Among Paramount Chiefs, is there any kind of grouping?—There is grouping amongst many of the Stipend Chiefs, but the Stipend Chiefs are not all Paramount Chiefs. (Witness had given the Commissioner a list of seven Paramount Chiefs.) None of these seven are grouped in any way; they look up to no one. Some might be inclined to side with others in case of fighting; but there is no connection.

4440. There is no kind of subordination even of advice and respect?—No; they each settle their own matters without referring to any one else.

4441. You say that Alimami Simai and Faringi, and Baku Sala and Henabalu, might be allies in case of fighting?—Yes.

4442. Suppose a Paramount Chief were to give an order to a Sub-Chief, has he any means of compelling obedience?—If the order were disobeyed he would send for the Chief and fine him.

4443. You say that native Chiefs frequently communicate with the District Commissioner through the non-commissioned officers in charge of out-stations; how is this communication managed, is it by letter?—He gets the non-commissioned officer to write, or if he happened to be sending a private he might send a message by him.

4444. Can your non-commissioned officers, as a rule, read and write?—Those in charge of out-stations; I can only speak of my own company.

4445. Is the trade in your district mainly one of through traffic, and is there not much trade in the district itself?—I think it is principally from Freetown to French territory. This year, before these troubles, there used to be about two hundred traders a month. When I say traders, one trader might have fifty carriers; the number I gave refers to the loads.

4446. From your answer, there appears to be no slave-trading?—I think there is; but it is impossible to find it out. What I imagine takes place is, that a trader dresses up his slaves in good clothes to pass through a town, and then takes them off again after they have passed through. This is only a surmise. I have never had any official cases before my notice.

4447. Have any complaints by slaves seeking to be released come in to you?—I have had three or four who had run away and had come to me.

4448. From Falaba itself?—From the district; they had travelled through the bush to come to me.

4449. What did they complain of?—The usual complaint was ill treatment.

4450. You cannot say whether fees in the Chief's court are fixed amounts or not?—I think the man who pays the most wins the case.

4451. Have you made any real inquiry into that?—No; I am almost certain that both sides have to pay before the Chief will hear the case; they pay in cloth or kola.

4452. Not having access to your book, you cannot tell me anything about the promulgation of the Protectorate Ordinance in 1896?—No.

4453. Were you not in the district in 1897 when the Ordinance was proclaimed?—I went there in November.

4454. It had already been proclaimed?—I think it had.

4455. Who was your predecessor?—Captain Troughton.

4456. Since you took charge, were there any representations or petitions which reached you respecting the Protectorate Ordinance?—No.

4457. There is no medical officer at Falaba?—Only a dresser; there are two white officers there now; I was there by myself.

4458. Who is the second?—The District Commissioner and Frontier Officer.

4459. Would there be any employment for a doctor among the natives?—The Frontiers and possibly the natives might come to him.

4460. Have you any further remarks to make about the district?—No: people in that

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Captain BIRCH. district are quite different to the other natives, much superior, and better dressed. Having Mohammedans amongst them, the Mohammedan religion encourages cleanliness, and Mohammedans look after their wives better, which has a good effect among the natives; there is less prostitution.

4461. I suppose Mohammedans are less disposed to make their wives do heavy work?—Yes; the Mohammedan generally has four wives and possibly concubines as well. The Mohammedan generally keeps his house clean; and as a rule they are mounted.

4462. Have they good horses?—Fair; they come from French territory.

4463. There is one great advantage in having all different tribes; if any trouble arose one tribe would be only too glad to help the Government against another tribe. They all speak different languages.

4464. How do they build their houses?—They are round; with posts and wattle, or bamboo.

4465. And are the walls filled in with clay?—Yes; some of the houses have a very large verandah.

4466. Thatched roofs?—Palm leaves. Other houses are round with a little room outside. The wives sleep in the big house and the husband in the small room.

4467. Does the man who is well off build more houses than one?—Yes; it depends on the number of his following; he has to build houses for them.

4468. Do they seem generally a well-to-do people?—Yes; and they are increasing in wealth every year.

12th September 1898.

CHIEFS OF THE KARENE DISTRICT.

CHIEFS OF THE KARENE DISTRICT.

PA SUBA of Magbele; BAI SHERBRO of Kaffu Bullom; BAI SAMA of Masama; BAI YINGA; and Representatives of ALIMAMI HANNA MODU.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

4469. I am very glad to see you; you all understand through Mr. Parkes that I do not belong to the Government in any way; but the Queen has sent me here because she has been very vexed and grieved about these troubles, and she wants to be advised as to what would be best to do to abate and prevent such things in the future. I ask you two things, What is the cause of the trouble? and how may the welfare of the country be best promoted?

(PA SUBA was then appointed spokesman.)—We have understood that you were sent by the Queen, and we are satisfied. Our forefathers were good friends with the Government; what we see and what we hear now as to our own country when our forefathers lived, is, if we want to live in this country we must pay hut tax; we have only mud huts covered with grass, if we want to sleep in that hut we must pay for it; we are in fear. Our forefathers did not sell the country to the Government; it was a friendship; what belongs to you belongs to you as a friend. All the chiefs here came to Freetown to beg; we were here seven months, we begged not to pay hut tax; we are poor. All the laws that the Government brings to us we already obey, but this law we cannot carry out. Our Paramount Chiefs sent us to Freetown last year to beg the Government. The Governor said, 'You have to pay it,' we say 'We will go and inform our chiefs.' Some of us have something to pay, the most part have nothing. Those that cannot pay are the people that make the war, for if they do not pay they will have to go to prison; the debt is on our neck now; this is the cause of this trouble. Many laws have been passed to us by the Government and there have been no fights; but we are a poor people. You are in a position to give us something. When you have great authority over us you can do what you like. No Timini man came down to the waterside to make war; we heard guns and asked the cause. They have insulted us.

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4470. Who are the people who you say insult you?—The Governor said you will have to pay it or not. I was present. He said 'Get up, do not sit down to talk.'

4471. That was at the big meeting?—Yes.

4472. When you talk of people being taken to prison for the tax do you allude to the Port Lokko chiefs?—To every chief, whenever they come to ask for pay, they say you must go to prison if you do not pay.

4473. To what are you alluding, for this thing did not happen in your country?—I allude to another country.

4474. What country?—Port Lokko. Theirs is only a small country, they came from Port Lokko to my place; those who go to prison sent to me to say—do not refuse or you will go to prison.

4475. Some one came to you to collect the tax?—Captain Sharpe.

4476. Did he bring policemen with him?—Yes.

4477. What happened?—He sent policemen to inform me he was ready, and that we must get ready to pay; then Captain Sharpe came to me about 5 o'clock; then I got lodgings for him; he shook my hand and asked me, 'are you going to pay? I have come for the hut tax.' I said 'Yes,' only I was compelled to answer; if not I should have got into trouble. What little we could collect we gave him; we are in debt now.

4478. Did you have to borrow the money?—Yes.

4479. Did you pay interest for it?—Yes; if you borrow money from a trader you have to pay interest for it; he would not let you have it without.

4480. Was it from traders you borrowed it?—Yes.

4481. In Freetown?—Not in Freetown.

4482. You borrowed the money and paid all the tax to Captain Sharpe?—The tax is not yet finished.

4483. So far this took place in your own country?—Yes.

4484. Did you hear about anything connected with the collection of the tax that occurred elsewhere?—There are some police here and some police there, and if a little thing happens to you that Government does not like they will send police to arrest you; even if some man carries a report without proper cause they will come to arrest you.

4485. That new law, the new Ordinance, was it well explained to you?—Yes; we were told.

4486. Not the law the Governor told you about, but one later?—We came to ask about that.

4487. Then I understand your answer to the publication of that law was the petition you sent to the Governor in June 1897?—Yes; we wrote a letter begging the Government.

4488. That was the letter Mr. Lawson wrote for you?—Yes; but the Governor said 'No.'

4489. There were a good many other things you objected to besides the hut tax?—Yes; the king of the country however small, if he cannot settle small matters is no longer king: even a man who has nothing to do with the national affairs you take and make him Headman or king; it will bring trouble into the country.

4490. Then I understand you that it vexed you when a man who was not in the line for being king was made king by the Government?—We are vexed, but we have no power.

4491. But then the man who is made king in that way has not got proper power over the country?—No; he has no power over the people; those who belonged to the kingship would say 'No'; but then if Government authority comes to help him we can do nothing.

4492. But if Government authority came to help the wrong man, it is not good for the country?—No; it is not good.

4493-94. Then that provision about Government granting away the waste lands, what do you think of that?—There is no waste land that does not belong to somebody in the world. When you have great power you go and take it for yourself.

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CHIEFS OF THE KARENE DISTRICT.

You asked what step could be taken to bring the country back in the former state. This part of the country is all ruined, Kwaia country, Bumpe country, Mendi country all ruined from Port Lokko; Maforki country, Kassi country all been ruined, not a house left; if you ask me now what step to bring the country into a state of peace: take the war out of the country, the Government who are fighting these men. The Timini people have a mind to rebuild their towns, but war is still in the country. When the Governor invited me to go to Government House, he told me 'I will fill the country with troops,' if that happens there will be still more ruin. If you want to make peace: the Queen sent you out; we are poor people: we pray you not to allow such a thing again as to go through the country with troops. We like every white man, but these black men, who wear the Queen's uniform, are unkind to us, they ill-treat us, they say 'Get up,' and threaten us; we do not fear their bodies, but it is the uniform they wear. If a white man was in the country with a few servants, we should be glad to have them. Wherever we have unsettled minds this is the road for peace. You are a great man whom the Queen has sent, we beg you through Almighty God; most people will die just now through starvation, no land has been cultivated. If they send more war to the country all the little rice will be eaten up; there is so much hunger in the country that they forget that next year will be worse. Now as I touched the question of not being a proper man to be Chief; Government is now sending people to arrest the men who killed him (Sori Bunki), we think this is our own matter, and we ought to look after it; let the Government withdraw the order.

4495. You do not say it was a proper thing to kill Sori Bunki, do you?—I understand it was not a proper thing.

4496. If you or the Port Lokko Chiefs had been left by yourselves to deal with Sori Bunki, and do what you thought proper, you would not have killed him?—We would settle what was just.

4497. What would you consider just?—Our own law is if one man commits a murder we have to kill him; but if many people kill one man they will have to pay a fine, and the Chief will get something out of it.

4498. You do not quite understand my question: what would you have done with Sori Bunki, if you had been left free to deal with him?—We should have dethroned him, and say 'You are not the proper man'; but war and power came to crown him, and who would dare to do it.

4499. Have you been able to count how many towns were burnt in the war?—(MOMODU WAKKA said he had been through the war, but could not give the number; Pa Suba did not know the country.)

4500. I want you to tell me this—with regard to the country lying round about, not the country that was wasted by the war have the people left their farms there, or are they cultivating them?—Some did a little work, and some ran away through fear.

4501. Will there be plenty of food next season in that country?—That is what I fear for next year.

4502. This country that lies outside the war?—Yes; some do a little work.

4503. Is anybody leaving that part of the country and going across to the French side?—Some people have crossed the Skarcies.

4504. Do you mean that they are going across to the French side?—No.

4505. (BAI SAMA.)—Many slaves came to Freetown long ago, but we made no quarrel, we all came to Freetown to talk about it: let the old domestic slaves remain in our hands but not buy any more. We are growing in numbers now, which we did not before, we are glad. But this hut tax, before you tell us to pay it, make peace in the country. If Government asks us to give some rice to fill the Frontier Police we will do what we are able, but to compel us to pay the hut tax, we are not able: if we pay for the house it does not belong to us any more.

4506. Am I to suppose that one of the reasons that the hut tax displeases you so much is this, that you consider that by paying the tax you were putting away your property?

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—Yes: if we had not the money they broke the house: not only one, but all of us: if the hut come down we have to go to the bush: if we build another we have to pay for it.

4507. Suppose if the Governor had said, "I need money, I want to help you to open up the country, I want you to help me, and I think this Chief should give so much and that Chief so much," what would you have said?—If you come through the king we will do what we can: but not a yearly payment, for that would be the same as a tax: you must deal with the king himself and not the town.

4508. I understand if you were asked occasionally for a contribution you would not object, but if it came round every year it would be considered a tax?—Yes.

4509. Suppose he did not fix the amount but said, 'I leave it to you how much you pay'?—We would try to make the Government pleased with us and collect whatever we could. We have to build the bridges.

4510. Are the bridges so good that they can be crossed all through the rainy season?—Yes: I have made a good road by Marampa: we make bridges every season.

4511. Do any of you Chiefs send your sons to Freetown to be taught in the schools?—We have missionaries in the country now at Port Lokko, Rokelle, and all through Bullom: we like our sons to have education.

4512. For the licences every trader has to pay £2, there is no large capital?—Sometimes a trader's whole capital is not £2.

4513. Do these licences prevent trade?—Yes: if you do not pay you have to go to prison. Whoever it may be, Sierra Leonian or native, he must pay a £2 license.

4514. But most of these licenses are paid by Sierra Leone men: it does not affect you much?—Some of us are traders: you have to get something for your children to eat.

4515. You dislike the licenses: which is the worse: license or hut tax?—Hut tax is much the worst.

4516. I was asking you about your sons being educated and learning to read and write, and then if you wanted to write to the Governor or anybody you could do it yourselves?—We do like that very much: that is what we are asking the missionaries. Some time ago we came to ask Mr. Parkes to send missionary men to Port Lokko.

4517. Then you are all glad when missionaries come to settle amongst you?—Yes: we are very glad to have them: we have nothing against them.

4518. Some of our escaped slaves come from Freetown: they wear uniform, and directly they get authority from the District Commissioner they say, 'we will let them see how we treat them.' They have taken life at Port Lokko.

4519. That was Momo bangura?—Yes. The reason we dislike the police is when they commit any crime in our country, when the chiefs or headmen are brought to complain to Freetown the Government simply raised the question 'Were you present?' 'Did you see it yourself?' but if a wicked man is going to do mischief he is not going to give every body notice.

4520. You mean the police do these things when no one is looking?—Yes: when the king says 'it is true' they say 'were you present?' and the Government deny it on behalf of their police.

4521. Then do you Chiefs think it works equally well to have the District Commissioner out of the country and bring your complaints to the Governor? I suppose you would say it depended very much on what kind of man the District Commissioner was?—When we look in our own mind, what we should prefer would be to bring the matter to Freetown: but we are not able to leave the country. We have no fault to find with the white man, but it is these others.

4522. Do not some of you say that these District Commissioners are too hasty sometimes?—Certainly.

4523. There is one point of the new law which we have not spoken about much which says that no one must buy slaves, or sell them, or bring them to be sold or bought?—The

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CHIEFS OF THE KARENE DISTRICT.

Government have told us: we have given up slavery, and we make roads: when the Government told us about that we forgot it altogether.

4524. Then I understand you to say that slave buying and selling has quite passed away?—We have forgotten it altogether.

4525. You got to see it made the country poor?—Yes.

4526. Then the people of your family who are slaves do not want to go away and leave you?—They do not want to leave us. If anyone wants to go anywhere, these escaped slaves will go to Freetown: we make no objection: but we do not want these police to come and interfere with our families.

4527. Suppose Government were to say. 'We are going to take away policemen but to leave a District Commissioner in your district, with no police, to advise you, and we look to you to make the country quiet and keep the peace;' would you be able to do that?—That is all we want.

(The Chiefs all stood up, but Bai Sama said, 'There is no trouble in Bullom: no Frontier Police, only Civil Police, the others must answer.')

4528. How would you be able to control the country and keep the people quiet and peaceable? What means would you use? (PA SUBA replied)—The white man will advise us, we will help the white man: there will be no trouble in the whole Timini country.

4529. Suppose a big strong Chief were to do something wrong, what steps would you take?—The whole of the Chiefs would come together to that white man, and we would take steps.

4530. What steps would you take?—All the Chiefs would start together to the wicked king and ask him, 'Do you want to bring us trouble?' If all of us went against one, he would give it up.

4531. Would not that come to a matter of your people and this big king's people fighting?—No.

4532. Suppose the big king said, 'I want to have my own way, and I am going to have it'?—We would take him to the white man, and bring to him Freetown.

4533. But then his war-boys would fall on you?—No; they would understand that their father the king had behaved badly. We are all against Bai Bureh for having brought this war.

4534. I want you to tell me what was it that really brought all the fighting in the Kassi country? I have followed to a certain extent. I know, Captain Sharpe made prisoners of these five chiefs at Port Lokko, and they were sent to Freetown, and then I know that fighting began very soon after this: can you tell me the exact circumstances that made the fighting to begin. Do you know?—What we know is Captain Sharpe came to Port Lokko, after that he passed to my place, Mabele, then to another town, and, when he left there, he went to Port Lokko, then to Karene. I was not present, but what I heard was, they went to Bai Bureh's town, Romani. When they arrived at Romani, they began to make a quarrel, because they took a prisoner: the white man did not see Bai Bureh face to face before the war commenced: when the bringing of the Port Lokko chiefs to Freetown made the fight: that is what I heard.

4535. Was it the people of the Kassi country who wanted to fight?—We were not present. What we heard was—they told me they met a boy with a cutlass. They said, 'Give up the cutlass,' and the boy said 'No.' The white man had iron in his hand, and struck the young man, who ran away, and they informed Bai Bureh's people. The Government fired and they killed three men.

4536. Was that the boy at Romani?—Yes; that is what I heard.

4537. Upon that Bai Bureh's war-boys came up, and then the Frontier Police fired?—Yes; they killed three men. This is the cause of the war. This brought the fighting.

4538. Then Bai Bureh was determined to make a very strong fight?—He was not present.

4539. But when he heard of it?—We do not know what is in his mind.

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4540. Were there many Sierra Leone people living in your country?—There used to be plenty, but not now. They have all gone from the war.

4541. Are you very good friends with the Sierra Leone people?—We are friends. We used to trade together.

4542. You found no fault with the Sierra Leone people?—No.

4543. Did they and you use to talk about the hut tax?—No.

4544. Did the Sierra Leonians not say they did not like the hut tax?—They never said that.

4545. Or the license duties?—They used to say they did not like it, but as the Government ordered it they say nothing.

4546. Is there anything more you would like to say to me?—We pray that there may be no troops sent through the country. We heard the Governor say he would fill the country with troops. There would be no peace if he did that.

4547. When you speak of these policemen doing these wrong things, do you speak of what you have heard about, or what you really know about?—It is not only flying news; we had it in our own places. Bai Kobblo, a Paramount Chief, was handcuffed and taken to Karene. It was not a young man, it was the Paramount Chief himself. The reason why he was arrested was because he had not gone to get his staff. He said, 'I sent Pa Suba to Freetown,' but he was arrested.

4548. Is there anything more?—We are not at all satisfied with this hut tax. All of us are dissatisfied.

4549. Is this hut tax very much worse than any other tax to pay?—It is worse than the licences; we do not like it.

4550. Is there any sort of tax that you would like? I have to pay tax in my own country, but I do not like it?—But they are not going to send you to prison.

4551. I do not know what would happen if I did not pay.—They ask you respectfully and properly. If a man asks in a rude way, a man does not like it.

4552. Then do I understand you, that if the hut tax had not been collected so quickly and so rudely, you would not have had the same objection to it?—Yes; that is our meaning.

4553. Suppose the District Commissioner, when these Port Lokko Chiefs had said 'we cannot pay,' had said, 'sit down and think, and say when you can pay'?—No trouble would have come. It was the way they took it. The way the hut tax commenced brought the fighting. It was not done nicely.

4554. If it had been asked for in a good way would it have been a good tax?—Yes; but they bring it with war and cutlass. We used to be friends of the Government, and if the Government wants some money, we would bring it in a nice way. Many of us are in the bush now. A king of any country should be free from having his hands tied.

4555. Was that the reason that made many Chiefs join Bai Bureh?—No Chief helped Bai Bureh.

4556. Are you sure?—Only those in the interior.

4557. Suppose Government had said, 'We need money, but we will not make hut tax. We ask you a shilling from each man, and sixpence from women and children,' or something like that. What would you have thought of that? and that it should be paid through the Chiefs. After they had counted their people, they should pay so much over?—How much for each man?

4558. It is a mere supposition; say one shilling, and sixpence for women and children?—Some men would be in charge of twenty or thirty relatives. One man alone would have to pay for all these. If Government had made peace in the country, and told us, 'You Chiefs help us in this way,' when we agreed to it we would begin to collect, we would try. Each man one shilling, and each woman and child sixpence, I think, would be more than five shillings a hut.

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CHIEFS OF THE KARENE DISTRICT.

4559. I do not refer so much to the amount as to the method; would it be less objectionable?—We will consult about it, and tell you.

4560. Suppose a big Chief wants money, does he not send round to his people and say, 'You give me so much'?—Yes.

4561. And his people would bring it?—They would agree.

4562. Then in such a case would the people always understand the purpose for which he wanted the money?—Yes; they would know what he wanted it for.

12th September 1898.

MR. RENNER.

MR. RENNER.

4563. My name is Zedediah Stephen Renner. I am in Government employ as assistant clerk at Kwalu district, formerly overland messenger till last November.

4564. Do you remember being sent to Port Lokko in the latter part of 1896, and also to other countries in that region?—Yes.

4565. What were you sent to do?—To read out an explanation of the Ordinance of 1896.

4566. Were you furnished with a written paper containing an explanation of the Ordinances?—Yes.

4567. Is this the same paper? (N.A. 459.)—Yes: it is a copy.

4568. What were your instructions?—I was to go along the Timini country, beginning from Kwaia, and read this written explanation to the natives, and explain to them as far as I could, what it contains.

4569. Had you a printed copy of the Ordinance itself?—To every Chief a printed copy was sent, and to each this explanation was attached.

4570. You mean a written copy of this explanation was attached to each printed copy?—Yes.

4571. Was that the Ordinance (20 of 1896)?—Yes.

4572. What was the first place you went to?—Kwaia country.

4573. What town did you go to first?—Magbena, the town of Pa Nembana, where I met Suri Kamara.

4574. Did you call anyone else?—Some of the men belonging to that part were there at that time.

4575. Did you call any other Chiefs?—No: Pa Nembana was not present in the town.

4576. Did you read and explain the Ordinance to Suri Kamara?—Yes: he said as Bai Kompah and Pa Nembana were not present at the time he could not say much; but the grass and the sticks were cut from their own country, and the mud was taken from their own country, and that the houses were not fit to pay 5s. for.

4577. Is Suri Kamara a Chief under Bai Kompah?—Yes.

4578. Then that closed your meeting at Magbena? What was the next place?—Mahera.

4579. Who did you meet there?—Chief Smart and Pa Kombo and their headmen. Chief Smart is sub-chief under Bai Kompah, and Pa Kombo is sub-chief under Bai Simera. Then I read and explained the Ordinance to them.

4580. Did Chief Smart make any remark?—Not to my recollection; he only said they must wait for the time, and they must abide by what Government said; but Pa Kombo said, 'These mud houses that we build we are going to pay for again.' Then I passed on to Mabele, in the Marampa country. I read and explained the Ordinance to them.

4581. Is Mabele over the river?—Yes: opposite to Rokel.

4582. Who did you meet at Mabele?—Pa Suba and most of the headmen.

4583. Is he a Paramount Chief?—Sub-Chief under Bai Kobblo; he takes more of the Paramount Chief's duties than Bai Kobblo.

4584. How is that?—Being by the waterside he acts upon any message sent from the Government, and he sends to tell Bai Kobblo what he has done.

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4585. Did you read the Ordinance to him?—Yes: he said he could say nothing yet, as he was sending up to Bai Kobblo. I gave him a second copy of the Ordinance for Bai Kobblo.

4586. What was the next place?—I went to Maforki, Bai Forki's land, inland north of Mabele.

4587. Who did you meet there?—I did not meet Bai Forki, who is a Paramount Chief, so I passed on to the waterside to the Alikarli at Port Lokko.

4588. Who did you meet there?—I met the Alikarli, Bokari Bamp, who was acting Chief for him, Sori Bunki, Ansumani Bali, and all their Santigis. I had the largest meeting of any place at Port Lokko. I read and explained to them.

4589. What did they say?—Bokari Bamp, who was acting, said that they heard all the Ordinance said, and that they would refer the matter to the Alikarli and Bai Forki, as Bai Forki was the Paramount Chief.

4590. Did you know Bai Forki to be the Paramount Chief of that country, to your own knowledge?—Yes.

4591. Then did any of the other Chiefs at Port Lokko say anything?—Only Ansumani Bali made the remark that if it had been another person sent to read this Ordinance to them, they would have ill-treated him.

4592. Did Ansumani Bali say why they would have ill-treated him?—No; but I believe he meant they were against my reading the Ordinance.

4593. Did the reason appear?—Because they were against the Ordinance.

4594. Did it appear what particular part they were against?—Yes: it was against the part that refers to the hut tax.

4595. Did they say anything about that?—They said they did not see how they would pay for the houses in that country.

4596. Bokari Bamp said he must refer the matter to Bai Forki?—Yes, and to the old Alikarli. Bokari Bamp did not make any remark at all; he only told me he would refer the matter to the Chiefs.

4597. Then after Port Lokko, where did you come to?—Sanda Lokko, in the small Skarcies, where I met Bai Inga (he is dead now), Alimami Boro, Santigi Momo, and the headmen of that place.

4598. Did you read the Ordinance?—Yes; being an old man I took particular care to explain it to him: after I had finished reading I handed it over to him, and he refused to take it from me.

4599. Did he say anything?—He said he could not say anything to the Ordinance till he had consulted his people. So I told him if he refused to take the Ordinance from me, I would return it back to Freetown, and that I should not be responsible: he then took it.

4600. Did he say why he had refused it?—No; he only said he would not receive it till he had consulted his people.

4601. Where was the next place?—I crossed over and went to Karene. I first reported myself to the District Commissioner, Captain Sharpe, and told him exactly what I was sent for; he then summoned the principal Chiefs in the district.

4602. Which of them came?—Brima Sanda. Alimami Boro of Mange went at the same time for some palaver at Karene, and he was present again; and many others whose names I cannot remember.

4603. About how many?—About four or five principal men; only two Paramount Chiefs.

4604. What was said after you had read and explained the Ordinance?—They did not make any remark; they only said they were going to tell their people.

4605. What would it mean when a Chief is told anything, and he did not make any answer at all?—It means they have to call their people together and hear every man's opinion.

4606. Then you went to another town?—I came round to Bai Bureh's town, Ballam.

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Mr. RENNER.

4607. Who did you meet there?—Bai Bureh's Santigi, Santigi Bureh, I think he was called, and very few people in the town. I did not see Bai Bureh.

4608. Why were there so few people in the town?—I cannot say.

4609. Did you explain the Ordinance to Bai Bureh's Santigi?—I told him exactly what it was, but when I asked him to call the people, so that I could read and explain it to them, he said there was nobody there. I then returned to Port Lokko and came to town.

4610. Have you ever been sent on any other message explaining any law with regard to the Protectorate?—Not to my recollection.

4611. Were you instructed by Government what towns to go to, or was it left to you?—I was told to go wherever I could find the big men in the Timini country.

4612. Then are the other Chiefs living elsewhere in that same country, sub-chiefs?—Yes; there is Alimami Keka, Bakowa in the Marampe country, and Alimami Kano of Port Lokko.

4613. Was that the old man?—No; the old man is the Alikarli.

4614. Were you ever sent on any similar message at any other time?—As overland messenger I generally go to the interior and the different districts.

4615. But were you ever sent with reference to that Ordinance or the one that followed?—No; except that the Secretary for Native Affairs told me always to try to explain the Ordinance to natives wherever I might be sent. Whenever I met Chiefs, I tried to explain to them what it was.

4616. You never were sent into the Bandajuma district?—No.

12th September 1898.

Mr. LEMBERG.

MR. LEMBERG, Portuguese Consul.

4617. My name is Philip Lemberg. I have been in business in Sierra Leone since 1863.

4618. Are you doing business on your own account solely?—I represent myself.

4619. Is your trade in Freetown only, or do you employ agents?—In Freetown.

4620. Are you a member of the Chamber of Commerce?—No.

4621. Was the trade of Freetown in a prosperous condition up to this year?—Fairly; it had been injured before the disturbances owing to the French having got possession of this Hinterland.

4622. How did that operate?—They prevented people who are in their territory from coming through to ours; it annoyed them very much; they said if their caravans wanted to pass over, they would make them pay so much duty in cash; perhaps the men had no cash, and then the French said: 'Well, you had better go to Conakry where you can go without paying.' That stopped a great deal of trade coming through.

4623. Did that affect the trade going from Freetown into the interior?—Naturally; if people did not come down here they would not be going back again.

4624. What goods were they mainly, that went into the interior beyond our territory?—White shirting, umber, Indian bark, so-called American cotton, beads, salt, and gunpowder.

4625. Used spirits to be carried into the interior?—Not so far; the spirit never goes beyond the Protectorate.

4626. Any tobacco?—No.

4627. Is it grown in the interior?—No; they sometimes used to grow a little just to pay their expenses.

4628. That through trade into the Hinterland has been very much diminished?—Yes; there is still a little coming through.

4629. Was it owing to the French duties?—Partly: but the French humbugged them so much: they used even to give them men to go down with them to Conakry. Latterly I believe they have taken the duty on rubber in kind. It was quite impossible for those people to pay their duty in cash.

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4630. What is the nature of the trade from the Colony into the Protectorate?—Ordinary trade goods: tobacco, spirits, cloth, cotton-goods, beads, trade guns, and salt.

4631. Can you give me any idea of the value of goods that passes into the Protectorate and into the Hinterland compared with what is imported into Freetown?—About three-quarters, judging from what I know. There is very little trade in Sherbro itself either; it is all in the Protectorate.

4632. Can you say what is the proportional value of spirits as compared with other goods?—Roughly, perhaps one-fifth.

4633. Would that appear in the customs returns?—Yes.

4634. Are spirits sent into the Hinterland as well as into the Protectorate?—No; all that is imported is consumed in the Colony and the Protectorate. They are mostly Mohammedans in the French territory.

4635. What would you say about the quality?—Very poor.

4636. Is it deleterious in any way?—No; I think not.

4637. You have not known of people being injured in a marked way?—No.

4638. I suppose no one drinks it to any great extent?—No; there is very little drunkenness indeed.

4639. Do you know anything about fermented palm wine of the country?—Yes; I have drunk it myself in Sherbro fresh. It becomes as strong as a spirit fermented. I do not think there is any harm in it.

4640. Do you know about kola nuts?—Yes.

4641. There are two kinds, sweet and bitter?—There is a bitter nut which grows in the interior and is used for medicine; but there is very little of it brought down.

4642. Have you heard of bitter kola nut being mixed with fermented palm wine, and producing a very intoxicating drink?—Never.

4643. Is the sweet kola xported to any extent?—Yes; the chief export goes to the Gambia and the northern rivers. The export is something like £50,000 yearly.

4644. Is there an increasing demand for it?—The demand will never stop.

4645. What is it used for?—A harmless stimulant.

4646. Like tea or coffee?—It is better than that; it leaves no after effects. It is exported to England dried now.

4647. Is it the nut simply dried?—Simply dried in the sun.

4648. Suppose the production were considerably increased, would the demand be equal to the supply?—Yes; the supply is not enough now.

4649. Is the region in which it grows very much circumscribed?—It grows all over the Timini country, Kwaia country, and even in Sherbro.

4650. Does it not grow in the Gambia?—No.

4651. Does it require much rain?—No; it requires a particular soil, which it gets here.

4652. The rubber export here is mostly brought from French territory?—No; there is a quantity from ours. Our people are only just beginning. It is a product that will increase.

4653. I believe they have a very wasteful method of collecting it?—They used to cut down the trees and even dig up the roots. They do not do that now.

4654. Do you suppose the production of rubber could be much increased in the Protectorate?—Undoubtedly.

4655. Could you say at all whether there is much spirit taken into the Protectorate without paying duty in Freetown?—I do not think there is much. On our border by the Skarcies it may come over.

4656. Would the duty on spirits bear to be increased without bringing about the consequence of smuggling?—I think it is quite high enough now.

4657. The duty is the same for any spirit under proof, but above proof they have to pay?—I think they import most of it at proof strength. They put all sorts of rubbish in to make it appear hot.

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Mr. LEMBERG.

4658. But then has it been ascertained by analysis that these are ingredients for the purpose of making it hot?—I know they put aniseed, pepper, or even tobacco in the rum.

4659. Does not that originate in Hamburg?—They do it here in the local shops.

4660. But I mean, is it not done before it comes here?—No; I think it is a pure raw potato spirit, just as it is made.

4661. Then it is the local dealer here who plays tricks with it?—Yes; to suit the taste of the people.

4662. That could only be checked by a Government analyst?—Yes.

4663. Until lately was not the proof strength taken as the normal value, and you had an allowance for under proof?—Yes; that was about three years ago. It was tested in the Customs, and whatever it was under proof there was a reduction of that amount.

4664. I believe that the Chamber of Commerce here proposed that the former practice of allowing for under proof should be restored, and they would be willing to pay even a higher duty in that case?—I know nothing whatever about that. I do not see what good it would do.

5665. In carrying on trade with the natives, is it necessary to sell spirits as well as other things?—Not in Freetown; but it is so in Sherbro and elsewhere. A man comes in a canoe and asks for two or three articles, and if even one of them is not to be had, he takes his canoe elsewhere where he can get it.

4666. There was a provision under the Protectorate Ordinance to prevent spirits being given to the natives, was that to prevent any particular evil?—I cannot see the object of it myself.

4667. Do traders come to you in Freetown to get supplies of goods for the interior?—Yes.

4668. Do you supply spirits?—No; for the last three years I have been buying produce for cash.

4669. Did you find it necessary to keep spirits when you did sell goods?—Yes.

4670. Is there a class of middlemen who buy up produce from the natives and sell it to the stores and factories?—Yes.

4671. Are these men Sierra Leonians as a rule?—Yes; up the country there are a lot of native traders who do a fairly large trade.

4672. Have you any idea if these men carry on their trade in a fair way to the natives?—I do not think they could do it otherwise; in Freetown they may take advantage of them. but they could not do it in the country; they would lose all their trade.

4673. Did you ever hear of these men who have a different measure for buying and selling?—Every one of these firms in Freetown does it; but I do not think that the native loses much by it. I do not know why the Inspector of Police has never looked after it.

4674. I suppose you do not know much how Sierra Leone traders do business with the natives?—No; I have a clerk on the wharf who buys the things by weight.

4675. These traders that sell their goods to you for cash, do they buy goods elsewhere with the cash?—The trader generally comes down with his goods and sells them to the highest bidder, and then goes and buys goods where he can get them cheapest.

4676. Could he buy cheaper for cash?—There is no barter here now in Freetown; there is at Sherbro and on the rivers.

4677. Could you say whether the increase in spirit duty has diminished the importation?—I do not think so, as far as I know. It may possibly appear so from the customs house returns, but as to the actual selling there is more I should think.

4678. Could you say whether the trade of Freetown, taking it all round, has increased or diminished since the Proclamation of the Protectorate?—I think it has increased, if anything. I think it was a very good thing taking the Hinterland in hand; it ought to have been done years ago, but there were unfortunate circumstances.

6479. What are these unfortunate matters you allude to?—Questions of land, slaves, licences, and especially hut tax, was the last straw that broke the camel's back.

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4680. Do you consider that the spirit licences have hampered trade in the interior?— Mr. LEMBERG.
Yes; how is the small trader, with only £4 or £5 worth of goods, to pay a licence of £2; we want to encourage these pioneers.

4681. Do you think that store licence does not injure trade?—I do not think it did much harm.

4682. Then you think £2 is not too heavy a burden on those traders who settle down?—It was not burdensome; it will not hurt them.

4683. Then the administration of the Protectorate, in what particular do you think that was defective?—I can give you no positive facts, but I have come to the conclusion that the District Commissioners, and the Frontier Police under their command, have ruined it utterly. It was the greatest mistake to appoint military men as District Commissioners; they ought to have been barristers or civilians with a knowledge of law. Take the instance of collecting the tax, if a man did not pay he was arrested.

4684. Would not the Government in the ordinary course of things have been advised by its legal advisers as to the method of collection?—I heard that advice had been given that it was illegal, but nothing had been done.

4685. For one thing, the District Commissioner's Court enables the traders to collect their debts more easily, is that not an advantage?—The traders give very little credit; there is nothing in that. It is a great mistake that the Frontier Police are not rationed. I myself was up in the Ribbi country; just as I was leaving one of the Chiefs called me back and showed me a frontier with a crowd of people behind him, whose fowls he had taken. I asked him what that meant: he said that the roads were not clean. I said, 'You have no right to go and fine the people yourself; you ought to have reported the matter to head-quarters.' That is one case that I have come across myself, and no doubt there are thousands similar.

4686. Do the Chiefs of the Protectorate have much intercourse with the Sierra Leone people?—A good deal; they used to be very friendly.

4687. What is your opinion as to house tax in Freetown?—You cannot put a house tax on now. The Municipality have the right to put on that rate. I know no reason why the Government should not put on a property tax all through the Colony; it would produce a considerable revenue.

4688. You mean on land and houses?—Yes.

4689. Would it not be very difficult to assess it in the Protectorate?—I said only in the Colony.

4690. But the people of the Colony are very poor as a rule; they have nothing to export?—In the peninsula there is nothing but ginger to export.

4691. But that comes from the Protectorate?—Actually in the Colony there is very little.

4692. Then does any method occur to you of increasing the revenue which would not be oppressive?—Property tax and succession duty.

4693. How does the Municipality at Freetown work?—It does its duty efficiently, I think.

4694. They want money?—They want £30,000.

4695. Are they going to put on a rate?—There was a trading licence put on, but most of the people did not pay it. I daresay there will be a good deal of opposition to the rate in the Council, but they will carry it.

4696. Do you suppose that the fact of there being no hut tax in the Colony in any way had anything to do with the disturbances in the Protectorate?—It had nothing to do with it; the hut tax was the last straw. They had complained a great deal about the Frontier Police, and had got no redress, and there was the slave question. It was an unjust tax in any case, when you consider that the people in the Protectorate pay three-fourths of the revenue of the Colony, and here a man is protected by the police and has a Court to go to, and he pays as much or as little as the man in the interior. There is no house tax here, or

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Mr. LEMBERG.

any direct taxation of any kind within the Colony, and why should the man in the Protectorate pay more than the man in any other part of the Colony?

4697. With regard to the slave trade, I may say that many of the Chiefs with whom I have spoken have said they looked upon it as a grievance at the time, but had become quite reconciled to it now?—That is so; they knew it was coming; it came gradually, and they did not mind it so much.

4698. You think they have settled down under that?—Yes.

4699. Is salt largely carried into the interior?—Yes; very largely; the import is 6000 tons.

4700. The duty was increased?—Yes, to 8s., and I think it should be raised to 20s. a ton. A good deal of salt is manufactured by the sea, but not $\frac{1}{100}$ part of the whole, and it is mostly locally consumed. It is a duty that is easily collected.

4701. Would that duty materially increase the retail price?—It would not make any considerable difference; the buyer would not feel the difference.

4702. Is it not the case that when the duty is increased in that way, the retailer puts on more than the duty?—Competition generally stops that.

4703. *Ad valorem* duty on all goods not classified was increased from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10%; has that been found to be a hardship?—It is as high as it can go.

4704. Has it increased the retail price?—Yes, a little.

4705. It would affect the poorer class of goods?—Not so much as the more expensive.

4706. What suggestions would you like to make?—Duty on salt 20s. a ton. Succession duty. Duty on cigars to be increased from 2s. to 3s., and on cigarettes 6s., and 10% *ad valorem*. There is at present a licence for selling spirits—£50 wholesale, and £75 retail. I suggest that every one who sells wholesale should be included under a general licence which might be called a merchant's licence; there should be no special licence for selling spirits in cases, barrels, or bottles. Something would have to be done about retail licences; I should not have such a big licence as £75; I think there are only about twelve or fifteen grog-shops in the town altogether.

4707. Then would not that licence upon all sellers extinguish a lot of small traders?—No; there would be a very large revenue.

4708. If you proportioned it in any way to a man's trade, you would have to discriminate?—It would be difficult. I think an Ordinance should be passed making the sale of spirit below 17% illegal.

4709. Would it be possible to have a sliding-scale of spirit licences?—No; I would not have a sliding-scale. Any one selling by the barrel or case would come under the general licence. Suppose I were to take to selling spirits, I should require two licences—a merchant's wholesale licence and another retail licence for selling it by the glass.

4710. The Isles de Los, opposite Conakry, is a British possession, and ought to be made a free port; natives find their way to smuggle if they know they have to pay export duties.

4711. Would not that be a centre of smuggling?—No; you know the position; it is six miles from here, right opposite the French territory. We get nothing from the customs station there.

13*th September* 1898.

4712. I should like to say with regard to this regiment that is being recruited now, I think there is some danger. It is quite possible that when they are drilled and have got arms they may turn on us some day. This seems to me to be a great danger in the future. They should be sent to Lagos or somewhere, and the Lagos men come here.

4713. Are they recruited from Freetown?—Seven-eighths are slaves from the interior. I heard some time ago that the Frontier Police was to be disbanded and incorporated with this new regiment; it would be a good way of getting rid of them; they cost us about £30,000 a year. The expenditure of the Colony is too high—£150,000 exclusive of the railway, which I consider money well spent. Ten years ago it was only £60,000.

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4714. With regard to this railway, do you think it is a judicious step, and will it benefit the colony enough to justify the expenditure?—Yes; they cannot bring down heavy stuff now. There is no reason why we should not export rice in any quantity: at present it costs too much to bring it down.

4715. It would make the expense of carrying apparently very much less, but the cost of the railway has to be defrayed?—The railway will pay for itself presently.

4716. The best test of the likelihood of its paying ability would have been if English capitalists had taken it up?—Yes; they were not invited; it could have been built cheaper that way. With regard to the Sherbro rising, I ascribe that entirely to the success that Bai Bureh had for several months.

4717. But there must have been something behind that?—Yes; there was discontent about the hut tax and other things. This matter had all the sympathy of the country round. I am certain Bai Bureh was helped, and is being helped.

4718. By his neighbours?—Yes; I should not be surprised if his powder was supplied by the French. I am certain they are selling him as much powder as he wants, as long as he pays for it.

4719. It has been said that Sierra Leone people and traders advised and urged on Bai Bureh to his resistance?—I do not think so; they may have criticised the hut tax, but I do not think they urged him on. I believe he has never been asked for the hut tax.

4720. The success of Bai Bureh in attracting help is due a great deal to his personal character?—Yes; he is a warrior and has learnt our tactics: he was an ally at one time.

4721. Does he speak English?—Yes; I understand so. They always had great respect for the Government; if he was called down and guaranteed his life and liberty I believe he would come.

4722. But would there not be a danger from Sierra Leonians?—The Sierra Leonians like him; he has not injured one Sierra Leone man. I understand that he at once killed the man who had killed Mr. Humphrey.

4723. Can you account for the fury against the missionaries in the Mendi district?—At Rotofunk, I understood they took the part of an elder brother whose younger brother had been nominated Chief by the Government; the younger brother apparently resented this and his party attacked them at the time of the rising: this is only an idea.

4724. But they attacked the missionaries at other stations?—When the Mendis' blood is up they are like wild beasts.

I understand that some people have defended the hut tax on the ground that there is the same sort of thing in Zululand; but there the people have been accustomed to pay something from time immemorial, and it was only a case of paying the Government instead of their Chief.

It has also occurred to me whether these people being tried for murder, etc., are proper subjects.

4725. About the expenditure of the Colony is there any method of reduction that you can suggest except doing away with the Frontier Police?—There are too many Government officers.

4726. But then you have to take into account the frequent changes necessary?—I think this system is wrong; they are never here long enough to get acclimatised.

4727. How about mercantile clerks?—Three years, and then six months' holiday.

4728. Are they supposed to stop three years unless their health breaks down?—Yes.

4729. Is there much sickness amongst them?—No; the first year they are pretty sure to get ill, the second year less, and the third year they are acclimatised.

4730. Do you happen to know how long missionaries remain out?—Years and years some of them.

4731. Have they no rule?—I believe the Church Missionary Society gives them shorter periods; Roman Catholics are out a long time.

4732. Do they keep their health fairly?—Yes.

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FOOLAH MORDOO.

13*th September* 1898.

(Interpreter, Garnet Richard Wolesley, Sherbro.)

4733. My name is Foolah Mordoo; I am Chief of the Mohammedans in Mokausay Samanah, and was acting under Chief Neale Caulker of Shengay.

4734. You know about the events that preceded this war and brought it on; tell me what you know?—What brought about this war is nothing else than the hut tax. I was sitting one day in my town when Chief Caulker sent to me to say that Government had sent to say that hut tax is to be paid this year. He being Chief, we are ready to acknowledge what he says to us at any time. We heard a rumour that anybody paying this tax would bring war on themselves.

4735. When did you hear this rumour?—The war was to come from Chief Berri, who is now in Freetown gaol.

4736. Did Chief Berri send any message?—I did not see any messenger, but it was a rumour that was spread abroad, even Chief Caulker knew the rumour. After it was rumoured all over the country that there would be war, the Sub-Chief sent to Chief Caulker to say 'Let us not pay the tax or else the war will be upon us.' (Witness produced a letter written to him by Chief Caulker about the tax, dated Shengay, 11th February 1898, informing him that District Commissioner of Kwalu has given two weeks for the collection of the tax.) When he sent this letter to say we should pay, and after what we heard that the war would come on those who paid, the Chief sent to say that if at any rate all of us pay the tax there will be no war, because the English Government is powerful, and if there is war the English Government will fight for us, and we shall all be satisfied because we have paid the tax. The money was collected and sent to Kwalu.

4737. How much was collected in your town?—I sent £13 to the Chief; I have left the receipt behind.

4738. How many houses are there in your town?—I cannot remember.

4739. How many people?—About one hundred.

4740. Immediately after the money was sent, the messengers who were sent with the money came all together with the war.

4741. Who were the messengers sent?—Dixon was sent.

4742. You sent the money, and the same messengers that you sent with the money came back with the news that the war was coming?—When the money was taken up the messengers brought the rumour of war.

4743. What month did the messengers return to you with the rumour of war?—Yombendi.[1]

4744. After this rumour came what was the next thing?—After that and the money being sent nothing else came than the war.

4745. Did you see the war?—Yes; when they came to the town they did not disturb the natives, but they asked every one, 'Have you paid the hut tax?' and if you said Yes, they say, 'You are behind the English, and if you do not go back from behind the English we will kill you.'

4746. Did the war-boys say that, or the Chiefs?—The Chief gave the instruction to the war-boys to ask the question.

4747. Did they ask you that question?—Yes. I said: 'I have paid my tax,' and they said, 'You have no power than to be destroyed.'

4748. How did you escape?—My strong boys ran with me into the bush; for my eyes are open but I cannot see.

4749. Then I understand the war-boys said, 'If you have paid the tax we give you the alternative, you join us in making war or we kill you'?—That was so.

4750. Any more to tell me?—I have no more to say, but that I regret that my town has been burnt down, and they have taken everything I had.

4751. Who burnt the town?—The war burnt all my houses and town.

[1] 23rd April to 22nd May.

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4752. Was that before the soldiers came or after?—Before they came; the towns that remained were burnt by the troops as they went up.

4753. Can you explain how it was that the war broke out over such a large tract of country at the same time?—It all broke out together because the war was great, and the war came from Chief Berri. I will only add that we have paid our hut tax, and yet this trouble has come upon us.

4754. Did not the war begin at Bumpe and Rotofunk and a great many other places all at the same time?—The war came from different parts at the same time, but the war that came on us came before the other war.

4755. Did it come to you before the others?—The war reached first to us before it came to Bumpe and the other places.

4756. Can you fix the time that it began at Rotofunk?—Our own war came upon us on a Sunday in Yombendi.

4757. At the beginning or middle or end of the month?—The beginning of the month.

4758. Are you sure it was not the end of the month?—Yes.

4759. Are you aware if the people in your town borrowed the money to pay the tax?—Yes; they borrowed from the traders.

4760. Do you know what interest was charged?—I borrowed 10s. and was to pay back 15s.

BOOREH CARBANDAH.

13*th September* 1898.

(Interpreter—Garnet Wolesley.)

4761. My name is Booreh Carbandah of Boralail. I am Sub-Chief there under Beah Boker, and Beah Boker was under Chief Neale Caulker.

4762. What can you tell me about the causes of this war?—This hut tax; my reason for saying that the tax brought the war is this. My sister is at Mafouri. She had not been well and sent to call me hastily. My sister bade me goodbye. Mafouri is in the Bumpe district. There I met R. Caulker and others gathered together: he had called his headmen, and Sub-Chiefs to talk about the tax. While they were there, R. Caulker said: 'My people, I have called you; I have gone to town to beg that we should not pay this hut tax, but I have not been successful, and I had to come away in the night; had daybreak met me in Freetown I should have been sent to gaol because I have said I will not pay hut tax. I have gathered all you, my people, in case any of you have money ready to pay the hut tax.' All the people put their hands to that, and agreed to it. After agreeing they asked him: 'Chief, what we are hearing all about, if we pay tax we shall have war, is there any truth in that?' He said, 'We have been forced to pay.' While they were there two Frontier Policemen came from Bagru into the Cockborroh country; they had their guns and uniform tied together in a mat; they passed through my town and said they were going for Sissi Yenni. They passed through my town and did nothing. I went to the place where my sister was; in the morning these men came back and said they could not see Sissi Yenni. The people of the town boarded and lodged them. While the men of the town were gone to work, the policemen went in the house and put on their uniform, and took their rifles from the bundle, and as they did not see Sissi Yenni they went and caught his nephew, Kanreh, and handcuffed him. They took the country cloths that were lent them for sleeping, and caught all the goats; the women ran away to tell the men what was happening, and to say, 'The strangers we boarded and lodged last night are policemen.' The policemen started off with the goats, and Kanreh, and the cloths; the men came back to the town and started after them, but did not meet them. They were about catching them at Boralail, but my boys did not agree to their catching them there. They said, 'Our father is not in the town, and we do not agree to your catching them.' The policemen then left my town, and went to another place called Mateko; there the men caught the policemen and took the goats from

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BOOREH CARBANDAH.

them. They went to Mafouri, when they got there they met a large crowd of people consulting about the hut tax.

4763. But you did not go with the policemen?—Yes. When they got there I was just leaving Mafouri for my own town, and I met the policemen. They slept at Mafouri, and at daybreak I was at my own town. The same policemen came and asked me for something to eat. Then I gave them something to eat, and lent them a small canoe to go to Bagru. Three days after that I heard firing, and saw people who had ran away from this sound of rifles. I asked what is the matter, and they said the English have waged war upon us. I said, 'Is that true!' They said, 'Do you not hear the rifles?' they have already killed men at Mabobo (Bankum Boya); after that I saw flames and heard that they had just burnt Kangamah.

4764. What month did you get this message about the boy being killed at Mabobo?—Bangali (March).

4765. Was that before Ramadan began or after it was finished?—Before it began.

4766. What more have you to tell me?—A few minutes after that messengers came in to say that the town of Mafouri had been burnt, and that a sick woman had been burnt.

4767. Do you know the name of the woman?—No.

After that I saw Mafouri in flames; before they reached this town they shot a young man at Simba called Kong.

4768. Who was it who brought the information about this young man Kong being killed?—The place was about three minutes walk from my town, and people were running from there calling out that Kong had been killed.

After that I heard that Captain Moore and the Frontier Police were coming, and I hid myself in the bush.

4769. Why?—Because I heard he had been shooting people. When he reached the town, I saw a multitude of people behind him.

4770. What people were following him?—Timinis, Mendis, and Sherbros. I heard that they wanted to shut a man up in my town. I said, 'I cannot agree to it, or it will be afterwards said that I have done it.' Captain Moore begged me to come out of my hiding-place but I refused.

4771. How could Captain Moore see you to ask you if you were hidden?—The small boys, who were crossing the policemen over the water, took this information to me.

The war is for the tax, because at Mafouri there were gathered large crowds of people talking about the tax. They said they were not able to pay.

4772. Do you think the people were not able to pay?—Some of them did afterwards. They were forced by the policemen who were sent to collect the tax.

4773. You did not approve of the tax yourself?—It was not at all nice to me; there was no help for it. People said there would be war.

4774. Was there anything particularly obnoxious about the tax?—I cannot deny what the older people say I should do.

4775. Do you mean by that, that if the older people refused, you would refuse, and if they agreed you would agree?—Yes.

4776. You had no very strong opinion of your own?—I paid because I saw the old people pay. The end of it was, that after we had all paid, the Mendi people came upon us with the war.

4777. Was that long after?—The payment of the tax was not quite finished. We heard the war took the whole of Shengay and Rotofunk, but I did not see the war-boys with my own eyes.

BOOREH CARBANDAH—*recalled.*

4778. Did you borrow money to pay the tax?—Yes; from a woman, Kwaiamani.

4779. Is she a trader?—No.

4780. What bargain did you make?—I took £1, and was to return 30s.

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BANNA SOBOLE.

13*th September* 1898.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4781. My name is Banna Sobole, sub-chief of Rembi, in the Shengay country.

4782. Can you tell me anything about the causes that brought on this war?—The tax brought the war. We told Chief Caulker that we heard there was going to be war. After the meeting we all separated, and I went back to Rembi. After this we saw two Frontier Police come, and we paid the money to them; but there was one house remaining.

4783. Did you collect the tax for Rembi from the people?—Yes.

4784. To whom did you pay it?—I gave the money to Corporal Grant.

4785. You did not pay it to Chief Neale Caulker?—I put the money in the hands of the policeman.

4786. How many policemen came?—Two.

4787. How much money had you collected?—£1, 10s. 6d.

4788. How many houses?—I did not count them; there were about twenty houses.

4789. Did the policemen ask for the money?—Yes; we paid for all except one house, in which there was an invalid woman who was helpless, and the policemen burnt the house down. They took her out of the house.

4790. Why did they set fire to the house?—Because the money had not been paid for it.

4791. Did the policemen set fire to the house?—Grant and Davis set fire to it.

4792. Where did they take this woman to?—They took her to my house.

4793. Did you ask Corporal Grant why he set fire to the house?—I asked him, and he said—Because the money for this house has not been given.

My younger brothers, Beah and Banna, also had a small village. When they went to this village to ask for the tax-money, the men paid the amount; but there was one house which the police burnt during the absence of its owner, who had gone to borrow the money. My brother told me about this.

4794. Are the people in your town able to pay the tax, or are they too poor?—The people are poor, and were forced.

4795. Did many of your people borrow money to pay the tax?—Yes; from the traders who were there.

4796. Did the traders make you pay interest?—Yes; we borrowed £1, and had to pay back £2, 10s.

4797. When was the £2, 10s. to be paid?—They paid the tax, and if the war we had heard about did not come, they would pay the traders after.

YEEBOE TARSANI.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4798. My name is Yeeboe Tarsani, Chief of Kainey, under Chief Neale Caulker.

4799. Did you collect the tax from your own people?—Yes.

4800. How much did you collect?—£5.

4801. How many houses?—Thirty.

4802. Did you pay this money to Neale Caulker?—I did not pay it into his hands, but gave it to the Policemen, who tied me till I could get the money to pay for the town.

4803. What were their names?—Davis, and a young man called Dark Eye, sent by Chief Caulker.

4804. Was the Policeman in uniform?—Yes.

4805. Had he a gun?—Yes.

4806. The policeman tied you; did he say why he tied you?—Yes; because he said I was causing a disturbance by not paying the tax.

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YEEBOE TARSANI.

4807. How long were you tied?—From daybreak till about 9 A.M.

4808. Were your hands only tied?—I was tied to the doorpost of my own house by my arms, and my hands tied in front.

4809. You sent people to borrow the money?—Yes; from a woman.

4810. How much had you to borrow?—£4, and £1 for myself.

4811. So that with what you had already collected made £10?—Yes.

4812. Did you give that to the policeman?—Yes; and he gave me a receipt, but it has been lost in the war.

4813. How much were you to pay this woman for the £5?—I begged her to take £6, and she said she would let me know when she returned from town.

4814. Did anything more happen that you saw?—Only that the war came to me, and the war-boys met me in my own town, and were determined to kill me. They said they had warned me that those who paid the tax would have to be killed; and he who hides a Sierra Leonian would have to be killed. I had six Sierra Leonians in my care, and protected them in the bush; I managed to save them; all this trouble was caused by that.

4815. Did the war-boys tell you why they brought the war?—Yes; they said because we had paid the tax.

4816. The policeman broke four of my houses while I was tied; then I called Dixon, and explained how I had been treated.

4817. Was Dixon then in your town?—Yes; he came afterwards.

4818. He was not there when the policemen were destroying the houses?—No.

4819. Did the policemen say why they broke the houses?—They said it was because they had not received sufficient money to pay for all the houses.

4820. How many houses were there?—Thirty.

4821. Were they inhabited houses they broke?—Yes.

4822. Were there men or women living in them?—Women and small boys.

4823. Anything more?—People went to my brother's (Kanreh Bombeh) town, Motombo. They said that he should pay. He took 30s. to the Chief, and the Chief gave him a receipt, and said he should go and give the receipt to the policemen if the money is not sufficient. He gave the receipt to the policeman; they said 'Pay at once'; my brother said 'I have no money'; then they tied him, and took his son and tied him, and went to Motombo; when they reached there they paid £4.

4824. How did he get the money?—He borrowed it from a young Mohammedan trader.

4825. At what interest?—£2 interest on the £4.

4826. Was your brother headman of the town?—Yes.

4827. This that happened to your brother, were you present?—He was tied in my presence. Two houses were broken by the policemen in Motombo, because the people were not able to pay for them. They took sticks and hewed down the walls.

KANREH PINNEY.

KANREH PINNEY.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4828. My name is Kanreh Pinney, I was in charge of Marthyn, as the headman there had lately died.

4829. How many houses in Marthyn?—About eighty houses.

4830. After you had been to Chief Caulker's meeting, and had returned to your town, what happened?—I immediately saw two policemen in uniform with guns.

4831. Do you know their names?—Corporal Grant and Private Davis.

4832. What did they do?—I got there about 10 A.M.; the first thing they did was to hold out their hands for money.

4833. Did they come to you as headman?—Yes; we tried our best and paid this money.

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4834. Did you try to collect the tax after the meeting with Neale Caulker?—No; because all the people were not present in the town.

4835. The policemen came and asked you for the money; what did you tell them?—They simply stretched out their hands for the money; there was nothing to be done but to give them the money. I told them there was nothing, and they said, 'If you do not pay the money, do you see the guns we have; if we shoot a man there will be no palaver.'

4836. What language did they speak?—Mendi.

4837. How much did you pay?—£11.

4838. Did they give you a receipt?—They gave me a receipt, and it was taken to Grant, Headman of the town (his native name is Banna Koney), but he is dead.

4839. Were you collecting for Banna Koney?—Yes; but it was paid to the policemen.

4840. Did anything happen after that?—When the money was paid to them, one of my brothers came to us from Mosoko, and met the policemen; they caught him and tied him, pushing him before them.

4841. Did they say why?—Because my brother said, 'These policemen who are sent here, if they go to collect tax in the Bumpe district, they will not pay it, because it is a different district.'

4842. They tied him for saying this?—Yes.

4843. Then they took your brother away?—They did not take him away; the head people pleaded for him, and they left him. The policemen took the money to Kwalu; and the war came in less than a week.

4844. Did you see these war people come to your town?—Yes. We all ran to the bush.

4845. You had no talk with them?—When we had been in the bush for a month we came out.

4846. Were they still there when you came out?—Yes; they were hunting for me.

4847. Did you talk to them?—Yes.

4848. When was that?—After I had been in the bush. They asked me, 'Did you pay?' I said 'Yes.' They said, 'Did it pain you?' I said 'No. We are simply forced.' They said, 'It is hence that the war comes.' I then ran back into the bush.

KANREH BARWONIE.

13th September 1898.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4849. My name is Kanreh Barwonie, Chief of Mofoss.

4850. How many houses in your town?—Twenty exactly.

4851. Did you get the money?—Yes; £4.

4852. Did you pay it over to anybody?—To the Frontier Police.

4853. How was that?—While I was collecting the money I saw two policemen coming to gather the tax. They first asked for something to eat, and I gave them rice and a fowl. They then asked for the money at once.

4854. What were their names?—Grant and Davis.

4855. How did you know?—I asked their names and they told me.

4856. What did you say?—I told them to wait, because we were poor people. I had then collected about £2. I went to Kapenta to borrow the money, and the interest on it was to be thirty shillings. The houses that remained were two houses belonging to invalid women. Mr. Dixon helped me out of that trouble, and lent me money, so that these houses were not broken. When the money was given to the policemen, they asked for something to eat. I gave them two shillings' worth of rice and a goat before they would go. Then they went and took the money to Kwalu.

4857. Was it because you loved them that you gave them the goat?—We were forced to do it.

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KANREH BARWONIE.

4858. How were you forced?—They said we had made them waste their time in our town. I objected, but I had no power against them. The war came a week later.

4859. Was that the war that began in the Bumpe country?—I do not distinguish between the wars.

4860. What month was it?—In April.

4861. Have you anything more to tell me?—When the war fell we were all afraid. We had no power to fight against it. Every one the war came to it destroyed. Whoever is educated has to be killed. My own son was educated at Shengay. When I heard that, I hid him and a Sierra Leonian in the bush. During my absence in the bush, the whole town was overtaken by the warriors, and everything was plundered. One of my brothers was sick in the town, and he sent to me and said, 'Alas, everything has been taken from us by the war. But hide yourself. The war says you have hidden educated people in the bush. The war comes because of the tax.' I came out of the bush at Shengay.

BOOREH MERLANI.

BOOREH MERLANI.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4862. My name is Booreh Merlani, Chief of Moyoba.

4863. How many houses in your town?—Many; there are two towns in one.

4864. Had you begun to collect money for the tax?—No; it was very hard to get money. It was not that people did not like to pay, but on account of their lack of money.

4865. I understand that when you asked people for money you found it very difficult because they said they were too poor?—So it is. During that time I heard one evening that two policemen were in Mobay Kofu. When I heard that I started to hide myself in the bush.

4866. Why did you hide?—The rumour was that if the policemen came to the town and asked for the money, and you did not pay it, they would shoot you dead. Being mindful of my life, I tried to escape. When I left the town early in the morning, the policemen came into the town. People told me that the police were stretching out their hands for the money.

4867. Did you go to the town when you heard?—No; people came and told me the police were in the town. When I was there my own house and another house were lighted with matches, and a Sierra Leone trader went and put out the fire. They were plundering everything, because they said they had asked for the Headman and he could not be found. They caught eight goats and one sheep. The women who were in the town told me this. I went to the town afterwards, and the amount of country cloth they had taken was £3.

4868. Were the houses all right?—They had not burnt or broken any houses. The policemen had said they would be back on Monday.

4869. Did you see the police the second time?—No; I ran away again when I heard that the other towns had paid, and the police would come back to our town. We did not stay there long. It was reported that the Chief of Bumpe was caught, and therefore we should give money for the tax, but no policemen came. Our countrymen collected the tax.

4870. Which of your countrymen came?—Kanreh Bah, Marmoo, and Kontan. They said the Chief of Bumpe had authorised them, and threatened that they would have to send to Rotofunk for the police to come and burn the place, if we did not pay. So we borrowed 16s. from a woman. A few days after we heard firing at Sembehun, and we ran into the bush. The war came to my town the next day.

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SEMBOO.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4871. My name is Semboo, Chief of Mokombo.

4872. How many houses in your town?—Sixteen.

4873. Then your town was exempted from the tax?—Still I paid.

4874. Did not Chief Caulker tell you you need not pay?—No.

4875. What happened?—The policemen came, and we told them we had no money.

4876. Which policemen?—A corporal and Davis.

4877. Was there anybody else?—Yes; Dixon.

4878. What happened?—They asked for the money, and I told them I had not got it. They forced us. After we had pleaded we tried to get some money to pay, but we could not get enough. The police caught three of my boys and tied them, and hunted after me to make me pay the money. I went and pledged some of my country cloths, and got money from a woman called Sophie.

4879. How much?—£4, 2s., for £1 interest.

4880. Did you pay this money to the policemen?—Yes.

4881. Did the policemen tell you how much money you had to pay?—They simply said 'Every house 5s.,' and we paid 2s. for a small hut built on to another. Soon after that the war came.

4882. Did you see the war-boys coming?—We ran away into the bush.

SASAY JOHN.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4883. My name is Sasay John, Chief of Yondoo. I have not counted the houses in my town. I asked the people for money for the tax, but did not collect any. They said they had no money.

4884. Was it that they had not the money or that they did not like to pay the tax?—They had not the money. I said to them, 'I have seen it; but have you not heard that there are policemen behind who will shoot you?' Then they went and borrowed the money from a Susu called Benkali.

4885. Did they agree to pay him interest?—£2 to be returned for £1 borrowed.

4886. How much did you collect?—£12, which I gave to Dixon.

4887. Did Dixon come alone?—He had a policeman. He was collecting for Chief Caulker. He gave me a receipt.

4888. What happened after you had paid this money?—After that the policeman and Dixon went to a village near by, which had only three houses. My sister was sick there, and they forced her to pay 15s.

4889. Did you go yourself?—Yes. My sister's name is Kofui Saitou, and the village is Tala.

4890. When you went with Dixon and the policeman, did you know what they were going there for?—I knew their purpose: they said they were going to collect tax.

4891. Why did you go, then?—My sister sent for me to go and see what they did.

4892. Did not Chief Caulker tell you that villages of less than twenty houses were not to pay tax?—No.

4893. Did Dixon try to prevent it when they forced your sister to pay?—No.

4894. Was she willing to pay?—She was sick.

4895. Was she forced to pay?—Yes; they said they would burn down the place if she did not pay.

4896. Did anything else happen?—The war came a week later.

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TOOA.

TOOA.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4897. My name is Tooa, chief of Mali on the Cockboro river. My town is on one side of the river, and Beah Boker's on the other. There are fourteen houses in my town. Chief Caulker did not tell me that villages of less than twenty houses would not have to pay tax. I collected 10s., which I paid to Beah Boker's messenger. Beah Boker is Sub-Chief to Chief Caulker, and is over me; after I had paid Beah Boker's messenger the policemen came and plundered the whole of my town.

4898. Who were they?—Four policemen from Sembehun. I do not know their names. I did not see them; I was out in the fields working. My sister Yama came and told me about it.

4899. Where is she now?—We all scattered, and I have not seen her since. The war came after that.

TOOA LAKHA.

TOOA LAKHA

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4900. My name is Tooa Lakha of Rembi. We heard a rumour that whosoever pays tax war will come upon him, and we were afraid of it. My son got sick, and I took him from the town. While I was away I heard that the police had come to Rembi. I sent Bana to see if it was true. He was in a house where there was a young woman sick, and the police came and asked who was the owner of the house. He said the owner was away. They asked him to pay 10s. for the house, and he refused. When I came back to the town I found they had scattered my rice about. I asked Dixon why he had spoiled my rice, and he said, 'It was not I.' I said I will go and lay my complaint before the Chief; he said, 'That is the best plan, but you must pay for the house.' I paid Dixon and the policeman; they said if I did not they would burn the place; they had already scratched the match.

SEMA.

SEMA.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4901. My name is Sema of Rinkalo. Chief Caulker sent me to Kwalu as a messenger to Captain Barker. The message was that they should meet at Masanda to decide about the boundary line. All those on the side of Chief Neale Caulker were ordered to pay tax. My village has eight houses, and paid 15s. It was not long before the war came, and they said they wanted my life because I had taken the message to Kwalu. I did not see the war-boys. I was not present; I hid myself.

BIAMAMA.

BIAMAMA.

(Wolseley interpreting.)

4902. My name is Biamama of Gendema on the Cockboro river. I wish to tell you about the payment of the tax. We were ordered to pay tax; at the same time there was a rumour that whoever pays tax will receive war; we had paid our tax; after we had paid, we got war; the war came for those who had paid.

4903. Did you see and talk to the war-boys?—Yes; when I saw them they were simply asking for James Murray, a Sierra Leonian; they said they wanted to kill every Sierra Leonian. I asked them 'What has he spoilt?' They said, 'You should not ask like that,' and chopped me on the arm and neck (witness showed the scars), the other people gave money to save my life. James Murray was a great friend of mine, and I loved him.

(James Murray, who was present, corroborated this.)

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CAPTAIN FAIRTLOUGH, District Commissioner, Kwalu.

4904. The chief town of Panguma district is called Panguma?—Yes; it is composed of sixteen large towns, all within a hundred yards of each other.

4905. Is there a wall round it?—There were stockades, but they were pulled down in 1895.

4906. Does the Paramount Chief of Panguma live at Panguma?—Yes; he had a great nunber of headmen.

4907. What is the usual number of police stationed at Panguma?—One company of one hundred men; there are no civil police; this company is distributed through the district; there are usually about thirty men at Panguma itself.

4908. What out-stations are there?—There were nine when I was there.

4909. What is the force at the out-stations?—At the largest, there is a sergeant and ten men, the remainder have a corporal and from three to six men.

4910. About the forests, what kind of trees are there?—Valuable timber trees: known in this country as 'brimstone' and 'counter.'

4911. Hard woods?—They make very good planks.

4912. I suppose there is no trade in timber?—No; it is too far from town. There is also a great deal of logwood.

4913. Is there any trade in logwood?—There used to be; but I cannot say there is at present; they used to export it down to Bonthe.

4914. Is there any river near enough these forests to be used for the transport of timber?—Yes? the Sehwa and Luja rivers; it would be possible to float timber down.

4915. Are there rapids in the course of these rivers?—Near Mafwe, but there is a channel where you can get down.

4916. So it is possible to float timber from these forests to the sea if any one were to enter into the business?—Yes; it could be done.

4917. You say there is not much grazing land?—No; not much; there are very few cattle; they are mostly on the cleared spaces round the town.

4918. Are there bridges over the rivers?—Not the big rivers; they are crossed in canoes; the smaller rivers are usually bridged.

4919. By the Chiefs?—Yes; it is rather hard to make them keep them in good order.

4920. How is the climate?—Much better than Freetown. We had a raingauge and a thermometer up there, and in 1896 there were forty-six inches in the wet season, while in Freetown there were over two hundred and fifty; the mean temperature is about ten degrees lower than that of Freetown.

4921. Had you good health at Panguma?—Fairly good.

4922. Is malarial fever frequent?—There is a certain amount; there are a good many cases amongst the Frontier Police in the hospital there.

4923. Do the different tribes speak different languages?—Yes; entirely distinct.

4924. Is Timini generally spoken?—Only by the Timinis.

4925. Paramount Chiefs then, you say, are quite independent of each other; amongst themselves is there such a thing as two or more Chiefs looking up to one man whom they call their father?—On a really big question, they would go to Nyagua, the most powerful man, and be guided by his opinion; but they would not generally consult him on ordinary matters.

4926. You say that Farbunda's country was being raided by war-parties from Liberia; was that going on by the time you left?—I had a great fight up there in 1896, and defeated the big leader. After that there was a little peace; I had to go up again in May. In November 1897, Captain Blakeney had to go up and punish some of the Sofas who had been raiding there.

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4927. Is Chief Rabasia a Chief in the Protectorate?—Yes; he is in the English Protectorate.

4928. What was done with him?—At the time I took him prisoner I sent him down; there was no Protectorate Ordinance at that time; a Special Ordinance was passed to make him a political prisoner; he was detained till April 1898, and was then sent back to his own country.

4929. Have you heard if he has behaved quietly since?—I think he has joined in the insurrection, but I have no actual knowledge.

4930. You say the Paramount Chiefs enforced their authority by means of a sort of standing army of war-boys; how do they maintain these war-boys?—They were their followers and constantly about them; when I first went up, Nyagua was in a fighting attitude, and had several war camps concealed in the bush, which we had to find and destroy.

4931. How were these war-boys fed?—Their own women cultivate the farms for them, and they used to plunder the Konoh country. Generally speaking, they were maintained by the efforts of the peaceful part of the population.

4932. Does this big Chief Nyagua's authority extend beyond the Panguma district?—No; he is feared throughout the whole country, but has no authority.

4933. You mean from the native point of view?—No; he has none.

4934. Have these messengers that the Chief sent, any badges or staffs of office that they may be known by?—They all have brass staffs given to them by Government for that very purpose.

4935. Is there much imported spirit consumed in the district?—Not nearly so much as in the district nearer the town.

4936. It is sold at a higher price than nearer the town?—Very much higher.

4937. What would be the price of a case of gin?—6s. 6d. in Freetown; up there 2s. 6d. to 3s. for a flask for which you would pay 6½d. in Freetown.

4938. Is there a proportionate increase in the price of cloth?—1s. 6d. for what you could get in town for 6d.

4939. And tobacco?—They take it and make it into heads; three leaves rolled up in a fourth is a head; it comes to from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a pound. You could buy coral beads at 3s. 6d. a dozen in Freetown, and when I first went up to Panguma district they were sold for 2s. or 3s. each.

4940. Were these goods brought up to Panguma by Sierra Leone traders or by natives?—By some Sierra Leonians. In Panguma itself there were nine or ten Sierra Leone traders; the remainder of the trade is carried on by itinerant Mohammedans.

4941. Is fermented palm wine much used?—Yes; the natives all drink it.

4942. It is much cheaper than the imported spirit?—A great deal cheaper.

4943. Did you ever hear of its bringing on insanity if very much drunk?—I never heard of it.

4944. Was there a medical officer stationed at Panguma?—Yes; a native.

4945. A qualified man?—Yes.

4946. You were at Panguma in 1896 when the Protectorate Ordinance was promulgated?—Yes.

4947. I suppose this paper (N.A. 459) or a similar one was sent to you?—No; it never passed through my hands.

4948. Was it, then, the printed Ordinance that was sent to you?—I came down to Freetown for a short time, and I went up with printed copies and instructions to explain them from the Governor.

4949. You explained all the clauses of the Ordinance to them, clause by clause? There does not seem to have been much comment made?—They did not seem to be able to grasp it very well.

4950. Did they grasp the hut tax?—I told them it would not be enforced for some

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considerable time to come, not till the end of 1898; they said that was all right, and they could not be expected to pay immediately.

4951. They looked upon it as indefinitely postponed, I suppose?—Yes.

4952. Do you think in their own courts the Chiefs really try to find out the truth, and deal justice?—I do not think so; they are very open to bribery, and from what I have heard it appears to me that the man who gives the biggest present gets the verdict.

4953. Are the fees fixed by any native rule?—No.

4954. Then I think you went on leave about 31st July 1897?—I left Panguma on the 7th August, and handed over things to Captain Birch on 31st July. I was away for six months. I returned on 26th February 1898, and was appointed District Commissioner Ronietta, and took it over from Captain Moore on 17th March.

4955. What is the number of police usually stationed at Kwalu?—Since the disturbance, 108—no out-stations; before that, generally about 25; there have been as few as 12.

4956. You say in one of your answers that several Syndicates have obtained concessions of land from the Chiefs: do you remember any names?—The Mendi Development Syndicate; O'Kelly and Pratt obtained concessions from Bai Komp of Yele and Bai Sherbro of Yonni, in their own names; they were working for some London Syndicate.

4957. Is it within your knowledge if these concessions have been recognised by the Government?—Bai Komp of Yele's was.

4958. About what time was that?—The concession was signed by Bai Komp and his Headmen last April or the end of March. The Yonni concession had been obtained in December, I think, but it was quashed.

4959. You say that much larger farms were being made this year than in former years: do you allude to the time before the disturbances?—Yes, before; I noticed that much larger areas were cleared.

4960. Could you assign any reason for that?—People were warned that if they had not got the money, they would have to bring produce; it was in preparation for the hut tax.

4961. What is the situation as regards this district where the rising was in operation now? are the provision grounds being cultivated again?—All the natives have returned to their ordinary avocations; there is no sign of any more disturbances in the Ronietta district.

4962. People seem to be settling down?—Yes.

4963. Was there much destruction of food-supplies during the war operations?—No; they kept their big food-supplies out in the bush. They did not bring it into the big towns. A great deal escaped.

4964. What is the principal article of consumption?—Rice and cassava.

4965. I suppose the collection of the hut tax scarcely comes into the time you were in the district?—I collected over £2000 after I went there. Of course nearly all the people had been warned to bring it before I got there.

4966. In which of the countries or regions did you collect tax?—Personally, I collected a great deal in Kwaia, and from all round; Madam Yoko's Sub-Chiefs were bringing it in; from Mano Bagru Nancy Tucker was sending up money by a clerk; Fulla Mansa; Bai Simera was living at Kwalu, and Mr. Johnson was sent off to the Ribbi country, and in ten or fourteen days he got £450; the Kwaia people were in a state of rebellion, and I went up there with an expedition. Neale Caulker collected £300 in Shengay, with the aid of two police.

4967. What agency did you employ in Bai Simera's country?—I sent a letter and warned Bai Komp, who brought it down to me himself. There were one or two others, Bai Simra of Mayoppo, and Bai Sundu of Rotofunk.

4968. When Dr. Hood begun to collect, he found great difficulty in getting in any money?—So I understand—with some of the Chiefs; Madam Yoko, Fulla Mansa, and Nancy Tucker paid at once.

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4969. Did you find difficulty with the other Chiefs?—No; I had no difficulty at all. Captain Moore ordered all the Chiefs to come into Kwalu. They all came with armed followers, but Captain Moore would not allow them to cross the river, so the Chiefs came in alone, and they had a meeting. Fulla Mansa, Madam Yoko, and Nancy Tucker stood up and said they had paid some tax, and were going to pay the rest. The remainder were told that they would have to remain at Kwalu till they had paid a certain amount, to show that they intended to agree to pay the tax.

4970. Are you aware how long the Chiefs were detained at Kwalu?—Furi Vong about a fortnight. Bai Simera paid in about a week.

4971. Did he pay the full amount?—Not in full; neither did Furi Vong.

4972. What others have paid?—Bai Lel; he was detained about a month; they paid it in little by little.

4973. Any others?—Only those three.

4974. When you say that these collections were completed without any difficulty, do you mean that they were completed before the rising took place?—Yes, before.

4975. Was that incident of the detention of the Chiefs before your time, or during it?—I met them up there when I went up.

4976. What about that expedition into Kwaia?—When I started up to Kwalu, 1st March, I met Captain Moore at Songo Town on the 2nd March; he was then going to arrest Bai Kompah of Kwaia.

4977. What was the charge against him?—He had refused to appear at Kwalu; he had refused to pay the hut tax; he was supposed to be supplying powder to Bai Bureh's people, and he had incited Suluku of Bumban to join in the rising.

4978. Could you tell me from whom these reports or rumours emanated, or who communicated them?—About Suluku, chiefly through the agency of Chief Smart at Mahera.

4979. His refusal to pay the hut tax?—He was called on by a circular letter, and refused. Captain Warren went up to him, and he came down to see the Governor and saw Mr. Parkes, and went back and was told to report himself at Kwalu; and instead of doing so, he went back to his own country.

4980. Then after that did some one go to arrest him?—Captain Moore went; that was when I met him at Songo Town.

4981. Was he arrested then?—He never was arrested; he is dead now.

4982. Then he was bringing Kwaia country into a state of war; who was the informant about that?—Chief Smart and a police patrol.

4983. You are speaking, of course, from what you gathered in conversation?—Yes.

4984. What did Captain Moore tell you was the object of the expedition?—To arrest the Chief. He was reported to be in a fortified position in the swamps by Rokelle.

4985. Did you find that position?—We could not get over to the islands.

4986. Then you did not find out if he was there or not?—No.

4987. Was that information given by Chief Smart?—Chief Smart and some traders, I believe.

4988. Can you say whether there was any purpose at that time to march through the country to Port Lokko?—There was. While I was on that expedition with Captain Moore, I got instructions from the Governor to proceed to Port Lokko, if practicable; but later I got further instructions to say that matters appeared quieter, and he did not think I need carry out the proposed expedition to Port Lokko.

4989. Then the idea of going to Port Lokko was given up?—Yes.

4990. Was there any other object for this expedition to Kwaia except the arrest of the Chief?—No.

4991. The expedition met with a good deal of opposition, and there were various skirmishes?—Yes; Captain Moore had virtually to retreat out of Kwaia.

4992. Were you with Captain Moore during the whole of that expedition?—Yes.

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4993. Is Chief Smart a Paramount Chief?—He is a Sub-Chief to Bai Kompah.

4994. Who is occupying the position of Chief of Kwaia at the present time?—No one is acting.

4995. Did Chief Smart's information come in the form of a letter?—Yes; he has written several times about the state of the Kwaia country.

4996. Does he read and write himself?—Yes; very well.

4997. Then that Kwaia expedition came to an end without any conspicuous result?—Yes; that was Captain Moore's.

4998. The next one?—I took it myself; I started 5th April.

4999. What were your instructions?—I did not get any particular instructions with reference to that expedition, but I had been desired by the Governor to proceed as soon as possible to Furudugu, where two Chiefs were supposed to be blocking the trade of the river. I was acting on the information I got from Fulla Mansa and Chief Smart. Chief Smart was with me at the time. It appeared from what they said that Bouyiah had a great deal to do with the obstruction, and that they were holding meetings, and the people were collecting, presumably for war. I started for Kwalu on 5th April, and had a conference there with Chief Smart and Fulla Mansa. We decided to go and arrest Bouyiah at Mapolona. About half a mile from the town I and Fulla Mansa and six Frontiers went up to reconnoitre the town. Fulla Mansa said he knew the house where Bouyiah was, and could lay his hand on him. We found them having a big war-dance, and as soon as we showed ourselves they fired at us. The main body of the Police came up when they heard the shots, and we drove them out and killed three or four of them. When we were there that night they returned again, and we drove them off again, and seven or eight were killed. Next day we went on to Mayomera, and found natives in ambush all along the road. We drove out one big gathering at Battipo, and they attacked us that night at eight, and we caught several of them. Next day we went on to Rofundo. There was the same ambush along the road every fifty yards or so. At Rofundo itself there was a big gathering, and as soon as they saw us they shot at us, and we ran in with bayonets and drove them out, and killed their Head Chief Pakewa and several followers. We destroyed another small village near, and scattered the party.

5000. How were these war-parties armed?—Guns and swords.

5001. Any rifles?—We heard two rifles with cordite.

5002. Were there many guns among them?—Yes, a lot; a regular fusilade. We took a great quantity and two double-barrelled breechloaders.

5003. Were there trade guns?—Yes; flint locks and caps.

5004. On the 9th we went on an expedition to Rofuta. There were the same ambushes again. We had a fight and killed fifteen of them. Two Yonnis were killed. Then there was a big gathering of them at Marifa behind mud walls, with a sort of watch-tower; we dispersed them and killed twenty-three; then we chased them to Romobing and burnt it. We came to Roliar and destroyed it. We reached Furudugu and dispersed a big gathering. While we were there Suri Kamara led a big attack on us. He lives at Magbene, and is a Sub-Chief to Bai Kompah. We drove him off and killed his head warrior and twenty-five men. We had a lot of fighting at the river; a lot of them belonged to the Karene side. It was reported that Bai Bureh's brother-in-law had been sent down to help Bai Kompah; so some of the prisoners told us. Then after that fight at Furudugu there was no more trouble. A few days after Bai Kompah sent one of his queens with a white flag and about £30, and practically caved in. We made several unsuccessful attempts to find him, and then, as they had paid the greater part of the tax, we returned to Kwalu. I afterwards recommended that Fulla Mansa should be made acting Chief of the country.

5005. What would you say was the purpose to be attained by this second expedition?—To put down the disturbances that were then existing in Kwaia, and to effect the arrests of Sena Bundi and Suri Kamara.

5006. After Captain Moore's expedition, and previous to the starting of yours, what dis-

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turbances were going on?—The Rokel river was blocked, and armed war-boys were holding the country, and threatened Chief Smart.

5007. Was it on his information alone that you made the expedition?—Traders as well.

5008. I think you said you had no precise instructions from the Governor as to what you were to do on that expedition?—No.

5009. Taking your instructions as being general, what were they?—I was to endeavour by every means in my power to open Rokel river and reduce the whole of the Kwaia to subjection.

5010. You returned to Kwalu about the end of March?—23rd April.

5011. Do you remember when Captain Moore's expedition finished?—It got back to Kwalu on the 11th March.

5012. After you finished that expedition, what was the next thing that happened?—The country was all peaceable then. Next thing I heard was that the Bumpe people had risen and raided the Imperri. I got news of that at Kwalu on 29th April.

5013. What account of that matter can you give? how did the rising begin?—The rising began with the Bumpe people: Grubru of Bumpe, Honno of Gerihun, Fah Kondah of Baomna; some prisoners whom we caught said Nyagua's boys had joined with them.

5014. Were there any others you heard of as having joined with them?—Not at first.

5015. Were these powerful Chiefs?—Yes; Honno and Grubru both have large followings.

5016. Then, as I understand, there was a simultaneous rising of the followers of these Chiefs?—Yes; on 28th April.

5017. Was there anything to show that there was any pre-arrangement between these different Chiefs?—They had been holding meetings.

5018. Did you get any authentic information about any of these meetings?—Captain Blakeney reported first that Nyagua was holding meetings, and he sent spies, who attended these meetings and heard that Nyagua himself was preparing for the outbreak. Captain Blakeney sent down for reinforcements, and the best of my men were sent up to him at Panguma.

5019. Did you get reports about the Bumpe Chiefs?—Not before the rising broke out Captain Blakeney's report was about the first week in April, and I got orders to send up thirty men on 25th April. The first we heard was that the Bumpe and Gerihun people had risen and raided the Imperri and had killed Mr. Hughes, and were advancing on Nancy Tucker's place, Sembehun. Then I despatched a patrol on 30th April down to see if the war was likely to come to our district. That same day I received serious reports from Sergeant Coker at Sembehun; so I sent Sub-Inspector Johnson with seventeen men to go to relieve Sembehun, and if necessary strengthen the detachment there.

5020. Did it appear at the beginning that there was a large force of war-boys?—Yes; they said there were a great number, but I have no authentic information as to the number. On 2nd May about 2000 men attacked Kwalu, but not more.

5021. They attacked Kwalu after they had raided the Imperri country?—Yes.

16*th September* 1898.

5022. You were speaking of an attack on Kwalu?—They were drawn off on 2nd May.

5023. Did they renew the attack?—They were all round the place for the next two or three nights. Some of our own people were out scouting on the road.

5024. Did the Kwalu people join the war-boys?—No.

5025. Did they remain round Kwalu, or did they go off?—They kept on till the morning of 7th May, when they attacked us in great force: about 5000.

5026. Could you make out if they were led by any Chiefs in person?—Yes: I was personally acquainted with some of them. Lahi Bum of Mano, Kassi of Bap, Yombasu of Taiama, and one of the Chiefs of Lungi was killed.

5027. That attack was also beaten off?—Yes.

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5028. What was the progress of events after that?—After that things were quiet in the immediate vicinity. They appear to have retired to Taiama, Mano, and Jama. They stockaded these places and concentrated their forces there. On the 17th May some of our messengers came across a body of the enemy about seven miles out, and exchanged shots with them. Next morning I sent a native officer and thirty men. He met the enemy about half an hour from the barracks, 2000 or 3000 of them, and chased them up to Mafouri, where they had a sort of stockaded camp in the bush. He drove them out of that and destroyed the stockade. On 23rd May Colonel Woodgate arrived with some West Indians, and that day we moved up towards Taiama. On the 24th we attacked it: we found it strongly stockaded. It is composed of eight towns. Finally we drove them out and destroyed all the eight towns except one, where we slept that night. A party of Frontier Police was sent to Senahu East in pursuit of the rebels. They returned next day, and reported that they had scattered everybody they had met. The next day Colonel Woodgate returned to Kwalu, and then he went on to Freetown. Before Colonel Woodgate left he despatched a party of Frontier Police with some friendly Yonnis to Jama and Manoh, with orders to take those towns if possible.

5029. Are these court messengers that you mention enrolled in any kind of force?—They are a civil force, ten to each district. They were provided with swords at first, but afterwards it was found necessary to let them have Snider rifles for their protection.

5030. What were their duties?—To carry summonses, letters, and mails, and to bring prisoners up to the Court-house.

5031. Were they liable to be attacked in the course of their duties?—Several of them had been attacked.

5032. Then I suppose Colonel Woodgate s expedition practically put an end to that rising, as far as Ronietta was concerned?—Only as far as Taiama was concerned. Mano and Jama were full of war-boys; and they were reported to be collected in force at Taiama Warra; we despatched a party of Frontier Police down there to see what was going on, on 4th June, with some friendlies. They met with Madam Tembe Yeva's (of Mocassi) people, several thousands of them. They surprised our party, and killed several friendlies and wounded some of the Frontier Police: eventually they were driven off, and the party proceeded to Taiama Warra and sent up to me for reinforcements, as they were hardly strong enough themselves. I sent off a party to assist these people and they practically smashed up the insurgents there. On 7th June the party Colonel Woodgate had sent returned, and brought the news that they had captured Mano and Jama. Meantime I had received orders to proceed at once on the Panguma Relief Expedition. Immediately after the capture of Taiama, Bai Komp of Yele and Bai Simera of Mayoppa had decided to assist us, and came down from Yele and Mayoppa and drove the natives out of Gendemah, and destroyed their stockades. They told me there was a great force of rebels at Tongi, and that they were harassing Bai Komp's people, so I decided to take the column up to Panguma by that way. I went to Yele, and then decided to march up through Jagboro, which was strongly fortified, and in possession of the rebels. When we got within two or three miles of it we were fired on by ambushes. We got on a hill about 1500 yards from the town—which is down in a hollow—and got a good view of it: and we could see the natives waiting for us in the bush. We put a few seven-pounder shells into the bush, and then charged and drove them out. There was a swift-flowing river between us and the town, which we had to cross. There were three rows of stockades round the town.

5033. How do they make these stockades?—As a rule live trees are growing round the town at intervals of about three feet apart. They fill up all these spaces with big slabs of wood, and lace them together with creepers and bush-ropes, making a solid wall about two feet thick, and from fifteen to eighteen feet high. On the top of this they place brushwood projecting outwards so as to prevent scaling. That is the inside fence; a solid mass. The next fence is rather more open and not nearly so thick: long poles and live trees in some cases. They make a sort of trellis with brushwood on the top. The third or outside fence is lighter still. These two are intended as obstacles to delay you under their fire.

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5034. Are the defenders not stationed in either of these outside fences?—No: they are inside the inner one. There are generally four openings in the inner fence, each closed by a solid slab of wood. They also loophole this fence, and make little platforms inside, generally about six of them. In the spaces between the fences they dig holes and put sharpened stakes, supposed to be poisoned, in the bottom of them, and cover the whole over with loose brushwood. Outside on the paths leading up to the town they put sharpened bamboo splinters poisoned.

5035. Did any of your people get wounds from these poisoned spikes?—Yes: their feet swelled up very much. The doctor injected Condy's Fluid.

5036. Were these stockades all round these towns?—Jagboro consisted of three towns, and each town had three rows of stockades. We drove them out of Jagboro.

5037. How did you get over the stockades?—We went up close and fired volleys, and the people began to run out at the far end. We kept up the firing and pursued them. We then went on to Gerihun, off the main road. This place consisted of two towns stockaded in the same way. We drove them out. They did not make much fight. Then we returned to Jagboro. From there we marched to Tongi. About a mile from the town the road had been completely blocked by felled trees. We had to cut a new road all the way up to the town. When we got to the town there was not a soul there; they had all fled. The place consists of three towns and a small village. We stopped there that night, and some of our men were 'sniped' as they went down to fetch water. Next day we destroyed the stockades and burnt the houses. Then we marched for Kambana, and arrived there without any opposition on the road. We found the natives had fled and set the town on fire. We bivouacked there that night. Next day we continued the march and met with some opposition on the way to Monidu. We got to Monidu, where the ferry to Nyagua's country is, and found that the boats had been removed: so we built rafts, and a small party of Frontier Police under Captain Ferguson landed on the other side under cover of our fire. They found a canoe concealed in the bush after some time, and while they were launching it they were again attacked by the natives. The greater portion of the party then crossed in this canoe, and we slept at a farm near the river. The baggage remained behind at Monidu. Next morning I ordered the baggage to be brought over and went on with the advanced guard to Gendema. We got in without much difficulty: the natives fled. While we were sitting down there waiting for the baggage, the natives collected and started firing on us. We had to disperse them, and slept there that night, and were joined by the main body. We were then eighteen miles from Panguma. When we started in the morning we found that the whole of the road was blocked up, and they were lying in the bush shooting at us as we advanced. We had to cut a road as before, and made slow progress. We had to camp in a rice-field about five miles from Panguma, as we found we could not get there that day. We went on next day: the road was blocked as before, and we had to cut our way through the bush. The natives attacked us at Dodo, where there are the cross roads.

5038. What people was it that were attacking you now?—Principally people of Dodo and Gendema, and some of the people we had driven from Tongi.

5039. These places you have been speaking of, were they all places of importance?—Yes: all large towns.

5040. Who is Chief of the Dodo people?—The Chief I knew is dead.

5041. We got to Panguma that morning.

5042. What force had you?—70 Frontier Police, 15 court messengers, 5 Black R.A. with the seven-pounder, and 200 or 300 friendly Yonnis.

5043. How were they armed?—Flintlock and cap guns, swords, and cutlasses.

5044. How long were you occupied on that expedition?—We left Kwalu on 12th June and got back on 10th July.

5045. Did you remain in Panguma?—I remained five days. Captain Blakeney reported that the place was completely invested, and he had been attacked four times, and had run short of ammunition. I brought some up for him. We went up to Lalehun and took it They had made stockades across the road and round the town.

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5046. Is Panguma in the Mendi country?—Yes.

5047. Did you go back to Kwalu by the same route?—No. After we had taken Lalehun, we went next day to Gihun, and had very hard fighting on the way there. The town itself was stockaded. I went back through Dodo. Chief Bundu, an ex-political prisoner, was reported to have a big war-camp, but I could not find him. We had some skirmishing there. When we were in Goma we found a strong stockade. We drove the natives out, and as soon as we had passed the stockade, they set fire to Goma. We camped at Goma that night. Next day we moved on, and found that as we advanced the natives set fire to their houses. Crossing the Sehwa river, we found the natives had stockaded the opposite side, and we had rather a severe fight to get across. We went to Jaiwa, which was strongly stockaded. We dispersed the natives who were defending it, and when they saw we had taken the stockade they retired on the town. In the defile leading up to the town they had built three strong stockades. As soon as we cleared these they set fire to the town of Jama and fled. Next day I remained at Jama, while I sent out parties to look for Bundu. They had several skirmishes with his followers, but did not meet him. Next day I resumed my march down. The natives fired at us from the bush and from the hills, and they burnt the towns to deprive us of any places to sleep.

5048. What casualties had you on the way from Kwalu to Panguma?—At *Jagbara*, 4 friendlies killed, and 2 Frontiers and 2 court messengers wounded. At *Tungi*, 2 friendlies killed, 5 men wounded. At *Gendema*, 1 friendly wounded aud 1 court messenger. Between Gendema and Tungi, 2 friendlies killed and three wounded. At *Lalehun*, 2 friendlies killed and 3 wounded. At *Gihun*, 4 friendlies and 3 Frontiers wounded.

5049. With what force did you start from Panguma?—60 Frontiers, including 5 wounded, 5 R.A., and 3 court messengers.

5050. There seems to have been more casualties among the friendlies than among the Frontiers?—The friendlies rush into the bush. We do not allow the Frontiers to do this.

5051. On the 4th July we went from Jama to Yabaima. There were ambushes at intervals, and two stockades. We had 1 court messenger wounded, 1 friendly killed, and 3 wounded. Yabaima was in flames when we arrived. The rebels were in force at Jagbwaima, so I turned back there. They were having a war-dance, and were boasting that we had been afraid to attack them. There were three rows of stockades, and the natives resisted very stubbornly. 5 Frontiers were injured by the bamboo spikes, and 65 rebels were killed round the town. On 6th July we went from Jagbwaima to Yomundo, which consisted of two large stockaded towns, with three rows of fencing round each. We opened with the seven-pounder, and then closed in, firing volleys. The natives began to run out of the gates at the back of the town, and some firing was kept up to delay us. We forced our way in at the front gate. Captain Ferguson took a section round the right side of the town. I took a section on the left side, and the third section with the Yonnis forced their way through the middle. 3 Chiefs and 115 men were killed. Yombasu, who had led the attack on Kwalu, was one of their Chiefs. Those in the second town did not wait for us, but threw down their arms and ran. After Yomondu there was no more fighting till I got back to Kwalu. They began to tender submission. Dambarra and Sar were all strong and stockaded, and the natives were reported to be in them. After a week or two they came in and submitted, and consented to pull down their stockades. When I got back to Kwalu on 9th July I found that the people in the lower part of the district were giving trouble. Tembi Yeva's people had gathered in a place called Tonia, and were supposed to be meditating an attack on Kwalu. The morning I arrived, Dr. Hood and a party had gone off towards Tonia. They came back two days later, and reported that they had found the town stockaded, but had taken the town after some sharp fighting. Since then there has not been any fighting in the district. Since I have come down to Freetown, Captain Ferguson sent out a patrol, and found about 600 armed men in a camp, but they threw down their arms.

5052. Then there is no strong body of armed men gathered in any spot in the country?

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Captain FAIRTLOUGH.

—No. Captain Warren came down to Sherbro, through Kwalu, and found the country quiet.

5053. Have you reported to the Governor as to the Chiefs who were engaged in these disturbances?—Yes: I have given him a list of those who assisted.

5054. Were you consulted as to those who should be excluded from any amnesty that may be passed?—Yes.

5055. Did you report any that you thought should be excluded?—Yes: Furi Vong of Taima, Murri Saidu of Pettifu, R. C. B. Caulker, Senabunda of Furudugu, Suri Kamara of Magbene. The remainder of the Headmen in Kwaia I considered had been already sufficiently punished, and I recommended His Excellency not to pursue the matter further.

5056. Which were those who had been specially and actively friendly?—Fulla Mansa of Yonni, Bai Komp of Yele, Bai Simera of Mayoppa, Chief Smart of Mahera, Tambawa of Kanema, Momo Gittai of Kendema, Bungi Legbi of Bunkeri, Madam Yoko of Senahu, and Nancy Tucker of the Bagru.

5057. Who were the neutrals?—Bai Kru of Maban, Bai Lal of Malal, Sembu Camara of Gendema (professed to be neutral), and Thomas Neale Caulker of Shengay.

5058. There was a man called Momo who died in the Colonial Hospital of a gunshot wound, which he was said to have received at Madonkia; it was sent to you to report on, and you made this report?—Yes.

5059. Do you remember what facts you ascertained at the time?—I remember that I found out that not a shot had been fired since we left Masenk.

5060. This man apparently was not an armed man?—No: they say he was shot in Madonkia; there was no shooting at all at Madonkia.

5061. What was going on at that date?—We were coming from the first Kwaia expedition. We were putting off in a boat to arrest Bai Kompah, who was supposed to be concealed in an island in a creek up at Makompah. When we got into the boat we left our baggage behind under a small guard. As soon as we got into the middle of the stream the natives, led by Pa Win, made an attack on our baggage. They exchanged shots, and the matter became so serious that we had to go back to relieve the baggage escort. We scattered them and destroyed Makompah; and Captain Moore abandoned the idea of trying to get Bai Kompah there. We then went to Romangi; there was the same ambush on the way. We slept at Romangi, but did not find Bai Kompah. On 6th March we went from Romangi to Mawoto, and from Mawoto to Robea, and stopped in Robea that night. The natives made a great combined attack at 12.30; they rushed through the sentries; however we drove them off. On 7th March we set Robea on fire and passed on. After we had set fire to Robea the natives gathered and followed us, and we had to fire into the bush several times. Just outside Masenk we had to put in two or three volleys. After that we did not fire a shot.

5062. Were there any farms along the route?—Yes.

5063. Were there no Frontiers near Madonkia Creek about 22nd March?—No; not later than 7th March. We all came out then. There was not another Frontier there till April, when I started on the second expedition.

5064. The dates are such that it does not seem possible that this man could have been mixed up in that, for he died on 22nd March?—He may have been in the Hospital for some time (referring to paper). He was admitted on 7th March.

5065. It might have been a stray shot?—I could get no further information.

5066. Have you any authentic information about that one-word Porro that was supposed to have been sworn immediately preceding this outbreak?—The one-word Porro was a Porro for the purpose of boycotting Sierra Leonians in 1897.

5067. Was it not said that there was a one-word Porro made very shortly before the recent outbreak?—There were Porro meetings held. Nyagua, Grubru, and Honno were supposed to have held one near Bumpe. Furi Vong and other Jagbara people held a meeting at Jama.

5068. Had you ever any authentic information?—They will not tell you that.

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5069. It seems to be unobtainable?—You cannot get hold of it.

5070. There was a series of questions sent you by the Governor: in one of your answers you say there was a desire on the part of the natives to throw off the English rule: apart from the rising, have you any grounds for this opinion?—In conversation they have admitted to me that they would like to get back to the old times. Both Nyagua and Honno have said this to me. That conversation led to my asking them if they would like old times back, and Honno said he thought it would be a capital idea.

5071. You and he were talking in a friendly way?—Yes.

5072. Jocularly, perhaps?—No. I wanted to get information.

5073. Have you any other facts leading to that conclusion?—Furi Vong came in after his arrest, and I was asking him how it was that he had joined the rising. He said that so far he had been living very peaceably, but when he heard that the outbreak had started and they were going to drive the English into the sea he thought it would be a very good idea. He did not think that the English would be able to stand against them if they all combined.

5074. Any others?—I heard them shouting in the fighting at Kwalu, 'Your time is come; we are going to drive the English into the sea, and we will have nothing more to do with you.'

5075. Did they talk Mendi?—Yes: it was interpreted to me by the Government interpreter.

5076. Was 'Bumpe' a war-cry?—I do not think so. They had a sort of native pass-word that meant 'by your mouth.' If one native met another in the bush, he would challenge him.

5077. Was that pass-word always the same?—They used to change it.

5078. Do you think they looked favourably on the Frontier Police?—In some cases they did. I have frequently had applications from chiefs to have Frontier Police stationed in their towns. Taking them on the whole, I do not think they do like them. Chiefs have often applied for them as giving them a superior status to have them to enforce their orders.

5079. Have you any facts showing that Sierra Leone people recommended chiefs to resist the hut tax?—Some Sierra Leonians were convicted at Kwalu.

5080. Could you give me any references to these cases?—One man, William Renner, was tried for urging natives not to pay hut tax in March. That would appear in the court returns. There was certainly one other, but I do not remember the date.

5081. Do you remember Renner's case at all?—He was haranguing a mob of Yonni people, urging them not to pay the tax, and saying that the tax was a very unjust thing; that the Queen did not know anything about it; that it was put on by the Governor for his own pocket, and he was robbing them, and they should combine together to resist the payment of the tax.

5082. Did it appear if he was haranguing them in their own language?—Yes; in Timini.

5083. But do they understand Timini?—It is their own language; they are a branch of the Timinis.

5084. Any other cases?—Proceedings were pending against three men, Macaulay, Taylor, and Johnson: all had the same story, that the tax was going into the Governor's pocket; it appealed to the natives.

5085. You say Furi Vong of Taiama was well acquainted with the terms of Sir S. Lewis's protest which appeared in the Sierra Leone *Weekly News*?—Before the rising he was asking me how many Governors there were in Freetown. He said there seemed to be a very influential man there, who seemed to take great interest in the affairs of the natives. It turned out that he was alluding to this article.

5086. Did he say how he became acquainted with the article?—No; he does not read himself.

5087. Have you any instances before the rising which show that the native chiefs had a dislike to missionaries?—Yes; the missionaries at Rotofunk said that the chief there was

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Captain FAIRTLOUGH.

inclined to be very hostile to them, and they were so afraid of the natives that they would like police in the town; so they had some sent there. The natives had made a disturbance round there two or three years ago, but I am not acquainted with anything later. Furi Vong was very much averse to giving them any land, and I had to go and see about it. He did not like their coming at all. Madam Yoko does not care about them, although she professes to be very obliging.

5088. About the Rokell river there certainly seems to have been a great deal of evil influence exercised by the traders?—It is represented that Senabundu's people have been led astray by traders. The feeling at Furudugu was so strong against Mr. Roberts in particular that he has had to apply for police protection. It has been stated by Chief Smart that the proposal to blockade the Rokell river first emanated from the Sierra Leone traders themselves.

5089. Do you remember when Chief Smart told you this?—Last April.

5090. You mention that when Furudugu was captured you found there were thirty copies of the *Weekly News* at Senabundu's place; did you preserve these papers?—No.

5091. Did you observe the dates?—I noticed some of them were about four years old. I glanced over them and was reading about something that had happened in my absence. There was nothing particular in them that I am aware of.

5092. You took over duty as District Commissioner Ronietta from Captain Moore?—Yes.

5093. Did you become aware as to what districts he had collected tax from and from which chiefs?—Yes; it is all shown in the books.

5094. Could you say which regions these were?—Madam Yoko, Nancy Tucker of Bagru, Fulla Mansa, Bai Simera of Masimera.

5095. Was the full amount assessed on Madam Yoko brought in?—No; they were bringing it in as they collected it.

5096. Was the collection made in her country without any police assistance?—There was only one instance where police had to go: that was with Furi Vong of Taiama, a sub-chief of hers.

5097. What were the circumstances?—Dr. Hood went up and levied on produce, Furi Vong's cattle, etc.

5098. Was that before Captain Moore's time?—While he was District Commissioner.

5099. Then did Dr. Hood go out on other collecting excursions?—I do not think he did.

5100. Was Nancy Tucker's full amount brought in?—No; she had not finished the collection when the troubles began.

5101. Was there any police assistance in her territory?—There was a post of ten police in Sembehun; she used them for the collection; there were no actual seizures.

5102. Nancy Tucker had sub-chiefs; did they help in the collection?—Some few of them did: she is not very popular.

5103. Can you say which sub-chiefs helped in the collection?—Bambikelle of Mokelle; I cannot remember any others: she managed it all.

5104. Was this police detachment at her orders so that she could employ them in the collection of the tax?—Not at her orders, but they were instructed to go and warn the chiefs to pay the money to Nancy Tucker.

5105. Did she send her clerk round to collect?—Yes; not actually collecting it in the chief towns, but reminding them and checking the amount. The Chiefs brought it in to Nancy Tucker.

5106. Had the police in Nancy Tucker's district any functions with regard to the tax other than warning the sub-chiefs to bring it in?—No.

5107. Where was this detachment?—At Sembehun, under Sergeant E. R. Coker.

5108. Did Fulla Mansa send in the full amount?—He had not finished when the disturbances broke out.

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5109. Had he any police assistance?—No.

5110. Had Bai Simera any police assistance?—No.

5111. Mr. Johnson was sent to the Ribbi country; who is he?—A native sub-inspector. He had ten men with him.

5112. What instructions had he?—To go down to Masenke warning all the sub-chiefs on the way down that he was authorised to receive the tax. He made his headquarters at Masenke, and despatched patrols to warn the sub-chiefs to bring in their tax to him there.

5113. He remained at Masenke himself?—Yes; collecting what was brought in and giving receipts.

5114. Was Bai Simera of Mayoppa a sub-chief?—No; a Paramount Chief; he is not the Bai Simera who was detained.

5115. Did he bring in the whole sum?—Not quite.

5116. Did he have any police help?—No.

5117. Is Santigi Bundu of Rotofunk a Paramount Chief?—He is sub-chief to R. C. B Caulker, Chief of Bumpe.

5118. Did he collect the full sum?—No.

5119. Had he any police help?—No.

5120. As to your own collection, your answer (4966) referring to Kwaia seems to want a little explanation.—As soon as we had smashed them up in that expedition, when we went to Furudugu people came in privately and paid tax to Fulla Mansa, and they stated that they had collected the money already, but Bai Kompah had refused to allow them to pay.

5121. Chief Smart is sub-chief to Bai Kompah?—Yes; of the man I went to arrest.

5122. Referring to your answer (4999), was Bouyiah a sub-chief?—Sub-chief of Mafoloma under Bai Kompah.

5123. Was any endeavour made to get this Chief to come and explain what was alleged against him before the expedition?—Yes; I had sent a messenger asking him to come in to Kwalu; but I never got any answer at all.

5124. What report did the messenger make?—That he could not find the Chief at all: the Chief was supposed to have left as soon as the messenger was seen coming into the town.

5125. Was there a full report of Captain Moore's expedition made to the Governor in writing?—Yes.

5126. Did you see it in the book?—He did not put it in the book at Kwalu.

5127. Did you make a full report of your expedition to Kwaia to the Governor?—Yes; that is in the book.

5128. You said that Captain Blakeney sent spies about the meetings that were supposed to be held by Nyagua; would it be possible to get the names of the spies?—They were Frontier Police disguised as natives, Private Stephen Dodgson and Lance-Corporal James Macaulay.

5129. Where are they now?—They were reported missing, but I understand that they are at Panguma now.

DUSU SURI.

14*th September* 1898.

(Interpreter—Momoduwakka.)

5130. Your full name?—Dusu Suri, Chief of Mousayia, two days on this side of Falaba. I have come to pay the Governor a visit: we now belong to the English Government. My town belonged to me before; part of the town has now removed; that is why I come.

5131. Have you formed any opinion about the hut tax? It is not in your country yet,

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DUSU SURI. but will come by and by?—I cannot say anything for myself until all the others have met together.

5132. What things do you send down to trade?—India-rubber. We used to get bullocks from Foota. We have no cows in the country: the Sofas war finished all the cows. This recent war has stopped all the trade.

5133. Have you plenty of people?—It is a small population: those who were saved from Samory's war.

15th September 1898.

MR. CAULKER. **MR. CAULKER.**

5134. My name is Alphonso T. Caulker. I was present and heard a sermon preached by Rev. L. Burtner. It was at the United Brethren Church at Shengay. I was interpreting. There was a large congregation, consisting of Sierra Leonians and natives of the place and Sherbros. It was about February 1898. The text was 25th verse, 20th chap. St. Luke. He explained about the use of the hut tax, as the people failed to agree about it, and tried to explain why the hut tax was established. He said we should not think it hard to pay tax as a thing just instituted, when the kingdom of Jerusalem was taxed, and it was already at hand in the time of our Lord, and that the people should pay the tax, and give to the Government what belonged to Government, and to God the things that belonged to God. We should not think it hard to pay, because it would be of some benefit to us. As far as I could make out the people felt grieved at this sermon.

5135. The substance of this sermon then was an admonition to pay the tax willingly and cheerfully?—Yes. This was after Captain Moore left Shengay; he simply went to tell the Chief to collect the tax. I interpreted for him that night.

5136. This sermon was preached previously to the commencement of the collection of the tax by your uncle?—Yes.

5137. Can you say if your uncle found it easy to collect the tax in Shengay?—Easy in Shengay town itself, but round about the villages up the Cockboro river many were against him for it. When Captain Moore came he tried to gather the Headmen together, but most of them did not go. Captain Moore sent policemen, at my uncle's request, to help him. It was easy after the two policemen came. They ill-treated some of the Headmen, and beat and tied them; hence the other people were terrified and paid. We heard they were burning towns and the old people's houses who could not pay the tax. When they were coming to Shengay many of the people took most of their things up to the Mission. My uncle was at Yobofo, and came to meet Captain Moore at Shengay, and told him they were breaking down houses and plundering. That evening when the people were gathered, Captain Moore told them why the hut tax was instituted: that it was to keep the country at ease, and help to defray the expenses of the Frontier Police. He gave every one of them a chance to speak if they wanted. One man, Banna Bum, said, 'We hear that any country that pays the tax, the other countries will fall on that country to war.' Captain Moore made the expression that those that spoke such words were standing on slippery ground, and that he had enough force to protect them, and with his twenty-five policemen he could drive the Mendis as far as to the Sofas, and that they should not be afraid to pay the hut tax, and that they would be protected. Notwithstanding that, the people were grieved at it. Some expressions are made by many people that it is not the hut tax, but it is slavery and taking people's wives. I do not know as regards taking the wives, but as regards slavery it is groundless. I was present at Shengay in 1896 when the Governor was there, and said that any slave who wishes to get away from his master was to pay £4, which was simply to bind the slave to his master. One could see that the people were not at all displeased at that time. Captain Moore said the same thing: that if any man's slave should go away from him and be in the Protectorate, he is at liberty at any time to get him. If he goes to the District Commissioner at Kwalu he will be assisted in getting that slave; even if that slave goes to Kwalu itself, he will be given back to his master.

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5138. But did the Governor say that?—No; It was Captain Moore. Slave-buying and selling had been given up some time before that. Mr. CAULKER.

5139. How long ago since you heard of any case of it?—About ten years now.

15th September 1898.

THE PORT LOKKO CHIEFS.

THE PORT LOKKO CHIEFS.

BOKARI BAMP, BAI SALAMANSA, ALFA SAIDOO, AUSUMANI BALI, SANTIGI KEAREH.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

5140. We are very glad to see you: we are released on condition by the Governor. The Governor ordered us to Government House, and ordered us to pay the hut tax, and he said, 'You will go home now, you are free men now, you are the Chiefs of the country; go yourselves to the officer at Port Lokko and give up all your arms and guns.' We had nothing to do with the war. I told my people I am going, and nobody should fight on our account. If we go to gaol for the peace of our country we are willing to go. Since then war has broken out; we have nothing to do with the war; there is nothing against us. The Governor said, 'I go to catch Bai Bureh, and send big gun and my soldiers against him.' I sat down under my punishment—hard labour for eight months—and I had to break stones. Because some of our people have already paid the hut tax we are in prison till we pay the remainder. Does such a thing happen under English Government as to put you in prison and make you do hard labour, and then ask for the tax? do they make us do our hard labour for nothing? We have nothing to do with Bai Bureh; we have to go and get the swords from the warriors. The District Commissioner said that the Sierra Leone people said to him, 'these Chiefs say if we pay the hut tax they would burn our things.' This is not true. There should have been a proper inquiry: but to sentence a man on one man's word. We went and broke stones, and we were sentenced to imprisonment. They will not ask us for any money. I understand our hard labour was done instead of paying the remainder. We shall have to surrender ourselves again, as we are not able to perform the conditions. The Governor said, 'Go and surrender yourselves, and give up arms.' We fear to go. We will have to stop here. All the people are scattered. There is no head in Port Lokko. I ask you now and pray for the peace of the country. Port Lokko is under this Government, and Sierra Leone people stop in Port Lokko in large numbers.

5141. I understand many Sierra Leone traders have gone back to Port Lokko?—Yes; plenty. I do not know who have gone back.

5142. Was it not a fact that Captain Sharpe called the Sierra Leone traders into your presence, and they said they had been threatened by you and your people, that if they paid the tax they would be pursued and their houses burnt?—No such thing.

5143. Did not the Sierra Leone people say that you or your people had threatened them; think well, you may have forgotten?—No such thing. The Sierra Leone traders said, 'We have to go and tell our landlords. Their landlords did not agree to the hut tax. They said, 'You traders are not going to pay for our huts which we built.'

5144. Was there an interpreter at the meeting at Port Lokko?—Yes.

5145. Did he tell you what the Sierra Leonians said?—No; when the traders came they simply put us in prison.

5146. That time that Captain Sharpe kept you in his house were there war-boys coming into the town?—Only Port Lokko people; no war-boys. Port Lokko is a big town; nobody had a cutlass.

5147. Were there war-boys from elsewhere coming into the town?—No; only the Port Lokko villagers.

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THE PORT LOKKO CHIEFS.

5148. Did they not come in in increased numbers?—No; the District Commissioner told me to call all my people.

5149. It is said that when you were in detention a great crowd of war-boys came into the town?—Only people belonging to Port Lokko and the small villages.

5150. Then it was the people who belonged to the small villages who came in on that occasion?—Yes.

ALFA SAIDOO.

ALFA SAIDOO.

5151. When we were caught we had not war in our country, only Port Lokko people came to Port Lokko. Nobody made trouble because we were taken prisoners; when a man is more than you he will take the place for himself. We never had any mischief, because the country is the Queen's country; whatever white man wants to do he can do it, we have no power. We are now released and tell you what is in our mind; we should like to go and rebuild our town. All our place is full of barracks. If we do not go to Port Lokko the town would not be rebuilt. The Government has broken our houses, the Government has more strength than we.

ANSUMANI BALI.

ANSUMANI BALI.

5152. They took Bai Forki prisoner and gave him a staff. Captain Cave was in charge at that time. Mr. Crowther took charge of the Karene district. He got an order to take Bai Forki to Karene. Bai Forki stopped at Port Lokko. He said, 'Let us go on to Karene. The police said, 'We are not going to Karene to-day.' Then Bai Forki said, 'Let me go to the Alikarli and get a lodging.' They said, 'No; you must go to Sori Bunki.' Bai Forki said, 'Sori Bunki is not the chief, so I will go to my own place, old Port Lokko.' He then went to go to old Port Lokko. I and Alfa Mussoo were not able to fight against Bai Forki nor against the police. We stood off and they passed on. Sergeant Wilson then sent to Karene and they said to Mr. Crowther that I had rescued Bai Forki from the police. Bai Forki met me at my place and passed on. Twelve police came for me, and handcuffed me and took me to Karene. Captain Cave went to Karene to inquire into this case. Twelve police were standing telling lies against me. Captain Cave knew they were telling lies. He said, 'I shall fine you now.' He fined me £8; I paid and came back home. I told the trouble to Mr. Parkes. They sent again to make inquiries. At the same time they recommended that my stipend should be stopped, but they gave it me back. When this trouble came on account of the hut tax, they mixed me with these chiefs, and sent me to prison. Captain Sharpe said at Government House it was on account of rescuing Bai Forki, the governor said the same thing. They fined me, I paid the fine, and the whole matter was settled a month before the hut tax matter. They told me they now imprison me for rescuing Bai Forki. We are friends to the English. If any Sierra Leone man does anything they will investigate the case; but now when the police bring a lie they bring the matter before their officers, and they say, 'We will take you and treat you as we like'; and tie you or flog you. We do not like this thing. So many troubles are in the place, and it is full of war now. If we go now they will give us in charge. We want to go home, but not yet. If we see the whole country come to peace we will go. We had nothing to do with the war either before or at present.

SANTIGI KEAREH.

SANTIGI KEAREH.

5153. Captain Sharpe spoke a lie against me. This Alikarli sent me. I am in charge of the Sendagu portion of Port Lokko. He told me to call all the Santigis when Captain Sharpe came to Port Lokko. The Alikarli sent to me to call Santigi Suri and Santagu and two men came and informed Captain Sharpe that I was calling war-boys. They arrested me on this false information; it was all a lie. We have no war against the English Govern-

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ment. Our forefathers were friends to the English. We are going to great expense in keeping the roads clean. We have been simply brought to prison. The Government have provoked war, they killed Bai Bureh's three men. We were in prison. The Governor says, 'Go and take away all the arms from the people.' We cannot do it. That is why we are going to stop in Freetown. All our villages are ruined. I had ten cows at Malal; they have killed all the bullocks, and I have only two cows left. Nothing remains, the rice and all is burnt up. We beg you through the Queen to save us and drive war from our country. We are the white men's slaves. Before your slave rebel against you, coax him to you. This hut tax we are not able to pay; the people have little and the locusts are now coming to eat everything. Bullom is full of locusts. We pray you as representative of the great Queen of England. If the police are not taken out of our country there will be no peace. SANTIGI KEAREH!

BOKARI BAMP. BOKARI BAMP.

5154. Who will dare to crown Bai Salamansa. I, Bokari Bamp am still acting chief. Captain Sharpe and Mr. Crowther ruined the country.

15th September 1898.

MOMODU WAKKA, Government Interpreter. MOMODU WAKKA.

5155. My name is Momodu Wakka. I went up as interpreter with the 1st Detachment of the West India Regiment from Kambia to Karene. With C Company under Major Norris. I was with the soldiers during the whole of the operations in the Kassi country till 13th April. We landed at Robat. There was no trouble till we got to Kambia. We fought all the way from Karene to Port Lokko; many were wounded, and some killed. About 5th March, at Port Lokko—different people, I believe, from the Kassi country—came to attack us. We fired at them and scattered them.

5156. Was not part of Port Lokko burnt by the Port Lokko people themselves?—Yes, through that treacherous man, Sori Bunki; his house was burnt by his enemies; no one of his own natives speak good of him. Other people from the interior burnt Port Lokko houses. Our party burnt some houses to clear a space to see the enemy. Old Port Lokko was burnt by military authority.

5157. It resulted from the fighting that a great many towns were destroyed?—Yes.

5158. Can you give me any idea how many towns were destroyed during the war?—I will take pen and paper and let you know presently. Before I left there was not a single town in the Kassi country which had not been destroyed by us.

5159. Was much rice destroyed?—Not much: our Mendi labourers used to take some.

5160. Did the Mendi's destroy and plunder much rice?—Yes.

5161. What became of the women and children?—They had all cleared out before we arrived.

KARENE CHIEFS. KARENE CHIEFS.

15th September 1898.

PA SUBA, BAI SAMA, BAI SHERBRO, ALIMAMI NOAH, BAI FARIMA, BAI YINGA, ALIMAMI KEKA, HANNA MODU'S Representatives, ALIKARLI KOYAH BUBU (Spokesman).

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

5162. What are the causes of this war, and what steps would you recommend to bring the people back to their towns?—The reason of the war is on account of hut tax. Why? On account of our slaves who used to come here to be free. From our forefathers to our fathers, we have no quarrel with the Government. When the Government gave us orders to clean the roads and build bridges over rivers, and build houses for the Government at Karene, at Port Lokko, at Mabele and other places, we have done all this. Then the Officers and Police

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KAREME CHIEFS.

went to Karene, there they remain, and our servants every one go to Karene; nobody listens to us again. If you speak to your children they behave badly to us, but about all this we have no quarrel with the Government. But the hut tax: they did not call the Chiefs and consult them and say, 'we want so much.' But one day they show papers and letters to us to say you must pay next year. We received these letters and we went to consult. We wrote a letter and sent it to Karene, saying, 'We pray you, we agree to every order, but this hut tax; our houses are covered with grass, to go to sleep in it, to pay for that we are not able.'

5163. Did you send the letter to Captain Sharpe or the Governor?—To Captain Sharpe at Karene. Karene is not Freetown: every matter from our place to Karene is three days' march. When we see these letters, every Chief who wants his stipend must go to Karene, and they are close to Freetown. We bear all this trouble. We received letters inviting us to come to the celebration of the Jubilee. When we want to come to Freetown, the Paramount Chiefs send the young Chiefs. If anybody comes to the Queen's Jubilee, and have anything on their mind, they will beg for that purpose. They said, 'We will go to the Jubilee and beg about the hut tax.

5164. Which people was it who advised you, if you begged anything in Jubilee year, it would be granted?—We heard it in Freetown. When we came to Freetown we begged for that matter. We stopped seven months. We wrote a letter begging and saying we had no money. The Footah country is closed. We all depend on the Footah country, because they have a larger number of cattle. We have no road now to go to Footah; if we want to go we have to pay duties going up and coming down. The French take all the produce from the interior. All this brings us to poverty. That is what we beg: if you want to help us, open this interior road for us. If the people travel backwards and forwards, and the road is free, the Chiefs will gather to help the Government and collect money. We begged: we wrote a letter: they said this letter must go through to our mother the Queen; we are her children; let her forgive us this hut tax. Any order she gives us we are quite willing to obey. In success a man passes. You say, 'Give me this thing': he says, 'I have got nothing.' He is sorry, and he forgives you, and you are very glad; but if a man is stronger than you, and an old friend, is he going to hurt you?

5165. Bai Farima, when we left Freetown, slept at my place two days; then I went to crown Bai Farima. I stayed to show the people the new king. The 'Countess of Derby' came up to Robat, and we received a message to come at once. We left Kambia on Sunday morning, and as soon as we got near the officers, I was sent to Major Norris. When we stopped with them they said, 'This is Bubu, and this is Bai Farima; we hear you have stopped canoes from going to Freetown.' We had not stopped anybody. He said, 'If you did not, come to Karene with me and tell the District Commissioner so.' We said, 'We are Chiefs, we get this country; let us go to Karene.' He told the soldiers, and four took me—four Santigi Bundi and three Bai Farima.' He said, 'I do not want to handcuff you.' He told the soldiers to fix their bayonets, and if anybody tried to go away shoot him. When we landed at Karene it was night-time, and we were delivered over to the Police, and all three handcuffed together till the morning. We did not see Captain Sharpe till next morning.

5166. Was it explained to you why they wanted you to go to Karene?—Because, they said, we stopped the river.

5167. In the morning they took us to Captain Sharpe: we thanked him: he asked 'Who put you in irons?' I told him we had arrived at night, and were given to the police, and we did not know who had given the order. In the morning we were called to the Court, Bai Farima and I. He said, 'The traders at Kambia give you a bad name.' They gave orders to take the handcuffs from us.

5168. What I have to say about the hut tax, 'We do not know what to do; what happens to us you already see: our countrymen are in prison in Freetown. We do not know what to do: when we beg we do not succeed. If they ask us now for this hut tax, we do not know what to do; we have nothing, but we will try. If we say No, we are not

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able to do anything. The Queen and the Government are friends of our fathers: we have no way to fight against the Government. We beg: if they agree, we are very glad: if they say No, we must bear it.

5169. We saw people coming from Karene, we heard guns: when we heard the noise I told the king, and said, 'What are we going to do now?' 'Go and get white flags.' We sent this flag to meet them. They burnt five towns close to Kambia. We met them with the flag at the Melakori. The commander said, 'You will behave very well: I would not listen to you if you had not brought the flag.' Then I wrote a letter to Kambia to get ready fifteen huts for their lodging. They prepared it for them. The colonel arrived at 4 A.M., and we were called. We said, 'We have nothing to do with the war, we are for the Queen and the Government.' He said, 'All right.' We supplied one hundred men as carriers. The colonel arrived on the fourth day: the people had all left the town; they had heard of his coming, and all went to the bush: only the chiefs were in the town. He said, 'If you cannot get the people for carriers, get two canoes to put the rice in for Port Lokko. I will give you no time: I want it to-morrow morning. The officer will go with the canoes: we want them to go to-night.' We began to try, and we took the rice to Robat and to Port Lokko. They said, 'We want twenty cows.' There is no road to go to Footah: since the French took Footah we have no way to get twenty cows. We tried what we could do, and in the morning we gave three cows to the colonel. In the evening Captain Sharpe called us. He said, 'What have you to say. When I arrive here you must pay the hut tax. I want it now. I am here now to collect it. You know Bokari Bamp: he called the others, and they are now in prison for the hut tax.' If we did not pay it, we will have to go to prison. He told us if we had not got the money to pay all we could. Noah began to beg him that they might pay 1s. or 2s. for each hut at present. They come to meet us in our town: they want to destroy our town. Noah had begun to pay his, and I had begun to pay mine. We paid our hut tax: some of the people have got nothing. The little we did succeed in getting we paid to the customs officer, and he gave us a receipt for it. His name was Yaski. The war commenced the Port Lokko side of the Skarcies. They took Bokari Bamp to prison: afterwards they began to make war there. I could not say where the war commenced, because I was not present. The hut tax is the reason of the war.

5170. When they arrested Bokari Bamp and the other chiefs at Port Lokko did any other people bring war on Port Lokko?—No.

5171. Nobody from the Kassi country came to make war on Port Lokko at that time?—Captain Sharpe went to Pa Suba to collect hut tax. Pa Suba paid him. Then they went to a place called Romani: then they had a quarrel about a cutlass: they wanted to take a cutlass from a boy, but he would not give it up. Captain Sharpe hit the boy on the head. The boy ran and reported it to the others. When they saw them coming the white men shot three of them.

5172. That is what you hear?—Yes.

5173. About the hut tax, do I understand correctly that the fault you have to find about it is that you are too poor?—Yes.

5174. Apart from the people being too poor, is there anything about it that they object to?—The people are too poor, and at the same time the rude and foolish way they collect it. Some kings have been handcuffed and some sent to prison.

ALIMAMI NOAH.

5175. Is there any other way? Suppose Government said, 'We need money,' that would have been more agreeable?—If they commenced in a respectful and nice way, without sending people to prison, we will collect what we are able. The Queen has done great good for us: she has made peace, and who has made peace you must help. But they should do it in a nice way: we understood that anybody under the Queen's Government is quite free. If she tells us something that is too hard, we would say, 'Mother, you must reduce it;' we would not refuse. We are under great trouble: we belong to the Queen: we are chiefs

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ALIMAMI NOAH. under the Queen: if she wants us to go to England we would go. Our ancestors have given no trouble. We pray you to try to make peace. We are under great trouble. If there was any way to go we would run there: but we have no way. We know this is not the Queen's order. We are a poor people, but we know that something must be paid to the Government. If white man say something, and he see it is not right, he will give it up for a time. He will see we have no wealth in our country, only trouble. We would not say No to 1s. each house, if there is a proper road to the interior to come down. But we pray you to make peace.

5176. Do I understand that if the Government came to you and said, 'We want money, give us what you are able to give, and collect it from your people yourselves,' would that be all right?—It would be done easily.

5177. Suppose Government said, 'We want money, and we think this town should pay so much, and that town so much, and we leave it to your chiefs to collect it,' but Government fixing the amount?—If a letter was sent to the big men in England. We have seen you and we beg. We did not say we are not going to pay, but we ask you to reduce it.

BAI SAMA.

BAI SAMA.

5178. We thank the Queen very much for sending a great officer to inquire into the affair.

PA SUBA.

PA SUBA.

5179. All the troubles are now going to be at an end as the Queen has sent an officer to inquire into them. We know the Queen loves us. If the Government want money, and fix the sum, and let the chiefs collect it, we would do our best. This hut tax affair is very great. Our fathers did not know anything about it. If they wanted it they should have sent a letter to us to meet in one place, and say, 'We wish you to do such work for us,' then no trouble would have arisen. In friendship it is not accustomed between two friends to do such a thing.

5180. (HANNA MODU'S representative).—I told the Chiefs, because they are the head Chiefs. Our grandfather, Hanna Modu, is a great man, and makes peace between Chiefs. He will make peace between them and the Government. The Governor said before there was any tax collected, let every Chief collect his own tax in his country; but that we cannot do; there is no money in our country, no way to trade. That is what we said. But now we have seen the Queen herself; whatever you tell the Queen is perfectly true. Whatever way you suggest to bring good to the country, we will leave the matter in your hands. We are not educated men, that gives us much trouble. The peace of the country is what we ask you.

5181. Do you understand that in order to advise the Queen, I require to know what is in your minds on these subjects; that is why I ask you these questions?—Yes; we are very glad.

5182. Then I understand if the Government comes to you year by year and asks for money, and if they asked what you thought too much you would tell them, and say what you could pay?—We would do that; if the tax is reduced to 1s. a hut we will be quite willing.

5183. Then it has been a grievance connected with this hut tax that you were not consulted beforehand about it?—Yes.

5184. Then I have heard some chiefs say that no tax ever can be good, because it would be as it were selling the country?—If the Government want to do such a thing, the chiefs ought to be informed. The Government ought to say 'I want you to help me with such an amount,' but not to go and say 'You must pay so much.'

5185. You mean you would be willing enough to give it as a voluntary contribution but it would be selling the country if the Government came and peremptorily demanded it?—Yes.

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5186. (NOAH).—If you are friends, make a proper peace in the country first, and sit down and rest a little time, and let the people settle down properly. If your country is a friend it will not simply come to plunder us. Is the country now at peace? I say, Yes. But to make peace in the country with a gun, in black men's country—he is your friend, and weaker than you—that vexes us. If the Queen were to know such a thing she would say 'No'; she is a peacemaker, and would not ruin anything. But the disrespect we have seen; the common Frontier Police come and collar us—our own escaped slaves—but in the Queen's uniform. They simply come to plunder us. We used to come to Freetown to receive our stipend; we went off to our country to buy what we want. If a man is your friend, and you are stronger than he, you coax him, and that is the proper way. We are able to pay 1s. for each hut. PA SUBA.

5187. You think that you who are nearer Freetown than to the District Commissioner should go to Freetown?—Yes.

5188. Do I understand that all would like to come to Freetown from however far they may be?—Yes; that is what we used to do.

5189. (ALIMAMI KEKA).—This is a matter concerning the country, and the chiefs are here. The crowning of this chief, who was not the right man to crown, has brought trouble in the country. It is not well to take his right from a man. They took police from here to carry to my own country. I am the owner of the country. Those who are crowned chiefs in the country without right are those who have brought trouble. Yengisaiu came to Karene, and they crowned him chief without consulting me. I am the head of the country. Kwobba was the right man.

5190. Are there any other instances of chiefs being crowned who are not the right people?—Only Yengisaiu in my country.

5191. Do you know of any others?—No; the others will speak for themselves. Let them order the police to go, all the chiefs of the country must speak to me on the hut tax, they will bring the tax to me. The Government told Yengisaiu to collect tax and bring it. I am the king. When they say 'Pay hut tax,' the ordinary man will go and pay his hut tax to the proper man. We are quite willing to pay what we are able to pay if the hut tax is reduced.

5192. Would the chiefs be glad if the French Government came here and settled down instead of the English Government?—The English Government did us no harm till the hut tax came. Even if a man be a poor man, if you go to him respectfully, he will do his best.

5193. (BAI FARIMA).—Captain Sharpe gave me this staff seven months ago. The old king is dead. I am the right man to succeed him. I had this staff in my hand, and they handcuffed me. We are very glad to see you. This is the first time the Queen has sent a proper officer. The little rice we have planted during the last two months the locusts have come and destroyed. We have to pass so many customs officers on the way to Kambia; we want to make a little trade. If we want to make any trade at all we have to pay licence. We have no way to go.

16th September 1898.

MRS. WHYTE.

MRS WHITE.

5194. My name is Phoebe Whyte, I was a trader in Port Lokko for six years till last February. Santigi Keareh was my landlord, but I did not speak to him about the tax before Captain Sharpe came to collect it. He said (the landlord) I must not pay for the house; it was his house, and they must ask him. Then I told Captain Sharpe what he said, and he said he had nothing so do with that; then he locked us up. Captain Sharpe called the country people together, and told them he was going to arrest Bai Bureh next day. He said 'Go and tell him I shall go to-morrow and catch and handcuff him.' He spoke in English; the people who were standing round heard and understood.

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Mrs. Cole.

Mrs. Cole.

5195. My name is Nancy Cole, I have been a trader at Port Lokko for five years. I remember Captain Sharpe sent notice that he was coming to Port Lokko to collect the tax in about a week or ten days. My landlord was Kuma Bai. I talked to Kuma Bai about the tax; he was sick at the time, and I went to him.

5196. Why did you go to your landlord; he had nothing to do with your paying your tax?—The house did not belong to me; before that they always told me in the town that they would drive us from the town if we paid the tax; that was since we first paid the licence. After Captain Sharpe had sent that notice he came to Port Lokko to collect the money, and he sent for us; and asked us if we were ready to pay. I said 'my landlord will not allow me to pay for the house,' and the others said the same thing. Captain Sharpe was vexed, we asked him, and said 'We are ready to pay, but the chiefs will not allow us.' We asked him to call the chiefs; so he called them, and asked them in the presence of us all if he allowed us to pay. The chief said, No. There was an interpreter present; I understand some Timini, and heard the chief say, No. He called us again next morning, and asked us if we had brought the money for the tax. I said 'No, that the landlord does not allow it or else I would pay.' Then I was locked up. That was Tuesday midday. He called us again on Wednesday, and fined us £5 each. He asked for the tax, and said we should be sent to gaol for six months with hard labour; then we agreed to pay.

5197. Was it after you agreed to pay that he fined you?—We paid both tax and fine at the same time. The Sergeant went and broke open my box. I had left a girl in charge of the shop, which was open. I paid 5s. tax and £1 fine on Thursday morning, and we were released. I have not been back to Port Lokko since then.

Alfa Levelly.

Alfa Levelly.

5198. My name is Alfa Levelly, otherwise Jacob Williams. I have traded in Port Lokko for eighteen years. I remember Captain Sharpe sending notice to Port Lokko that he was coming to collect tax; and a week or ten days later he came and asked me and a number of other traders for money for the tax. I had paid my licence. We told Captain Sharpe that we must see our landlords before paid; we thought we could not pay unless our landlords agreed. I paid 6s. rent a month, and was going to take the tax off that rent. My landlord said I must not go and pay for the place as I only rented it. I went back and told Captain Sharpe; he said he had nothing to do with that. That was on Tuesday. Then on Wednesday Captain Sharpe said we must be locked up because we did not pay. On Wednesday night some of us who got people to stand for us for £4 were released. Santigi Kabia was my landlord. Captain Sharpe called Bokari Bamp and told him we must pay; I was not listening very much and did not hear what Bokari Bamp said. There was not much talk about the hut tax before Captain Sharpe came to collect it. Finally I paid the tax and was fined £5 for talking Akhoo language. Captain Sharpe said I should speak English. I have not been to Port Lokko since February.

Rev. C. Helmsley.

Rev. C. Helmsley.

5199. My name is Charles Geoffrey Helmsley. I am a clergyman of the English Church, and was trained at Islington College by the Church Missionary Society. I took orders in 1897, and came to Sierra Leone last October. I have been stationed one month at Fourah Bay College. Then I went up to Robari, eight miles east of Karene, for about two months. I came down to Port Lokko in January for about a week, and then came to town till February. Then I went up again with the idea of visiting Robari and other stations. After leaving Port Lokko I got to Mabomp, and stopped there for a fortnight, as the people would not give me

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carriers, then I got on to Robari and remained there till May. I came down here on 1st May and have been in Fourah Bay College ever since. Rev. C. HELMSLEY.

5200. You were near the war operations?—About six miles off at Mabomp.

5201. When you were at Robari were you troubled with the war people in any way?—No, not while I was there; the people knew me.

5202. There was no guard or detachment of any kind stationed at the Mission Station?—None whatever.

5203. Have you had much intercourse with the Chiefs of the country?—Very little. When I first went up I was introduced to Bai Farima, and called on Alimami at Rabinti. Alimami Baba called on me when I first went up there. The only other Chief I saw was Bai Sheka. He professed that he wanted the whole thing to be closed, and he had nothing to do with it at all, and was not adverse to the Government.

5204. You hardly know enough of the Chiefs to have formed any opinion as to the practicability of their young men being educated, who would in course of time become Chiefs themselves?—I do not see any reason against it. From what I have seen it is a very slow process. I cannot say if they prize English education. I should think in a general way the Chiefs do not care about it for themselves, but might be rather proud of their sons having it.

5205. Can you give me any other information at all?—When we were at Robari we did not know how things might turn out for a long time, and the soldiers came finally and brought us away. On the whole, as far as I was concerned, I was well treated. The other two missionaries were more or less threatened before I got there. The Chiefs seemed to be afraid to help us or do anything to us.

5206. Did you ask them to help you?—We asked Bai Farima to send us down to Port Lokko. My friends had been to him before I got there. After I got there I sent to him to say I wanted to get down, but he put me off and evaded the question. So I said I should not take any more trouble, but that I was afraid that some trouble might come to him and left it.

5207. Surely you would have been safer at the station?—The Chief might have sent a boy with us by a road where we should not meet war-boys. However, after that I did not attempt to make the passage.

SANA FOFANA.

SANA FOFANA.

5208. My name is Sana Fofana. I was servant to the Mission at Robari. My masters wanted to go to Port Lokko, and we went to ask Bai Farima to give us men to take us down. He said he could not do that as the country was not all his and he could not answer for it. When we got to Robaga, we met a man with a gun, who said he was going to Bai Bureh. The people of that place stopped us, and the Chief told us to go back to Rocheng. While we were on the road we were told that a man had been killed in Port Lokko, named Ba Bundu (?). I then left my masters to go and see about the safety of my own family. I was stopped by the country people, who said I was carrying a message from my masters to Port Lokko. They said I must wait till the war was over; so they took me to another town of Bai Forki's, and I went to and from work there. I was there for four months. Pa Woosa kept me.

MRS. CLINE.

MRS. CLINE.

5209. Mrs. Cline made a similar statement to Mrs. Cole (5196), and said: The natives said if we paid the tax they would burn our things. Ausumani Bali was my landlord. He said it was not for me to pay. After we had finished paying, Captain Sharpe told us he was going to catch Bai Bureh. Three days afterwards I heard of the war. I did not hear Captain Sharpe speak about Bai Bureh.

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16*th September* 1898.

Mrs. Taylor.

Mrs Taylor.

5210. My name is Nancy Violette Taylor. I am a Sierra Leonian. We lived at Bolian on the Mapelle River, Kassi Lake. The policemen's treatment gave rise to this war. When they were sent to collect the tax, they used to ill-use the natives, and took their wives. The policemen went to Kabomp, and met a man with his wife and daughter. They beat the man and assaulted his wife and daughter, and threatened his daughter with a knife if she cried out. In the town where we were (Bolian), Captain Carr spent three days. The police caught all the fowls in the town.

5211. Did nobody complain to Captain Carr?—All the people ran away while Captain Carr was there, till he had left.

5212. Captain Carr came at 2. The people ran away. He asked for the Head Chief. He said he would burn the town if the Headman did not come. Mr. Smith brought the man to the town, and he promised to pay the tax in a week's time. The next day a messenger, Williams, came to say he must pay in three days' time. He asked Mr. Schlenker to lend him the money.

5213. We were afterwards caught by the war-boys, and I was with them for six weeks. On 29th April a sudden attack was made on Bolian. We went away in a boat, my husband, myself, a constable, and several others. In less than half an hour we got to a town, and over 200 people came on us with cutlasses, sticks, and guns. They rushed on the policeman, W. J. Caulker, and chopped him, and killed him, and took his gun, and then threw him into the sea. They took the two other men and laid them side by side on the ground and chopped them to pieces. They killed my husband at my feet. I asked them, 'Why do you punish Sierra Leonians so?' They say, 'You pay the hut tax.' They say, 'The Sierra Leonians with Bai Bureh had not paid the tax, so they did not kill them.' They said we were lucky not to be caught before, as the Head Chief had, just the day before, said that no more women were to be killed. They said to me afterwards, 'The Government say we must not keep slaves, nor have woman palaver, nor pledge human beings. We say, 'All right.' They come, last of all, and say we must pay for these dirty huts, but if they get the money they will not have anywhere to put it. The Government look on us as a lazy people, but the whole of us will die before we pay this tax. We will kill Captain Carr, and then the Governor will come; we will kill the Governor, and then the Queen will come herself. The policemen catch our big men and flog them. If they have not anyone to fight for them they must fight for themselves. It was one of the war-boys who told me all this. I used to get words from the people with regard to their grievances. Mr. Misler was receiving payment from the natives of the hut tax. The people were paying the money with no good intention. I was with these people for six weeks. On Sunday 12th June, the *Alecto* came, and we got down to the wharf and waved, and they sent off a boat, and brought us down to Bonthe. The men who caught us said they would not let us free till our people had paid £3 for us.

Mr. Robin.

Mr. Robin, Acting Keeper of Freetown Gaol.

5214. My name is James Maine Robin. I am acting keeper of Freetown Gaol. [Witness produced the following books:—(1) Volumes containing warrants for detention or deportation of prisoners; (2) Book of Commitment from the Protectorate of prisoners who have been tried by District Commissioners; (3) Record of convictions before Police Magistrates or District Commissioners; (4) Record of prisoners detained on the Governor's warrant; (5) Letter-books (showing correspondence relating to prisoners brought from Sherbro and elsewhere, and committed on the order of the Colonial Secretary, for whom warrants were granted subsequently.)]

Kaba Gaindah. Governor's warrant, dated 9th May 1896; released by order of the Governor, 29th June 1896; has not been re-arrested since, as far as I know.

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Francis Farwoonda. Governor's warrant as political prisoner, 21st June 1898; still in custody. Mr. Robin.

Nyagua. Governor's warrant, 15th July 1898. (Insurgent's Ordinance, 1898.)

Port Lokko Chiefs paid £95, and were released on that condition.

17th September 1898.

Mr. Speck.

Mr. Speck.

5215. My name is David Speck. I have been four years a trader in Port Lokko. My landlord was Mami Jimi. I paid 5s. a month rent. The native Chiefs of the country told us not to pay tax. We had not talked with the natives before Captain Sharpe came. Then I spoke to my landlord. She said I must not pay the tax, and if they wanted the tax, they must ask her for it, as she gets the house. She was afraid that the house would become mine if I paid the tax. Captain Sharpe called us, and asked us if we were ready to pay. Mr. Bickersteth of Kissi spoke for us, and told Captain Sharpe that if he wanted the tax he must ask our landlords. He said he had nothing to do with landlords. The next day he locked some of us up, after asking us to pay. On Saturday evening he called the Chiefs, and asked them about it in our presence. He told them he had come for the tax. The Chiefs said they must go and tell their big people, as their big people were not there, and then they would come back and tell Captain Sharpe. On Monday he said that he wanted a man to collect the tax from us. The man said he had no power. If the landlords would pay the money he would bring it to Captain Sharpe. Bokari Bamp said that. We told Captain Sharpe that we were in fear of getting our houses broken, and being turned out if we paid. After I had been locked up, I paid the tax and a fine of £2. I did not hear Captain Sharpe say anything about arresting Bai Bureh.

19th September 1898.

Mr. Cole.

Mr. Cole.

5216. My name is Moses Cole. I am a trader in the Small Bum at Gambia. The native people stopped trade for five months last year, because we paid license to Government. They said we ought not to pay the license. Captain Carr sent for the Chiefs to Mafwe, and told them they must pay the tax. They refused at first, and he took some of them to Bandajuma—Berri, Thomas Bongo, Vandi, Sissi Kokki, and two others, I think. He kept them at Bandajuma for about a month and a half, and then released them after they had consented to pay the tax. Those at Gambia used to tell us that war was gathering at Bumpe country. About 20th April, Captain Wallis was in Gambia to collect the tax. Sub-Chief Kong came down to pay his tax. Captain Wallis asked him why he did not pay. He said he was waiting for Katta of Lowa to pay, so as to bring it all down together. He said Katta was living in Bumpe. Captain Wallis sent seven police, I think, to arrest Katta. Macaulay was one of them. On the way they met war people in Battus Town, Semabu. They fought with the police, and caught one of them, by name Caulker. The police returned on Friday to Gambia, and the corporal told Captain Wallis about what had happened. By Monday we heard that the war people came to Katta's place, Lowa. Captain Wallis wanted to go and meet them. On the evening of Tuesday, 26th April, at seven, we heard that the Bumpe people would bring war to Gambia that very night. Captain Wallis put a guard all round. At 6.30 on Wednesday morning the outbreak took us unexpectedly. Captain Wallis and the twenty police were able to drive them off. It was the hut tax that brought the outbreak. The native people complained every now and again. 'They get our country and come and put tax on us,' but we did not understand their plots, because they were secret. In my presence they killed Mr. James and John Beale. I heard them say 'those are they who always write to the Government, that is why

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Mr. Cole.

we kill them.' John Beale was a schoolmaster belonging to the mission. I saw Myago burnt by Captain Wallis and the police. There were more than twenty houses. They sent one Jones, an interpreter, round to go and see the other Chiefs, and tell them to pay their tax. He had ten police with him. It was the order given to him that, if he did not find the Chief in town, he was to burn the town. Captain Wallis himself gave the order. People used to grumble when this was done. It was about three weeks before the outbreak.

Fulla Mansa.

Fulla Mansa.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

5217. My name is Fulla Mansa of Yonni. The Government ordered us not to fight any more, but to breed cattle and fowls and sheep, and cultivate the land. That we are doing now. We heard the noise of guns at Kwalu; that did not satisfy us.

5218. What do you mean by the sound of guns at Kwalu?—War between the Mendis and the Government.

5219. What made the war between the Mendis and the Government?—They came to attack Kwalu twice, and Government ordered me to go and help fight the Mendis.

5220. Why did they attack Kwalu?—From all round—Nyagua, Berri, and from Taiama and Jama.

5221. Tell me about their coming from Berri's country?—We are for the Government. We do not want any bad behaviour towards the Government. We helped to fight the Mendis. They came to us to say, 'Help us to fight the Government.' We said, 'No.'

5222. What was the Mendis' grievance?—They said that the Government had not allowed them to buy slaves or to flog their wives, and because they were ordered to pay hut tax.

5223. Do you know Nyagua?—Yes.

5224. Did he come to talk to you?—No.

5225. Did he send a messenger?—No.

5226. Which Chiefs did send messengers?—I cannot tell. The prisoners, after the Government had been fighting, made statements.

5227. But you have told me that the Mendis sent to ask you to fight against the Government; who was it who asked you?—We only heard the news from prisoners. There were no messengers sent.

5228. It was the prisoners who said that to you about the slaves, etc.?—Yes.

5229. Was this in the beginning of May?—Yes. Many Sierra Leonians were killed.

5230. Why did the Mendis kill the Sierra Leonians?—Their wives were taken by the police, and they had to clean the roads. They had no slaves, and there was the hut tax.

5231. Did the Mendis blame the Sierra Leonians for these things?—I am not able to answer.

5232. Do you know Captain Fairtlough?—Yes.

5233. Do you remember you and he and Chief Smart had some talk which resulted in his starting off to arrest Bouyiah?—Yes.

5234. You gave some advice to Captain Fairtlough, then?—I am not the man. Fulla Mansa was shot. I am only acting.

5235. When did you begin to act?—He was shot at Bougima in the second expedition.

5236. Do you know anything about the arrest of Bouyiah?—Is he arrested?

5237. So far as you know is he not arrested?—I heard he was sick with small-pox in the bush.

5238. Do you know any reason why Bouyiah ought to be arrested?—No.

5239. Did you go with Captain Fairtlough when he went to Panguma?—Yes. When the Mendis killed some of the police we told the Government. We drove the Mendis twice

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from Kwalu. Nyagua ordered his boys twice to attack. He had six small guns and plenty of powder. If it was not for me all the Government people would have been killed.

5240. How did he get the cannon?—Long ago, for the protection of his country, any police he saw he shot at with his cannon.

5241. How did you know it was Nyagua's boys who were fighting?—We caught some of them when we were going to Panguma.

5242. Had you caught any before?—At the Sehwa river at Romagno.

5243. But you did not see Nyagua's war-boys before?—No.

5244. Were there any present at the attack on Kwalu?—They all came to that: Nyagua, Berri, Furi Vong, and Lambuna.

5245. How did you recognise all these different war-boys?—The people who were caught gave us those statements. We went to Panguma on account of Nyagua. He told Captain Warren that he did not know about the war. That was a lie. When his boy was caught he was asked about it. If Nyagua had not given the order to fight no one would have fought. His boy said, 'Father, did you not give the order to fight?' It was his boy who made the statement.

5246. After the boy made that statement to Captain Fairtlough what did he do with him?—I do not know.

5247. I understand that this boy was present when Captain Fairtlough arrested Nyagua, and it was upon the boy's statement that he made the arrest?—Yes.

5248. And upon his making the statement and Nyagua being arrested the boy was allowed to go away?—I do not know about that.

5249. What was the name of the boy?—I forget it.

5250. Was Nyagua really the boy's father?—No; it was one of his warriors. His son Mougbi is there now.

5251. This boy, on whose statement they arrested him, was one of his war-boys?—Yes.

5252. Where is Mougbi now?—At Panguma.

5253. Did you go with Captain Fairtlough all the way from Kwalu to Panguma?—Yes; several of the Government people were killed.

5254. Were there many stockaded towns?—Twelve war fences of Nyagua's were destroyed. At Taiama seven war-fences. At Jama seven. They had a large quantity of powder.

5255. How were these war-fences made?—Sticks all round, crossed and thick: about as high as this room (twelve feet).

5256. Are they made of thick logs?—Yes; very thick, with holes to shoot through.

5257. How long would a war fence of that kind take to build?—Two days. There are many large forests. They make up their minds to do it. Sometimes three hundred work at it.

5258. How were those war-boys you met on the way to Panguma armed?—Sometimes they took guns from the police, some had sticks and cutlasses; sometimes they kill a sergeant, and take his gun and cutlass.

5259. Had they any guns but those they took from the police?—Yes; they bought them at Freetown before they began to fight.

5260. Did they buy any after the fighting began?—They could not get any after the Government gave orders.

5261. Do you know anything about the stopping of trade in Sherbro in the previous year?—No.

5262. Is there any more you know about?—Rice is very scarce. People are beginning to go back to their farms.

5263. Are there any large bodies of war-boys living together in the towns?—At Tikonko, in the upper part of the Mendi country. I do not know exactly what is going on there. The Government have not been there. They were all of one mind for the war.

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FULLA MANSA.

5264. Are they all together in one town?—We hear that part of Nyagua's country is not quiet.

5265. If Nyagua went back to his country could he make it quiet?—I cannot say. He killed many traders and police. He has a grievance against the Government.

5266. Had he a grievance before he was arrested?—Yes: no slaves and no wives, and his former slaves have gone to Freetown. They have to clean the roads. They must not buy any more slaves, but they may keep those they have; and then the hut tax.

5267. Then did Nyagua with his people want to get rid of the English altogether?—You would not fight with your friends.

5268. You remember about an expedition you went on with Captain Fairtlough?—Yes.

5269. You had some of your war-boys with you?—Yes.

5270. How many?—About one hundred.

5271. Did Captain Fairtlough give you free liberty to do what you liked with these war-boys?—No; only when we attacked a place.

5272. Did you make any prisoners?—We caught some, but released them afterwards.

5273. How many boys did you lose?—About five.

5274. How many did you lose in the Mendi country?—Many more.

5275. That is when you went to Panguma?—Yes; there were many killed and wounded.

5276. There was very little fighting in the Kwaia country?—It just began, and then they surrendered.

5277. Captain Fairtlough asked you to go with him on this Kwaia expedition; did he tell you what he intended to do?—He told me because the Kwaia people had fought and killed two police, and he must go and fight the Kwaia people.

5278. Do you know which place it was where they killed the two police?—I do not know.

5279. Was that the only object of the expedition as far as you know?—Yes; to fight Kwaia.

CHIEF CHARLES SMART.

Chief CHARLES SMART.

5280. My name is Charles Smart. I am Sub-Chief of Kwaia under Bai Kompah. My town is Mahera. I am a native born, and brought up by the Church Missionary Society, partly in Freetown. I went back to my own country. There was no Chief really when I went back. Bai Kompah was not Chief then. Bai Kauta was headman in charge. Bai Kompah was crowned after the death of the Alimami Lahi Bunda five or six years ago.

5281. Bai Kompah is dead?—Yes.

5282. Who is his proper successor?—The headmen of the country have not yet selected anybody. Suri Kamara is the real heir, but he has a dispute with the Government.

5283. Can you tell me anything about the stoppage of trade in Sherbro in the beginning of this year?—The cause of this outbreak.

5284. What was the cause?—The laws about slaves, making war and raiding, freeing slaves, and no more country customs, no more woman palaver. They dislike all the Protectorate Ordinance.

5285. What part of the Protectorate Ordinance do they dislike in particular?—All over; all the chiefs grumble about it, and want to get rid of the English.

5286. Who said so?—Bai Kompah, and Bai Simera, and others.

5287. Had they a meeting?—Yes.

5288. Were you there yourself?—No; I sent my Santigi.

5289. Do you know anything about the combination that immediately preceded the outbreak?—I was at Kwalu and heard some of the prisoners who were caught said the English law was too severe, and they would try to go against it.

5290. Did any message come to you?—No.

5291. Did any come to the Chiefs in the Bompe country?—I cannot tell.

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5292. What was the cause of the disturbance in the Kwaia country when Captain Moore went up?—On account of the tax: we all had a circular letter from the District Commissioner to warn us. Some of the Chiefs grumbled against it. Bai Kompah did so. They said the Government had taken away their power and their servants, and they would not allow Government to tax them, they would resist.

5293. Were you at any meeting when this was said?—No; but Nembana told me I must resist the payment.

5294. Captain Moore went up with police?—Yes; in March.

5295. What was the immediate cause of his going?—I understood he was going up to collect the tax. I was not with him.

5296. He went from Kwalu to where?—Makompah, Robea, and Mafele.

5297. Was your Santigi with Captain Moore on that occasion?—No; we were all at Mahera.

5298. Were you with Captain Fairtlough on the second occasion?—Yes; in April.

5299. What was the cause of his going?—After receiving orders to collect the tax in my district, Nembana said I must not do it or they would kill me, so I reported it to the District Commissioner. He told me to collect it. Pa Nembana then came to me and said, 'If any police come to arrest you for not collecting the tax, I will take the responsibility and go to the Paramount Chief.' I then went on collecting. Alimami Fatma Bangura reported me to the Paramount Chief, that I had disobeyed his orders. The Paramount Chief said the people must neither pay tax to me or to the Government, and ordered me to go down to Pa Nembana, but I did not go. A few days afterwards Captain Warren came to Mahera and asked me why I did not collect the tax more quickly. He asked me where Pa Nembana was. I told him where he was and took him to Nembana. I reported to Captain Warren what Nembana had said to me about his being willing to take the punishment if the Government sent to me, and I went with him as far as Rotumba where Nembana was. Captain Warren had about twelve police with him. He asked Nembana why he did not pay the tax. He said the Paramount Chief had ordered him not to pay the tax. Captain Warren said, 'You ordered Chief Smart not to collect the tax,' and he said 'Yes.' Captain Warren said 'Where is Bai Kompah now?' he said 'at Romangi.' Then Captain Warren ordered him to be handcuffed.

5300. Why was he handcuffed?—For disobeying.

5301. Was he running away?—He tried to run away so as not to show where Bai Kompah was. We then went to Romangi next morning. We slept at Rotinga, where the headman lodged us. We went down to Romangi in a boat.

5302. Did Captain Warren try any other means of detaining Nembana other than handcuffing him?—No.

5303. What occurred at Romangi?—We met a lot of people in the town, some of them were armed. When Captain Warren asked where Bai Kompah was, they told him 'at Robaga, the next town.' Captain Warren then sent a messenger to Robaga to tell Bai Kompah he wanted to see him, and the messenger came back to say Bai Kompah was coming. All that time Bai Kompah was in the next room, and not in the next town at all. The Corporal discovered this and told Captain Warren, and Captain Warren told him to go and see if he was in the room, as he did not believe it. He sent two police into the room and they found Bai Kompah covered up in bed. Then Captain Warren went in and said, 'You are making a fool of me,' and told him to come out. He took him by the arm and brought him out into the verandah.

5304. Did he not do more than that?—No; I was not in the house. I was in the verandah with the police, and did not see what happened in the room.

5305. Did he not give him a kick?—No.

5306. If somebody said he had kicked him, would it be a falsehood?—When the Chief came out he said to Captain Warren, 'Why did you kick me?' Bai Kompah said he was not going to pay the tax and stamped his foot. He was a very old man. He said he would

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Chief CHARLES SMART.

come to town and see the Governor himself. Captain Warren said, 'All right, I will send you down with two police.' He did so, and then we started for Mahera.

5307. Whose house was Bai Kompah in?—In his own house at Romangi.

5308. How many rooms were there?—Two to the right and two to the left, and a verandah on both sides.

5309. Did Bai Kompah go to Freetown?—Yes.

5310. Captain Warren left Bai Kompah there?—Yes; we started to collect the tax at Mahera.

5311. Did you collect tax at Mahera?—Yes; that is my town. There were five towns that had not paid. I was left at Mahera: I was then threatened by Suri Kamara and Senabundu. They sent a boy to say they would catch me and send me to Bai Bureh. He said, 'There is a bargain made against you, and we are going to do the same thing with you as with Sori Bunki at Port Lokko.' I did not believe it. They sent round to say that the towns in my district were not to pay any more tax.

5312. How could they interfere with your district?—They agreed together to rebel against the Government. The people stopped paying. I was going to take some produce to town, and when we got to Furudugu Alimami Senabundu said that Bai Kompah had given orders that no canoes were to pass by the Rokel river. This was last April. I was in a canoe, but I did not show myself. He told the boat captain to turn back again, and if he gave any trouble he would take the canoe and the produce. Then I told the boat captain to go back again. Suri Kamara and Senabundu and a lot of their war-boys were on the wharf. I went back to Mahera. After that another report came to me that if I slept at Mahera they would murder me. Santigi Kano told me this. I then left and went to Kwalu by Rokel and Rokon. They were lying in ambush for me: so my Santigi told me. That is why I went round that way. I made a report to Captain Fairtlough, the District Commissioner.

5313. Did your report lead Captain Fairtlough to do anything?—Yes.

5314. Did he and you agree upon something?—He asked me to stay there, and two weeks after that he asked me to come down to the Kwaia country with him.

5315. Did he say what he was going to do?—He said he was going to try and find Suri Kamara and Senabundu, and ask them why they had stopped the river.

5316. Then if Captain Fairtlough said that you and he agreed on a certain course it would not be true?—He asked me to wait. We went down and came to Mafoloma where Bouiyah was, and he was charged with beating a court-messenger, but we could not find him.

5317. Did you see the court-messenger?—Yes; I met him at Kwalu.

5318. What did Captain Fairtlough do?—He ordered them to burn the town because they did not find Bouiyah. There were about twelve houses.

5319. What did he do next?—We came to Alimami Senabundu's town, Furudugu, where he keeps his war-boys.

5320. Was there no fighting at Mafoloma?—Yes; the people fired at us and we fired back. That was before we set fire to it. I think one woman was killed. Next morning one of Fula Mansa's boys was killed in an ambush.

5321. What happened at Furudugu?—We found nobody there; Captain Fairtlough stayed there some days; one of the headmen came in and said the Paramount Chief was making fools of the people, and they were willing to pay the tax. Suri Kamara was in the next town about ten minutes off, and was trying to come and drive us away from Furudugu. We heard them blowing horns and beating drums. Captain Fairtlough sent Fula Mansa and they fired on him, and Fula Mansa scattered them and burnt Suri Kamara's town; there were about six houses. Fula Mansa came back and reported. Captain Fairtlough collected a great deal of money there, and returned to Kwalu about 8th or 10th April.

5322. Do you know anything more about the stoppage of the Rokel river?—Yes; my headman came to Rotofunk in my absence and sent down my produce. This was captured

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by Suri Kamara. This my headman told me. I was at Rokel when Colonel Marshall was there, and he sent a messenger to tell Suri Kamara he must not stop the river. He sent Suri Kabasisi to call Suri Kamara, but he would not come. He sent another message, and the river was not stopped any more after that. Chief CHARLES SMART.

21*st September* 1898.

5323. How many expeditions were there through the Kwaia country during the present year?—One under Captain Moore, one under Captain Warren, one under Captain Fairtlough, and one when the military came down.

5324. You were with Captain Warren and Captain Fairtlough?—Yes.

5325. During Captain Moore's expedition you were collecting tax yourself at Mahera?—Yes.

5326. Had you any police help?—No.

5327. Did the people at Mahera pay you readily?—Yes. There was no difficulty at all.

5328. You told me the other day you saw Nembana arrested by Captain Warren and sent to Kwalu?—Yes.

5329. He was brought in handcuffs to where you were?—Yes.

5330. Then where was Bai Kompah arrested?—At Romangi.

5331. He was sent to Freetown?—He was not arrested.

5332. Then why were the two policemen put in charge?—Bai Kompah said he was going to see the Governor about the tax. Captain Warren said that they should bring him word what answer the Governor made.

5333. Had Bai Kompah his own attendants?—Yes.

5334. Why were the two policemen left?—To see that he came down to town.

5335. How many times did you go through Kwalu with a force of Frontier Police during the present year?—Not once. I only went with Captain Warren and Captain Fairtlough.

5336. In that march with Captain Warren you came to Furudugu and found the town abandoned?—That was when we came with Captain Fairtlough; with Captain Warren there were people there.

5337. In the course of your march with Captain Warren was there any opposition?—No.

5338. Was Furudugu burnt down on this first occasion?—It was done by accident by some of Fulla Mansa's boys who were cooking. Captain Fairtlough ordered them to put the fire out.

5339. How much was burnt then?—Two houses as far as I can remember.

5340. On the second occasion why was it burnt down?—After Captain Fairtlough left, the people came back with Suri Kamara and Senabunda and began to stop canoes. The town was not burnt then.

5341. Captain Warren's expedition to Furudugu was friendly?—Furudugu was not burnt till Colonel Marshall came down. I was at Rokel where the troops were.

5342. Was not a lot of property taken away before it was set on fire?—They brought a wooden box away.

5343. Only one wooden box?—I only saw one.

5344. Are you perfectly certain there was not more?—I only saw one.

5345. You were with Captain Fairtlough throughout the expedition?—Yes. Fula Mansa was also with that expedition.

5346. Had Fula Mansa some of his own Yonni people with him?—Yes.

5347. Who suggested that Fula Mansa should be asked to join in that expedition?—Captain Fairtlough.

5348. What induced him to propose it?—Because they heard that Captain Fairtlough and the Frontier Police were coming to collect tax, and they were going to resist.

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Chief CHARLES SMART.

5349. Who advised Captain Fairtlough to ask Fula Mansa to come along with him?—I advised him.

5350. Then Fula Mansa brought some Yonni war-boys?—Yes; at Furudugu there were about sixty.

5351. Were there not more than sixty?—No.

5352. You went with this expedition from Kwalu to Furudugu, and the expedition turned back at Furudugu?—Yes, we came back a different way; there was no resistance on the way back.

5353. You met with resistance going from Kwalu, where was the first place?—Mafoloma.

5354. What happened at Mafoloma?—The Frontier Police found the natives ready to attack them there. I was behind and heard the sound of their guns, and I went up and found the people running away. I found the Frontier Police were in the town. The Yonni boys were taking things out of the houses.

5355. Did the Yonni boys make any prisoners?—Yes; they sent them off to Yonni About six women and two boys who were armed.

5356. Then the Frontier Police were in front?—Yes.

5357. Who was leading them?—Captain Fairtlough. He was behind where I was.

5358. Then he only came up when he heard the firing?—Yes.

5359. What was the next place?—Mayumera. There was no resistance. We did not set fire to it. The Yonni's did not carry off any boys or women.

5360. What was the next place?—Rofundo.

5361. Was there any resistance there?—Yes; they were beating drums and dancing a war dance. As soon as we got to the town they commenced firing at us. The Yonnis scattered them.

5362. Not the Frontier Police?—No.

5363. Did the Yonnis make any prisoners?—No. Two or three houses were burnt.

5364. Was any one killed?—One man; Sitafar, the headman who had collected the war-boys.

5365. Is there more than one Chief at Rofundo?—Only a Headman.

5366. What time did you get to Mafoloma?—About 4 A.M.

5367. You went on to Mayumera?—We got there about 2 P.M. and remained there all night. There was no attack.

5368. Then the next place you came to was Battipo?—I think so.

5369. Were you resisted there?—Yes; there were ambushes on the road.

5370. Did you remain there through the night?—No.

5371. The only fighting at Battipo was this ambushing?—Yes.

5372. Were any prisoners taken?—No.

5373. Then after Battipo?—I do not know the name of the town. The people were all in the bush. They were only shouting; they let us go forward. The town was burnt.

5374. Why was the town burnt?—Because the people were coming after us.

5275. Was there any fighting?—No; they were threatening us. We made no prisoners.

5376. What was the next place?—A village about ¼ mile from the street (Furudugu); the war-boys were blowing their horns. The Yonni people fought them and killed a man.

5377. Did the Yonnis attack by any order?—They were attacked.

5378. Were the Yonnis in front?—The Frontier Police were in front, and, when they attacked, the Yonnis passed them. Captain Fairtlough held back the Frontiers, and the Yonnis ran on.

5379. Did the Frontier Police take any part in the fight at all?—Yes; they were firing.

5380. Then they must have been firing at the Yonnis as well as at the others?—They were coming to attack us.

5381. How was that, you said the Yonnis had drawn them off?—We thought they might come round from the rear. There were no prisoners taken.

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5382. What was the next place?—Furudugu.

5383. Was there any opposition?—Yes; the Yonnis were in front. We went down the hill and we heard the guns. We found all the people had gone out of the town to Suri Kamara's place, Magbene. They were beating drums, and said we could not stay them. Fula Mansa asked if he should go and scatter them. Captain Fairtlough said yes. He scattered them and killed a man.

5384. Then the Yonnis did all the work?—Yes; they went to Suri Kamara's town, about fifteen minutes from Furudugu.

5385. Were any of Fula Mansa's boys killed?—One.

5386. Was there not a head warrior killed at Furudugu?—No.

5387. There were none on the opposite side killed at Furudugu, as far as you know?—No.

5388. Then you were with this expedition of Captain Fairtlough's the whole time, from leaving Kwalu till it reached Furudugu?—Yes.

5389. Was not this expedition of Captain Fairtlough's commenced after part of the hut tax had been paid in Kwaia; had not Chief Dick Woola taken up part of the money?—Not till afterwards.

5390. When did this expedition of Captain Fairtlough's begin?—About 5th April.

5391. It ended before the general attack was made?—Yes.

5392. Do you not remember Dick Woola and Samuel Davis coming to Kwalu?—They came to Furudugu three times with money. At least Samuel Davis did; Dick Woola went to Kwalu with us in April, about 8th to 12th.

5393. Where were you when the West Indian troops crossed the Rokel?—I was at Kwalu. The Colonel sent for me later.

5394. When did Colonel Marshall send for you?—The latter part of May.

5395. What was the cause of his sending for you?—My brother was killed at Rokon by the Masimera people. They could not get any information, and were advised to send for me.

5396. Were you able to illuminate the situation?—Yes.

5397. What did Colonel Marshall do after you came?—He asked me if I could get some of the people who had caught Pakombo. They were named to me by Pakombo's servants. I caught two of them. One got away and one was taken to Kwalu. Colonel Marshall examined one of them about Pakombo. He told him Pakombo was killed. He was carried to Kwalu and made the same statement to the District Commissioner.

5398. You did not find out that he had been killed?—I was told so by Kabasisay. Colonel Marshall sent him to Masimera to see if he could find Pakombo, and they told him he was dead.

5399. Then the first expedition into Kwaia was Captain Moore's; he went to collect the tax?—Yes.

5400. The next was Captain Warren's; he went on account of you having been threatened by Pa Nembana, to arrest Bai Kompah and Pa Nembana?—Yes.

5401. The next was that of Captain Fairtlough which you accompanied closely all the time?—Yes.

5402. What was the object of Captain Fairtlough's expedition?—To arrest Senabundu and Suri Kamara, and keep them from stopping the canoes.

19*th September* 1898.

HENRY TUCKER.

5403. My name is Henry Tucker, Chief of Kittum, in the Bandajuma district.

5404. What is the produce of the country?—Palm-oil and nuts and rice. A good deal of rice, which we take to Sherbro.

5405. Can you tell me about the stoppage of trade that took place in the Sherbro district?—They complained of the measures. The natives complained of the traders

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HENRY TUCKER. measures, and the prices of the goods were higher. That was the reason of the stoppage of trade.

5406. Did that stopping of the trade lead the traders to make any change in their bushels?—They managed it as best they could: and agreed better.

5407. The stoppage of trade at that time, then, was due to nothing else than a disagreement between the natives and the traders, which was adjusted?—Yes.

5408. Do you remember when the Protectorate Ordnance was first published in your country?—Yes; that was in 1896.

5409. How was it published?—A letter was written.

5410. When the law was published, before it came into operation, was there not a meeting of the Chiefs?—People met together according to territories, and many of us paid.

5411. What did the Chiefs do at this meeting?—I do not know anything about it. They complained they would not pay the tax when it was published. They said they were unable to pay, and their huts were worth nothing.

5412. When was it the people in your part of the country agreed to pay it?—At the time it was published.

5413. It went all smoothly in your part of the country?—Some were not willing. Momo Ki-Ki went with his followers to see the Governor after the new law was published.

5414. What was done to those who were unwilling to pay?—The Government caught their creatures—cows, sheep, and goats; they sent police to catch them and carry them to the barracks.

5415. Are you aware in what instances that was done?—At Yonni and Pujahun.

5416. Were they big towns?—Yes; about fifty houses in each of these places.

5417. Were the people willing to have their cows, etc., taken away?—They kept them in the barracks till the people agreed to pay, and they were given back.

5418. Do you know how the war began in Bumpe?—It started in Bumpe.

5419. Can you tell me who joined it?—The Chief of Bumpe and the whole of the country. The war-boys said, 'Who backs Captain Carr, we will kill him.'

23rd September 1898.

5420. You told me that Momo Ki-Ki went to see the Governor after the new law was was published?—Yes.

5421. What was his object?—He told me that he came to see the Governor to ask him that the tax should not be paid, as they were not able to pay the tax.

5422. Did he go and come back again?—He came here and returned back. I saw him after he returned. He said the Governor said the tax must be paid.

5423. Do you as a Chief sometimes get contributions from your people?—No, never.

5424. Are you engaged in trade at all?—Yes.

5425. And make plenty of money from it?—Very little.

5426. Have you formed any independent opinion as to the suitability of taxing the natives of the country by direct taxation?—They are not pleased in paying the tax.

5427. Can you tell me in what particular way they are not pleased?—The people do not know what tax is. The place is newly made Protectorate; I think the Government ought to have given them a little more time to get used to it. Their houses are hardly worth 4s. We are satisfied with the Government to take care of us; to make roads and bridges; but to us to pay tax is quite a strange thing. That discouraged them altogether. But of course I know we are for the Government, and we must not go against them. The people do not know the whole of our intention about the tax. If we were told, and held a meeting about it. But they do not tell us about it.

5428. Then, when you heard that this tax was going to be imposed, you considered that it would not work smoothly?—I knew it would not work smoothly.

5429. That was from your knowledge that it was a thing strange and unusual?—Yes; my mother and father never knew what tax was. I did not know all their opinion, because

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they say I am Captain Carr's brother and his father, because he went to my house for the meeting; and they say, 'Whatever you tell him, Captain Carr will know about it.' They said whoever paid the tax would be killed.

5430. Who said that?—The whole of the country.

5431. That showed a very strong feeling?—Very, very strong.

5432. Did the people in your country say the same thing?—They said it plenty.

5433. Although you had not asked your people for contributions, some other Chiefs had?—Yes; I could ask. Suppose I wanted to visit some other Chief, for instance.

5434. Would the Chief fix the amount?—He would leave it to them, and they would give what they could; but to say that they must give the Chief so much each year—no.

5435. Suppose the Chief were to say to the people, 'Each of you must give me 5s. a year'?—They would feel it hard. If you left it to them, some might even give 10s. or 20s. as a present to you.

5436. Do they have money in their hands, or is it goods and produce?—Some of them keep £3 or £4, but it is mostly in goods.

5437. There is a good deal of trade carried on in your district?—Yes.

5438. This hut tax—take your own case; how many houses have you that you pay tax upon?—My town consists of my own family.

5439. How much do you pay for the whole town?—About £15.

5440. Then suppose a Chief, not so well off as you are, has a town of 100 houses, not all his own, but for which he is responsible—are there many Chiefs who could easily produce £25?—Not many; some have had to borrow money to do it.

5441. I presume that you paid tax for a good many other towns besides your own town?—Yes.

5442. Then, as to these towns, you would be supposed to get back the money from these people; is that an easy matter?—No.

5443. Taking your own case, how much do you think you have paid for towns you were responsible for?—Nearly £50.

5444. Was there much plundering in your town in the war-time?—A good deal all round.

5445. Did it come to these towns you paid for?—Yes.

5446. What proportion of that £50 has been repaid to you up to now?—They have not paid any of it.

5447. But since the war have they not begun to repay you?—No.

5448. Suppose there had been no war, would you have found it easy to get back that £50?—Not very easy; some have nothing. Some of the natives say we have made a bargain with Captain Carr to take their money and kernels, and divide them amongst ourselves.

5449. Suppose the Government needed to have money from the people in the Protectorate to help in the administration, is there any method that would be better adapted to the native people than this hut tax?—What I see could be done: people are ready to work at roads and churches; they do not grumble at the licence.

5450. Is that the case with the country people as well as Sierra Leonians?—They did not grumble, because they are people who are able to pay.

5451. They are mostly Sierra Leone people?—They are mixed up. People who are traders have the money, and know what the tax is for.

5452. Are not licences felt to be a restraint to trade?—No; they do not grumble about it; but I think they may stop several people from trading.

5453. Have you heard of many cases where the Frontier Police, who were employed to collect the tax, were harsh in their method?—I have heard of many.

5454. How did they treat people?—They forced them and compelled them. Nearly all the Chiefs went into the bush, and, to get those people to come out of the bush, they took their sheep and cows.

5455. Did they run into the bush when Captain Carr was coming to collect?—Yes.

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HENRY TUCKER.

5456. What were they afraid of?—They did not want to pay the tax. I told the people they must not be afraid. Captain Carr was kind, and when they paid the tax he called them and gave them their creatures back.

5457. You said that the police used severities in collecting; what sort of severities did you allude to?—Sometimes they chain a Chief if he does not pay.

19*th September* 1898.

BAI SHERBRO OF SAMU.

BAI SHERBRO of Samu.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

5458. My name is Bai Sherbro, Paramount Chief of Samu. I have five Chiefs under me.

5459. What have you to tell me?—Our country is very close to Freetown. We love the English Government. We have nothing against the Government. The order is very heavy on us to pay hut tax. We come to complain to the Government. Many of our people have nothing whatever. The Government are now going to protect them. It is my duty to the Government. Chiefs used to settle country matters, but the Government have taken this authority from us.

5460. Do you mean when the Government gave a certain portion to the French, or how does Government take power from you?—The Frontier Police. If I, the Chief, was sitting down settling a matter, and they told the police any lie, they will come and take that man prisoner without saying a word to me. A man must have a little trade to live on. He buys a barrel of sugar in Freetown. The Government asks him to pay a licence of £2 for it.

5461. Are not the traders mostly Sierra Leonians who pay the licence?—Yes.

5462. Being Sierra Leonians, it does not affect you very much?—No.

5463. Then the licence is rather a grievance for the Sierra Leonians than for you?—I cannot answer for the Sierra Leone people's affairs.

5464. Do your people have to pay licences?—Yes.

5465. Before these troubles was there much diminution in the number of traders after the Protectorate Ordinance?—Yes; they dislike the licence.

5466. The number of traders had decreased?—Yes.

5467. Is there anything peculiarly objectionable about the hut tax, except that you think that the people are too poor to pay it?—Another thing is the treatment in connection with the tax.

5468. What do you allude to?—The police pay no attention to me.

5469. Are the people in your country near where the war was?—They are far off.

5470. None of your towns were burned?—No.

5471. People did not steal rice from you?—No.

5472. Your people make your farms the same as usual?—Yes; except that the locusts were very bad.

5473. Is there any way to stop them?—They are gone now.

19*th September* 1898.

MR. ROACH.

MR. ROACH.

5474. My name is Richard Cyrus Roach. I am a trader at Kolifa in the Timini country. In May 1894 I was at Musavong near Panguma, and I met the police, and they put me in irons.

5475. Was there any charge against you?—No.

5476. What did they do?—I saw them put four countrymen in the stocks, and I said it was too much; they handcuffed me and beat me for interfering with them in their duty.

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5477. What happened after that?—I was kept the whole day till evening, and then they let me go. Mr. ROACH.

5478. Did you make any complaint at the time?—No; Panguma was ten days off.

5479. The same year Sergeant Dawlish went to Mabosh, where I am trading, and there they handcuffed Chief Massa Munta, and lighted his beard with a torch.

5480. Is Sergeant Dawlish still in the force?—Yes; I saw him in the Karene district. They kept the Chief in handcuffs the whole day. Pa Susu begged for him, and gave a cow and some country cloth; then they released the Chief. I was present at Matutika, where the station was. Corporal Clements was in charge. The police went out patrolling and fought with a man, and broke one of their guns while fighting, and fined the man eleven heads of money. They charged him with breaking a gun while crossing over a river. That was in 1896.

5481. Were the Frontier Police natives of this same country?—Yes; the corporal was a Creole. In 1894 Corporal Brown took Bai Sheari's wife into the Kolifa country. The king is at Bamboli. In July 1897 I was coming down with my produce by the river; a message was sent to me by the constable at Mabele; I went to him and was told that a man had summonsed me for debt; he paid the summons-money in tobacco; I denied that I had to pay the amount. He said we must go to the English court, because we were two Sierra Leonians. As soon as I left the station I was again arrested by three policemen. They took me back to the station. I was then put in irons, and I asked the corporal what I had done. He said the man gave me in charge for embezzlement. I was kept in irons the whole day. About six in the evening they let me out. Then I made my way to town and reported the corporal. In my absence the corporal went to the town where I had left my produce, and demanded palm nuts from my wife. Seven labourers and my wife were there. It was reported to me that he did that. I afterwards found the produce with him. They took my gun from the labourers, and charged me with the intent to shoot some one. I had gone to Karene, and the same policeman, Corporal Dolphin Jones, sent a written charge with the gun. They made me a prisoner on that charge. When the case was tried, the District Commissioner gave back the gun to me. There was no evidence against me at all. I have not got my produce back yet.

20th September 1898.

MRS. JOHNSON.

Mrs. JOHNSON.

5482. Mrs. Johnson brought a native boy, Morogura or Joe, who had brought her a message from Tembi Yeva. The boy said to her, in giving the message:—My mother sent me to you to tell you that Cabbe is still in prison. Since the time they arrested Cabbe at Sembehun, she had already paid the tax, but they would not release Cabbe from prison. After my mother went to Sembehun with Cabbe, one of the white men said, 'That is the man who instigated the natives not to pay the tax,' and they handcuffed him and took him to gaol at Kwalu. Mother asked again for Cabbe to be released, and as soon as he had got clean clothes and was just going to start, they arrested him again for another six months. Cabbe is getting great punishment, and my mother has already paid the tax. Mother heard there was a good man from England come to see about these matters, and says that you must go and see him.

5483. At the beginning of the tax they asked Tembi Yeva what was in her mind about the tax. She said she would gather her people. She called Cabbe, who was next man to her in the town; then they took Cabbe and handcuffed him and put him in prison for six months. They gave mother twenty days to pay the tax in. She collected £30, and brought it and asked for Cabbe's release. They said, 'No, you must go and get some more money.' She is at Kwalu, and has no paper to write, so sends me. Cabbe is getting bad treatment.

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Mrs. JOHNSON.

5484. You speak of his being let go and rearrested: when was he arrested the second time?—At the end of last month (August).

20th September 1898.

Mrs. STUBBS.

MRS. STUBBS.

5485. My name is Phyllis Stubbs. I was at Masenisi between Rotofunk and Senahu. The tax brought the war. On Sunday, 23rd January, I went to Tumbo. On Monday I saw Dr. Hood go to Mr. Tuck's house into the piazza, and he told Mr. Tuck to pay the tax. Mr. Tuck is my husband. He did not pay at once, and Dr. Hood sent police inside, and they took three country cloths for the 5s. A country cloth is worth about 3s. Mr. Tuck afterwards paid the 5s. I got the cloths back. I went to Bawia on Saturday, 20th April, to see the Chief. On Sunday, when I reached there, they said the war was come. I was afraid. I tried to go to meet my husband, and did not go back to my house. The place was upset. One young man, Bobo, came and said he would hide me. Keziah Grey and two children and myself were hiding. The people were saying, 'We want the Creoles.' It was on Sunday, 1st May, I went into the bush, and I was all day without food.

(Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Stubbs' son were present and corroborated this statement.)

Mrs. MARTIN.

MRS. MARTIN.

5486. My name is Rebecca Martin, sister-in-law of Mr. Hughes, the missionary in connection with the United Brethren. I live at the Avery station, half a mile up the river, beyond Mano Bagru. One month before the war, Mr. Hughes was preaching in church on Sunday. On Sunday he kept church and preached. I was present in the church and heard the sermon. The church was not too full. Mendi and Sherbro people were in the church, and no other Sierra Leone people except Mr. Ebenezer Lewis. The sermon was interpreted by Miriam Hughes. Mendis and Sherbro speak Mendi. Mr. Hughes preached about the tax. He said if the people attend church perhaps Mr. Burtner would help them pay the tax. They must attend church, and not run into the bush. I cannot remember the sermon exactly. The war took the place on Thursday, and on Friday they beat Mr. Hughes and killed him. I was not present.

5487. When did you last see Mr. Hughes alive?—Wednesday about 10. He went to Bonthe. He stood security for somebody at Mano Bagru, and went to borrow the money at Bonthe. I never saw him alive after that. On Saturday I saw his dead body. It was in the morning. His body was in the wharf. I did nothing. The water took the body away. We left the body in the water. My own sister and Miriam Hughes and several others saw the body, and the water took it away. We could not see any wounds on the body. After that they took us and carried us to Finkia Mania Jah. We got there on Tuesday evening and slept there. On Saturday they took three of us and killed them. They took me to Tauinahu and then on to Mafurie. When I got to Tauinahu, Buongo the king told me that the tax brought all these Creoles, and they would kill the Creoles and plunder them; they had brought all this tax palaver.

5488. Is Buongo a Sub-Chief?—He is a big Chief.

20th September 1898.

Miss HUGHES.

MISS HUGHES.

5489. My name is Miriam Deborah Hughes, daughter of Joseph Elias Hughes. I remember his preaching a sermon in which the hut tax was mentioned: it was in the church at Avery station. The congregation were Mendis and Sherbros. It was preached in English, and I interpreted it into Mendi. I stood beside the pulpit facing the people. He preached about how Christians had to fight strong battle before you got to heaven. He said Christians had many crosses before we got to heaven, and that we must watch and pray

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or we know not the hour when the Son of Man should come; that the people were too careless to come to church; that he had a good church at Mano Bagru, but the people were not particular to come to the church; that many of them were in the bush. Perhaps Mr. Burtner, Superintendent of the Mission, would help them to pay the tax. If they would attend church perhaps Mr. Burtner would help them to pay. Many of them were in the bush, not able to attend the church. People must all try to come to church, God would help them to pay the tax. That was the sermon. After the sermon the people went home. That was two weeks before the war came. The war came on Thursday night to our place. Mr. Hughes preached the Sunday before the war came. He did not preach anything about the tax then. He said that we must watch and pray, for we know not the hour the Son of Man would come; that in many places they were looking out for the judgment. We did not know when the judgment would come. Miss HUGHES.

5490. The war fell on Thursday; that night we all got inside the mission-house, and a man came to tell us we must leave or we should all be killed. We then went to Mokombo, where Farma took care of us. Mr. Hughes was not at the station when the war fell; he had gone to Bonthe to borrow some money. On Friday morning we wanted to return to the mission, but Farma told us to stay. Three of the mission men came and called Farma aside and told him about the war. Mammy asked Farma what they had been telling him about. He said, nothing about the war. The mission boy came up and caught hold of me. I told him to let go. He said, 'We are war-boys.' They carried us to Momasa and put us inside a house. The war people used to call me, and hold out their hands and mock, and tell me to take the money to my mother to give to Governor Cardew. Most of them used to come every day mocking about the tax. On Thursday night we heard my father's voice on the wharf, which was only a few yards off, but we could not see out of the house. He said, 'Friends kill me one time, don't punish me too much.' I saw his body after; the people would not allow us to go to it, and the water carried it away. On Saturday they took three women and killed them at the water side. One man took us off, and called us and told us he was going to kill my mother for the tax, and they killed her. Then they took me to Taninahu. Then after that, people told me every day that it was the hut tax that made them kill creoles, because they joined the English, who had done away with slavery and woman palaver. They took us to Kowia. The people there said they wanted to carry war up to Kwalu. The Chiefs there bid the war-boys goodbye for Kwalu. The chiefs were Yaja of Funkia, Gbogbo, chief of our own town, Bouja, and Viva, the headman, chief at Kowia. Kowia is near Rofunkia. Then the boys went and took us to a small village near Kowia. That was Thursday morning. On Friday morning they started for Kwalu, and came back to where we were. They told us the same things again. Chief Yaja had a policeman's gun and some cartridges.

20th September 1898.

Mr. HUGHES.

Mr. HUGHES.

5491. My name is Michael James Hughes, school teacher at Bonthe. I was captured by the war-boys at Yele on the Kittum river. There was a new church which had been built by the Wesleyan Methodists at Yele. On the 27th April several people went up for the dedication of this church with Mr. French. On the 28th, when we were up there, war was reported. All the people got into boats. I got into one which had no oars. In this same boat there were Mr. Pierce, Mr. Barber, a schoolboy, Solomon, three girls, Susan, Sarah, and another, and Mr. Venn. We drifted up the river with the tide; presently the tide turned and we drifted down again; we came near a place called Gambia, where Mr. Williams has a factory. We found Gambia was plundered; before we got to Gambia we thought it was just a plot made against Yele. After we left Gambia we picked up two oars and crossed the Talba Creek, meaning to make our way to Bonthe; but we were captured by the Mendi war-boys in some canoes, all the things in our boat were plundered, and we were taken to Talbi on the Bum Kittum river. When we got there the people asked us to sit on a mat, myself, Pierce,

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Mr. HUGHES. and Barber. The girls were taken away, and I do not know what became of them. Then the war-boys began to brandish their swords and sticks on our heads, and decided to kill us by the water-mark. We began to beg them. They said it was no use begging, and they were going to kill us. We asked why. They said we had imposed the hut tax on them. They pointed to Gambia which they had set on fire. Mr. Barber took a lead pencil from his pocket, and when they saw it they said, 'that is what you do harm with and write papers with.' They said, 'the white men have come to our country and charge us whatever price they like for their goods, and give us whatever price they like for our produce. What they say we are willing to obey and have obeyed. Because we are so obedient you want to take our country from us by making us pay tax. We invited you to our country, and now you want to make us pay for the country which is ours.' This was spoken in Mendi; I understand Mendi. All the time they kept knocking us with the sticks. They said, 'We have killed all of them, and there is only the lawyer left in the town. We will go to Bonthe, and after taking Bonthe, we will go to Freetown, and kill that Lewis who used to talk so much too.' Then the command was given for us to be killed at once, and they took us to the water-mark. A man took each of our hands, and they pounded us with swords and cutlasses. When we got to the edge of the river, Pierce, Barber, and I had to jump into the water. Pierce and I could swim well, but Barber could not. When I fell into the water I dived, and the people gave up all hope about me. I swam away. It was dark when they took us to the water-side. They were looking for us the whole night; I lay still in the water with my nose and mouth out. They were not sure whether we had died in the water or not. We swam across the river to the next bank. On Friday morning at 3 A.M. I got up and tried to whistle to see if my comrades were anywhere about. The war-boys had all disappeared. I did not know what had become of the others; afterwards I found Mr. Pierce. Mr. Barber was killed as he could not swim. Then we went to Modavis. There we met four men fishing in the river. They began to ask us about the war. We would not tell them anything, and pretended to know nothing about it. They said, 'but what is the matter with your head and your side?' I told them I had knocked myself in the bush, and we went on to Modavis. As soon as we got to that place they asked us, 'are you not those people who were supposed to be killed and escaped into the bush?' We denied it. As Pierce and I were going along, he saw a man following us; it was the fisherman we had spoken to, but his face and dress were changed. He had a country robe on when we first saw him, and now he had only a kerchief round his waist. We began to ask him for his name. He said he would show us the way to his town. We were walking in confidence. Then we began to suspect the man, as there seemed to be no regular path to lead to a town, but we went on. The people in some of the fakkis were kind to us. Presently we met a man sitting with a gun between his legs, and he asked us about the war. We asked him for some water, and a young man gave us water. The man who was with us told them we were going to Benda. Then some men rushed at us, and in five minutes time they gave the order to kill us; the man who gave me the water was the first to strike me. One man had a gun and one had a spear, these were the only two iron weapons. I snatched at the spear and struggled for it. Then one of the men shot; the man seeing his life was in jeopardy called out to shoot me. I lay down and they began to beat me. I then lay still and pretended to be dead, and they began to pass on. As the last man was going he heard Pierce groaning, so he went and cut his throat. I lay still and he did not look at me. That was about 10 on Friday. When they had gone I made my way into the bush. At night I kept travelling till Saturday morning. As I was going along I came to a large river; I feared the alligators, so instead of swimming, I crossed by means of trees which grew over the river. I saw the land covered with mangroves. I went that way. Presently I saw about fifty war-boys passing, but they did not see me. About 11 o'clock I wanted to go up a mango tree to get some mangoes, but I found it was a lime. Just as I reached it I found the fifty war-boys under it. They heard me and challenged four times; and then they chased me, but soon turned back. There were now two parties searching for me. I heard their war-horns, and I got between two trees that were growing close together

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and stayed there all day, and heard them looking for me. One of them passed close enough to touch me. Then they went off. I came out in the evening and came across a deserted village, and I heard some talking in the bush. There was a river close by. I swam across this river; and then I came on a great mangrove thicket, and had to walk under their roots all day. I swam across about twenty rivers. Presently I came across a man in the bush. He had a spear. He challenged me three times, and questioned me. He said, 'You seem like a Sierra Leone man, your Mendi is not fluent.' I said I was a Mendi man. He said, 'you are trying to escape from the war-boys.' He then said he was trying to get away too as he was a half-breed, and had Sierra Leone blood. Then he offered to take me into the town. When we got there we found the place on fire. Lamina's house was the only house they had not burned; he was a Susu man. This man took me in. Then he reported, 'The war-boys have heard you have got to Bendu, go to the bush and hide.' I was in the bush then till 1 A.M. that night. There were an American and a European there making their escape; but I was too ill to keep up with them so I had to go back to the town. On 1st May I went to the bush again, and the man who had met me offered to hide me by the wharf-way, and promised to call and see me. I was there till twelve; he came to see if I was still there. When he saw I was still there he asked me if I could paddle a canoe. I said I could try. I had heard people talking in the bush before this, and they had made a plan that one branch of them was to take Bendu and cross over to Bai Sherbro, and another branch was to take York Island and come over to Bai Sherbro's place; and then both parties were to fall on Bonthe. I got into the canoe this man found for me, and when I got near Bonthe I saw it was in commotion, and I thought it had been taken by the war-boys. I could hardly speak when I got to Bonthe about 3 P.M. on 1st May. I had been four days in the bush; and for scarcely half an hour all the time I had been out of sight or hearing of war-boys. Mr. HUGHES.

5492. You did not hear anything about the combination of chiefs about Bumpe before the war began?—I heard that some of the traders had been taken to Bumpe and killed.

20th September 1898.

Mr. JOHNSON.

Mr. JOHNSON.

5493. My name is John Thomas Johnson. I am a carpenter and lived at Sembehun. I went there in February till last April. In April Nancy Tucker sent me over to Dodo to get some planks. As soon as I got there we found that all the people had gone to Motassu. I asked for the late chief Hoparango's son; I asked his aunt, but I did not find him. After a time the boy came and I asked why there was nobody there. He said the people had a little business and were grumbling. He said he was gathering the people to pay the tax. This was on Thursday. We heard the news on Friday that the war had come, and that they had got Jim Macfoy and had killed him. Albert Williams said they had caught him in the same place where Macfoy was. I came to the place where Nancy Tucker, Ebenezer Lewis, and Sergeant Coker were gathering the tax. Albert Williams came and told us about having been caught by the war-boys. He said 'As soon as they caught Macfoy they said to me, you must join us and show us Macfoy's store so that we can plunder it.' While they were plundering it he escaped. On Friday morning we expected the war-boys. Sergeant Coker sent Nancy Tucker over to Kwalu. On Saturday morning at 7 a.m. the war people came into Sembehun and the fighting went on till 3 p.m. The war-boys came to plunder. There were five Frontier Police in Sembehun and two had gone with Nancy Tucker to Kwalu. At 3 p.m. as the ammunition was nearly exhausted, we thought we would escape in the two boats. Before this there was some quarrelling, and people were grumbling about the oppression. They said the pressure of this tax was too much, and Frontier Police took their sheep and goods, and they had nothing, and they did not know what they were going to do. The carpenters with me were generally grumbling that they were not paid for their work. They complained that their Chiefs were tied, and they took their women; and that Nancy

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Mr. JOHNSON.

Tucker pressed on them and they could not get time to cultivate their farms. Several of them brought their tax money. One man brought some cows, and one of them ran away and they made him pay ten heads of money. They said they could not bear these things. As soon as we tried to make our escape in the boats they tried to prevent us. We got down to Bonthe on Sunday: we had to fight on the way. Before this when we were there in March the District Commissioner at Kwalu sent down people to the Cockboro river: one of them was wounded. Captain Warren had to go, and came to Sembehun afterwards and ordered Sergeant Coker to go down to Gandema with fifty men. They plundered the place and brought the goods back. The goods were sold by auction at Sembehun, and were brought by the traders.

5494. Do you know anything about what was done at Mafui on the Cockboro river?—When the people came down from there wounded I heard from them.

5495. What happened to the wounded people?—They are in Kwalu now.

5496. What are their names?—Manuel Coker, Sergeant Coker's brother, and Kagbatoo.

5497. Could they be brought here?—Yes.

5498. What took place at Dodo: do you know who Bai Jabbli was, what was done to him?—He brought a lot of produce to pay the tax with, and brought some of his wives with him. There was still a balance due from him. Nancy Tucker told him to bring the balance. He left three cows behind tied up, and went with his three wives. On the third day he had collected the money and came back with his wives. Meanwhile one of the cows he had left behind was missing, they asked him what had happened to the cow. He said they must have taken one of them by mistake and sent it to Kwalu with the others. He said 'There is a river between my place and here, and the cow could not cross it, and I had no canoe to take the cow back; I have not taken it back.' Then Nancy Tucker said, 'Do you call me a thief?' The man said he could not be responsible for the cow, as he had left it tied up; it might have broken its rope. Then he paid the balance of his tax money. Nancy Tucker said, 'As you call me a thief you must come back in the morning.' Nancy Tucker had put Dodo into Bai Jabbli's hands.

5499. How many houses are there in Dodo?—I do not know.

5500. The next morning they called up the matter in the Barri: I was there. He was asked about the cow. Nancy Tucker said, 'You say I sent the cow over to Kwalu.' He said 'No, I say I think it must have gone.' She said, 'You must come and prove that I am a thief; deny what you said.' He said, 'The cow must have gone to Kwalu, or cut rope, or have got into the bush.' Nancy Tucker said, 'The man cannot go away until he has given us some satisfaction.' She ordered him to be put in chains, he had a chain round his neck in the Barri. His boys who were present did not like it. Grumbeltata, Nancy Tucker's santigi, remonstrated with her, and said, 'He is a big man, and has been helping us with the tax.' Nancy Tucker said he must pay ten heads of money and one cow. Bai Jabbli said, 'Well, as you are Paramount Chief I will try to get it.' He left his three wives as security, and he tried to get four heads of money. He came back with them, and then he went away again and got another four heads and a cow. He begged to be let off the rest. They made him pay one head more.

5501. What is a head of money?—£3 worth of country goods or 30s. in cash.

5502. Do you know anything about Karamoko at Mabiso?—He was detained; he was brought to Sembehun in April with his four wives by Nancy Tucker. I saw him. We sat down one morning and Karamoko who is a Susu trader, came and said that the townspeople said he must assist them to pay the tax. He said he would pay for the town, but he must get it back after. He brought £12 first, and sent another £3, 15s. As soon as he was ready to go away Nancy Tucker sent for the Chiefs of the three next towns. I cannot remember their names. They came in the morning, and Nancy Tucker told Karamoko not to go away. She said, 'These people are your neighbouring Chiefs; I ask you to assist me to collect the tax from them.' Karamoko said, 'I cannot help you, these people are very hardy. I have finished with my own people.' Nancy Tucker said, 'If you cannot pay you can send and

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try.' Sergeant Coker made out a paper and gave it to Karamoko, and he went and asked Mr. JOHNSON. for the tax; he came back in about three days and reported that the people refused to pay. She said, 'All right, I shall send down and make them pay.' Karamoko still had the paper. All the Frontier Police were away then. She asked Karamoko when the Chiefs came, 'Which of these Chiefs did you ask for money and refused to pay?' So he pointed out the chiefs, Bauna Bum and two others. Banna Bum said, 'Yes, I am the Chief and these other two are my sub-Chiefs, but I do not get the country.' The people said that all they had had been plundered by the police. The little rice had been sent down to Bonthe. When the Chief had answered, Nancy Tucker turned to Karamoko and said, 'Well, you see these Chiefs agree to pay. When they get the money you get it and bring it to me.' Karamoko turned to the Chief and said, 'You see, Nancy Tucker makes me still responsible for the tax.' The week after they had not paid. So Nancy Tucker sent Banja to fetch Karamoko. When he came she asked him why they had not paid. He said, 'I cannot press these people; I do not know if they have sold the rice.' She said, 'Well you must stop here till the people have paid, you have been careless.' After keeping Karamoko and his wife for three days one of his boys went to the Chief and said 'Pay.' The people came and brought £3: as soon as they brought £3 they let them go.

5503. What do you know about Kebbly, Sai, and Edward File?—File's landlord was brought to Sembehun. He is a Chief in his own town, Mokelpi. Nancy Tucker gave the order. She sent police to Edward File to tell his landlord to go. He told his landlord, and his landlord refused. Edward File came to Nancy Tucker to tell her, and she told him to go to Yele and get some policemen and bring the landlord. The landlord was brought by the policeman. As soon as the man came, Nancy Tucker said, 'I have sent to you to pay tax, and you have been swearing that you refuse with medicine (which the police had brought). The Chief said he was not swearing, but had put the medicine down and sworn for his daughter, because he thought someone might have put witchcraft on her. Nancy Tucker said, 'What do you mean by not paying your tax?' The Chief said he was a poor man, and wanted time; the higher Chiefs were putting Porro on the Palm trees, and he could not pay till it was taken off. Nancy Tucker said, 'The time is due that you should pay the tax; you must have been one of Berri's people and joined the Porro; so you must stop here till you pay the tax.' So she put him in irons. He was in irons for about two weeks.

5504. Had he paid the tax when she let him go?—No; he gave security.

5505. But what was it about, Kebbli, Sai, and Lahi?—They brought Sai, Kebbli, and Bouwa to Sembehun together, and they were brought before Nancy Tucker. Sai is Chief of a small town in Mano Bagru. Muni Lahi complained to Sai that Bouwa was taking his (Lahi's) wife, Kebbli. Nancy Tucker sent for them all, and asked them about it. Lahi said he had complained, and the Chief had not given any answer; so, according to native custom, he went and got medicine, and put it down and began to swear for his wife. Three days afterwards one of Bouwa's family died; so they said that Lahi had killed him with his swearing. Lahi gave the medicine to a woman to keep. Bouwa's family complained to Sai. Sai said 'What you ask for is woman palaver,' and gave no answer. Lahi came and complained to Nancy Tucker. When they all came to Sembehun they brought the medicine. Nancy Tucker had Bouwa and the woman who kept the medicine and her husband put in chains till the morning (there is no gaol there). Sai was not put in chains. On Monday morning the matter was called. Nancy Tucker said, 'How is this matter between you? I shall only give judgment on the medicine. If you want me to settle the other matter, you must get a summons. Afterwards she fined them six heads of money for swearing in the country; three of them two heads each; she said it was as a caution not to swear, but not for woman palaver. They each paid one head of money. Bouwa was left in chains, and the man in whose house the medicine was found. They were still in chains when the war broke out, and they had to break loose and get away.

5506. What do you know about Momo Lucrae?—He was brought to Sembehun. One day the Frontier Police went up to Masaho to gather tax. They took it in produce. After they had

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Mr. JOHNSON.

finished they could not get enough labourers to bring the things over to Sembehun. Momo Lucrae was a relation of Nancy Tucker's, so they left some of the things in his charge. In the morning when they went to fetch them they found some of the things missing. They asked what had become of them. Momo Lucrae said they were never left with him. 'All that you left in my store is there now, I am not responsible for them.' Nancy Tucker sent police to bring him to Sembehun. Nancy Tucker heard what they had to say, and said that Momo Lucrae was bound to find the things. He said he was not responsible. Nancy Tucker said, 'You cannot go from here till these things are given up.' Then some boys who had hidden these things in the bush came forward, when they found that their master was going to be put in prison, and said they had hidden the things. Momo Lucrae then said to Corporal Brima, 'You said you had left these things in my house; how do you make that out?' Nancy Tucker said they were Momo Lucrae's boys, so he was responsible, and he must pay two heads of money, as the things were found in his boys' hands. He got security and went back to his place and sold some of his things, and came back again and paid the money. But he was not satisfied.

5507. Do you know anything about Nancy Tucker causing Chiefs to work on her farms and build houses for her?—It happens every day. She compels all the Chiefs in Bagru who have boys.

5508. Is she entitled, as a Paramount Chief, to compel the sub-Chiefs to work for her?—Other Chiefs do not do it. People are grumbling and saying, 'We have to go and work for the Chief, without payment; we have no time to cultivate our farms.' I now remember the name of Hooparanga's son: it is Tommy Loggi. He is the person entitled to be Chief. Nancy Tucker is a stranger, and I have heard a good deal of grumbling about her being appointed Chief. She was appointed shortly before I arrived. Sergeant Coker and eight police are stationed there; he was there when I came, and had been there for about three months before.

5509. Are Sergeant Coker and Nancy Tucker good friends?—She is his wife.

5510. Is that notorious?—Everybody knows it.

5511. Did you hear if Tommy Loggi's family tried to oppose Nancy Tucker's election?—Yes; Nancy Tucker's clerk, Jones, was talking about it.

5512. Where is Tommy Loggi?—I left him at Dodo, but I do not know what happened to him after.

26th September 1898.

5513. Do you remember telling me about some people being sent to the Cockboro river and one of them getting wounded?—Two of them were police.

5514. What were they sent to do?—They were sent to count the houses for the tax.

5515. Was there a fight?—They had a little fight there.

5516. Did somebody get hurt?—Kabatu, Nancy Tucker's captain, got a knock on the head.

5517. You say Sergeant Coker was sent to Ganjama with fifty men; why was he sent there?—They were sent to get tax, or if not, to take their goods. They brought the goods back, and they were sold by auction at Sembehun.

5518. Did you know of someone being killed at Mafuri?—Many people were killed at Mafuri.

5519. That was after the war came?—Yes.

5520. Do you know of anything happening before the war?—When the people were gathered together with the Chief, and were asked to pay tax, they refused to pay. The Captain was obliged to gather all the Sierra Leone people together, and the Chiefs, and get them to pay the license. They refused to pay the hut tax at first. Then the Captain said, 'If you do not pay the hut tax I will not grant you a license.' Then they paid, and the Chiefs said as the others had paid they would pay.

5521. Who went there?—Captain Carr.

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5522. He gathered the Sierra Leone people and the Chiefs, and asked them to pay the tax and the license? and they paid the license and not the tax?—They said they did not want to pay as no one was paying in Freetown. Then Captain Carr said, 'Now you see Sierra Leonians pay tax.' So the Chiefs said, 'All right, we will pay too.' Mr. JOHNSON.

21st September 1898.

MRS. JOHNSON.

Mrs. JOHNSON.

5523. My name is Sarah Johnson. I was at the Mendi Mission at Bagru before I came to Freetown. My mother sent to say that Cabba Gaindah is in prison at Kwalu.

5524. Do you know anything about his arrest?—I know it from my mother's message.

5525. Have you ever been in Mocassi?—Yes.

5526. Do you know anything that happened to the Chiefs at Mocassi?—They were imprisoned at Kwalu.

5527. Do you know anything about the circumstances?—I know from my mother's letter and messengers.

5528. Do you know anything yourself?—I know about the other matters that were brought to Freetown. They brought the palaver to the Governor.

21st September 1898.

MR. JOHNSON.

Mr. JOHNSON.

5529. My name is Henry Johnson. I am a boatman.

5530. Do you know anything about Cabba Gamdah, who is now in prison at Kwalu?—Yes; one day this year, my grandmother, Tembi Yeva, went to Sembehun. I was there. It was about six months ago—about February.

5531. Who else was at Sembehun?—Cabba Gaindah, Nancy Tucker, Humpa Sella, Sesay, Palatawa, Gbambadu, and the late Mr. George.

5532. Who was Sesay?—A Sherbro man, a trader.

5533. Who was Palatawa?—A native of the town, Chief of Benduma.

5534. Who was Gbambadu?—A trader belonging to Berri; he has a shop at Benduma.

5535. Who else was with Nancy Tucker?—Sergeant Coker and Captain Carr.[1] The white man asked Tembi Yeva, 'Will you pay the tax or not?' She said, 'Yes; I will pay it; but let me tell my people, so that they may be behind me.' Then she turned to Cabba Gaindah and said, 'What do you say to that?' He got up to talk, and Sergeant Coker said to Captain Carr, 'This is the very man that gives Tembi Yeva trouble.' The Captain ordered him to be made prisoner, and they handcuffed him. Tembi Yeva said, 'I am willing to pay, but I want you to let the man go, so that he may help me with my people.' Captain Carr said, 'No, I cannot leave him.' Tembi Yeva said, 'All right, I agree to pay.' Captain Carr wanted Tembi Yeva to take some Policemen, but she said, 'No, I do not want any Policemen. I can make the people pay.' Captain Carr said, 'I give you twenty days to bring the money to Kwalu.'

5536. Did Captain Carr leave Sembehun then?—Tembi Yeva left Captain Carr at Sembehun, and went to her own town Benduma.

5537. Did you go to Benduma?—I left for Polom the same day.

5538. Anything else?—They took Cabba Gaindah to Bonjema, Chief Yahi's town, the place where Sergeant Coker was stationed.

5539. Do you know about the land dispute in which your grandmother was concerned?—No. When I got to Bonjema, we went to a small fakki there. Tembi Yeva wanted to build fakki there, and Yahi said Tembi Yeva had no right to go and work there. Tembi Yeva said the bush was hers. Then Yahi fought Tembi Yeva's people. Yahi had plenty of people. When Tembi Yeva went to work the place, Sergeant Coker gave them power to drive them from the farm.

[1] Witness is mistaken; it was Captain Moore. See 7449.

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Mr. JOHNSON.

5540. How did he give them the power?—Yahi told him that the bush was his.

5541. What did they do then?—Sergeant Coker brought about eight Frontier Police and drove Tembi Yeva's people into the bush.

5542. Was there any shooting?—No; they broke all their farm-houses down.

5543. What happened after that?—Tembi Yeva met Yahi at Mocassi, and had a talk. Tembi Yeva was Chief at Mocassi and she sent for Yahi. She said, 'I cannot agree.' After that they took the case into the Court at Freetown.

[MRS. JOHNSON replied after this.]

5544. Who are the people in prison at Kwalu?—[Mrs. Johnson answers]—Cabba Gaindah, Furi Vong, and Ka Hagbai, Chief of Mocassi.

5545. Had Furi Vong any connection with this land business?—Yes. Yahi and Furi Vong's people fought about this farm; they sent for my mother. She said Cabba Gaindah must go and divide the bush in two parts, and give one each to Yahi and Furi Vong. Yahi said his portion was smaller. They came to the Governor; they said my mother must have no more to do with the land. The Bonjema land was her father's property, and it was for her and her children. The case was sent to England. Furi Vong, Massalia, Ka Hagbai, and Cabba Gaindah, were made prisoners on account of the fight in the bush. This was two years ago. They were in prison till a letter came from England, and then they were let out, Last year they went back to their own country; but there is no satisfaction. When they went back, Tembi Yeva built thirty or forty houses there, and the Government sent Police, who broke the houses down. They said my mother must give up the place. She said, 'No.' Her father had planted kolas there to support his children. Cabba Gaindah, Furi Vong, and Ka Hagbai, are in prison. . They say Cabba Gaindah is the next person to my mother, and it is he who makes trouble, and that if they do not put him in prison nothing goes right. My mother asked them to release him, but they say No, as he gives the old woman bad advice. He knows all about the place, and was with my grandfather as a small boy. I do not know why Ka Hagbai and Furi Vong are in prison.

21st September 1898.

MURUGORO.

MURUGORO.

(Mrs. Johnson interpreting.)

5546. My name is Joe, or Murugoro. I was present when the white man sent for Tembi Yeva to Sembehun; they took her there in a hammock. Cabba Gaindah and Granny and plenty of young men. The old lady said, 'You sent for me,' and told him, 'let me consult with my people, whether to pay tax or not.' Then she turned to Cabba Gaindah, and he stood up. As soon as he stood up, Sergeant Coker said, 'This is the man who instigates the people.' They handcuffed him. Tembi Yeva asked who; they said, 'He will be in prison till the tax is all paid.' The old woman said, 'You have already handcuffed Cabba Gaindah, and I am going back. I will try to pay the tax and bring the money to Kwalu.' The white man said, 'I will give you twenty days.' The white man wanted to give her some Police, but she said 'No, we are not in need of Policemen, because all our own subjects know us.' So she went to collect the tax, and gathered what she could. The white man left Banjama two days after. About twenty days after the old woman brought the tax money to Kwalu, and said, 'You must release Cabba Gaindah.' The white man said, 'No, not till the balance of the money is paid.' Then the old woman went back, and has not been to Kwalu since.

5547. Is not Tembi Yeva at Kwalu now?—She is.

5548. Is she detained there?—Yes; white man says she must wait there till Yoko comes back from Freetown.

5549. Anything else?—The white man sent ten Policemen to fetch Tembi Yeva, and he gave them two cows and six bushels of rice, and they took her to Kwalu.

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21*st September* 1898.

Mr. Jones.

Mr. Jones.

5550. My name is George Alfred Jones. I was formerly writing clerk to Nancy Tucker, till 29th April last.

5551. Were you engaged in the collection of the hut tax in Nancy Tucker's country? —Yes.

5552. How long were you in Nancy Tucker's employment?—Ten months.

5553. When did you begin to collect the tax for her?—September last year. I went to Mr. Hudson, District Commissioner at Kwalu. He gave me information as to how the hut tax was to be collected. I saw the letter to all the Chiefs about it. I read it all to the people. Nancy Tucker collected all the people together. I explained everything to them. The people went, and said they could not give a decided answer. In February the tax commenced. I began collecting.

5554. How did you do it?—People used to come to Nancy Tucker and pay the tax. I got their names and kept a book. The headman of each town was to be responsible and give an account for the District Commissioner at Kwalu. I was doing that till April.

5555. Had you any Policemen to help you?—Sergeant Coker, Private Coker, and several others.

5556. What took place in the collecting?—I, being the clerk, never went anywhere. I only went to Bombatuk where Baima Fima lived. I went with Jones and Johnston. He paid some money. Three days after the war overtook us.

5557. Do you remember the Police going to Momo Lucrae to collect tax and seizing some goods?—At Masako. Johnson and Corporal Brima went to this place to seize the people's goods. The goods were given to Lucrae to keep. There was a contention about the goods that Momo Lucrae had taken some of the goods. I do not remember the circumstances.

5558. When these policemen were sent out to collect, what orders had they?—They were to go and warn all the Chiefs to bring the amount to Nancy Tucker. The Policemen used to go and collect the money themselves.

5559. Did the Policemen go themselves and collect without orders?—No; they used to go and collect the tax under orders from Nancy Tucker.

5560. What were the orders?—Sergeant Coker used to give them the orders. I did not know them.

5561. Were there many cases in which goods were brought in instead of money?—Yes, goods were brought in frequently; rice, goats, sheep, palm kernels, and oil, and cows.

5562. What was done with these things when they were brought in?—They were sold by auction.

5563. Did the auction money come to the whole amount that was due?—Yes; when these things were brought in we used to take the number of houses in each town and explain to the headman; when they were sold and there was a balance over, it was to be paid to the headman of the town.

5564. Was it frequent that a balance was due to be paid back?—No, it never occurred.

5565. Was it frequent that a balance was due to be paid by the headman?—Yes.

5566. Did you ever hear of houses broken down or burnt?—No.

5567. They would not need to tell you as clerk?—I was simply in the office.

5568. Would they need to tell you?—I do not know.

Mr. Cole.

Mr. Cole.

5569. My name is William Bunting Cole. I was a trader at Port Lokko. After the Protectorate Ordinance passed I paid £4 for licences.

5570. You rented a house there?—Yes, shop and house; 6s. a month. Lusain Bongo was my landlord.

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Mr. COLE.

5571. Did he object to your paying your licence?—No; he knew I had paid it.

5572. Do you remember Captain Sharpe coming to Port Lokko in January about the tax?—Yes; we made a representation to him on account of the caution we had received from our landlords.

5573. What caution did they give you?—They said we must not pay, because the houses belonged to them, and we were only tenants. We told Captain Sharpe what our landlords had said, and he said he would represent the matter to the Governor. We afterwards got a letter to say that the Governor did not agree to what we stated. After that he came in February to collect the tax.

5574. Then Captain Sharpe called you before him in the house where he was living?—Yes; the day after he arrived. He asked us if we were ready to pay the tax, and we said no. He said if we were not going to pay the tax he would arrest us and put us in prison. We told him that we were ready to pay but the houses were not ours. He said he had nothing to do with that. He then took us and put us all in prison. That was in the morning. We were kept there till 6 p.m. the next day. When we were brought out we were put in a line before Captain Sharpe in the court room. He said, as we had neglected to pay the hut tax we were to be fined £5, or six months whether we paid or not.

5575. Did he ask you again if you were ready to pay?—No.

5576. Before he told you you were fined, was any charge made against you?—He said we had disobeyed the Queen's orders, and we pleaded not guilty.

5577. Was each one charged with the same charge?—Yes; we each pleaded not guilty.

5578. Was any evidence given?—No.

5579. Did Captain Sharpe decide on the charge?—No. He said we must each pay £5, or six months' imprisonment with hard labour. We all paid the fine; some £5, some £2.

5580. Was some of the fine remitted?—Some of us were very poor.

5581. Are you sure your memory is correct about the charge made against you? was it disobedience to the Queen's orders?—Yes.

5582. Is there any other W. B. Cole than yourself?—No.

5583. It appears that you were charged (1) with refusing to pay hut tax when lawfully called upon to do so, (2) fraudulently evading payment of hut tax, and (3) contempt of Court? were these charges made against you?—The only thing I remember is disobedience to the Queen's orders.

5584. You say after pleading not guilty no evidence was given?—No evidence.

5585. Then it is not true that Mr. Crowther and Sergeant Wilson were called upon to give evidence?—Mr. Crowther went into the box and gave evidence.

5586. Did Sergeant Wilson also?—I cannot remember.

5587. You paid the tax, and the fine, and that was the end of the matter, as far as you are concerned?—Yes.

5588. While this talk was going on between you and Captain Sharpe about the landlords was any one called?—Bokari Bamp was called to the court-room.

5589. What passed?—About five of them were called. Bokari Bamp was asked if he was ready to pay the tax, or to make his subjects pay the tax. He said he had no power to impose on the people to pay tax. Captain Sharpe said, 'If you are not going to pay the tax I shall imprison you.' Bokari Bamp said, 'Very well.'

5590. Captain Sharpe asked him, 'Are you ready to compel your subjects to pay the tax?' and Bokari Bamp said he had no power to compel them?—Yes.

5591. What was the charge against Bokari Bamp?—I did not hear the charge.

5592. Was Bokari Bamp called before you had paid your tax and after you were fined?—Yes.

5593. Was Bokari Bamp taken into custody while you were there?—He was taken away and marched into a boat.

5594. Before he was taken away and put in the boat had you already left the Court-house?—Yes.

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Mr. Cole

5595. You left Bokari Bamp and four others behind you in the Court-house ?—Yes.

5596. Was it very soon after you left that they were taken to the boat ?—Yes.

5597. Can you say whether any charge was made against them ?—No. I heard Captain Sharpe say, 'You must go in a boat down to Freetown and be put in prison.'

5598. Did you hear him say, through the interpreter, it is for neglecting to pay the hut tax that I now send you to prison ?—Yes; he was then put in the boat.

5599. Before you heard Captain Sharpe say that to the interpreter was any charge made against Bokari Bamp in your presence ?—No; I only heard what the interpreter said to him.

5600. Had you heard any sentence pronounced on Bokari Bamp ?—I heard Captain Sharpe say he must be in prison for one year, and the others for one year with hard labour Bokari Bamp was not with hard labour.

5601. You say the sentence on Bokari Bamp was twelve months without hard labour ? -Yes.

5602. And the others ?—I cannot remember.

5603. You say the other four had hard labour ?—Yes.

5604. Were three charges made against them ?—I did not hear it.

5605. Did any one come in the witness-box and give evidence against them ?—I did not see any one.

5606. If anybody had given evidence would you have seen it ?—Yes.

5607. Then there was no evidence given during the whole of that transaction ?—No.

5608. If it is said that Mr. Crowther, Sergeant Wilson, and Lamina Turi gave evidence, would that statement be incorrect ?—I did not see them.

5609. You saw the ceremony of making Sori Bunki Chief of Port Lokko ?—Yes.

5610. Do you remember Sori Bunki saying something to Captain Sharpe at that time ? —No.

5611. Did you hear him say anything to Captain Sharpe ?—Yes.

5612. When he was made Chief did Captain Sharpe send any one to him ?—Five policemen.

5613. What was the cause of that ?—He expressed fear that in going home some harm might meet him by the way.

5614. Did you hear Sori Bunki talking to Captain Sharpe at any other time ?—When Captain Sharpe was going from Port Lokko to Karene, he told him that in going that way he feared he must bring down Bai Bureh: he was spoiling the country, advising Captain Sharpe to go and arrest Bai Bureh.

5615. What did Captain Sharpe say ?—After Sori Bunki had given him the advice, he smiled and said, 'I will go and bring him down in two or three days' time.'

5616. Was it true that Captain Sharpe made a remark, 'To-morrow at this time Bai Bureh will be in handcuffs' ?—Yes.

Mr. Williams.

Mr. Williams.

5617. My name is Zacchaeus David Williams or Wilhelm. I was a shoemaker in Port Lokko in 1897 and 1898. I paid 5s. a month for my house. Santigi Mana is my landlord.

5618. Before Captain Sharpe asked you to pay tax, did your landlord speak to you on the subject ?—Yes; he said I must not pay for the house, because the house did not belong to me. He said if I did he would drive me from the house and burn it down.

5619. What kind of house is it ?—Mud, with a bamboo palm roof.

5620. How much would it cost to build ?—It would cost about £20 if you paid for everything.

5621. Then if your landlord had set fire to it he would have lost about £20 ?—Yes.

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Mr. WILLIAMS.

5622. Captain Sharpe sent for you and a number of other people to ask you to pay the tax?—Yes. At Alpha Yunisa's place.

5623. Did some one speak on behalf of the Sierra Leone people?—Yes; Bickersteth and Weeks.

5624. Did Bickersteth answer when Captain Sharpe asked you to pay?—Bickersteth said, 'We are ready to pay, but you must tell the king to tell us to give the money.'

5625. Was Captain Sharpe satisfied with that?—He said the country people must pay country people, and Sierra Leonians must pay to him.

5626. What was the next thing?—We agreed to pay; and we paid at once without any more trouble.

5627. Were you not kept in confinement for some time?—Yes. Before he asked us to pay the money he imprisoned us, on Tuesday morning.

5628. He asked you to pay again on Wednesday morning?—Yes. Mr. Bickersteth said, 'We agree to pay.'

5629. All that time did not Captain Sharpe send for anybody?—Nobody came in: we paid the tax and we were fined: no formal charge was made: Sergeant Wilson and Mr. Crowther made a crime against us, and said we hid our things in the bush. I had nothing to hide.

5630. Did Sergeant Wilson give evidence that you had hidden your things in the bush?—Yes. Captain Sharpe fined us, and we paid the fine.

22nd September 1898.

Rev. A. ELBA.

REV. A. ELBA.

5631. My name is Alexander Allan Elba. I am a minister of the Church of England, and work for the *Church Missionary Society*, I am stationed at Bullom.

5632. In the early part of the year you were up in the country?—Yes; working for the *Church Missionary Society* stationed at Bana Lokko, about six miles from Karene. I was there when the disturbances began last February.

5633. Later on you had an interview with Bai Bureh, how did that come about?—I was in my station at Bana Lokko, and was doing work at Karene also. The first notice of the rising I had was from two Europeans at another station near by, who came over to see us, and they said they had learnt from the Doctor at Karene that he was going down the next day (this was about the end of February) with the Sergeant to meet Captain Sharpe's force that they might go and capture Bai Bureh. They left us that day, and said they were going to try to cross the river, and get to their station that morning.

5634. Did you hear any reason alleged why Bai Bureh should be captured?—It was the time the hut tax commenced; there had been a disturbance at Port Lokko. So we kept listening for news; that day I heard that the police had been attacked on the way, and that day and the next there was a rumour that Bai Bureh was coming to attack the barracks.

5635. During all the time of these disturbances were you at your station?—I was there till early in March when the troops came up.

5636. You did not leave your Mission Station, and continued in it for some time after?—Yes.

5637. You continued to occupy your Mission Station for some time?—The town was deserted, and we were obliged to go and live at a little town, Robong, in the bush, not far from Karene. I was there till 8th April, when I left and went to Bai Bureh.

5638. Did you get a message?—A verbal message.

5639. What sort of man brought it?—While we were trying to hide ourselves from the natives, our landlord, who is the headman of the town, received false messages from time to time that war would be taken down to him. The third time a message came from Furi Barika, who was supposed to have brought the message. When our landlord heard he went to ask Furi Barika about it. Furi Barika lived near by, and the message had been sent to

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him. Our landlord was assured that Bai Bureh had actually sent for us. I suggested, as we were in great difficulties, and could not get a message to the troops, that the best thing would be to go and see Bai Bureh. I decided to go alone; the two other missionaries who were with me wanted to go with me. Our landlord asked us to give him a paper showing the circumstances under which we went, in case Bai Bureh killed us. I wrote a paper, and gave it to him. So we started, and travelled for two days till we got to a little town of Bai Bureh's. We passed through several burnt towns. Our landlord and Bai Bureh's messenger and several natives accompanied us. We were kept in one of his towns on Easter Sunday. On Monday morning we got a message from Bai Bureh that he would see us that morning at Mahera after he had made a sacrifice at Roballam. So we thought we would go and wait for him at Mahera. When we got half-way there Bai Bureh's messengers met us, and said Bai Bureh had been waiting for us. So we hurried on and met him at Mahera. He was sitting on a wooden chair under a mango-tree, and had his wives with him. He got up and shook hands, and offered me the chair. I sat down in the chair, and he stood in front of me. He said he had heard of my difficulties, and as I was well spoken of by his people, he had asked me to come down, so that he might give me the means of getting home to my people. Then he asked me about a letter that I had written, and was in his possession. I had written a letter previously to some brethren, and the messenger was caught by the war-boys, and the letter was carried to Bai Bureh. I explained to him that I was a missionary. He said they suspected the letter, because it was covered with red sealing-wax, and he thought it was a sign of war. I explained that it was a letter to my brethren to ask after their condition, and he was satisfied with my explanation. They had kept the boy who carried the letter, but had not killed him, because he was only a stripling. He said he would give orders to set the boy free. I do not know whether he had opened the letter.

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5640. You did not gather whether he had any one amongst his attendants who could read writing?—It seemed not. We heard of his having caught a Frontier who could read. We rather expected that we might be asked to read some of the letters that had been taken from the different messengers. But none of these letters were produced; only a small bit of paper with 'Road good this way, road clear to Karene' on it, signed Sandy. It turned out that an officer had put this paper by the roadside, and stuck it in a bit of stick, and the natives who were hidden in the bush came and took it afterwards. I argued that if they had had some one to read the others he would also have read this little bit of paper. It appeared that he thought this little paper might be some proposal of peace. Then after I had told him about this, he told me he was going to give me a message to the Governor, and that he would give me a statement which I should write down. But just then there was a sound of firing near by, and he said I should not have time to write it down. He then gave me a verbal message to the Governor, which I delivered to him when I came down.

5641. You put this in writing at the time?—No; soon after. I put it in this form when I got to Freetown. (Witness handed the paper to the Commissioner.)

5642. At the time you wrote this the whole thing was quite fresh in your memory?—Yes.

5643. The message stated by Bai Bureh to me verbally was as follows (reads from memorandum): "He is not aware that there is any war between himself and the English. "He had been on good terms with Captain Sharpe, the District Commissioner, all the time he "was at Karene, and the last time they saw each other they spoke on friendly terms, and "Captain Sharpe made him a present of some cut tobacco. He had never been asked to pay "the hut tax. About three months ago he was performing some funeral rites in his country, "in connection with the death of a relative, when he heard that a company of Frontier Police "was passing on to Karene. His people, who had come together in large numbers to witness "the ceremony, became excited by the march of the force, and followed them behind, looking "at them. He was afterwards informed that one man had been laid hold of and beaten with "a hammer, and that when the others continued to follow they were fired on by the police "and four of them killed. The force then proceeded to Karene, and he had nothing to do but

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"to bury those who had been killed. The next thing he heard was that Captain Sharpe was "coming to take off his head, and against this he has been offering some resistance. He feels "he cannot match the English force; they have burnt down most of his towns, and have "caused them to live in the bushes; and now also they were burning the bushes. He thought "that if this state of things continued he would seek protection from the French. Since he "and his people had been loyal to the English, the English are now warring against him, "their own ally."

5644. Then Bai Bureh did not make any specific proposal?—No.

5645. What was your impression as to his condition of mind when he gave you this message?—He seemed to be in earnest.

5646. Did he give you any details as to how the message as to Captain Sharpe coming to take off his head had reached him?—No.

5647. You probably did not feel in a position to cross-question him?—No.

5648. What aged man did he appear to be?—Between 50 and 60.

5649. Had he many people along with him?—Some of his wives and a good number of war people.

5650. How were they armed?—Swords and guns. He chose out two specially as escorts to take us down the river. Those two were armed with guns.

5651. What river?—The Skarcies. We came down to Mangi, but the escort left us before we got there. We took passage from there to Freetown.

5652. You were not annoyed by war-boys at all either going or returning?—No: because it appeared that Bai Bureh had given instructions that he had sent for us and we were not to be molested by the way. We met war-boys, but they did not trouble us.

5653. You had known Bai Bureh before this?—Yes: I had visited him in his own territory as a missionary. That would have been about four years previously.

5654. What was his character at that time as a Chief?—I found him to be very playful. He drinks a good deal of palm-wine, rum, etc. He seemed to be a man of peculiar physical strength: it did not make him drunk. He is tall and majestic. He is fond of dancing. The time I preached to him he was present himself and all his people.

5655. At this interview I suppose the message to the Governor was the last thing?—did he express his views as to what caused the war?—No.

5656. Did he say anything about the hut tax?—No more than that Captain Sharpe had not asked him for it.

5657. Then he did not say anything about the origin of the war, except what was in the message?—No: he said he could not sit down quietly and let Captain Sharpe come and take off his head.

5658. What more did he tell you?—He spoke of Mr. Humphrey's murder. When I went up to the town I saw a native boy who had been with Mr. Humphrey's mission. As Bai Bureh and I were talking the boy came up close to where we were. Bai Bureh turned to him and said, 'What is the name of that man you were speaking about?' Then Bai Bureh said he had not given any special instructions about that man, and had not heard about it till afterwards: that he had not seen anything of his belongings, and he was sorry he had been killed, and that he was not directly responsible for it.

5659. By his saying he had not seen any of his belongings, did he mean he was not certain whether he had been killed or not?—No. I do not think that. I think he was sending a bullock to the warriors to recover the goods. It is the custom for each of the warriors to plunder for himself, and if he gets anything valuable the Chief generally gives him something in exchange for it.

5660. So far as you learnt, he was protecting the missionaries?—Yes.

5661. Did you meet with any annoyance at all from the war-boys at Robong?—No: they gave us food.

5662. Did Bai Bureh say anything to you to this effect, that any one who had 5s. to pay his hut tax was free to stay at home and not join the war?—He did not say so. But his

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people said that Bai Bureh said he would not go and ask the aid of any of his people in this fight because he was fighting for the whole of them: if any man was able to pay the hut tax let him be at ease: the people said they were going to help him to fight because they had no money to pay the hut tax.

5663. Did Bai Bureh say anything about the imprisonment of the Port Lokko Chiefs?—No.

5664. Did you hear anything spoken about that by the people?—I heard in connection with that about Sori Bunki. I was asking about Sori Bunki. They told me he had been drowned. He never even saw Bai Bureh. They carried him off to another place, and he was in the stocks for a long time: then they took him and drowned him. That is what I heard.

5665. When he spoke about Mr. Humphreys being killed he said he was sorry about it?—He seemed so: I cannot remember his exact expression.

5666. Does Bai Bureh speak English?—I was speaking Timini to him. He speaks a few English words: he can understand a good deal of broken English.

5667. So that if some one had told him in English that Captain Sharpe was coming to take his head off he would have understood?—I think he would have made that out.

5668. A great many towns had been burnt in Bai Bureh's country?—Yes.

5669. Had they been burning the bush as well as the towns?—Yes: the troops did. There are large expanses of grass in the country: used for grazing in some places. These had been burnt.

5670. Did you hear anything about the burning of Mapolonta, the sacred town?—Yes: I was up very near there during the fighting.

5671. What is the peculiar sacredness of Mapolonta among the Timinis?—It is in Brima Sanda's territory, and that town is where all the old Chiefs are buried: they are buried in large graves. Superstition is connected with the town as the burying-place of the old Chiefs. All coronations take place there, and they make sacrifices to the old Chiefs.

5672. Were the groves burnt?—I am not sure. The town itself was burnt.

5673. Did it excite much feeling among the people?—Yes: they were very vexed about it.

5674. Did Bai Bureh tell you that he had received a message from Captain Sharpe?—No: Bai Bureh did not say he had received a message direct: he said he had heard.

5675. He speaks the ordinary Timini?—Yes.

5676. Anything else you remember?—The only thing that struck me in connection with the rising was the side some of the people took. Where we were living was in Brima Sanda's territory. The people there were dissatisfied with the Chief: they thought he had no right to be Chief. The man who said he was the rightful heir went to Bai Bureh to help him to recover his right. The feeling of the people was against Brima Sanda: and when the rising took place, although he was a friendly Chief, he could not control his people.

5677. Was Brima Sanda not in the proper line of succession?—I am not certain. They said he was not.

5678. Did Bai Bureh seem anxious to have an end made to the war?—Yes: he thought that scrap of paper might be a proposal of peace.

5679. Did it appear to you that it was a material part in his sending for you that you might convey this message to the Governor?—The two things seemed to go together. He seemed to be having a sort of consultation with his people. He had been advised that I should take down the message in writing: but as circumstances did not admit of it, I had to take it verbally.

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NYAGUA.

22*nd September* 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

5680. My name is Nyagua, Chief of Panguma.

5681. What were the causes that brought on this war?—I was at my place quiet, and some time ago I was called by the District Commissioner and was asked to build a sort of war-fence round the barracks at Panguma. Then I built a sort of war-fence. After that I questioned the District Commissioner why he built another war-fence. He said, 'The Government have required you to pay something, and the Bumpe people have refused.' The District Commissioner said, 'Now I am near by you, and far off in the country, and I want that we should have an opinion together.' He ordered me to make a well, and I made it. There was no quarrel between us. I saw after the cleaning of the roads, and tried to put everything in order in my country. A short time after I got word that my wife was dead. I was not well then, and told the District Commissioner I wanted to see the dead body. The District Commissioner offered me a hammock to go there. The day I got there to see after the burial, messengers came to call me back, and I went with the messengers and asked what he had called me for. He said, 'Just about the tax that I was speaking to you about before. I have information that the people in the Bumpe river have been fighting. I have simply called you because you are a big Chief, to ask you not to fight against the Government.' I said to the District Commissioner that I was unwilling to join any war against him, and then I was going home. The District Commissioner refused, and gave orders to the Frontier Police that I should be caught, and I was handcuffed. Then my followers returned to my people, and told them their father had been arrested. I sent to tell them to keep quiet, and that I did not know why I had been arrested. I remained under arrest till the end of that month. During that time whenever the District Commissioner went out, he went and burned surrounding towns; and he burnt my town—the old town. While the Frontier Police were going out to fetch rice, the people objected and fought. I was under arrest, and no one told me what was going on. I remained there until I was brought to Freetown. I was never ordered to do anything to which I objected. I have suffered the loss of all I had, without any cause. It was the District Commissioner himself who told me he had gone out on an expedition, and had killed 700 of my people. I had 200 oxen, and they are all eaten. That has been the cause of my being brought to Freetown. I never was asked to pay tax and refused. I have always proved faithful by attending to the orders of the Government. I have given my boys as labourers several times to the Government. Some of my children are still with the officials. That is the treatment I had from the Government.

5682. Then it was after those people of Bumpe and Tikonko and Gerihu had joined together to make war that the District Commissioner sent for you?—I had not got any information of any war starting at the time I was caught. There was a Captain who left Kwalu with Frontier Police, and went through the country. If there had been any war, they would have been fought, but they got to my place and arrested me. Even Sierra Leone traders, who had been there at the time, and are now in town, said there was nothing like war round me at the time I was caught.

5683. Was it after you were brought to Kwalu, and kept there, that the war broke out?—I was at Panguma. I was brought to Kwalu just of late. The Captain had gone up to Panguma, and at the time he went up there there was no war. When they got to Panguma they got information that there was war at Bumpe.

5684. What was his name?—Captain Fairtlough.

5685. But Captain Fairtlough met much fighting on the way to Panguma?—Yes.

5686. What was the reason of there being so much fighting on this journey of Captain Fairtlough?—I was under arrest during the time of the fighting. I was simply called to the District Commissioner in a friendly way.

5687. But did you not know that there was a great deal of fighting when Captain Fairtlough came up to Panguma?—They went fighting till they got to Panguma.

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5688. What was the reason of that?—The people are not willing to pay the taxes. I knew that there was nothing that caused it but the payment of the tax. Those of the people who object to pay the tax the Frontier Police catch, tie, and ill treat. When they get to a town, they plunder the town and take the principal men and question them. While I was under arrest, I knew the people were fighting for that cause. They said nothing further than that. I NYAGUA.

5689. Did you hear of those meetings of Chiefs at Bumpe and other places that took place some little time before the war began?—I was never sent for to Bumpe; it is a long way off.

5690. Did you hear about them?—I got the information from the District Commissioner that the principal Chiefs of Bumpe had gathered and were having meetings.

5691. But independently of the District Commissioner, did you not hear that there had been meetings at which the Chiefs had sworn that they would not pay the tax?—I heard that Berri and Farwoonda had gathered and held meetings, and decided to come to Freetown to ask that the Governor should put away the tax from them. But nobody yet has asked me to pay; and the people did not send to ask my opinion, as I had not been asked to pay. The tax is a matter the people would take objection to, and whatever meetings they held would be about it. There are very few inhabitants of the Mendi country; they have all been killed. I know very little of what went on at my place after I was arrested. It was my slaves and boys who always brought the District Commissioners up to town. I was always willing to give them what labour they wanted. I have been trying always to be faithful, and I am happy to be able to say so before you.

5692. Was the new law explained to you at your own town Panguma?—What law do you mean?

5693. Against slave-dealing, about land, deposing Chiefs, licences, and paying tax for houses?—Yes; that Ordinance was sent up and read to me, and there was a provision made that I should not have to pay my tax at present.

5694. And it said you were not to pay till the year after?—Yes. It was explained. It was only the traders that were asked to pay licence.

5695. But although you were not asked to pay for that year, you were going to be asked for the year after. Did you approve of the hut tax?—I am a subject under the Government, and if I am asked, I should be bound to do so. It would be awkward if I, being so far in the Mendi country, were to go against the rules of the Government. Though I had not been asked to pay, it was for that I was arrested.

5696. How was that?—The explanation I asked from the District Commissioner that there was fighting in the district, and it was lest I went to join the war-boys I was arrested. My own time for payment had not come. There was no reason that I should have been arrested.

5697. Then do I understand that, as the hut tax was not to come on you or your people for a year, you did not think it necessary to form any opinion?—I had never taken thought of it. It was annoying to me to be arrested for the actions of others.

5698. You had not formed any opinion about it?—I had it in my mind to pay it. I have always attended to the laws of the Government.

5699. I ask you now, do you consider 5s. for each house a good and suitable tax?—For the kind of house that we have, I think it is too much. If my time had come, I should simply tell the District Commissioner that it was too much, because my people would not be able to afford it. That is what I feel even now.

5700. How many houses have you for yourself and family?—Of my great-grandmother's children there are plenty. They all depend on me, and I have to keep them.

5701. Whatever they would have to pay for their houses you would have to pay?—Yes; my town is mostly composed of my family.

5702. Then supposing you paid tax for all these houses, would your relations pay back the amount to you?—Had the time come for me to pay, I would have called them all

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NYAGUA.

together, and would have put it before the heads of the families; and those that could, would pay, and for those that could not, I should pay. We are not dealing in coin. Those who were able would have kept goats, and sheep, and cows, and would have given them over to the Government. Those that did not keep cattle, I should have been obliged to pay their tax.

5703. Are there many palm kernels in your country?—Yes; but the distance is considerable. They spoil for want of carriers. It would take fourteen days' travelling without a load to get to any place.

5704. Are the roads not good?—I cannot say just now, but they were properly cleaned before I was arrested.

6705. It has been said that there were a number of your war-boys fighting when Captain Fairtlough went to Panguma?—I heard it; they did fight.

5706. Why were your people fighting then?—I was never allowed to go out and listen to the cause. I do not know exactly why my people joined. I have been all the time in the hands of the District Commissioner.

5707. But would these war-boys have gone out to fight if you had not authorised them?—They did that of their own accord; and, when they found it was in vain, they were going to surrender themselves. I gave them no authority to fight. I am sorry I was held responsible for the fighting.

5708. Then, did your war-boys join with the Bumpe and those other Chiefs that began the fighting?—My children never came down at all to meet the Bumpe people. It may have been that the Bumpe people went and asked them to fight with them.

5709. Do you mean that there was any compulsion by the Bumpe people to join?—I never heard that. I am speaking the truth to you. In case I am spared, God may give me a longer life if I speak the truth. What I have seen I am bound to tell you.

5710. Panguma is your town?—Yes.

5711. How many towns have you under yours?—They are all burnt—Gerahu, Lalehu, Kamboma, and Dodo, my father's birthplace.

5712. Were they all stockaded towns?—No.

5713. Have they not a war fence?—Nothing. Since the Government went up they asked that we should break them, and there is nothing. When we went to war, we were compelled to make them, but we never thought of warring again.

5714. Is there anything more you can tell me?—I have had nothing to do with the war. I would like to be set free. My country is so far from this place. We are not a people who know anything of business with cash; and we are unable just now to send money to the Government. The houses are not made of boards and stone, simply common mud. We have been staying in the bush. We will be able to clean the roads and make bridges, and put all in proper order for the Government. We will work at our farms, in case strangers come up and want rice.

5715. Then you consider truly that the hut tax is too heavy for the people?—Yes.

5716. Suppose Government wanted to ask you for money to help to make the roads and bridges, and other purposes, is there no other method of collecting money that, in your opinion, would be better than the hut tax?—According to our country customs, we have learned to give something to the Chiefs and Headmen; and when they want money, they send round to ask, and what the people are able to contribute they send to the Chief. But it is hard to demand this tax.

5717. When the Chiefs want money from their people, do they say how much they want?—Yes; the Chief really knows what they can give, and only asks for that amount, and they are quite ready to give it, because they know it is for their good.

5718. The Government in Freetown would not know how much your people could give?—If they watched the condition of the country, and asked them to give something reasonable, they would have no objection. I have myself asked the people for money, and they have given it freely. The strangers who are in the country know me to be a plain and quiet man. I asked for money plainly.

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5719. Then, when you asked for help in this way, did the people pay in coin?—No; just country produce. NYAGUA.

5720. Then are these things sold?—If I have need of coin, I sell them; if not, I am accustomed to keep the goods.

5721. Then if you needed to get coin, it would be a long and troublesome business?—Yes.

5722. There is very little coin amongst your people?—Unless we get some from the Government.

5723. How do you get it from the Government?—I was entitled to £5 some time ago, which was given to me. For some work I did they gave me £10.

FARWOONDA.

FARWOONDA.

22nd September 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

5724. My name is Francis Farwoonda of Mano, in the Kittum river. A long time ago, in the old time, my father gave the land to the Government by the coast at Lawana. My father died, and I was the heir. All the lands and the people had been looking to me as their Chief. While we were there last year we got information that there was a new law made in Freetown, that we should be asked to pay tax. When the news reached us, some of us went over to the other Chiefs to see them and know what the law was. We went to Lawana and asked that the Ordinance should be read to us. Having got the information, we came over to ascertain the facts. There was a Customs clerk there, Hope by name. We questioned the clerk, and he said he had a copy of his own, and what we had heard was true. Lawana belongs to the Colony; the other side is in the Protectorate. The principal chiefs of the Kittum called on me and said I was the heir, and was to see after the duties of the country. They said, 'We will be glad, as you are the principal man, if you will go and see the Governor, and tell him we accept all the laws except the hut tax, which we feel is rather a hard matter for us.

5725. Were there Sierra Leone people at the meeting?—No.

5726. Who were the Chiefs?—James Zurukon, Sepharmina, who are both dead; Humpa Maben, Humpa Clawa, Separkaisek. They are all in Governor Havelock's treaty. Momo Kiki, Momo Jah, Momo Fofi, Kaimagbi, and all the other Chiefs in the district. They sent me over to Bai Sherbro, that I should go and ask him to go with me to the Governor. We came here twice with some of the Bumpe Chiefs and some of Bai Sherbro's Chiefs, and some from Tikonko. My mission then was to come and see the Governor as a friend, and to express our opinion to him.

5727. Can you give me the names of the Bumpe and Tikonko Chiefs who came with you?—I came with Bai Sherbro by water, and the others came by land and met us—Berri, Santigi Macavray, and Honno. Berri is here in prison, and would be able to tell you the rest.

5728. Then you came to Freetown with Bai Sherbro, and met the other Chiefs here?—Yes; we got here first. We left before Berri and the others.

5729. Did you and Bai Sherbro go and see the Governor?—Yes; and we saw Mr. Parkes.

5730. Did you put your statement before the Governor?—Yes.

5731. Did Mr. Parkes go with you to the Governor?—Yes.

5732. What did you say to the Governor?—I was then the spokesman for the rest of the Chiefs. I said to the Governor, 'We have been pleased to come and see you.' The Governor asked, 'What have you come to see me about?' I told him, 'The new Ordinance that is sent up the country.' He asked if the laws had been explained to us in the country. We said, 'No; the laws have not been explained to us; we have only heard of them.' Then the Governor went and brought a copy of the Ordinance, and read a good deal of it, and explained it to us. He said, 'If any of you require to trade, you

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FARWOONDA. will have to pay a trade licence; and everybody who builds houses shall be asked to pay tax for the houses. The Commissioner in your district will be the person to judge your matters, and you will have to appoint Chiefs to sit with the District Commissioner at times; and the Chiefs who will be allowed to sit with the District Commissioner will not be allowed to give any opinion. They must abide by what the District Commissioner says.' With regard to slave trade, we have been stopped since 1894. Whosoever is not pleased with the District Commissioner's decision, if he makes any disturbance he will be transported. When the time for the tax comes, if any Chiefs are not able to pay they will forfeit their stipends, or if he is not a stipend chief his property will be seized; if they make resistance, they will be caught, and even killed.

5733. Did the Governor say they would be even killed?—He did not say so. It was not the Governor, it was the people who had been explaining the Ordinance told us this. There would be three Courts—District Commissioner's, the District Commissioner with Chiefs, and the Chiefs themselves would talk their own matters. In the Court where they sat with the District Commissioner they will simply express their opinion, but they must abide by his decision. What brought us to Freetown was the inability to pay the hut tax.

5734. Was that when the Governor spoke about the hut tax that you said it was the principal reason you had come to Freetown to express your inability to pay it?—Yes. After the Ordinance concerning the hut tax had been read, we told him we had come to beg that he should put away the hut tax, as we were not then in a position to pay it. We had only just been stopped fighting, and the country was poor, and would require some time to recover itself.

5735. You told the Governor you were not able to pay, what reply did the Governor make?—The Governor said we were bound to pay it, and he dismissed us; and we went away, and returned, and gave the other chiefs to understand that the Governor said he would have nothing to do with it, and they would be bound to pay the tax.

5736. Can you remember the date of that meeting with the Governor?—10th February 1897.

5737. Then you went back and told the other Chiefs as to the answer you had got?—We returned the message to the Chiefs, and they asked if the Governor had given no letter to them. I said, 'No.' They said, 'Since you have brought no letter, it is not time yet to pay the tax,' and they decided to come again to see the Governor. Momo Kiki, Momo Jah, Momo Fofi, Queen Massi Massi, Bokamina, Chief of Tobanda, Bai Birsi Marsima, were the principal Chiefs. They gathered, and decided to come again to Freetown, together with myself. They said that 'whosoever first pays this house tax is against us,' and that no one should pay the taxes before we should have first gone to see the Governor. They came in January this year: Kiki, Sandi of Tikonko, Baya of Bum, on behalf of the other Chiefs in the Bum. Some could not come. Momo Kiki asked me to get some one to write a letter to the Governor.

5738. You all came to Freetown?—Yes.

5739. Can you write?—I sign my name, and can read a little. Then we got N. O. G. Robert of Freetown to write a letter.

5740. Did you tell him what to write?—Yes; when Momo Kiki asked me I told the man to write.

5741. What was the substance of the letter?—That the Governor has taken all rights from us in our country. We got a reply that the Governor had nothing to do with us, but that we should return back to our district and see Captain Carr.

5742. You did not go to see the Governor then?—No; we simply wrote.

5743. But why did you not go and see the Governor?—The Governor said we could not see him. We came with the letter to Mr. Parkes; Mr. Parkes sent up the letter, and said, 'You will not be able to see the Governor, but must go back to the District Commissioner.'

5744. What month was that?—January in this year.

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5745. Then did you go to see Captain Carr?—Whilst we were still here the Governor sent to say that he wanted to see us. I did not go to see the Governor; I wrote, that whatever the Governor wanted to point out he should write, and I would take the letter to the others.

5746. But why did you not go when the Governor asked you to?—I wrote an answer to the Governor.

5747. But when the Governor asked you to go to Government House why did you not go?—Because the Governor had told us to go and see Captain Carr, and we had not been.

5748. You then wrote to the Governor that you would prefer he should write; did you write the letter yourself?—I got the same man to write it. I showed the letter to Mr. Parkes.

5749. What did he say about it?—He said he would take the letter himself, and I had better not go.

5750. Did you see Mr. Parkes after he had been to Government House?—No; I only saw the reply from the Governor.

5751. What was the effect of it?—The Governor said I had written an impertinent letter, and had made myself Chief of the country, and he would dethrone me. Since then I am no Chief. Then I told my people that I had taken their message to the Governor, and it had been the cause of my becoming an ordinary man and no Chief.

5752. Did not Mr. Parkes make any remark about the letter?—He asked me if I thought this was the right letter to the Governor. I said, 'Yes.'

5753. Did not Mr. Parkes say the letter was an improper letter?—He never said so; he simply questioned me. I never wrote anything bad.

5754. Did Robert read over the letter to you after he had written it?—Yes.

5755. Can you remember it?—I have a copy of the letter in my box in town. I cannot remember it.

5756. Then you went back to your own country?—Before I went back the Governor warned me that if I exercised power as Chief I should get into trouble. That was in the letter.

5757. After you went back to your own country?—I called my people together and told them I was no more a Chief, but an ordinary man in the country. After that I went to my fakki. After that Captain Carr came with the Frontier Police and plundered the whole of Mano and Mendi and other small villages. They took my sister and ravished her. Then they went about in search of me that I should be put in prison. I got information that they were searching for me. I said, 'What have I done; I had better come back to Freetown.' I got to Bonthe and spent seven weeks there. Captain Carr sent a warrant for me to Bonthe. I got information and came on to Freetown on the chance of seeing the Governor. After I had been here two weeks I heard of the war up the country. The same war that troubled the Government went to my town Mano. Bokamina of Tobanda took the war over to my town. I was then in town when this information came to me. I went out to try and get paper to write to the Governor and tell him about the war that took my town; but I was arrested while I was going to buy paper.

5758. What charge was made against you?—They have not told me the charge. I simply came to town to lay a complaint about my town being plundered. All these papers are in my box.

5759. Can you give me those papers?—George Cummins the present Mendi Chief of Freetown has some; some are with Mr. Robert in Soldier Street.

5760. Do you know anything about the cause that brought the war?—As I heard they said that the District Commissioner at Bandajuma had sent some men to collect the tax near Bumpe, and one of the Frontier Police shot a man with a gun at Bumpe. When they killed the man his brother drew his sword and struck the Frontier, and the war was caused by that uproar. The Frontier Police ill-treated them very bad in the country. In every town they came to they disgraced the Chief. Any kindness that is shown them on behalf

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FARWOONDA. of the Government is disregarded. It is not so much the tax that displeased us, but it was more the Frontier Police. When they go for the tax they plunder first, and ask for the tax afterwards. The Government told us that if we did not pay they might levy on our goods; but the Frontier Police simply plundered for themselves and then asked us to pay the tax. It is the disgrace that displeased the people all over the country. If I had gathered the war there would have been no necessity to come to Freetown and leave the war-boys.

22nd September 1898.

Mr. THORPE.

MR. THORPE.

5761. My name is David William Thorpe. I was an agent to Paterson, Zochonis & Co. stationed at Masimbi on the Rokel river. I have been at Kwalu lately.

5762. How did you get to Kwalu?—I was arrested in my house at Freetown on 2nd August.

5763. On what charge?—Supplying powder and ammunition to the insurgents.

5764. Were you arrested by the police?—By a detective, Sergeant Brown.

5765. What was done with you?—I was taken to the police station. I sent a retainer to Sir Samuel Lewis. I asked him to effect bail for me, which was refused. I was kept four days. On the evening of the fourth day Sir S. Lewis sent to tell me that he had got the authorities to hear the case here. I had sent to say I was not well enough to go to Kwalu, and he wrote to the Governor about it. The following day Dr. Hood and Dr. Renner were sent to examine me, and said that I was strong enough to go to Kwalu. They said they would give me a hearing the next Saturday. When I got to court they said the arrest was illegal, and that the case must be heard at Kwalu, and that then I could appeal if I wanted to. I was taken to Kwalu. I was looking out for some one to send to my family. Captain Troughton ordered them to handcuff me, and I was taken from the orderly-room to the wharf in irons. When I got to the boat I asked to have the irons taken off, and said, 'How shall I save myself if the boat capsizes!' but they refused.

5766. Why were you handcuffed, were you resisting?—I was not resisting at all. Captain Troughton ordered it.

5767. You went in the boat?—To be taken to Waterloo. We reached there that night, and were taken ashore about 9.30 P.M. When we got ashore a sergeant with seven police escorted me, and I was handed over to the Frontiers; all the time in irons. On Sunday morning they wanted me to start off walking. I said I was sick and would not walk, and that they were sending me a hammock. The hammock arrived, and we got to Kwalu on Wednesday. I was in handcuffs all the way. When we got there I was taken before Captain Fairtlough the District Commissioner, and he gave orders for me to be delivered to the gaoler. Then they took off the irons: that was Wednesday, midday.

5768. Then you were in handcuffs all the time from Saturday to Wednesday?—Except for washing and eating. My brother accompanied me from Waterloo and tried to get bail for me, but was refused.

5769. Is there a prison at Kwalu?—Yes; I was kept in prison there till I was tried.

5770. When were you tried?—On Friday.

5771. What happened on Friday?—I was called before the District Commissioner, and he read the charge against me, selling powder to the insurgents during January, February, and March. I pleaded not guilty. He asked for witnesses. I gave the names of my witnesses to the gaoler.

5772. When the charge was read and you pleaded not guilty, were not witnesses called for the prosecution?—The court interpreter, Bobo, was called, and stated that he saw an empty keg of powder at the factory with the PZ. mark, and in a house near the factory he saw a small bundle of powder in a white cloth. I asked him: 'Did you see me in the factory?' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Was the empty keg with the PZ. mark found

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in the factory or my house.' 'No.' They then called Morlai, and he said the same as Bobo, and added that when they got to Fundo, they caught one man there and asked him, 'Where do you get powder from in this district; if you tell the truth you shall go free; if you tell a lie, we will kill you?' He said, 'I used to be under Mr. Thorpe as boatman.' I then asked Morlai if he knew me before? He said, 'No.' I asked him if he saw me at Mahera (?) that day? He said, 'No.' I asked him what was the name of that old boatman of mine who said I sold powder? He said Raka. I said I should be glad if Raka would appear. I was then remanded for eight days. I was brought up again the next Friday, and my witneses were present. No more evidence was given against me. Captain Fairtlough said, 'we are not bound to fetch your witnesses, but we have done so.' They did not ask them anything, because Raka was not there. I was remanded for another eight days, and was called on Saturday, 3rd September. One of my witnesses wanted to go away in the meantime, but he did not go. On Saturday, Captain Fairtlough said, 'Raka is not here; under the circumstances we give you your discharge, but we caution you, and in case we find Raka we shall want you again.' Mr. Thorpe.

5773. What I know about this very empty keg is, when this war came on 10th April, I was in town. The young man I left in charge wrote to me that he heard news of war coming down. I took the letter to Mr. Pittendrigh. He said, 'What was it?' I said, 'I did not know.' I started that Sunday, and I got there that night. It was the very day the war was there; all the people had run away. I met my clerk. He said Mr. Smart was pointing to an empty keg of powder, and said to the Captain, 'it is PZ.; it may be that this keg of powder has been given to the people to fight against us.' It was said in the presence of the clerk, Mr. Green. I said I would go and see Captain Fairtlough the next day. Just as I was starting I saw them firing guns and burning on the other side of the river, and I was afraid to go. That was the 11th. On the morning of the 12th, I went up to Furudugu and met them there. I said, 'I hear you have been inquiring after me; what was it about? He asked me if I could give him any information as to the whereabouts of Bai Kompah and Suri Kamara. I said I did not know anything about them. I then asked him about the tax. He said, 'Why have you not paid?' I said nobody had asked me; the factory was only rented. I then paid him 5s., and he gave me a temporary receipt. He said the official receipt would follow. I had thirteen sheep, and being away from the factory, the man in charge took them over the other side for safety. I lost these thirteen sheep. When I got to the Captain I saw a lot of sheep, and found three of mine among them. So I went and told him. He said, 'Deliver the three sheep that Mr. Thorpe identifies,' so I took them away, but I never saw the other ten.

5774. Mr. Ring, a trader, was charged with the same charge at Kwalu. When he got there he was convicted and sentenced to twelve months, and was taken out of court before he could intimate an appeal.

23rd September 1898.

Mr. Pratt.

Mr. Pratt.

5775. My name is Isaiah Adolphus Pratt. I was a trader at Port Lokko. When Captain Sharpe came there he summoned all the traders to appear, and we all went. He asked us to pay the tax. We told him the houses were not our property. He said when he went to Karene he would see about it. When he got up there he wrote to say we must pay him. When he came down again he summoned us. We explained that we were willing to pay, but the people who owned the houses would not let us, and threatened to turn us out. Next day I was sick and did not go. On the third day they said I must appear, but I sent to say I was sick. I went eventually and found all my companions were locked up. I was asked if I was ready to pay the tax. I said, No, and he locked me up too. He levied on us and called us, and said we were disobeying the law. The sergeant swore I had removed my goods, and I was fined £2, which I paid. They said war was coming. We saw two police who said they were going to take Bai Bureh. I do not know what Bai Bureh had done. I left the town and took what goods I could.

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Mr. PRATT.

5776. Is the place quiet now?—There are rumours. They still fear that troops will be sent up again to seek after Bai Bureh, and that keeps them in fear.

5777. Previously to your being fined, was any charge made against you?—Yes; I was charged with fraudulently removing goods from my store, and refusing to pay hut tax when called on.

5778. Was evidence taken?—Yes; Crowther and Wilson appeared against me.

5779. Had you lived at Port Lokko long before that occurrence?—Yes; it is my native place.

5780. Are there a number of small villages or fakki belonging to Port Lokko?—Yes.

5781. Do these little fakki lie all round Port Lokko, or in any particular direction?—All round.

Lieut.-Col. MARSHALL.

Lieut.-Colonel MARSHALL.

5782. My name is John Willoughby Astley Marshall. I am a Lieut.-Colonel.

5783. You are in command of the forces out here?—No; I arrived here on the 25th March and took command on the 27th, when Colonel Bosworth died. I was commanding till Colonel Woodgate came out.

5784. You became aware of what was going on before your arrival?—I delayed going into the bush for two days to talk to the Governor. The whole thing was a surprise. The first thing was an order to send up Major Burke and two companies. He left on the 27th, the same morning we got news of Colonel Bosworth's death.

5785. You became acquainted with the circumstances that led to the first detachment being sent up?—Yes; I think I sent you a copy of my report, which contains what I know.

5786. The first requisition for troops took place on the 22nd February: there was then a force sent of the Frontier Police?—Previously, I think on 17th February, Captain Sharpe, with a force of Frontier Police, had come into collision with war-boys.

5787. His object at that time being to arrest Bai Bureh: as I understand the object of sending up this first company was to set free the Frontier Police from garrison duty in order that they might effect the arrest?—Yes.

5788. Was one company a sufficient force to have sent up?—I can hardly say, not knowing the local circumstances.

5789. Then there was a hitch: the company under Major Norris reached Karene on 28th February, and it appears he left stores at Robat and was only able to remain at Karene for three days, which was insufficient for the object?—I do not think the want of stores was actually the cause.

5790. Then it was considered that the arrest could not be effected under four days?—When Major Norris got up to Karene he found the police practically hemmed it.

5791. You think, then, that the Frontier Police at that time, even if relieved from garrison duty, would not have been sufficient?—I think that the Frontier Police, composed as it is, could not have coped with the organisation. As it was, they were getting wounded even before Major Norris went up. It was impossible at that time—look at the opposition the regular troops met.

5792. Major Norris was seriously opposed on that occasion on his march to Port Lokko?—Yes.

5793. Major Norris' opinion of the situation was such that he requisitioned on the 4th March for two additional companies?—Yes; not only were they up north, but down at Port Lokko. It is absurd to think that the Frontier Police could have held their own.

5794. Would you say it would be a just inference that the force should have been a larger force at the beginning?—Certainly; they should have disposed of Port Lokko at the same time.

5795. That is a point on which there has been a differenee of opinion, whether it was

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sound policy to keep a garrison at Karene ?—I do not think you could have withdrawn it, if it had once been established. Lieut.-Col. MARSHALL.

5796. The political reasons were strong: was it sound from a military point of view ?—I think so.

5797. I think Major Burke was against it ?—Yes; he wanted to withdraw at once. There were a lot of Chiefs just then who were waiting to see how things went, and they would have joined at once, and we should have had them right down to Songo Town. Bai Bureh's threat to drive all white men to the sea might have been carried out.

5798. Did he make a threat of this sort ?—I think the rising in the south was due greatly to these little rumours.

5799. Was it sent round to the Chiefs as a message that he had killed all the white men in his district ?—From what I heard from the Chiefs I think so. I believe it to have been some time early in March. I am of opinion that if a stronger force had been sent at first, and Bai Bureh crushed, there would have been no further rebellion. He was known to be the principal man: the spokesman of the others.

5800. Was that agreement to block the rivers supposed to have been made before any steps had been taken to collect hut tax ?—It was contemporary, or even a little before the first attempts.

5801. Was there authentic information showing there was intention to block the rivers ? From what I heard from the natives on the Rokell it was all previously arranged.

5802. Did the strength of the resistance increase as time went on ?—Up to a certain time it did so: so long as our troops were moving between Port Lokko and Karene it increased. When once we got hold of the road the opposition decreased, and they finally seem to have deserted the whole road.

5803. In your report you speak of a period, I think about 15th April, when the opposition seemed more keen ?—That was going through the country: we were opposed wherever we went. For the first month we had a very hard time. I had really got command of the road by the 10th April. From that time, with convoys continually going, the opposition died out, but in the bush they attacked us just the same.

5804. How far did the natives show unity of purpose, and being led by someone having strategic ability ?—They confined themselves to opposing us everywhere. In the arrangement of their stockades they showed skill. Very often supporting each other and generally in some particularly difficult place; except for sniping their tactics were defensive. When we halted we very often used to hear three guns fired. It seemed to be a signal of some sort. They would sometimes try and waylay us as we were crossing streams, but they would never come out or show themselves. The whole country is very dense bush; and, except the Kabuntama road, the roads are not much more than bush-paths, often not wide enough for a hammock.

5805. Is it a hilly country ?—No; slightly undulating: more hilly beyond Karene. There are no hills of any size.

5806. Any deep ravines ?—Hardly deep; the country is undulating.

5807. Any rocky ravines ?—Not with precipitous sides.

5808. How were they armed ?—Mostly trade guns. There were some chassepots, but we never took one. I know that they had them.

5809. To any large extent ?—No; but the ordinary trade gun at their usual range of from seven to ten yards is quite as effective as a rifle.

5810. Did they seem to have plenty of ammunition ?—Yes; always.

5811. Had you any means of knowing whether the ammunition was being supplied to them as the contest went on, or had they laid in a stock at the beginning ?—I have reason to believe, from evidence I heard at Masimera, that they were supplied by traders till March. One of the traders apparently brought some powder from his house here under cover of salt bags. His name was Ring. His boat captain and one of his crew were evidence against him. He got twelve months. I sent him down to Kwalu. Another, Roberts, was not convicted.

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Lieut.-Col. MARSHALL

I do not think they can have got all their powder from these people. I think they must have had some other means of getting it across the border.

5812. Were these men, Ring and Roberts, the only cases you came across?—The only ones except from hearsay. I heard of Thorpe and another man.

5813. It was not traced in any way that they were getting ammunition from the French side?—Not as far as I know.

5814. On one or two occasion the Frontier Police seem to have been in rather a critical situation, once with Major Tarbet?—Two columns, Stanfield's and Carr Smith's, had to fall back on Karene, which must have produced a very bad effect. I do not know what you refer to about Major Tarbet.

5815. When Captain Cave was wounded?—22nd March. I believe that there was some report that Major Tarbet wrote about himself. I fancy it was very much exaggerated He was with Carr Smith.

5816. It seems odd that he should have written to Carr Smith, if they were together?—They were in the same column.

5817. What was the objective of the military operations?—To overawe the people and to release the police from Karene. Then they found the opposition greater than was anticipated, and they were compelled to send up more troops, and it became a matter of suppressing the rebellion.

5818. What generally were the means taken to suppress the rebellion?—Generally, they were quite inadequate; they seemed to try to carry a certain amount of provision to Karene; they seemed to have no definite objective; then when the rebellion was in full swing and posts were established, the only thing was to make it as hot for them as we could. The rising could only have been suppressed by force, and by using every means in your power. If you left any towns or villages near the camp you were always being fired into.

5819. Your aim was to destroy the towns?—Certainly; to make an example of it, and intimidate the other states.

5820. Then I suppose all the towns of any importance were destroyed?—Yes; in the hostile country. Sometimes they destroyed their own towns. We only destroyed what was necessary; all the Kassi country as an example.

5821. And with the towns, I suppose, most of the food supply?—Not very much; most was hidden in the bush. It was before the planting time. There was any amount of cassava, but we did not destroy that. I believe they keep very little rice for the sowing. I have heard that they sell all their rice at harvest, and buy it again for the sowing.

5822. When were you in the Kwaia country?—At Rokell: I went down from Port Lokko to Mabele on 28th May. Next day we took up quarters in Rokell. It was not a rising of the whole country. Bai Simera was a prisoner and the Governor would not let him come up, or I should have been able to quell it in no time. After a time I got him to depute two Chiefs, but they would not come near me; they were afraid; eventually I got them down, but I think it was not till the beginning of July.

5823. Was the Masimera country understood to be friendly?—There was one Chief there who was murdered because he would not join them. There were two or three Chiefs got together and collected a few war boys and blocked the river. I had to wait for these two Chiefs to come down; eventually I got them in and then it was perfectly quiet.

5824. Was there no fighting in the country?—No casualties: a little blazing off.

5825. Was there any attempt at attack by the natives in that country?—They just shot at us a little on the march. There was nothing to speak of. That was only at the beginning.

5126. Did they tell you they meant to drive you to the sea or anything?—I do not know what they said; I believe they were cursing us.

5827. Would it be correct to say that the period when the opposition of the natives was

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hottest was from 16th April and a few days after?—I should say the hottest time on the road was before that: in the country the hottest time was about 16th April.

5828. These stockades are rather strong works?—Not particularly big, but very strong. You cannot see them from the opposite side of the road. They are made with blocks of trees, with a trench inside, and generally built so that there is a slope away from them.

5829. How long would these stockades take to build?—They say only two days; they must have had a great many men.

5830. What size were they?—They varied from about twelve to forty yards, and they were sometimes in groups supporting each other and on both sides of the road.

5831. Did they keep up a good fire?—Yes; as long as we did not outflank them. They were open to the rear, but it was difficult to get there because of the bush.

5832. I think you said it did not appear that the natives had any definite purpose?—Only opposing the column and to get rid of the white men. The fact of so many officers being wounded bears that out.

5833. Can you tell me what the casualties were?—Seven died of wounds altogether. Captain Sharp gives 273 as the total casualties, I made it 271.

5834. Can you give me approximately how many of that number were killed or died?—47. 42 killed or died of wounds, 3 of sickness, and Mr. Humphrey and his carriers were also included.

5835. I suppose it is impossible to estimate the number of natives killed?—Quite; the bush was dense, and they always took the bodies away. We wounded a lot; but I do not think we killed very many; the Lee Metford bullet simply goes through them without stopping them.

5836. Can you give me any idea of the expense?—That does not come within my scope. The commissariat work that out. The extra rations would probably be charged to the colony.

5837. What are the prospects of re-establishing peace with the natives?—I think that those who rebelled should be properly sat upon. I think those who were friendly have not been used sufficiently. The friendlies were not allowed to have arms and the others had. They did not know quite what to do. As regards the prospects of peace, I think the right course to take would be to utilise the friendlies and to send one or two columns there.

5838. Do you not think that the use of friendlies is apt to give rise to abuses; paying off old scores, etc.?—I do not think so.

5839. Does it not make great heart-burnings?—No; I should have them under some Government official. The people at Mabele said to Bai Forki's people: 'We do not want any more war; if you attack the troops, we will attack you.' That spirit all through would soon put an end to the fighting.

5840. If it was confined to a threat?—You must be prepared to let them go beyond a threat or the threat would be useless. I do not think there is any serious body left in the Kassi country; there are no doubt solitary bands. I do not think there is any chance of opposition up there again.

5841. Is it a question of the Chiefs of the hostile portions of the country surrendering?—I do not think they would ever surrender. Alimami Lahi and Bai Bureh never would; but you might track them by friendlies.

5842. Is there any likelihood of these Chiefs going over to French territory?—I do not think the French would have them. Bai Bureh's own people would not give him up.

5843. Bai Bureh had a great reputation as a war Chief before this?—Yes; both he and Alimami Lahi were old war Chiefs.

5844. If Bai Bureh were offered some honourable terms, would he not give himself up?—I think he is too suspicious; he would think it was only a trap.

5845. There seems a very strong fidelity on the part of the people towards them?—That I believe to be on account of the fetish.

5846. Suppose his life were assured to him, and he were asked to abide the Queen's

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Lieut.-Col. MARSHALL.

pleasure?—That has been given out already, two or three months ago; but only the other day they increased the amount of the reward, which would make him suspicious.

5847. Are there any other remarks you would like to make?—The Frontier Police are rather a trouble in many ways; there is no doubt they create a good deal of ill-feeling among the natives; the evil is, being allowed to be about in small parties with no discipline.

5848. You would not give much for them as a fighting force?—As they are now they are absolutely useless against any organised force. In a small rising they might be all right. I do not see how they can improve; their officers cannot speak their language.

There is a proposal to put a fort at Karene, but I do not think it would be of any use. Small forts on the roads radiating outside would be useful, with a standing camp at Karene.

24th September 1898.

Mr. BUCKLEY.

Mr. BUCKLEY.

5849. My name is Thomas Scholes Buckley. I have been connected with the Colony since 1884. I came out first as accountant for a mercantile firm. I am now manager of the Bank of West Africa, Limited.

5850. When was that bank instituted?—About 1892 or 1893. It began operations in Freetown about 1894. Previous to last October the business of the bank was carried on by the Sierra Leone Coaling Company.

5851. Is the Bank of West Africa the only bank doing business in Freetown?—Yes.

5852. Or on the West Coast?—I think so.

5853. Have you travelled much about the country?—I went up country in March 1897, up the Rokell valley to near the Kolifa district; to Neta Kuta, and back by Matutika, Yele, Kwalu, Rotofunk, and Songo Town.

5854. What can you tell me about that part of the country?—I noticed in some parts of Masimera and Malal, some fine grazing land; between Rokell town and beyond Masimera the country is pretty well covered with young bush, with a few good trees here and there, well watered; in fact, I only came across two towns where they had not fresh running streams. On approaching Ropolong, on the Rokell river, I met the first hill; it is undulating up to there; beyond there, no hills till you approach Koranko; the country seems to be pretty well cultivated by the natives, so far as their own necessities are concerned, rice and cassava.

5855. What about the population?—I cannot say it is thickly populated, but you come across a village or a town every few miles; some are a fair size, Masimera, Makonti, Rokell, Ropolong Mabas, Benkia; beyond that Rowalla, Mabente; altogether the country up the Rokell valley is fairly well populated.

5856. Were the lands cultivated in the neighbourhood of the towns?—They have their farms; they brush a certain part of the bush for a few years, and then they brush another part, and so on. We had no difficulty in getting supplies.

5857. Were you a large party?—Quite thirty.

5858. Were they hospitable and pleased to see you?—We had no trouble whatever; they make one the guest of the Chief for the time being; and there is an interchange of presents and courtesies.

5859. Have they any articles which they export?—Rice; and in the districts where the palm belts are they will bring down palm kernels and oil.

5860. As regards these palm belts; is there any cultivation, or are they left solely to nature?—All they do is to cut the kernels. In the Mendi country, I found two or three fair sized farms of indigo; I think they must have been working it for local trade.

5861. Were kola nuts grown in that part?—Yes, near Malal; when you came across kola trees you always knew there was a town near by.

5862. Were these grown to be exported?—Yes; they plant and cultivate rice and cassava, no fruit; occasionally we could get an orange or two, no limes, no bananas, and

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a few wild pines. I did not see any farming of cattle as such; plenty of fowls and eggs all over the country. Mr. BUCKLEY.

5863. Was there any material extent of big timber?—Up in Koranko district the hills were covered with big timber; in the lower regions it had been cleared away for farming purposes. We got into the gum copal country and found a fair belt of gum trees, and belts of old timber. Between Rotofunk and Foya there was quite a forest of fine timber.

5864. Any indiarubber trees in these parts?—Here and there in the old timber belts we found the vine. Koranko is full of it. It has been very much gathered. In some parts the Kicksia or Kawattia grows, but the natives do not seem to know they can get rubber from it.

5865. It was in the dry season you went up?—At the end of the dry season; up in the hills we had frequent showers in the evening, and many tornadoes amongst the hills.

5866. Were the trees in the forest you mentioned producing valuable timber?—I have no doubt it would be worth working if you could get it down; fine straight timber, well grown; some I thought was mahogany. I am sure it would be worth working if it could be brought down to the market.

5867. Labour and roads would be the difficulty?—Yes. There are practically no roads. I do not think it would be difficult to make a good road from Koranko in the direction of the Rokell valley; there are no hills; in places it would be troublesome on account of the narrow gorges.

5868. All that region seemed to be fertile?—Very fertile; numerous trees. I may mention that it is infinitely healthier up in those parts; hot in the middle of the day, but the mornings and evenings cool. After Foya you get into the unhealthy swamps to the south.

5869. Then that region at all events is capable of a great deal of development?—I feel sure of it.

5870. You are well acquainted, I suppose, with the way of carrying on trade in Sierra Leone?—Yes.

5871. So far as I understand, there are some English firms trading here? Any French?—One French and one Swiss. There is a Mr. Petit who is trading on his own account. Mr. Deutscher at the hotel is practically a Frenchman; and there is the French Company.

5872. Then there are native traders?—Yes, a good many of them.

5873. Are these native traders doing business on a large scale?—Some of them on a very fair scale; they import their own goods, some of them.

5874. Then there is a large number of native traders besides?—Yes; small traders who buy locally.

5875. Those large native houses, how are they off for capital?—It is difficult to say how much capital; but such men as Bishop, Thomas, and others, are worth a good deal of money, and are well able to finance their own business. They own property in Freetown in addition.

5876. The European houses—are they fairly well off for capital?—I believe so. I do not know the capital of the share companies. The French Company, I believe, is about 12,000,000 francs.

5877. And the smaller traders, those who do not import, how are they off for capital?—Some of them have sufficient to work their own business, others are from hand to mouth.

5878. Then they carry on a good deal of credit?—I do not think they get much credit; they work on as small a stock as they can. Dealing with the same houses, they are able to get good terms for small orders. Sometimes people at home, who have no agents here, send out goods to them as their agents. On the whole they pay their way.

5879. Then these larger native traders, do they work much on credit?—I have no doubt they do get credit; they remit produce or draft; they will have a current account with a fluctuating balance. From what I know of the larger traders, they are well able to pay their own way.

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5880. Do European firms carry on much in the same way?—They get their things from their own people.

5881. If I understand rightly, they are branch establishments, as it were?—Their supplies come through a head-office. Payment for supply is all done by the head-office.

5882. There is a class of professional money-lenders: do you know much about them?—I know some of them—pawnbrokers—they lend money on jewellery. There are some who will lend on mortgages, but the regular money-lenders are pawnbrokers.

5883. They charge a high interest?—Yes. The lowest I have heard of is 60 per cent., and I have heard of rates of over 200 per cent.

5884. I suppose the goods which are imported here are chiefly disposed of in the Protectorate?—Yes. There is some small quantity exported to Liberia, but practically all is consumed in the Colony and Protectorate. The duty which the French have put on at Conakry has killed the trade between here and the rivers.

5885. It seems that the French charge a higher duty on goods imported into their territory from Sierre Leone than on goods imported direct from England?—Yes; they are very jealous of Sierra Leone, and wish to make Conakry a port.

5886. You have not any idea of the proportion in figures of the imported goods that go into the Protectorate?—I have never heard of any statistics being kept; in fact, it would be impossible.

5887. The Colony itself, beyond palm kernels in Sherbro, has very little to export?—Very little; and the bulk of the kernels in Sherbro come from the Protectorate. There is a fair quantity of gum copal on the hills in the Peninsula, but I have not yet heard of rubber being found.

5888. There is said to be gold in some parts?—I am sure there is gold in Koranko among the mountains. I proved its presence in a district for which I got a concession, but I cannot say if it is in workable quantities. I had a specimen assayed at home, and they told me there was gold in it.

5889. Have you formed any ideas as regards any scheme of taxation in the Colony?—I think the 10 per cent. *ad valorem* is quite enough in view of the fact that there is none in the neighbouring French rivers; in fact, it is an inducement to smuggle already. If there was any scheme of house tax, I think it should be in the shape of a rate.

5890. It seems that the rate would be imposed by the Municipal Council?—Yes. I think it would not be at all a bad plan to introduce the same system in the villages when it had been started in Freetown.

5891. Are there people to be found in the villages who would be able to manage affairs in that way?—I think some have already been found. Some of them already have an incipient municipality.

5892. Is that a purely voluntary association?—Yes.

5893. Do they impose rates?—No. The leading men, who are looked upon as fathers, say that some one must pay something either in money or in kind; and the people adhere loyally to it, and contribute for the particular work that is required.

5894. That is somewhat similar to the native organisation?—In the Protectorate—Yes. The headman is practically an autocrat; but in the Colony it is voluntary. I have never seen it in operation myself, but I have noticed that the roads are cleaned, and somebody must do it.

5895. Then if that is fairly well done by voluntary association, it might be a very bad policy to interfere with it?—I do not think it would work in the larger places: in those it would be better to have a municipality to levy a rate.

5896. How would you say the City Council of Freetown does its work?—I myself have not felt satisfied. I would like to see their accounts published annually, to show their income and expenditure, because I myself do not see that they can have spent all the money they have had; or, if they have, it has been wasted. There seems little more than the lights in the streets. The markets are a source of income. They get about £1800 a year from the

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Colonial Government, and they get these licenses. I do not think that lighting the town would account for the whole of the money. Mr. BUCKLEY.

5897. Do they not publish accounts?—I have not seen any published. I was one of the first Government nominees, but I gave it up, as I had not time. I would like to see it going on all right. I am glad they have decided to substitute rates for the licenses. Because we are a Bank we have to pay a heavier license than some of the big firms. They pay £12, and we have to pay £25.

5898. The rate is intended to come in place of the licenses?—Yes; to do away with the licenses altogether. I think they might reduce some of the licenses—such as auctioneers.

5899. Looking at what the City Council do, do they do the work better than the Department of Public Works could do it?—Yes; I think it is more amenable to the voice of the public than the Department of Public Works would be. They are slow moving, but it is from want of experience. I got out several books to serve as a guide to them. I knew all about it, and gave them the benefit of my knowledge, but you must make allowance for their want of experience.

5900. You think, making due allowance, that the work is pretty fairly carried on?—I have not seen anything to complain about except the general matter of finances. I am not sufficiently acquainted with its working to speak about it with authority.

5901. Is there not some provision in their Ordinance for the publishing of accounts?—I think that the accounts are to be audited by the public auditor; but I do not think anything was said about their being published.

5902. Have you paid much attention to the subject of customs dues?—There have been considerable changes of late, some of them in the wrong direction. I hold the view that so long as the revenue is protected the customs department ought to grant every facility for trade. For some time past the tendency has been in the opposite direction. For instance, a certain party will import twelve packages of provisions. So long as those packages were lying in the wharf, not wanted, that party could pass entries and take out what he wanted, the rest could be bonded. That has been abolished. Whatever you bond you must take out in block or not take it all. This is a source of vexation to some of the small traders who cannot afford to take the whole out of bond, and want a little to go on with. I do not know when this came in, but I know it is the regulation now and it used not to be.

5903. Is the spirit duty a suitable one?—With regard to the proof duty, 3s. a gallon—that might without injury to trade be slightly increased. There is one provision in the Ordinance that is manifestly wrong; they charge 3s. duty per liquid gallon on all spirit below proof. The object at that time was to raise revenue; the effect it had was that there was trouble in Sherbro at once. There was a large quantity of gin 59 or 60 under proof imported at about 3s. a case, and it forced up the price, and the people would not buy it, and the revenue suffered instead of benefiting by it.

5904. Then you would say the duty on spirits ought to be calculated on proof strength as the unit?—Yes; and give an allowance for under proof. They would have got the extra duty if they had put it up to 4s. instead of 3s.

5905. Would not that extra shilling have led to smuggling from the French territory?—The French have put on an extra duty. The country there is largely Mohammedan, and there is not the same amount of spirit consumed. The prices charged there are already so high that there would be no danger.

5906. Do you think the duty on tobacco is capable of being raised?—Fourpence a lb. is pretty heavy considering the price of tobacco landed on the quay. They sell it at 10d. or 11d. a pound, which means they sell it on the quay for 6d. I do not think it would be advisable. It might bear another penny, but I am not very sure about that. I believe it pays no duty on the French rivers.

5907. Salt is now 8s. a ton; could that be raised with advantage?—No; I should not

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Mr. BUCKLEY.

raise the duty on salt; because it is not so very long since salt was given away in the French rivers. In the old days, when fabulous profits were made, it was a custom to give each of the carriers a bag of salt, but it was abused; twenty carriers would go with loads sufficient for twelve. It is now sold at a low figure. In view of that I do not think it would be advisable to increase the duty just at present; but wait and see what the French do.

5908. Does any other method occur to you of adding to the revenue?—I have heard the idea mooted that if the present import duties prove insufficient a small export duty on produce might be imposed; but those are individual ideas. At any rate, I would not impose that till the interior was in working order again and thoroughly settled. The natural effect would be to put down the buying price, and people would connect that with the expedition and it would create a sore feeling. I think there is really more call for retrenchment than expansion of revenue. I think there has been too much spent on the Frontier Police.

5909. Then so far as you are concerned you would not suggest any further duty of the nature of an import duty?—No; I think they are high enough. Spirits might go up to 4s. per proof gallon.

5910. I think the local Chamber of Commerce suggest that it might be 5s.?—If they think it would do, I would adopt 5s.; they know more about it than I do.

5911. As regards the Protecorate, do you think direct taxation is a feasible method of raising revenue?—If extra revenue is absolutely necessary I do not see how any revenue is to be raised from the Protecorate except by direct taxation. You could call upon the chiefs of certain towns to contribute so much either in money or produce. If it were not necessary I still think the people of the Protecorate ought to do something in return for the protection. Failing direct taxation I should insist on labour service to make and keep in order good roads. It should be the Chiefs' duty to see those roads kept in order.

5912. That I believe was in theory, but very imperfectly carried out?—Yes; there were certain roads to be kept clean, some of these roads passed through swamps, and they were allowed to sink and get into bad repair; the bridges were most flimsy; that is the extent the road making and maintenance have reached. It would be well worth while for the Government to get out an engineer or two, and start a road say from Songo Town through Rotofunk to Kwalu.

5913. You mean a road that would take wheeled traffic?—Yes; and I would plant trees along the sides which would protect it from the rains.

5914. Then would roads that were made artificially not be in great risk of being washed away in the rainy season?—No; if it passed across a valley you could have culverts and sluices; once made it would last. Bridges would be required over rivers, etc.: no doubt it would require a certain amount of money, but it would open up the country. It would tend to increase trade if people had a good road to bring their produce to market.

5915. The system of carrying on the head is very laborious?—Yes; a bullock cart would be a great advantage.

5916. But there are no bullocks?—They could soon get them.

5917. There is no question of bullocks keeping their health?—I think they would keep their health better than horses; horses seem really more delicate than we are.

5918. I suppose this railway that is now being constructed will be a beneficial work?—Yes; it will tap the country for miles on each side of it; and with good roads the country would become quite settled.

5919. Do you think the railway is being made as economically as it might be?—I really do not know what it is costing. It will be a very good thing if it goes to Kwalu. If there were roads as well it would open up the country wonderfully, and I am sure it would soon settle down.

5920. Has your experience as a banker led you to consider the coinage and the supply?—Yes; there is no scarcity of gold; if anything there is too much. If there is any need for silver you can get it out free of freight.

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5921. Do you get much silver out?—I have had about £4000 worth since March; I have sent a great part of that down the coast.

5922. Is there much French silver in circulation?—There are a fair number of 5-franc pieces, but not many of the smaller coins.

5923. Do you find that the silver that you send out comes back to you, or is absorbed in the country?—Some of it is absorbed. The new coins that go out come back much worn. The Army pay department import silver; but they have not imported any for some little time. I expect when trade gets into full swing again it will be necessary for me to import more silver.

5924. Then, speaking generally, is there enough silver usually in the Colony for the needs of trade?—There have been times when silver was very tight; there are some people who hoard it rather than change it for gold, so as not to let people know they have got it. I have always found, when they are compelled to find money, they can always do it. These troubles have dislocated trade, and the demand has dropped off lately.

5925. Trade will not be likely to revive unless the confidence of the people is revived?—That is so. I am inclined to think that those people down in Sherbro are still inclined to give trouble, and will require a drubbing. Until the spirit of revolt has been stamped out, traders will not go up to trade. It is now supposed that those very people who have been fighting are coming down with looted produce.

5926. Was not that looted produce destroyed?—I was told that some of the huts in Taiama were stored to the roof with looted goods; there would be no object in destroying them; if the owners have been killed, they can never identify them. I am told that people who could not raise more than a few bushels before, are now bringing down tons.

5927. One would suppose that the kernels, being heavy, would not be taken away in the hurry and turmoil?—No.

5928. Do you think that the demand for silver is such as to justify a local coinage by the Government?—No; we can get coin delivered out here free.

5929. But if the Colonial Government made their own coin, they would get the profit?—No doubt; but they would probably require skilled men at large salaries.

5930. If they had the plant and men, there would be very little proportional increase in the expense in coining in larger quantities?—Until the people in the Hinterland absorb more, I think it might simply flood the place. At the Gold Coast and Lagos they absorb large quantities.

5931. Do they use large quantities on the Gold Coast?—They say there is a continual demand.

5932. There is nothing of that sort going on here?—Not to the same extent; I am in hopes that if Sherbro becomes more settled there may be a greater demand for silver. I am quite sure that when the Colony gets more settled the cash trade will increase.

5933. At present it seems to be mainly a barter trade?—When I went up the country and took some shillings with me, and I found they thought more of a leaf of tobacco than a shilling.

5934. That has probably been one of the difficulties in the way of the hut tax, that money was not there?—I believe in the Bandajuma district the District Commissioner collected a good deal in produce.

5935. Have you any further suggestions to make?—A good road from Songo town to Rokell and Ropolong would enable people who are breeding cattle on those grazing grounds to bring them to the railway without their suffering too much. Then Rokell would be a good place for caravans to cross the river, and come on down to Freetown by the road, especially during the rainy season, when many canoes are now lost. Between Ropolong and Rokell they cannot bring cattle down by canoes.

5936. Did you observe if there were many cattle there?—Very few; Freetown is supplied from further up the country. The Yonni and Mendi country is a good rich soil. I saw farms of small-leaved indigo. The country is capable of producing a good deal.

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ALIMAMI SENA BUNDU.

ALIMAMI SENA BUNDU.

26th September 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreter.)

5937. My name is Alimami Sena Bundu of Furudugu in Kwaia.

5938. I understand that the country has been in a great deal of trouble and war, and I ask you as a Chief to explain to me what has been the cause of this war and trouble?—I live in our country. One day we were invited to pay hut tax. When the hut tax was reported to us, we tried; while we were trying we heard of the war; they burnt Mafolomo, and came and burnt one of my towns called Rofundo, and one of my Santigis was killed. When the war came they told me, 'Alimami, war is come.' I ran away from respect of the Government, and went to the Port Lokko country. When the matter was so hard I went to Bullom country, and tried to collect some money. We finished paying our hut tax. After we had finished paying they said, 'Surrender yourselves and your arms and your cutlasses.' They said I must come. When that message was reported to me I had nothing against the Government. I came for myself in Freetown here; I have done nothing wrong. I alone came to Freetown. All the men of the country are living in the bush. Whatever happens, I look to God. That is what I came to Freetown for. I have finished paying the tax. I have insulted nobody. When we came to Freetown we were here six months begging the Government. We said we are not able to pay. When we went back home we saw the war.

5939. Were you one of those who signed the petition to the Governor asking that the Protectorate Ordinance should not be passed?—Yes; there were seven of our country.

5940. Then there has been a great deal of trouble, and Mendi people have killed and plundered a great many people. I want you to explain to me what has been the cause of that behaviour?—The Mendis have behaved so for nothing more than the hut tax.

5941. Do you know who it was who agreed together to make this war in the Mendi country?—I do not belong to that country.

5942. Still you might have heard?—I heard of a Chief called Berri; the country is far from my country.

5943. You were one of those who waited a long time in Freetown for the Governor?—Yes; about six months.

5944. That must have been rather tiresome?—Yes.

5945. How did you occupy yourself all the time?—The Jubilee; we received rations from the Government for eight days; after that we looked after ourselves; we were patient for the Governor's arrival; we came to beg. After the Governor's arrival we saw him; he said, 'No, you must pay.' When we begged hard, the Governor said, 'Good-bye now.' Then we went home. That brought this trouble. After payment was finished for my country, they said they would put me in prison at Kwalu. All my towns are burnt up.

5946. I ask you this; how were you able to occupy yourselves all that time in Freetown?—We sent a message to our homes to bring food for us; we simply sent orders to our people that they must carry on their work.

5947. Did you go to see your friends in Freetown?—Yes; we would go to see our good friends, and they would sometimes give us a shilling or two.

5948. Did you tell your troubles to your friends?—Yes.

5949. Did they give you any advice?—They simply said, 'We have no power in such things.'

5950. Did they not tell you they would get the tax repealed?—No; they said, 'We have nothing to do against the Government.'

5951. Did they not advise you to hold out and not pay the tax?—No.

5952. Were there any other parts of the Ordinance that you disliked very much?—

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Another thing, but we did not go against it, was slavery. We gave it up, and found it a very good thing.

5953. The Government said that you must not buy and sell slaves; did that come upon you as a new thing?—Yes; it did not vex us.

5954. Would you like to begin buying and selling slaves again?—No; nobody wants to do that.

5955. Are you quite sure?—Yes.

5956. Mr. Lawson wrote the petition for you?—Yes.

5957. After he wrote it, did he read it over to you?—Yes; I heard it.

5958. Was everything put into it that the Chiefs wanted to say?—Yes; we told him everything.

5959. And when it was read to you, it contained all that you wanted?—Yes.

5960. You, I understand, have paid all your hut tax although your towns were burned?—Yes; then I got orders to surrender myself, and give up all arms and cutlasses. I have done so. Some people down in Kwaia have no guns. They sent money to Kwalu. It was said by those messengers that if I myself did not go, they would put me in prison.

5961. What did they charge you with?—Fighting against the Government. No such thing. If any one saw a war-party belonging to me fighting against the Government, let him come forward and say so. I have come in to pray that I may not get more punished.

5962. I want your true opinion; is the tax of 5s. for each house one which it is really difficult for the people to pay?—Yes.

5963. Suppose there had been none of this trouble or burning, and you had paid for your town of Furudugu, would it have been difficult to collect the money from the people?—Yes; such a thing would be better if they came in a respectable way. I would do my best to collect it, but the people are very poor. But when they come to collect, sometimes they fire guns and kill people.

5964. Do you think that if it were collected quietly and gently, that it would be a real difficulty to the people to pay it, if there was not firing of guns or anything of that sort?—If they came in a respectable way and said, 'We have come, Alimami, to ask you for your hut tax,' I should say, 'I will try what I can get, and what I get I will bring, and say, this is what I am able to give.'

5965. That means, I presume, that you, knowing the people of your town, know who is able to pay, and you would not press those who were not able to pay?—Those who are able to pay 5s. a hut I know, and those who are not able to pay I know; some are not able to keep up their hut, or even to put a grass roof on it; we have nothing in the country.

5966. Before these troubles came the country was not so poor?—No; not before these troubles.

5967. Have people gone back to plant their farms yet?—Some went to cultivate their farms, but when they saw the Frontier Police they simply ran into the bush. The Frontier Police ruin the country. One of my Santigis was killed at Rofundo; one of my sons was killed at Furudugu.

5968. Tell me something of the troubles that occurred in the Kwaia country?—We have no quarrel amongst ourselves.

5969. What was the beginning of the trouble in Kwaia?—Since these District Commissioners have come, and barracks have been built, there is no peace for the kings, no peace for the Santigis, no peace for our children, and no peace for our wives; but we have no power. I have lived in the bush all this time. But I considered, some time I shall die in this bush; before the Frontier Police come to arrest me, and ill treat me, and flog me, and tie me, I will come myself to Freetown. When I arrived yesterday I was arrested; where I slept last night all the boys were, and they spat on me. They have to take me to prison at Kwalu. I will die soon. Every day the trouble remains. For five months I have never

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ALIMAMI SENA BUNDU.

seen my wives. Every one tried to save his own life; when they came they burnt up the whole town. Pa Suba sent and said, 'Do not destroy the Chief's house'; after that my wife came into the yard where I hid myself, and they burnt it up and all my wife's things. It was reported to me. I now come forward myself; perhaps I shall meet a good person who will save me from this trouble.

5970. Tell me about the fighting that took place when Captain Moore came up with some policemen?—The hut tax commenced at Port Lokko; so we heard. They went first to the King, Bai Kompeh; we lived a long way from the King. They went up to Bai Kompeh's place; from there they came to my place. When I heard of their arrival, I began to collect my tax; when I saw a war-party come with guns, I went and hid myself.

5971. Was there a war-party under Captain Moore?—Fula Mansa and a white man came to my country.

5972. Was there not a party before that?—Fula Mansa came with Captain Moore.

5973. Did you know there were expeditions under Captain Moore, Captain Warren, and Captain Fairtlough?—Yes.

5974. Tell me anything you know about the first expedition?—Captain Moore came to Mafoloma and burnt it, and some people were killed by him.

5975. Did you hear any reason given for that?—He came for the hut tax, and burnt it.

5976. You say he killed some people at Mafoloma?—The Chief of that town, Bouyiah, ran to me and told me the white man had killed a woman.

5977. Did he say under what circumstances?—He simply said war came, and he killed some one belonging to him.

5978. What was the next place?—Rofundo.

5979. What happened at Rofundo?—They killed one of my Santigis, the Chief of the town, Santigi Sitafar. They shot him as he was crossing a bridge to run away, and he fell into the water.

5980. Do you know that as a fact, or did you only hear about it as gossip?—I myself saw it: the grave is still there.

5981. How many policemen were there?—I do not know; I ran away at the same time.

5982. Did they burn Rofundo?—Yes.

5983. What was the next place?—Romadigba. Nobody was killed there; the hut tax was paid.

5984. What was the next place?—Rolia. Nobody was killed; they plundered the town; the hut tax was paid; when they had finished plundering the town, they burnt it; the Chief was Morlai.

5985. Where is Morlai now?—In the bush.

5986. What was the next place?—My town, Furudugu. Captain Moore asked for the tax. I left the town in charge of somebody and went off to Bullom.

5987. Had you any cause to be frightened?—I had heard the report of all these places being burnt.

5988. Do you know what happened to Furudugu under Captain Moore?—My goats and sheep and rice were all plundered, and a lot of yams that I had at my own house.

5989. To whom did you pay the tax?—To a man called Samuel.[1] All the Kwaia people said, 'Before the Government ruin our country altogether, we will give you all the money we can collect, so that the country may be in peace.

5990. Then Samuel did not come with Captain Moore?—No.

5991. Then was Samuel sent by the Government?—They were paying the nut tax to Samuel so that he might take it to the Government.

5992. Was it after Captain Moore came up that you paid Samuel?—Yes, after.

5993. While Captain Moore was still at Furudugu?—Yes.

5994. Did Samuel pay it over to Captain Moore?—Yes; Samuel has got the receipt; I did not get it from him.

[1] Samuel Davis. See 5392.

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5994. This is all you know about Captain Moore's expedition?—Yes.

5995. Can you tell me anything about Captain Warren's expedition?—Captain Warren came and he burnt Robea, belonging to Bai Kompah.

5996. Why did he burn it?—For the hut tax.

5997. What led to his burning it?—They said the Chief of the country had hidden himself. Then Romakompah was burnt at the same time. They killed a cow at Robea.

5998. Do you mean they burnt the town because the Chief was not there?—Yes; because he was not there. The policemen burnt it.

5999. And was Romakompah burnt for the same reason?—Yes. At Romakompah they caught all the sheep belonging to the Chief.

6000. Did you hear what was done under Captain Fairtlough?—I do not know.

6001. Do you know Chief Smart?—Yes, well: that is the young man who ruins the Kwaia country. He came when Furudugu was burnt.

6002. What has Chief Smart against the country that he should wish to ruin it?—He is of the Kombui family, who belong to Rokon. His father was Chief of Rokon, and when he died Smart asked Bai Kompah to crown him a Chief. Bai Kompah said, 'No; I will not crown you: I will give you your father's town and you can live there, but I will not crown you as a Chief.' Smart complained about this and came back and said the Governor sent to say that if Bai Kompah did not crown him he would do so himself. The police then came to crown him as Chief. Captain Barker came to Mahera, and Bai Kompah and Pa Nembana were there. Bai Kompah objected, and said Smart had no country there. They gave him the town and said, 'Let him have authority over Mahera.' There are 13 villages attached to Mahera. The country from Rossolo Creek to Furudugu belongs to me. He went to Kwalu to complain, and they gave him rights over the country; he said, 'Look at this paper: that is what they gave me: do not pass beyond.' They said, 'Smart, have you got a dispute against these big men? I do not think you respect these men.' When the hut tax began he collected the tax from the few towns belonging to him and said the others were unwilling to pay. He made a lot of trouble. We did not know what to do. Mahera belongs to me.

6003. Did you make a claim to have this town in opposition to Smart?—I said it was mine.

6004. Did you take any means to prove your claim?—There is no doubt that it belonged to me.

6005. But if the Government did not know it was yours, did you not take any steps to prove it was yours?—I can get proof.

6006. But when the matter was in dispute you did not then give proof?—No; I felt I could do nothing against the Government.

6007. The Government, I suppose, try to do what is just: if you did not help the Government by giving proof of your right you could not be surprised if they did not know: the Government did it in ignorance of your right: it was your duty to help the Government.

6008. Do you know anything about Fula Mansa?—I know the present man.

6009. Has he ever been properly installed?—No; Fula Mansa came down with the Government for the hut tax, when they got back to Kwalu the Mendi people brought their war and the old Fula Mansa got shot. The present man was put in charge.

6010. Do you know about the late Fula Mansa?—Yes.

6011. Was he the proper man to be chief?—Yes.

6012. Was the old Fula Mansa fighting for the Government when he got shot?—Yes.

6013. Then the new Fula Mausa joined with Captain Fairtlough in the expedition against Kwaia?—And the old Fula Mansa came with Captain Moore.

6014. Were these Mendi people that made war from Bumpe: had they no quarrel with the English except the hut tax?—That is all we heard.

6015. Do you know anything about Nyagua?—No; he is far off. I have heard of him.

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ALIMAMI SENA BUNDU.

6016. Anything more?—What I came for is for you to save me from prison; they want to take me to prison in Kwalu.

6017. Do you know anything about the Rokell river being stopped at the beginning of this year?—Yes; I heard of it.

6018. Who was it that did so?—Bai Kompah did it; he sent one of his young men called Bana to say that no canoes should go down; I told him to get out; he reported what I had said to Bai Kompah. Bai Kompah said 'All the country is under me; Furudugu is under me.' At the same time I got orders from the Government that Bai Kompah is the King, and I must obey him in everything he said; that is why I was not able to insult Bai Kompah.

27th September 1898.

PA SUBA.

PA SUBA.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

6019. Do you remember that time last year when you were in Freetown, after you had petitioned the Governor and were waiting for an answer?—Yes.

6020. During that time you used to walk about Freetown and see your friends?—Yes.

6021. Do you remember going to a white man and talking to him about your troubles?—Yes.

6022. Do you remember his name?—Marcus.

6023. Was another white man present at the same time?—Yes; he came from the steamer.

6024. Was it Mr. Pittendrigh?—He lived with Mr. Marcus. I do not know the name.

6025. Was there a Sierra Leonian called Baba Fofana present?—There were many present.

6026. And many of your Chiefs?—Myself, Koya Bubu, Bokari Bamp, Alimani Fasin, Pa Nembana, and our followers.

6027. You spoke to Mr. Marcus about the tax and so on?—Yes.

6028. And Mr. Marcus said something to you: did he advise you about it?—We simply visited him as a friend and asked him to go and talk to the Governor, and ask him to give it up.

6029. Did Mr. Marcus talk English to you?—There was an interpreter, a man belonging to us called Sumana: he is not here now.

6030. Do you remember Mr. Marcus saying to you, 'Do not trouble to pay the tax, and I will make it all right,' or something to that effect?—He did not say that. He simply said, 'Some time the Governor may come down; he may make it less if he does not give it up altogether: sometime you may get the answer, 'Do not pay anything.' When we got the answer from England it was to say we will have to pay.

6031. Then as I understand Mr. Marcus rather made you think that the tax would be reduced?—He simply said 'After you have stopped here so long the Governor will have pity on you,' sometime he will say no tax: be patient and wait.

6032. When you heard Mr. Marcus say be patient and wait, and sometime the Governor will say no tax to be paid, were you pleased?—Mr. Marcus did not say that: he said the Governor has authority; he will know what to say to you; he will do whatever he likes.

6033. Are you quite sure that Mr. Marcus did not say to you, 'Do not trouble about paying, and by and by the tax will be repealed?—He never said that.

6034. So that if anybody said that Mr. Marcus said that, it would not be true?—He would tell a lie.

6035. Do you remember that other white man making a bargain about rice with some of your Chiefs, and one of the Chiefs objecting that the bushel that the white man was going to use was too big?—We never made a bargain with a white man for rice.

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6036. Do you not remember any of your chiefs objecting to a bushel that was shown you that it was too large?—No. PA SUBA.

6037. Did you meet Mr. Marcus more than once?—Once only. There was another white man present. I do not remember if Baba Fofani was present.

6038. *Alimani Bassi* and *Santigi Kamara* in attendance on witness corroborated this evidence.

27th September 1898.

DR. DAVIES.

DR. DAVIES.

6039. My name is William Brooke Davies. I am M.D. St. Andrews, M.R.C.S. London, and L.R.C.P. I was formerly in the army medical department, and I am now retired.

6040. You have made a special study of the mineral resources of Sierra Leone?—I cannot say that I have.

6041. You have made a special study of the gold?—I cannot say so; I have never discovered any.

6042. Have you searched for it?—Yes: in the Timini country, in the Limba country, and in Sherbroland.

6043. What do you say about Sherbroland?—I discovered no gold or precious metals. There was a place called Tai in which I thought I saw traces, but unfortunately I had not sufficient of it to forward to England for analysis.

6044. Was that in Sherbro?—On the Kittum River.

6045. Does your knowledge of the subject of gold in the Protectorate not go further than that?—I regret to say it does not. I believe I went fifty or sixty miles and discovered nothing. There were some minerals brought to me which were supposed to have been brought down from the Timini country, and it was on the strength of those that I went up.

6046. But they presented no appearance of gold?—Some were copper and silver ores. (Witness handed in copies of assays).

6047. Where were these specimens brought from; one 24% silver and 64% copper, another 55% silver and 45% copper, and one of 65% antimony?—I do not know; I was so encouraged by the analysis that I went up to hunt for them, but I could get no information.

6048. Then in this, under date 29th January 1883, are specimens of specular iron ore, one containing 66% and another 65% of metallic iron; a chromate of iron containing 35% of chromium, and other specimens ranging from 51% to 65% of metallic iron; were you able to locate any of these?—We have large quantities of iron ore in this country, and also of manganese.

6049. There is also a specimen containing oxide of titanium; any others?—One from the Timini country containing 80 oz. silver per ton, with oxide of iron and a little copper. Another from the interior, 86% of manganese; another 37% bismuth with 2½% oxide of cobalt; another, 37½% of mercury.

6050. I am inclined to think that the man who brought these ores to me had got them in Freetown, and was trying to decive me.

6051. For what reason?—When I went up the country, I could not find anything resembling them.

6052. But how could he have got them in Freetown?—He might have stolen them or got them out from England.

SANDY MANNAH.

SANDY MANNAH.

6053. My full name is Sandy Mannah. I am Chief of Suzu in Sulyma district.

6054. I was educated in England. I went for three years to a private school in the Edgeware Road. I went to England a second time about Mr. Harris concessions.

6055. The disturbance arose from the hut tax and nothing else. The tax might be paid by the natives, but owing to the bad treatment by the Frontier Police and the officers,

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SANDY MANNAH.

there was a grievance to the natives, and that caused the row. Sometimes officers going into the Hinterland with Frontier Police, and perhaps stationed at one of the Government stations, send out some of the Police to do their duties—a sergeant, a corporal, and three or four privates—these men, directly they enter any Chief's town, take possession of the town, taking rice, fowls, everything belonging to the natives and Chiefs.

6056. Have the Police who have been stationed in your part of the country been natives of that part?—There are no Gallinas in the Frontier Police. They are Timnies, Mendis, Soosoos, Foulahs, and Sherbros. They do not pay for the things they take. If they stay in a town for two or three days they live on the people.

What happens in the event of opposition to such appropriation?—The people are afraid of them. They are afraid of the Government. I have often seen food taken without paying for it; also they take the wives of the natives. That happened very often. If the woman proves the matter, and the husband comes to make enquiry, he gets in trouble with the Police; and they say, 'If you say anything we will handcuff and arrest you,' and he gets frightened and goes away.

6057. When the Frontier Police do all this mischief, are they by themselves?—Yes; when they are under a white officer they are afraid of him. That is whilst they are under his immediate supervision. If they misbehave when an officer is on the spot they apologise to the natives, and then no report is made to the officer.

6058. Was it supposed by the people that the Police were upheld by the Government in these misdoings?—Yes; sometimes if they severely punish a native man he is obliged to report, and if the Police are found guilty, they are perhaps fined 2s. or so by the District Commissioner, and he speaks kindly to the native and tells him to go back and sit down quietly. That I have seen happen, for I have acted as interpreter to Mr. Alldridge during two seasons. If a Chief reports the Police to the officer, such a man is reckoned an enemy to all the Police in that district, and they will make reports against that Chief and try to get him into trouble with the Government. But no Frontier Police ever misbehaved themselves in my town or to any of my subjects, because they knew I was a civilised person, and they feared to be reported to the Government.

6059. Do you refer to recent times as to this misconduct of the Police?—I speak of some few years ago, and though I have been absent for two years, I am sure it has been going on up to the present time. I came back on 21st of July.

6060. From what you know this misconduct on the part of the Police has been going on until quite recently?—Yes; it is the disrespect they have shown to the Chiefs and natives, that has caused this trouble; asking for the Hut Tax in an insulting way, and shooting people. I got a letter from my cousin saying that many people had been shot in the Bandajuma district.

6061. Have these cases been examined into?—Not yet. I got information from Bocary Massaly in my country. He is a trader under Lamin and his brother-in-law. Immediately after I heard of the revolt I wrote and told my people to pay, and not go against the Government. I do not know if they have paid, but I hear that the District Commissioner has never called on them to pay.

I know that my people have all gone over to Liberian territory fearing that they should be killed by the insurgents, and I had a message that my town was burned down. There are about 250 people in my town.

6062. Can you say whether the people of other places in that neighbourhood have gone to Liberia?—A great number of them; my mother is there now. The Customs Officers behave very badly too. If a young woman have a quarrel with a man, the Customs Officer will take her part—especially if she is good-looking.

The jealousy and ruination of the people comes from every Headman of small towns being recognised by the Government—some even receiving stipends. From that they imagine that they are the equals of bigger people who are above them.

6063. By the native law I presume sub-Chiefs are under the authority of the Superior

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Chiefs?—In my own town the Sub-Chief and the Speaker obey me and no one else. They are under me, but in some cases they nominate an old man, and put him forward as Chief, but take no account of him. They do that because he is useless, and has no control over them. Perhaps he would say, 'Clean the roads to-morrow,' and they would not do it for three weeks or a month.

6064. Can you suggest any remedy?—All the small Chiefs are appointed by their own subjects, and will not obey the big Chief. One will say, 'I will take your advice or not as I like. If you are getting a £20 stipend so am I; we are equal.' That makes jealousy. As to the Frontier Police, they would be good friends with the man who will give his daughter or wife, and will always make good reports of such a man. They greatly dislike any one like myself, having a little English knowledge.

6065. It will be absolutely useless for any one to nominate a Chief who has no control?—He must be an active man, who will see that the people obey his orders. The jealousy amongst the natives is one of the things which spoils the country. They have no peace. Each man thinks himself a big man. Some of the men of the smaller towns bribe the police, and finally get recommended to the Government.

6066. Has that ever gone so far as to lead to deposing a Chief and another man being put in his place?—Sometimes a Sub-Chief will do his best, by bribing the police, to turn out the Head Chief and put himself in his place. In the case of Farwoondah, he had a row with Boccaroomah. He swore not to pay the hut-tax, and thought it not right to break his word, and refused to pay. Meanwhile Boccaroomah said many things to Captain Carr against Farwoondah, and he said he was willing to pay, and Farwoondah is now in jail, and I believe it is proposed to make Boccaroomah Chief in place of Farwoondah. I think that the Government should do away with with a number of the Chiefs, and appoint one man to be over a large district,—say one hundred or two hundred miles, and appoint one of the best native men as ruler over that district. They must have some officer stationed with each King or Chief to guard him, so that he can do faithfully towards the Government as well as towards his own country people. His own people will have better respect and obey him better if the Government is behind him.

6067. But then a man put up as Chief by the Government would only be a Government officer? He would have no proper control over the people?—If the Government put their own Chief to control a certain district, and that Chief were protected by Government officers, he would have great power over the natives in that district, and they would obey him.

6068. But the Government has tried that already, and failed in some instances?—I was not aware of that.

6069. You say—give those Chiefs police for protection, and to carry out their orders, you have just been complaining of the misbehaviour of the police, and those Chiefs would probably have less control over the police than the District Commissioners?—I daresay that will die out in time.

6070. The difficulty was that the people were too terrified to complain?—If Government asked them to appoint a Chief they never would be able to decide. I think if the Government took strong measures to prevent misconduct of the police it would stop it; and if police are stationed in any Chief's town a frequent report should be sent to headquarters. The Chief also should keep quiet, and speak nicely to his subjects. During my father's time as King of Mannoh his subjects were under his control, and he was absolutely King of the country.

6071. But then Prince Mannoh was King by right over his country, and governed it, not with a Commissioner or Superintendent of Police by his side, but in his own way?—Yes; as Prince Mannoh he did not stand nonsense from his people, and was very strict. All the inhabitants of that country were very much afraid of him, and obeyed him, and no one ever interfered with politics or established a Poro except with his consent.

6072. Is there, according to native organisation, any big Chief capable of controlling

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SANDY MANNAH.

by right a number of lesser Chiefs? For example, if peace were made, Bai Bureh would be able to control a number of Chiefs. So there may be other Chiefs with similar power. Is it possible to find such Chiefs?—They could be found.

6073. Do you think any such arrangements exist according to native law?—Suppose Government said, We want to put a man as Chief over a certain district, and they assented, such a King would be crowned by the natives and the Government. Not only that: they would swear in the Poro bush that they would obey that Chief, and there would be no one who would go against him. In Prince Mannoh's reign his country was not under British government, but it was quite safe for British officers to go there.

6074. As to appointing Head Chiefs according to your scheme, how many would be required for the Protectorate?—It is rather a large extent.

6075. Do you think it would be practicable to find one Chief who could rule over a whole tribe?—No; it would be too big.

6076. Is your view that the power of the Chief will depend solely on having the Government behind him?—Yes. Prince Mannoh governed in a different way. He used to have his own prison, and so on, and Chiefs are not allowed to do so now. All the people now say the country is the Queen's country, and obey the Government.

6077. Then the Chiefs whom you would appoint would be a species of Magistrate upheld by the Government, and enforcing their orders by police?—Yes.

6078. But I want you to consider whether there is not any method of combining the old prestige of the Chiefs with the authority of the Government?—Some things ought to be installed again. The Guildaver House ought to be reinstated. It is the biggest in the country, and is greatly feared. At present there are too many Chiefs. Prince Mannoh used to punish any of the big men if they misbehaved. The Chiefs now dare not do so.

6079. Would it not be better if the Chiefs now had more power?—I think it would be much better. I still think one Chief should be appointed for each district, with a Government adviser and controller. If the Government gives the Chiefs more power they would injure each other.

6080. If reduced to a manageable number, would they still injure each other?—No; and the smaller people would not have the power to injure each other.

6081. Suppose it were resolved that a certain limited number of Chiefs should govern the country, say thirty or forty, how would such a measure be practically carried out?—The first thing would be to send messages to certain districts, and the people should be informed, and invitations sent to the Chiefs to meet on a certain day. They are always pleased to meet any Government officer in that way.

6082. Your idea is that the Government should fix on certain districts, over which the Government should appoint Paramount Chiefs. You think the people should be called together in that district, assemble all the ruling Chiefs of the district, and propose that they should resign their authority, and that one man be Chief over all?—Yes.

6083. How would Government find out the right man?—Mr. Parke's department would make enquiries.

6084. But Mr. Parke's department could only act on information?—It should be found out by the Secretary for Native Affairs making inquiry as to who is the proper man.

6085. You mean to have an election, or something of that nature?—The Government should say we appoint a Chief to have control over this district.

6086. But I want to know how your scheme is to be clear of the same difficulty of what has occurred from time to time, when the Government, being wrongly informed, has appointed the wrong man to be Chief, which has led to grievance? There might be a repetition of this on a larger scale?—Yes. It is the best thing I can suggest—to make quiet inquiries among the natives.

6087. Would there not be better hope in calling the Chiefs and Headmen together, and getting them to make their own election?—It might be done in that way, if the Government thought best.

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6088. But would it be best in itself?—It used to be done in that way.

6089. Is that the country fashion of choosing a Chief when the Chiefship becomes vacant?—Yes.

6090. Do they not always vote for some one who is in the line of succession?—Yes. They do now, but in former times they might have chosen some one who had rather more power than another.

6091. Is it not the general practice all through the country that they choose some one related to the Chief?—Yes; but the man might be poor and powerless, and his subjects would not elect him.

6092. If the Government appointed a Chief, and he misbehaved himself, he could be deposed?—I think it would be better if things were done more in the way of the Government. If one Chief had power, and the people knew he was supported by the Government, they would never disobey him.

6093. But is there, then, any advantage in calling him a Chief. Why not call him a magistrate?—Let the Government call him what they think fit.

6094. Have you heard anything respecting the move in which these different Chiefs who joined in the rising in the Mendi country were able to break out simultaneously?—At first I heard that Momo Jah of Pujahun advised all his subjects not to pay the hut tax. He was arrested. Afterwards he was released, and is now fighting for the Government. The rising of the natives in Sulyma country was through the native hatred of Lamin and Bessica, who are traders in that district, getting supplies from England. When their business grew a little, they set themselves against all traders on the river, European or native. They do not want any one else to make money in that country but themselves. They will fire your factory, or do some magic things to take your life. They are disliked by natives who are not traders. I know Supassima of Doomabelleh owed them. Lamin bribed police at Dea or Dodo to arrest him, and they did so. He was brought to Dodo and kept there, until he paid his debt.

6095. Is it true that Lamin Lahai has a considerable force of police at his orders at the present time?—I do not know. Lamin Lahai and Bessica came here and made a statement to the Governor about that country, and the people who rebelled, and said they would arrest those people if the Governor gave them power. They were sent off with twenty-five police, and nothing has been heard since. I hear that, instead of arresting, he has made peace, and said if you restore my property you plundered, I will not harm you.

6096. Did he not arrest the people he undertook to arrest?—No. The police are still with him, I believe. Another story is that the police went on to Bandajuma. There is no law against using the Colonial bushel. Captain Carr had an Imperial bushel, and gave it to Lamin to collect the hut tax. He then changed the bushel; used a larger one. The people objected. Lamin's brother and uncle, and all in that district turned against him, and said they would cut off his head. Then he when off to Liberian territory. The plundering of factories started from Whedaro, on the Sulyma river. Then the people of Juring, where Lamin was born, plundered Sulyma, but the plundering was first in Lamin's yard. Then they destroyed what they could not carry away. When the collection first took place, Lamin secretly advised the people not to pay. I knew of it because that is the way he does things. I went to England on account of Mr. Harris' concessions, and the people said I had gone to England to sell their country.

6097. You have not told me if you had any theory to account for the bad treatment of the Sierra Leone people in the rising?—I cannot account for it. Even Mendis (police) say they cannot understand Mendi, so that the people think they are Sierra Leonians. The only trouble in the country is the Frontier Police. A man was taken and tied in Dea, and left tied all night. He complained before Mr. Alldridge. Sergeant was found guilty. The case was sent on to be decided at Bonthe or Freetown. The man had a very long beard. The police cut it all off and made him eat it. I saw his beard had been cut. He was Sammiah of Kariah. I do not know the policemen's names. There was another case,

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SANDY MANNAH. where a constable criminally assaulted a young girl, and all her beads were destroyed in the struggle. She came next day to complain, and the policeman was found guilty, and had to pay the value of the property he had destroyed, and I believe he was also fined 2s. 6d. I was acting as interpreter to Mr. Alldridge in both these cases. I believe Mr. Alldridge is short with the police. They never speak good of him.

FODI SILLA.

FODI SILLA.[1]

28*th September* 1898.

(Momoda Wakka interpreting.)

6097A. You are all acquainted with the trouble that has been going on in the country. I shall be very glad to hear anything you may wish to say to me on the subject.—I am in Freetown. When we heard of your arrival we were all glad. We used to be traders. Up the country I do not know much what is going on. I know of the war they are fighting. Why they are fighting I cannot explain, because I did not go then. What I heard from the people and what I saw for myself are not one. The people in the country then are able to explain it better. The people who get the war against the Government are able to explain it better. About the trade, the reason we go against the war, and are glad to have heard of your arrival, is to put a stop to these things, so that traders may come down as usual. They used to come in large numbers sometimes ten together, and the merchants would employ people to bring trade. Trade has stopped coming to Freetown. That is the news in town. That is what I can tell.

6098. You heard of the new Protectorate Ordinance, and all that was done for arranging things in the interior of the country?—Yes.

6099. Did you form any opinion with regard to that Ordinance?—We heard of the law.

6100. What did you in Freetown think of the law?—The Government have passed the Ordinance. It did not please; but we were not able to do anything against it. When the Government says that is the law, whatever the Government says we agree to.

6101. I do not doubt that it is the law as it stands, but I am here to find out if it is a good and proper law. I ask your opinion?—The first thing, the slavery matter, is already finished. The hut-tax is the thing that did not please; but they were compelled; they had no power.

6102. In what particular do you think the hut tax is not good?—The way they collect the hut tax, and the amount, do not please the people.

6103. How do they collect it?—They went up country. The reason why it was so hard is this: if you want to collect a tax, begin by a little; when you call the Chiefs first, and they agree to the first little, then flatter them and ask them for more; but you settle one time altogether; you become so hard. The Chiefs came to Freetown to beg, but they did not succeed. The matter comes so hard. While they were at Port Lokko they brought the Port Lokko Chiefs and put them in prison for this hut tax. That is the reason people get afraid. Now the people that are in the bush are more than the people that are in the villages. Of those who used to bring in trade, none comes now. We used to get rice for 1s. 6d. a kettle, now it is 3s. 6d. for a little kettle. It is hard. War is not good in the country; the country will be ruined. If there is peace, those who have already paid the hut tax will sit down quiet; those who have not paid will pay because they are compelled to; whether they have paid or not, they have the same trouble. We in Freetown and the country people, no one is satisfied. We do not know what will be the end of it. If a king makes a law, and you do not consent to the law, the king has to punish you; and if he has the power, there will be trouble.

6104. You know about the circumstances of the people; do you think 5s. a hut is too much for them to pay, or can they pay it easily?—All are not able to pay; those that are not able are more than those that are able.

[1] Fodi Silla who is head of the Mandingoes in Freetown, was accompanied by a following of Sub-Chiefs.

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6105. That licence duty for trading, does that affect the traders: is it a burden?—It troubles the traders much. Some have all their stock on their head; those with a small amount it troubles. I am not a trader myself. FODI SILLA.

6106. You know that it is part of this law that there should be District Commissioners at different places, and these District Commissioners are supposed to settle all palavers that come in their districts. What is your opinion of that law?—When they come here they prefer that, because then they carry false information, and the District Commissioners believe it and are not going to investigate the matter properly. If I dislike this man, whatever false information I carry to the judge, he will act on what I say. The English law examines if there is truth; it punishes if there is not truth. These District Commissioners have nothing against them, but the black people under them have bad feeling with each other, and they bring information against each other, and it is acted on.

6107. Have you known cases in which the District Commissioner did not sufficiently examine into the truth of the matter?—That is what I hear from people who come from the interior. The Port Lokko prisoners themselves say it. I did not go myself. What these people like is when all their affairs come to Freetown, or if the Commissioner comes down here to the waterside. But Limba Karene is in the interior; the Port Lokko people have to go there. All the different tribes are mixed up—Timinis, Limbas, Lokkos. If the Timini people have to take their affairs to the Limba country, they do not like it.

6108. Then is your idea that all palavers whatever should be brought to Freetown?—That is what we should like.

6109. But it is a very long distance, and expensive for people to come from the interior to come to Freetown for perhaps a small matter?—When we come to Freetown we like it, because they talk the matter clear here. If they have to go among their own countrymen, even he who is right will sometimes be given wrong. The District Commissioners do not understand the countries; the white men believe what they say is true. These people are heathens; more liars than true speakers. We should like all our affairs to come to Freetown. If they come to Freetown, even if the Government did not give them their expenses, we should not care. Some people live three or four days from Karene.

6110. With regard to the District Commissioners being deceived, any judge might be deceived by false evidence, and one sitting in Freetown would be just as liable as the District Commissioner?—Two or three witnesses would be examined.

6111. Do they not examine two or three before the District Commissioner?—Those who come say not; the matter is not investigated. As soon as a Chief goes, they put him in handcuffs before asking him.

6112. Before the District Commissioners were put in those places, did not the Chiefs judge the cases, and were they never deceived by false evidence?—According to their custom they would settle any matter in truth.

6113. But if false witnesses came before the Chiefs, were they not just as likely to be deceived?—Sometimes that might happen.

6114. In the time before the District Commissioners, were the Chiefs always able to carry out their decisions?—The decision would be carried out.

6115. Was it always the big Chiefs who heard the cases?—The proper King; not the small Chiefs.

6116. The Chief of a big country?—Yes; he would place sub-Chiefs, and tell them to bring offenders before him; and when they came he would call all the big men, and they would judge. He who had right would get right.

6117. Suppose a case of two lesser Chiefs having a palaver about land boundaries: the big Chief would call them before him; what would happen next? do they call witnesses?—They would call witnesses, and if the other man did not consent, they would make a quarrel.

6118. Is there any recognised head of a whole tribe, such as head of the Timinis?—It is so.

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FODI SILLA.

6119-20. A Chief who is Paramount over a whole tribe?—Yes; Timini, Limba, Lokko; but the Mendis have none; every one gets his own town.

6121. Then, is there not any big king over all the Mendis?—No. From Lokko to Koranko they will make their own king. When the king dies, they have to crown another one.

6122. Are there kings existing over these countries now, or do you mean they could be elected?—They are there.

6123. Tell me particularly about that. Many people have told me that there are not Chiefs over a big country?—The Chiefs have their own people.

6124. The present Brima Sanda has not power, though he has the Government behind him?—No. Fori Baraka is the proper man to be Brima Sanda.

6125. Could you give me any idea of the big kings there are in the country?—(Witness mentioned a few. See list in Appendix II., No. II.)

6126. Does Bai Bureh rule over a big country?—I do not know: he has not many people of his own.

6127. Have these big kings real power over their sub-chiefs?—Every one is able to govern his own people.

6128. Suppose the Queen were to say that the District Commissioners were not to judge cases, but that these big chiefs should judge cases: how would that answer?—They would be very glad.

6129. Would they be able to carry out their decisions quietly and peaceably?—Yes: they will rule over their people. If they put any law, their decision will be carried out, because all are agreed that they are the king.

6130. Is there never any resistance to the king's authority?—There is no disobedience or resistance.

6131. Does the king always take plenty of trouble to find out the very truth?—He takes plenty of trouble. When the people were ignorant of Mohammedanism they used to do mischief; but since they know the power of the Government, every one will behave well towards the country. Some are Mohammedans and some are Christians. Some of their children are learning English here now. They say if you do not do what the people say, and are not a fit man, you shall be put out.

6132. When a man goes before a big king to make a complaint, does he pay a fee?—Yes.

6133. And when the man against whom the complaint is made comes, does he pay a fee?—They pay the same fee till the matter is settled. When it is settled, the man who is in the right gets the amount he has paid, and the man who brings the lies has to pay.

6134. Are there any fees besides those paid at the beginning?—Nothing more.

6135. Is there not a fee when the case is heard?—Nothing except the first fee.

6136. Are these fees fixed, or does each Chief charge what he thinks proper?—They are not fixed. For a big matter they would charge more than for a small matter.

6137. How do the people count money: in £, s. d., or how?—Some in rice, some in merchandise, but there is no cash.

6138. Would it not be better for you if you had more money, and paid by cash instead of by cloth or rice?—Some people in the interior have not 10s. in cash. They live by their farms, and make cloth.

6139. Then these court fees, are they paid in rice and cloth, and not in money?—Unless at Bullom or near here: in the interior they pay in kind.

6140. Does what you say about these fees apply to the whole country, or only to certain Chiefs?—I speak of the whole country. The fees the Chiefs charge they keep for a certain time, but they have to give presents to strangers out of it, or use it for the peace of the country.

6141. Some people have told me that Chiefs take as much as they can get from both sides, and will give the case to the man who gives most?—I cannot say about that. They

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come to the King. The complainant will deposit his fee. They will send to call the other man. This man will pay the same fee. Then they will judge between them. If the complainant is in the right, they will charge the other man more, and give the complainant his fee back.

6142. I do not mean that anybody said that the King actually asked for the money, but the suitors gave presents, and the King gave the case to the one who gave the largest presents?—I do not believe such a thing. I have never seen it.

6143. If he were to do so he would be a bad King?—If such a thing were found out two or three times, all the men would go, and the King would be alone.

6144. In the old time there was a great deal of making little wars, and catching slaves and selling them?—Yes.

6145. Suppose the big Chiefs were left to manage the country themselves, how would it be avoided that they should begin making wars and catching slaves again?—No such thing would happen. The Government have forbidden it. They know now what power the Government has.

6146. Would the Kings make a law that would be binding on every one that there should be no more slave-catching or war?—Yes.

6147. And could they enforce it?—They would carry it out.

6148. Are they beginning to see that slave dealing is not good for the country?—They know that now: they are against it.

6149. Do you know about the people who have been disturbed in Bai Bureh's country by the war? Many people must have left the country?—I do not know the country, and have not heard about the people.

6150. You know a great many people who are traders?—Yes.

6151. Would it be an advantage to these traders that all the country should be opened up, and going and coming free?—That is what they want. It would be better for all.

6152. I want your very careful opinion whether these big Kings could carry out the government justly, steadily, and faithfully without Government interference. You said before that if a King did not behave properly, that he would be reported to the Government; but I am very much afraid of these reports, for it gives bad people an opportunity of going behind these Kings?—The country is in the hands of the Chiefs. If we see many troubles between the Chief and his subjects, they are all looking to the Government. They will run and report the King for a little thing. If all the Chiefs and subjects know that the country is in the hands of the King, his word would be law. If Government wanted anything done in that country, let them tell the King, and the people would carry it out without delay.

6153. Do you think that reading and writing and English education is any advantage for a King?—It will be good for some Chiefs, but not for all.

6154. How is that?—Some of them are better as Mohammedans.

6155. Yes; but some may be Mohammedans and some may be Christians?—It would do some good for them. Some are fond of drinking.

6156. How would education affect drinking? Do you mean that an educated Chief would be more apt to drink?—Yes; it is better for them to be Mohammedan.

6157. Do not Mohammedans generally learn to read and write?—Yes.

6158. Is there a Mohammedan school in Freetown?—Yes; but it is not very good.

6159. Suppose Government wanted to get money from the people in the interior, is there any other method that you would consider better than the hut tax?—Let all the Kings who are in prison go to their countries, and say to them you must collect so much each. They would do it at once.

6160. Could they do that every year?—Yes; let all the people have to do with the King: put it in the King's hands: they would pay whatever Government asked to keep up the country. They would all help. It would be as to a friend. They know all the country belongs to the Government. They receive stipends. If the Government asked them to do something to help the country they would do it.

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FODI SILLA.

6161. What do you think of the railway? Is that going to be a good thing for the country?—We like it here.

6162. Suppose it were made to run to Kwalu and Panguma and Falaba and by Karene and Port Lokko, would that be good?—It would be very good. Things could come easier.

6163. Suppose Government were to say we want so and so to help to make the railway, would the Chiefs pay that readily?—If these troubles were finished they would pay.

6164. Have any complaints come to your knowledge about the Frontier Police?—Many times; if any trouble has taken place in the interior it is through the Frontier Police. They used to go and punish the Chiefs at their own places. The tax matter woke up the old trouble. Sometimes they tied the king and handcuffed him, and put him in the sun, and said, 'Pay so much; if not there is trouble.' They took their wives. They make all the Chiefs dissatisfied. If the country was in the hands of the people, whatever the Government ordered they would not disobey. They know Government have done much good for them. They have stopped wars, and have spent much money in stopping wars. If the Government asked them to do anything there would not be a question about it.

6165. Suppose all the big kings were to judge the cases in their own countries, and the complainant or defendant was not satisfied, would it be better that he should have some appeal or not?—It would be better not.

6166. But suppose the king makes a mistake or is deceived, would it not be better that there should be some means of rectifying it?—The king would recall the case and punish the man who told the lie.

6167. Would it not be likely that the king would say, 'You are making a fool of me; I have heard the matter carefully; let it stand'?—If the chief did that and it was really wrong, and did it two or three times, the people would turn against him.

6168. I may tell you that in England they have appeal, and it is not found that it takes away from the respect that the people have for the judge.—As in England they are civilised men, it is quite a different matter.

6169. Suppose there was a big white judge in Freetown who would hear appeals, either hearing them himself or sending them back to the king, to say, 'You must hear this again'?—That would be no disgrace to the king.

6170. That would not tend to take away from his powers with his people?—The king would not object.

6171. It would not hurt his influence with his people?—It would not affect his dignity among the people. It might even relieve the king of some responsibility if he knew that people could appeal to the white judge here.

6172. Have you anything else you wish to say?—Call this war from the country. If the country becomes ruined, starvation would take place in Freetown. Timinis, Limbas, and Lokkos feed Freetown. Traders who come in from the interior come from far off. While they are coming they buy their food in the Timini country. When the merchants bought rice from the Timinis, they keep it and sell it in Freetown. But now there is no rice to be found there. Let every man go in peace. We already know the power of the Government. The country is very small and therefore the war could be recalled.

28th September 1898.

SANTIGI KAMPKA.

SANTIGI KAMPKA.[1]

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

6173. Is there anything you would like to say?—Alimami Bomboh Lahi received your invitation to come, and as he was unwell he sent me. Our country had no trouble. We are trying to cultivate the land. We are friends of the Queen. We do not want to do any-

[1] Santigi Kampka accompanied Fodi Sila.

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thing against the Government. Nobody has a gun, we are all disarmed. Bomboh Lahi said, 'Sit down quietly and do not say anything.' We obey him. There is no trouble there. Inspector Crowther came and told us we had to pay hut tax; the king said, 'All right; I will consider.' Then the inspector went to Alimami Bassi. The king said to him, 'I am sending a report to Freetown, and whatever word I get from them, I will let you know.' SANTIGI KAMPKA.

BABA FOFANA.

BABA FOFANA.

6174. My name is Baba Fofana: I was born in Freetown. I lodge strangers who come down from the country.

6175. Do many people come down?—When the war was going to take place I sometimes had twenty.

6176. Do you remember when some chiefs came down here in Jubilee year and made a petition to the Queen about a new law?—Yes.

6177. Did any of these chiefs lodge with you?—One called Bulla.

6178. Do you remember any of these chiefs walking round to see their friends?—Yes.

6179. Did they ever go to see white men?—Yes; Marcus, Pittendrigh, and Chadwick(?)

6180. Did you go with them?—No; but the man who lodged with me told me about it; that they were trying to beg about the new law.

6181. Then they sat down and waited till the Governor came?—When he came back I was up in Falaba.

6182. Then you never were present at any of the meetings of these Chiefs with white men?—No.

6183. Were you not present when some of these Chiefs went to Mr. Marcus?—No, but when Bulla came back in the evening he told me what they said.

6184. Do you know Benjamin Williams?—Yes; he is a trader.

6185. What does he trade in?—Cotton goods. He keeps a store in Freetown and buys produce; he has also a store in the country.

6186. Does he sell gunpowder?—He used to sell guns and swords and powder.

6187. Do you know about his selling any powder after the war trouble began?—I heard of one Mr. Ring.

6188. Do you know anything about his really selling powder?—They talked on that matter before me at Rokell.

6189. Did you or Mr. Ring talk about it?—Mr. Ring's boy.

6190. Do you know anything except from what the boy said?—No; I knew he kept a store at Rokell.

6191. Do you know anything about his selling powder at Rokell during the war trouble?—I know he did before the war.

6192. When did you come back from Falaba?—In May.

6193. Do you know anything about one Thomas?—He kept a store at Freetown and at Gambia on the Skarcies.

6194. Did he sell powder and guns at the Skarcies?—Yes.

6195. When did the powder go to his store?—This year, before the war.

6196. That was very early in the year?—Yes.

6197. Were you not once at a meeting where Mr. Pittendrigh made a bargain with one of those Chiefs about rice?—I was not present; the Chiefs said the bushel was too big. They told me so at my house.

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Mr. WILLIAMS.

MR. WILLIAMS.

6198. My name is Peter George Williams. I live at Freetown. I was a trader at Whedaro on the Sulima river.

6199. Going back nearly two years, do you remember being present when a number of Chiefs met together?—Yes.

6200. Where was the meeting?—At Passambo and Jurung, about six miles from Sulima.

6201. Which was the first meeting?—Passambo was the first and Jurung the final meeting.

6202. For what purpose did they meet?—The principal Chief of the Gallinas, Abdul Lahi, died, and the meeting was called after his death to prepare the ceremony of his burial, and during the ceremony they proposed to discuss the information they had from the Government, as they were all there. I came from Whedaro and met the meeting.

6203. You remained and saw what was going on?—Yes; Morlai, a big chief, was my landlord.

6204. They discussed the new law that they had heard from the Goverment, do you what they said about?—The Chiefs proposed to Lamin Abdul Lahi, the dead Chief's son, that they had now met together, and they might not have so good an opportunity of meeting again. 'This Ordinance that has been sent to us; in the early part of 1898 we shall be subject to pay hut tax and licenses. The license law is very hard, but to improve the trade we cannot help it. But this hut tax law, we think it is rather too hard, and we are too poor now. We have just had war, and have not built our different places. To pay the hut tax as well as the other duties is too much. You have the means, and I think you can help us to approach some lawyer in Freetown to bring before the Government that we are unable to pay the hut tax.' I heard the Chiefs say that to Lamin, the son of the late Abdul Lahi.

6205. Who was the speaker who made this statement?—There were many speakers: Momo Jah, I think, was the first speaker; the others spoke, and they all agreed on the same thing.

6206. Did they fix upon any lawyer to whom they would write?—Lawyer Lewis. Lamin suggested him.

6207. Is Lamin Abdul Lahi any relation to Lamin Lahi?—He is the same man.

6208. Did they call anybody to write the letter?—Yes; a young Mohammedan, Hadromani Cole.

6209. When Chiefs or others employ someone to write a letter in that way how, do they make known their wishes?—He knew their language. The Chief dictates in his own lauguage and the writer puts it into English.

6210. When he has finished writing how do the Chiefs know that he has expressed what they wish to say?—The writer generally reads it over in their language.

6211. Then if anyone was not satisfied with the letter as written would they say so?—Certainly; besides Lamin is a lettered man.

6212. Has Lamin been in England?—Yes; he was educated in England.

6213. Then you heard this letter as it was read out to the Chiefs?—I was not allowed to be present.

6214. Then you do not know what the letter was?—They showed me the letter.

6215. But if they would not allow you to be present when it was written, how was it they showed it to you?—It was not all done in one day. I went down to Sulima, and when I got back Lamin had the letter in his hand. He shook hands with me, and said 'We have just finished writing the letter,' and showed it to me.

6216. Read this paper (copy letter, dated Gallinas, 18th December 1896, with sixty-four signatures).[1] Do you recognise it as being very like the letter?—It is not the very letter, but it is a copy.

[1] See Appendix II., No. XV.

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6217. You did not hear the letter as read out to the Chiefs ?—No.

6218. Were you present when Lamin was writing the letter ?—Cole wrote it.

6219. Is this the same letter that was dedicated to Cole ?—Certainly.

6220. Look at the names attached: do you remember these persons being present ?—Most of them I recognise. Every man called out his name.

6221. Who calls out the names on these occasions ?—When they met to sign the paper, Cole asked each 'What is your name ?' even though he knew what the Chief's name was. The Chief then states his name and touches the pen before his name is written.

6222. I understand you know a good deal about the rising in the Mendi country, and the causes of it ?—Some time last December my landlord at Whedaro told me that he was going to the meeting at Passambo: at that meeting all the Chiefs of the Gallinas country were collected to consult about the payment of the hut tax. He went, and returned a week later. On his return he came to me the same evening about 4 P.M., and I asked him the news. He said, 'Well, at this tax palaver we arranged to send three of the Chiefs to Freetown to the Governor, Momo Kiki, Momo Gita, and another; to go and tell the Governor that we are unable to pay the tax, because we are too poor.' I said, 'Will Momo Kiki agree to go ?' He said, 'Yes; they are to start in a few days.' A few days after we heard that Momo Kiki had gone to Freetown. I told my landlord, 'I am sending to renew my licence for 1898.' He said, 'All right.' Captain Carr wrote on the back of the licence that I should send the tax. I told the Chief I was going to pay the tax. The Chief said, 'We are all Queen's piccin; I am not able.' Then I sent the money. A few days after that I told him I was going to Freetown, which I did in January. I returned in February on the same boat as Momo Kiki. Some days after my return news reached us at Whedaro that a man was shot at Bumpe. We asked why ? They said the constables went to warn the Chief to pay tax, and the people in the town all came with their cutlasses. The Inspector said, 'I do not come for palaver, but to ask if you are ready to pay the hut tax.' I see all the people with cutlasses. The chief of the town, José, told the people to give up their cutlasses. One boy said, 'I do not think I am going to give up my cutlass,' and went and took it out of the rest, and he was shot.

6223. What was the name of the town ?—Bogbiabu; Chief José.

6224. What time was it you heard that news ?—February.

6225. When did this occurrence happen ?—The same week.

6226. Did you hear the name of the police officer ?—Corporal Sandy shot the boy.

6227. But of the white officer ?—Inspector Davis was the only one there then. At the death of this boy José sent to inform Momo Kiki and all the big Chiefs what had happened. A few weeks after we heard that Captain Carr went up to that very town and burnt it. That was the end of that information. After that, about 7 A.M. on 30th April, my landlord came and said, 'Have you heard the news of the war ?' I said, 'No; what war ?' He said, 'War has taken the Kittum river; they have plundered and burnt all the factories there, and they are now very near here.' I said, 'How can this be possible ? It is a good distance, and how does the war come; where are they going to ?' He said, 'The war comes to the people who collect the tax.' Not an hour afterwards we saw war-boys in great numbers on the beach. I said, 'If the war comes for people who take part in the tax, what am I to do ?' My landlord said, 'You had better save yourself quick; if these people find you, they will kill you.' My workmen all refused to do anything for me. Then I took only one box, and got away in a canoe with three little boys, and got to Sulima on Saturday night. Then on Sunday morning we found our way to Mano Salija. A German steamer came in that morning, and went at once with a letter to the Governor. On Monday, 2nd May, between one and two in the morning, the *Fox* came in. The night before Mano was attacked by over 1000 war people. They tried to get the landlord of that town to join the war, but he refused. They said 'if you do not join we will kill you.' He said, 'Let me call my people.' He then called all the Sierra Leone people, and asked if we had really sent for a man-of-war. Then when the *Fox* came he took his gun, and shot at the war-boys,

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Mr. WILLIAMS.

and refused to join them. It was the *Fox* that saved the place. The people who came to plunder said, 'We have been collecting our produce for the tax, and now we come to take it back.'

6228. Was that said repeatedly?—Everywhere.

6229. Then you heard nothing at all about any threatening of war till it actually came upon you?—No.

6230. And you know nothing further about the origin of it than what the war-boys said when they came to plunder?—No; the people made bitter complaint against the Frontier Police. It seems that some of them were slaves, and when they get back they treat their masters so that they cannot bear it.

6231. You have heard them complain yourself?—Yes.

6232. Before the outbreak had the Sierra Leone people a strong feeling against the new law?—They were favourable to it. It was not opposing us at all.

6233. You had the licence already?—Yes; and those small traders with only a few pounds had given up trade.

6234. The hut tax was a very much smaller affair than the licences?—They do not see why they should pay for their houses. They say, 'We are in our own country; we make the roads, and are not paid for it. We do our best for the Government.' My landlord and many other Chiefs used to say this.

6235. Then the war was not directed against the country people but against the Sierra Leone people?—They told us not to pay the tax and we did. When the hut tax came they said they were not going to pay, and that we should not. We told them it was more than we could consent to. We could not disobey the Government. They said, 'Very well, you cannot remain in the country.' They made up their minds they would drive away the Government and the Government's piccin, as they called the Sierra Leonians.

6236. Had the people of the country where you were living paid the tax as well as the Sierra Leone people?—They were forced to pay it.

6237. How were they forced?—The tax was due in January. They arrested the principal Chiefs of each town, and as soon as the Chief was arrested they began to pay.

6238. Then did the people pay it to the Chief, or were collectors sent to collect it?—Police were sent to tell the people to take their produce to where the District Commissioner directed. But when they used to go with this message they used to take authority on themselves that they had no right to. They used to take sheep, etc. The District Commissioner did not know; they did it of their own accord.

6239. Was Lamin one of those who were appointed to receive produce?—Yes; he received a large amount.

6240. Were his stores plundered?—Yes; his own people plundered them.

6241. Did the war people destroy the produce?—A good deal was burnt, and a good deal was carried away.

6242. Can you account for their killing the missionaries at Tikonko and Rotofunk?—No; that is a long way off. All the Sierra Leone people at Whedaro escaped.

6243. Suppose the Protectorate was opened up, so that traders could go through it very easily; would that increase the profit of the individual trader?—Yes.

6244. How would that be?—Goods would be sold at a higher rate.

6245. Would there not be more traders?—Yes.

6246. But then there would be competition, and prices would go down?—Yes.

6247. But would it be as good for those who are in possession of the trade now?—Yes.

29th September 1898.

Chief BERRI.

CHIEF BERRI.[1]

(Morrison interpreting.)

6248. My name is Berri, Chief of Bongo, on the Bum river.

6249. There has been a great deal of trouble in the country. Tell me what you know

[1] Chief Berri died in December.

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about the cause of this rising in the Sherbro and Mendi districts?—I know it is the tax that has brought this trouble. Governor Rowe was Governor before, and in his time there were no outbreaks; then came Governor Havelock and Governor Hay, and there was quietness; since Governor Cardew has come everything has been very hard. Our people have been bush people, hardly getting proper clothes. We on the brink of the river manage to get clothing by selling kernels to the traders who pass. Last year the Frontier Police were sent up. They sent six Frontier Police who became heads over us in the country, and their appearance in the country has brought great uproar. Whatever town they come to they ask for anything, and if the people of the town make any resistance they are caught and tied and well beaten; and if there is anything in the town the things are seized. Chief Henry Tucker is here in town, I myself, Berri, Momo Kiki, and Thomas Buongo. I have paid, and have given £10 in cash, 10 bushels of rice, and 520 bushels of kernels as my own portion of the tax payment. The District Commissioner at Bandajuma sent men over to the Bumpe country. They said they had not enough to pay the hut tax. I heard that they fought with the people. A certain captain that was sent to that town by Captain Carr sent back some Frontier Police to take the report to Captain Carr, and that captain was at Gambia, where Queen Bessigai is. These people at Gambia also had begun to pay, but had not been able to get through, and the Frontier Police came and plundered that town; and they went and plundered other towns of Bessigais, and burnt the rice. Afterwards Captain Wallis sent over for me to call me, and I went over to Gambia to see him. I was questioned by the captain if I had measured the quantity of palm kernels I had to give. I said, 'Yes, all but twenty bushels of kernels that I was to give to the man who was appointed to receive them, and which I could not deliver because he had gone to Bonthe.' As I was sent for by the captain, I told him I came simply to answer his call, and when I got back I would deliver the twenty bushels. When I was getting ready to go the captain told me not to go, but to send my boy, because I had not completed paying; and he took me prisoner. There were also six other Chiefs kept prisoners in Gambia. The next day the Frontier Police returned, and the labourers that came with the Frontier Police reported that the Frontier Police fought with them by the way. Macaulay, who had charge of that place, asked what was the cause of the fighting. They said they did not know. He asked them if there was any firing of guns. The boys said yes. I spent another day there. Then a country boy came with a report, and said to Macaulay that the Frontier Police had fought with the Bumpe people, and had plundered a small town. There were some native boys who had come from Congo with some goods, and all these things were plundered. Macaulay said, 'We shall have to see about that.' The boys said, 'The people have decided to bring war.' The captain called me and asked me what I should advise; I said, 'I am not in a position to advise you, but I should go to Bonthe, or up to Captain Carr at Bandajuma.' Two days after that we saw the war-boys. I ran and fell into the river. They shot at me. I crossed over to the other side. The other Chiefs were cut loose and sent away. I spent some time on the other side of the river, and when the place was a little quiet I swam back again and went to meet the captain. We fought against the people for two days. One of my boys was shot. One of them is in the hospital at Bonthe. In the evening the captain called me, and told me to get ready to go to Bonthe with him. They said in the country there were two Chiefs. The people told them if they paid the tax they would be killed. Baha was one of them, and he was caught and killed. If I had not been with the captain I should have been killed too. I have now learnt a lesson that a poor man who runs for protection to the Queen will be ill-treated. I have been locked up and badly fed ever since. There are eight of us in prison now. We are almost starved in prison. There is no food for us. Governor Rowe explained to us that the Queen did not want us to deal in slaves or to sell our children, and we agreed, and were willing to abide by that. Governor Havelock also told us the same thing, and we were willing. Governor Hay said the same thing, and we were content. As we were poor people, our children had free access to the town, and some of them have been able to go down to the Congo and earn money there, and their

Chief BERRI.

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Chief BERRI. parents in the country benefit by it. I was very anxious about my people; they are people that can hardly clothe themselves; they have no money. Since the Governor came and imposed the tax, they have been troubled in mind, and are not able to pay the tax. This also brought about the rising, the people have suffered from the Frontier Police and the wicked way they go about to collect the tax; and this has brought the rising. I am truly thankful that the Queen has sent you to look after things, and this impression is in my mind to tell you that if things continue in this way, the Chiefs of the country feel as if they would run away that they may be in quiet; they would go to Dakka on the Liberian side. I lay my petition before you. We feel things are rather too hard. If you are sent to decide the matter of the country, we would ask you to get permission for us to be taken from the gaol and be by Mr. Parkes; then we should get food. We have nowhere to go to. You need not be afraid that we should run away. We feel inclined to sit down quietly in town and see what is decided. The remaining Chiefs will never come to give their statements as long as they know we are in prison; but if they hear we have been released, they would all come down to you. We would all take an oath that we would remain quietly by Mr. Parkes, and not leave the town, and we could be supported by our friends. If we remain longer in prison some of us will die from starvation. If I am called to make a statement, this is what I have to tell you, that the Frontier Police, who have been sent to the country by Governor Cardew, have made the trouble. The Sierra Leone traders have never treated us so badly as the Frontier Police. I have agreed to pay the tax and have paid almost all. I never expected to meet with such treatment. I feel my life will be taken away if I stay longer in prison. I came without any clothes to the gaol and they gave me no clothes; and I have been suffering ever since I came to the gaol. The shirt I am wearing was borrowed for me to come and see you in.

6250. Before this trouble began was there not plenty of trade in your county?—There was plenty of trade; merchants of Sherbro and other places had factories there, and the trade was very good. But now everything is upset, and the country has been burnt and plundered. Even at Bonthe, where there are European firms, they have been doing nothing. They simply sit down. Nothing is coming down to Bonthe. The whole country belongs to the Queen, but since Governor Cardew came, he has made us feel that we were wrong to offer the country to the Queen. Most of the Gallinas have gone to Dakka on account of this outbreak. Even our friends and relations are most of them living in the bush, and if things go on like this, most of our people will run over to Liberia like the Gallinas have done.

6251. Will you explain how the hut tax was so very hard; 5s. or a bushel of kernels; it was not such a very large amount when trade was good?—It is not all people that can afford 5s., most of the people there that cannot climb the palm trees cannot have any kernels. They have no money from kernels, so they cannot afford to pay the tax.

6252. But suppose a man has palm trees, and he sends his boys to cut the kernels; the boys do not have them all for themselves, the headman gets a share?—Yes; men who have boys and children can get kernels, so that they would be able to pay. But people who have no boys and children to climb will have to walk about under the trees picking up stray kernels, and it takes a long time to get a bushel that way.

6253. Why did the people fight? even if it were hard would it not have been better to pay what they could, and then beg to be let off the rest?—We are the people that were taken up to the District Commissioner, the others will be able to tell you better.

6254. Were you one of the Chiefs that were taken to Bandajuma by the District Commissioner?—Yes; I was one of those who came to see the Governor in the beginning of the year, and the Governor refused. I returned with the others, and Captain Carr sent for us to Bandujuma, myself, Thomas Buongo, and Baha; we were arrested and remained there some time. Then we went and began to collect the tax.

6255. Why were you put under arrest?—They said we were unwilling to pay the tax He sent for us and said, 'I hear you are unwilling to pay.' He asked us to sign a paper that he had prepared for us. We refused to sign at first, and afterwards we signed, and were let go, and returned to our towns and began to collect the tax.

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6256. Were you kept in prison at Bandajuma?—Yes; Captain Carr visited me in prison, and said he would see about my being released, as I had paid my tax, but unfortunately he went away without doing anything for me. Chief BERRI.

6257. Do you remember a meeting at which Furi Vong and Bai Sherbro and two or three other chiefs were present to discuss the question of the tax?—No.

6258. Were you not that meeting?—I was not there.

6259. Do you remember hearing about that meeting?—I heard that Bai Sherbro had a meeting called at Yonni, but I was not there.

29th Sept. 1898.

KANRI.

KANRI.

(Morrison interpreting).

6260. My name is Kanri of Tumba by Shengay.

6261. Why are you detained in prison?—For not paying the tax.

6262. Why did you not pay?—I have paid all. The Frontier Police caught me, and I was put in gaol. They caught me at Tumba, and brought me to Freetown. I am a fisherman and not a Chief. I was doing my ordinary work when the Frontier Police caught me.

KANRI SEKEN.

KANRI SEKEN.

(Morrison interpreting).

6263. My name is Kanri Seken, Chief of Tumba.

6264. Why are you detained in prison?—I have paid the tax. The Frontier Police went over after we had paid, and I and a few others were caught and taken to gaol; but I do not know why.

30th Sept. 1898.

SERGEANT WILSON.

Sergeant WILSON.

6265. My name is Peter Silvanus Wilson. I am a sergeant in the Frontier Police. I joined in 1887.

6266. Was that when it was first formed?—No; it was the civil police.

6267. Are you a native of Sierra Leone?—Yes; I speak a little Mendi.

6268. You were stationed at Port Lokko in February?—Yes; I am still stationed there.

6269. Do you remember Captain Sharpe coming to Port Lokko last February to collect the hut tax?—Yes; I think it was the 5th or 6th. He commenced the collection on the third day. He began by calling some Sierra Leone traders.

6270. I was in court at the time these Sierra Leone traders were present.

6271. On that Saturday, the first day, was anybody brought to the court or sent for?—He did not hold a court.

6272. What took place on the Monday?—He first sent for Chief Bokari Bamp and told him that the time had come when he should pay the tax, and that he must go and tell his people to begin to pay as early as possible. After that he told the Chief to go and see his people. Then he sent for the Sierra Leonians, they came, about nine or twelve women and about twenty men. He told them that the Governor wanted them to pay 5s. for each house they occupied. The Sierra Leonians said they did not refuse to pay, but they feared the natives, who had threatened them and had told them they must not pay for the houses, and that they were only strangers. Except Captain Sharpe saw the Chief and the landlords they all agreed they dared not pay. Then Captain Sharpe told them they must go and pay the tax.

6273. Did he not detain them?—Not the first day; he sent for them again on the Tuesday.

6274. Did he send for Bokari Bamp whilst the Sierra Leone traders were present?—Not on Monday.

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Sergeant WILSON.

6275. Did he call the Sierra Leone traders again on the Tuesday?—Yes; he asked them for the tax again. They said the same thing again and did not pay. He then told Sub-inspector Crowther to give orders that they should be put in custody. This was done and they were put in two houses.

6276. Did Captain Sharpe send for Bokari Bamp on the Tuesday?—Yes.

6277. Was that before the Sierra Leone traders were in custody?—No; but they were still in the same house.

6278. Then you mean Captain Sharpe called Bokari Bamp, not into the court where the Sierra Leonians were, but to the house where he was living?—No.

6279. After he had put the Sierra Leonians in custody where did he meet Bokari Bamp?—In the court room.

6280. Was anybody present but Bokari Bamp and Captain Sharpe?—Several people, but not the Sierra Leone traders; after he had sent for Bokari Bamp he called for the Sierra Leone traders. Bokari Bamp was still there. He told Bokari Bamp that the Sierra Leonians were afraid of him and his people, and would not pay, and said that he must guarantee their safety.

6281. Did he speak to Bokari Bamp through an interpreter?—Yes; Yaski. Bokari Bamp made no answer, and the Sierra Leone traders said, 'That is what we have been talking about; you have called the Chief, and he will not answer you.' Then Captain Sharpe ordered them to be placed in custody.

6282. What was done then?—Bokari Bamp was there, and the four sub-chiefs were called. They were in the yard, and they came in. Captain Sharpe asked Bokari Bamp if he was ready to pay. Bokari Bamp said he must consider, and consult the elders, and he had not the money. He himself could not answer. Captain Sharpe said that if they did not pay, Government would levy to the amount of 5s.

6283. This was on the Tuesday after the Sierra Leonians had been sent away?—Yes. He asked Bokari Bamp if he would agree to let the Sierra Leonians pay. Bokari Bamp did not answer, but some of the others said, No. They did not agree, and said, 'They did not get.' Captain Sharpe said, 'If you do not pay I will send you all to the Governor.' He then ordered the Police to tell the natives to go away. Bokari Bamp and the four others stayed in the Court. Captain Sharpe said to Bokari Bamp that he had spoken to him several times, and he now asked him if they would object if the Sierra Leone people paid. He made no answer. Then Captain Sharpe asked them to pay themselves. Bai Salamansa said, 'They no get.' Then they were sentenced. About twelve o'clock Captain Sharpe told Alpha Yunisa, the Government contractor, to get a canoe ready, and that he had sentenced these people to different sentences. Bai Salamansa and Santigi-Keareh to fifteen months. He said he had heard them speak words outside.

6284. Upon their giving those answers, Captain Sharpe sentenced them and sent them away, and caused a canoe to be got ready?—Yes. He told Mr. Crowther to see that all five were put in handcuffs, and marched them down to the wharf with an escort of Police. Captain Sharpe was standing by.

6285. At that time was there a crowd of their own people about?—Yes.

6286. Did the people make any attempt at rescue?—When Bokari Bamp got into the canoe he talked to them in the Timini language. I asked one of the boys what he was saying, and he told me that he was telling the people that they must sit down quietly, and not do anything, and that he was going to suffer for the country.

6287. Are you well acquainted with what usually occurs in the Police Court when a man is charged? When the Chiefs were sentenced, was any charge read to them, and were they asked to plead to any charge?—Yes.

6288. What was that?—On the very day: not quite eleven o'clock. After he had asked the Chiefs if they would pay, and they refused, and if they made any objection to the Sierra Leonians paying, and they did not answer.

6289. Was Bokari Bamp called upon to plead?—He said he did not know anything.

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6290. After he had said that were any witnesses called ?—No.

6291. Are you sure of that ?—I myself and Mr. Crowther took oath, and I said that I was present, and when they were asked to pay the tax they refused, and that they had not answered when they were asked to let the Sierra Leonians pay.

6292. Was that evidence written down ?—Yes, by his clerk. That was all the evidence I saw.

6293. Was Bokary Bamp ever in custody previous to that Tuesday ?—Yes. On Monday he was kept in custody for several hours.

6294. When was he taken into custody ?—About eight o'clock.

6295. How long was he in custody ?—He slept there that night. Tuesday morning he was allowed to go and consult his people.

6296. Did anything happen in the town on that Monday night ?—It was reported that several of the Sierra Leone traders were removing their goods from their houses.

6297. Anything else ?—I recollect that most of the natives were under arms, and they said that Bai Bureh was bringing war. Most of the women were running away and removing their things; but that was afterwards—not the night that Bokari Bamp was in custody. It was after the Chiefs had been removed.

6298. Do you know how the report came ?—No. I only heard it from Mr. Crowther. He called me and asked me what I saw in the town. I said only that the boys were going about armed.

6299. Then there was no attack, or attempt to attack, that night ?—No.

6300. After the Chiefs were sent away the Sierra Leone people were again brought before Captain Sharpe ?—Yes; they were brought the same evening. He asked them if they would pay now. Some hesitated, and some made some rash speech to Captain Sharpe. He was asking them one by one. The whole of them paid the 5s., and several were fined, and he told them not to listen to what the natives said, but to what the Government said. Afterwards we found that some of them had removed their goods from their houses. I took oath to that afterwards.

6301. Did you examine the houses ?—Yes.

6302. How did you make out that they had removed their goods from their houses ?—They had shops, and when we were at Port Lokko before we could see that they had tobacco and such things; but they had removed all the tobacco and goods.

6303. You did not find all the goods removed ?—Not all.

6304. Had you seen what was in the shops on the previous day ?—When I went round with the police to call them, we took stock of what there was in the shops.

6305. What was there that led you take stock of what there was in the shops ?—I observed the shops nearly full of goods, and the next day when I went I found the shops nearly cleared.

6306. That night that there was this commotion in the town you were on duty ?—Yes. That night we were ordered to be on the alert.

6307. Did you see any strange war-boys in the town ?—No.

6308. When did you examine the houses and find the goods taken away ?—On Tuesday.

6309. Do you remember, after the Chiefs had been sent away, Captain Sharpe talking to you as to who should have charge of the town ?—He spoke to Inspector Crowther. He sent me to call Sori Bunki.

6310. How did he come to call Sori Bunki ?—Inspector Crowther told me that the District Commissioner wanted an Acting Chief, and he thought that Sori Bunki, who was a loyal man, would be fitting, or Alimani Kano of Old Port Lokko. I said I knew the man, but I did not know if he was able to govern.

6311. Were you present when Captain Sharpe and Sori Bunki were talking ?—Yes. He had an interpreter.

6312. What was said ?—He told Sori Bunki that the five Chiefs he had sent to Free-

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Sergeant WILSON. town were the cause of the people not paying. He wanted now to make him Acting Chief, as being a man of influence, to collect the hut tax, and he gave him instructions. Sori Bunki said he would try to collect the hut tax. Captain Sharpe said that if he tried he would get assistance from Government, and would receive a shilling in every pound collected.

6313. Then when the Chiefs were removed, and Sori Bunki was appointed, did the people of the town remain?—Most of them were going away.

6314. Captain Sharpe did not have any conversation with you as to the appointment of Sori Bunki?—He asked me afterwards about Sori Bunki. I said I knew he was a good man, because before, when the Police Barracks were burnt down, he gave the police lodging when the others refused, and he was always ready to give carriers. He asked me if I thought he would do well, and I said I believed so.

6315. Some little time after this Captain Sharpe went to Malal. Did you accompany him?—Yes; on 17th February.

6316. You got to Malal in the afternoon. When you started that morning did you know what errand you were going on?—We were going to bring down Bai Bureh.

6317. You knew that?—Yes.

6318. It was rather an exciting bit of work?—Yes.

6319. You got to Malal. The next day you went on to Romani?—Yes. We slept at Malal.

6320. Was Romani a fenced town?—Yes.

6321. You and the others did not go into the town, but Captain Sharpe did?—We all passed through the town first. There is a road through, with the houses on each side.

6322. There was no impediment?—One of the doors was shut, but we opened it easily.

6323. Did you pass right through?—Yes: and we halted outside.

6324. Did Captain Sharpe then go into the town alone?—No: he took Mr. Crowther and two Frontiers.

6325. Are you sure?—did he not only take one bugler?—He had two Frontiers.

6326. From where you were outside could you see what took place inside where Captain Sharpe was?—No.

6327. Was it long before Captain Sharpe came back and joined you?—Not too long.

6328. Did he bring one of the natives with him?—Yes: I saw the man.

6329. Was some one holding him?—Yes: the two Frontiers.

6330. What occurred then, when they joined you?—As they came I saw the man was bleeding from the head.

6331. Severely?—Yes: and he was talking in Timini. I asked what he was saying, and they told me he was calling out for the elders, and said, 'They are carrying me away,' and that he was a stranger.

6332. How was he dressed?—He had on a war-dress and fetish, but no gun or sword.

6333. Did you notice if he had a little bag with carpenter's tools?—He had several bags and fetish: but I do not know what was in them.

6334. Did he say how he got his head broken?—No.

6335. What more was done with this stranger?—When they reached us they left him standing. Some of the Frontiers said that the natives wanted to rush on us.

6336. Had you seen any of the war-boys before that?—Yes: on each side, and as we were approaching the town.

6337. When you were halted outside, and Captain Sharpe was inside, did you see any war-boys?—They were all round us: but we could not see inside the town.

6338. You left the stranger standing?—Yes: and each man took up his rifle. Corporal Touro wanted to fire at him, but Mr. Crowther stopped him, and told him to unload.

6339. Then the stranger went away?—He went back into the town. Then I heard Major Tarbet ask them, 'What is all this gathering for?' They did not answer him. Then they

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said, 'Where are you going? If you are going to Roballam there is no road; if you are going to Karene the road is open.' Then we began to march.

6340. Tell me the order of march?—First an advance guard of five men; then the carriers; then the main body, and then the rear-guard.

6341. Did you put the carriers in front?—There was no war then.

6342. You started for Karene: what took place?—We heard some of the war-boys cocking their guns and throwing stones; and some of the Frontiers were hit.

6343. There was a good deal of talk:—Yes: they were shouting.

6344. Was it a main road?—Yes: about 12 feet wide.

6345. Was the bush clear on the sides?—It was thick on the sides; but there was a large open field in front of us. George told Major Tarbet that we were not safe in the bush. Then we got orders to proceed to Karene; and as we went the natives went into the bush to the right and left, and some went on the road. They were talking in Timini, and I was told it was about the hut tax money from Port Lokko. Some of them were running ahead to meet the advance-guard.

6346. How far had you got from the town?—We had got about 500 yards when the fight took place.

6347. How did the fight begin?—After we had left the town they were following us. The men in the advance-guard shouted that they wanted to take the money. Major Tarbet wanted to put us in the middle. Some one said they had got near. The carriers who were carrying the money-box threw it down and the war-boys made a rush for it. That is how the fight began.

6348. Were you in front?—I was behind.

6349. How did the war-boys know there was any money?—They know the look of the money-box: they had seen it before.

6350. Was no order given before the men in front shouted that they were coming for the money?—There were orders given to halt and extend; and we did so. Orders were given to the men to get ready and load. Then I heard three of the men fire: then Major Tarbet said, Present, and fire.

6351. When the order was given to fire you were in this open place extended in each direction: did you fire?—The main body extended along the road, and faced the bush on each side, and the rear-guard extended across: we fired on the war-boys behind.

6352. How many men in the rear-guard?—About 15. Mr. Crowther was there.

6353. Did you fire a volley?—About five volleys.

6354. Were the men steady?—Some were frightened and some were steady. The advance-guard ran round to join the main body, and it was then that they said that the war-boys wanted the money-box.

6355. After the rear-guard had fired the war-boys retired?—They scattered through the bush.

6356. Was there any firing by the main body?—Yes: they fired too.

6357. You were with the rear-guard when they fired?—Yes.

6358. How many war-boys were behind you at that time?—Over 200.

6359. How near to the rear-guard were they?—About 20 yards.

6360. Did the rear-guard fire standing?—No: kneeling.

6361. A good many war-boys were hit?—I cannot say: I saw a few drop on the spot.

6362. Then after that was over you resumed your march to Karene?—We halted at Kabantama: before we halted a gun was fired. At first we were to sleep there, but Major Tarbet afterwards said we must go on to Karene.

6363. Did anything happen on the way to Karene?—The natives fired on us at one town. Major Tarbet gave orders to fire. We were attacked three times before we got to the river. The last town before the river Captain Sharpe was talking to the headman of the town and telling him that he must behave himself. Several of the police had already crossed the river. Two shots were fired from the bush at those who remained, but we could not see

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Sergeant WILSON. anybody. They fired at the last canoes crossing over, and when we had crossed over they came down to the wharf and fired two or three times at us.

6364. That time when you were on the march and fired, did the war-boys return your fire?—I only heard one shot.

6365. On the whole of the march were any of the Frontier Police hit?—No.

6366. Or any of the carriers?—No: but several were missing, and we never found out what became of them.

6367. It was not you who took a message to Bai Bureh from Captain Sharpe?—I went to Bai Bureh in Captain Cave's time, some time in August, to fetch a man down. Bai Bureh said he would send the man with his own Santigi, and he did so three days after.

6368. You saw him then?—Yes.

6369. Did you speak to him?—He talked in Timini. A Timini policeman was sent with me.

30*th September* 1898.

Mr. MARCUS.

MR. MARCUS.

6370. My name is James David Marcus. I have been connected with the Colony for twenty-eight years. I have resided in Freetown on and off for the last eighteen years.

6371. Have you observed any material change in the health of Europeans out here?—It has improved: the sanitary arrangements have been improved.

6372. You are in mercantile business?—Yes.

6373. Have you an establishment in the country?—Not at present.

6374. Or in the French territory?—I had, at Melli Kori, for ten years: but it was burnt down by Bai Bureh when he was fighting with the Timinis against the Susus.

6375. Then I presume you have come a good deal in contact with the natives?—Yes: I know all the Chiefs who live near the water-side.

6376. You have not had much dealing with the interior?—No. I have never been very far into the interior.

6377. Have you ever been as far back as Falaba?—No.

6378. You are familiar with the Timini Chiefs?—Yes: and the Susus.

6379. Mendis?—None whatever; except those who come here to trade.

6380. You went to England early this year?—Yes.

6381. You were interviewed at Liverpool by Reuter?—Not by Reuter; but by several people.

6382. You made a statement which was afterwards published in the *Standard*?—Yes.

6383. There is a statement in the *Standard* of 14th April in which your name appears: is it substantially a correct reproduction of what you said?—Undoubtedly.

6384. You say they wrote to the Colonial Office stating their grievance, and never got an answer; does that mean from the Office here or at home?—At home.

6385. You were not correctly informed on that point. In point of fact there was a petition from the Chiefs, 29th June 1897, that was sent home, and was replied to by the Colonial Office on the 27th August 1897. Colonel Caulfeild was directed to communicate that reply to the Chiefs; this is the reply [produced].—What I stated was from what the Chief told me.

6386. After that letter was written for the Chiefs a telegram was sent: do you know anything about the telegram?—I never heard of it before.

6387. You remember a number of the Chiefs coming to you?—Yes.

6388. What day?—I think it was the very day they had been to Government House, 15th November. I told them to come the following Sunday, and they came.

6389. Had you more than one meeting with the Chiefs on the subject of the Ordinance?—One only; I sent to tell them of my interview with Sir Frederic after I saw him. I did not care to ask them to come to me—success being none.

6390. Were there a great many came to you?—Twenty-five or thirty.

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6391. Did you know their names?—Some of them.

6392. Had you an interpreter?—No special man. There were other Europeans present. Burnett, Captain Harvey of the *Axim*, my brother, and myself.

6393. Was Mr. Pittendrigh not present?—No.

6394. Would you recognise any of the names if you saw them?—Pa Suba, Sena Bundu, Bokary Bamp, Bubu from Kambia, Santigi Dresa, Santigi Furi, Alimami Dasu.

6395. The names were not called out to you?—No; there were twenty-five or thirty; not necessarily all Chiefs.

6396. What was their attitude when they came to you?—They seemed grieved. After having the interview with Sir F. Cardew they asked to be allowed to retire and talk to each other, but he refused. I believe they had some idea of stopping the trade but none of taking up arms. They came and asked me to see Sir F. Cardew, and said that trade was sure to be stopped. I saw Sir F. Cardew, with no good results, and sent to tell the Chiefs by my interpreter as I did not care to see them again. They asked me what they should do. I said, 'leave things alone a bit and things will come right in time.' I believe I was the only man in Freetown who realised the gravity or the situation, but I never dreamt that they would take to arms.

6397. In this communication to the *Standard* you say 'every trader in the colony strongly deprecates the Government putting the hut tax in force,' to what time does that refer?—When the chiefs were in town.

6398. Does trader mean Europeans as well as natives?—Yes.

6399. What were the grounds for that?—There are thousands of men in the Protectorate that never had 5s. in their lives. You cannot get what does not exist. These people are taxed indirectly.

6400. People say they are poor; I suppose that refers to lack of coin?—No; to means of producing; a bushel of palm kernels in the interior may be worth 1s. but when it is brought down to the water-side it is worth 4s. They have not the means to realise.

6401. Do people not grow abundance of rice and things for their own use?—Those that can afford to have slave labour. I have seen them starving in the rainy season in the Susu country.

6402. According to the Ordinance the responsibility of the tax comes in the first instance on the Chiefs; take a Chief who has a town of 100 houses; that would mean £25; could a Chief as a rule produce that sum?—Very few of them.

6403. It would become harder if repeated year after year?—Yes; you cannot get blood from a stone.

6404. Did they discuss the points of the Ordinance with you?—No; I do not think they understand it.

6405. Then what part did you talk about?—The payment of the hut tax.

6406. Do you remember any such expression as that it was unreasonable to pay for what belonged to them and such things?—Yes; and not only on that Sunday.

6407. Did they say anything about the provisions of the Ordinance against buying and selling slaves?—No; they simply said, 'Government say we are not to buy slaves and we do not buy slaves.' They look upon that as a thing of the past. I may mention that I think the hut tax was really the last straw. The mode of collection was as bad as anything else.

6408. Did they talk to you about the Frontier Police?—Scores of times; I have known all these things for years.

6409. Did there seem to be very strong feeling about the Frontier Police?—Very strong indeed. These men who may have been their slaves go up to them and smack them in the face and take their wives, and I do not know what they do not do.

6410. So far as you could form an opinion, do you think these complaints were correct?—Yes; I am positive of it.

6411. They really had suffered?—Yes.

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Mr. MARCUS.

6412. Still the hut tax was the subject they chiefly dwelt on?—Yes; it was the matter of the moment.

6413. They asked you to intercede with the Governor?—Yes.

6414. Was there any rumour that the hut tax would not be carried out or repealed?—Quite the contrary. I talked to them and told them that the Governor might perhaps take a half or something less.

6415. Did you give them any advice?—No; I told them if they could not pay, and had to pay, they must never say, 'I will not pay.' There was none in the Colony who knew how serious things were.

6416. Were you hopeful of succeeding when you went to the Governor?—I knew he was a very hard man when he had made up his mind.

6417. Did you hold out any hopes to the Chiefs?—No.

6418. Did you not give any advice to them to hold out against paying?—No; certainly not.

6419. Nor say to them that if they held out the people of Freetown would stand by them and see them through?—No; I am not so childish.

6420. You say in the paragraph that a chief named Sori Bunki at Port Lokko told the District Commissioner that he could get the tax paid if they made him Chief and arrested the five others?—Some of the Chiefs told me about it. Some of them ran straight here from Port Lokko when the trouble began and came to me.

6421. Who were they?—I can find out for you.[1]

6422. That is from information you got from some of these Chiefs who came to you?—Yes; from Port Lokko Chiefs.

6423. You say that four days after the arrest of these Chiefs their friends paid the tax: was that from the same source?—I think so.

6424. Was that reported to you as having been a partial payment?—Yes.

6425. Then you say Bai Bureh became very hostile; what was his special interest in that matter?—They are friends, and he certainly was the only one that held out. He did not intend to pay. He had some private matter against Sori Bunki: it was he that killed him.

6426. That does not seem very well authenticated?—The probability is that Bai Bureh did kill him.

6427. Then there was a general opinion in Sierra Leone against the hut tax?—Yes.

6428. Did that extend to the whole of the Protectorate Ordinance?—I could not say; personally I think it was a great mistake.

6429. Would it be an advantage to Freetown if the Protectorate were more opened up than it is?—Most certainly.

6430. Is that a question of roads and bridges?—In one sense. The poor man must have a cutlass to go and cut kernels with: but he has not got it to start with.

6431. Do you know the small traders who travel into the country: would the opening up of the country increase their profits, or the reverse?—I should say it would increase them.

6432. Would there be any grounds for saying that the interests of the small traders lay in keeping the Protectorate closed up?—None.

6433. Is there any reason for the idea that the small traders used their persuasion to the Chiefs not to pay the hut tax?—No: their interests are identical with ours.

6434. Was the trade of Sierra Leone fairly prosperous before these troubles began?—I think the trade has fallen off in the last three or four years: that is due to the French duties as much as to anything else.

6435. The export of goods from Sierra Leone to the French territory is very much hampered?—Yes: that is with a view to stopping the prosperity of this Colony.

6436. Can you form any estimate of the proportion of goods imported into the Colony bear to those consumed in the Colony?—Not more than 5 per cent. is consumed in the Colony.

[1] Mr. Marcus afterwards wrote to say they were Siacho Furrie and Ansumana Furrie.

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6437. Is that goods of all classes ?—Except flour and lard and such kind of goods.

6438. Including spirits ?—Yes.

6439. Has the raising of the duty had much effect on the spirit trade ?—It has stopped the spirit trade.

6440. Is there much smuggling ?—Not much: a little on the Skarcies.

6441. Trade with the interior is mainly by barter ?—That which is transacted in the interior. In Freetown they sell their goods for cash and buy other goods.

6442. Have you had occasion to import coin ?—No: we have the Bank here now.

6443. Does the Colony produce any exports ?—No: I think a few years ago they produced 1000 tons of ginger, but that has fallen off.

6444. Then the export trade depends almost entirely on the Protectorate ?—Yes: rubber, gum, kernels, benni seed, hides, beeswax, etc.

6445. I suppose this is capable of being very considerably increased ?—Yes: there are thousands of tons lying rotting in the Protectorate.

6446. As to the poverty of the people of the Protectorate: it is said they are very lazy ?—They come down here and work for twelve hours for 1s.: they are anything but lazy: but they have not the means to do the work up there.

6447. Then if any European or Sierra Leone firm were endeavouring to open up any tract of country, the labour question would not be a difficulty ?—Not in the least. Any Chief would be glad to supply one hundred men at 1s. a day.

6448. Do you know about the hut tax in the French territory ?—They are not so particular there. The Susus have been wealthy for years: thirty or forty years ago Europeans went there and gave them credits. The great man Alimami Dowla is supposed to collect the tax, and he brings the money to the Government and says, 'This is what I have been able to collect,' and the Government say, 'Thank you.'

6449. It is not collected in the uncompromising way that it was done here ?—No: there is one big Chief over the whole of that part of the Susu country, and he collects from that territory.

6450. It is said that the spirit imported into the Colony has some peculiarly deleterious effect ?—It is no worse than the German spirit imported elsewhere.

6451. The retail shops are said to adulterate it ?—Only with water.

6452. Have you formed any opinion as to the capability of these Chiefs of carrying on jurisdiction in the interior if their power was supported ?—I think you could not have a wiser thing. They are very loyal, and you can easily lead them with a little tact.

6453. But has their influence not been so much destroyed by what has taken place of recent years that it would be impossible to restore it ?—Their subjects are always very loyal: I think there would be no trouble about it.

6454. You said you did not know very much about the Mendis: the character of the rising down there seems very different to that in the other portion: none of the missionaries were killed: if Bai Bureh had intended to kill them he could have done it ?—Nothing could have saved them.

6455. It has been said that this rising in its entirety was a design to get rid of the the English ?—It is not worth refuting. All these Chiefs would do anything for an Englishman. I have lived among them for years.

6456. What is the root of their favour to the English ?—They say their great-grandfathers and their fathers were under the English, and they must be.

6457. The people further north, who have lately come under the Protectorate, do not know us yet ?—They know about us.

6458. Have you formed any views on the subject of opening up the interior by British capital ?—I am interested in Harris's and Dove's concessions. The way would be to go to the Chiefs and say to them, 'We will give so much a pound for all the rubber you cut,' and they would work for all they were worth.

6459. Is it practicable to work such large areas as are comprised in these concessions ?

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Mr. MARCUS. —You do not work it all at once. You go to the different Chiefs and get them to supply labour, and open it up by degrees.

6460. You would not say there was any need to get a concession at all?—You could not get the capital invested without the papers to show.

1*st October* 1898.

Mr. MURRAY.

MR. MURRAY.

6461. My name is James Abraham Murray. I lived on the Cockboro river for a time at Tuaquoia's town, from 1892 to 1898. I was a shipwright. In April, Beah Boker called on my landlord, Tuaquoia. He said that we must go to Mabobo, and that he had heard a rumour of war from the Bagru district, and that it was coming to our part, and they had caught the Rev. D. Wilberforce. After that I went to Chief Beah Boker and asked him if he knew about the war. He told me that he did not know about it, but had heard that war was coming to those who collected the tax. He said they were going to fight against the place where the English barracks were; he said he did not know if he should join the war. After that I saw some of the war-boys near Matakong. They were with Say Lebbi, who is a chief on the Cockboro.

6462. How did you recognise them as war-boys?—They tie a palm leaf on their hands.

6463. Then you asked Say Lebbi what was the cause of the trouble?—He said that Berri sent war to them, and, of course, he must war, and he was taking a Frontier Policeman to show Berri that he was putting his hand to the war. He told me it was on account of the hut tax, and their having caught them and put them in irons, and plundered their towns.

6464. You say in your statement that Say Lebbi said that the District Commissioner had come over to the Bumpe land burning their towns, and that they would kill the Sierra Leonians in revenge for that?—Say Lebbi told me that before the war took place.

6465. Then Chief Beah Boker asked you to write a letter for him?—Yes; I wrote a letter to the District Commissioner at Kwalu when they plundered Beah Boker's town to ask the District Commissioner if he had authority to send policemen to go and plunder their town on account of the hut tax, and also another letter, that he had agreed to pay the tax and was about seeing the head people of the country.

6466. This letter you wrote to the District Commissioner, was it sent to him?—Yes; the messengers came back empty-handed and said they had driven them away and torn up the letter.

6467. Then the other letter was written after Beah Boker had been discharged from prison at Sembehun?—Yes.

6468. Who else was in prison with him at Sembehun?—Say Lebbi and Ka Rubbi.

6469. Why were they there?—On account of the hut tax, because they are headmen of the country.

6470. Do you remember being at Mokobo when some policemen came?—Yes; they came and plundered the town. A corporal and three Frontier Police with about thirty country people from Nancy Tucker's place; they took cattle and sheep. I asked one of the Frontier Police what caused this: he said the Captain had ordered them to come and plunder the town.

6471. What did the people at Makobo do?—They ran away into the bush.

6472. About the same time in March you remember meeting a Frontier Policeman?—Two Frontier Police came from Sembehun and met me at Matakang; they had a boy with them with some goods; the boy asked me to speak for him with the Frontier Police; he said he came from Mafouri, and these people had caught his father.

6473. Did you speak to the Police?—I asked a young man, brother of Sergeant Coker, who was directing the police, who had sent him. This young man said he was sent by Sergeant Coker to go and arrest a man, and as they did not find him Sergeant Coker and

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Nancy Tucker had given them orders to take anything that was in the town. Just then I heard a noise and saw some of the country people taking two boys who were with the police; they took them to their chief, and next day the chief sent them back across the river. Mr. Murray.

6474. Then a little after this you heard something about towns being burned in the Bumpe district?—The Captain came down to Mabobo and met a man carrying a sword in his hand and tried to take it from him, and the man refused to give it up, so he shot him. At Mafouri a sick woman and two children were burned. They met a man brushing his farm and shot him. Another man ran away when he saw the police and hid himself under a root, and the Captain shot through the root and broke his head.

6475. People were saying these things?—Yes; I did not see them myself.

6476. Was it general talk?—Yes; the people from these towns fled to Tuaquoia.

6477. You paid your tax?—Yes. When the war came I got away; but I had a narrow escape.

Mr. King.

Mr. King.

6478. My name is James Augustus King. I was a trader at Gendema in the Shengay district on the Tucker river. I began trading in 1887. Before that I was a missionary in the Shengay mission. I began that in 1883. I know the Sherbro language. Before 1883 people generally sent up to the Mendi country and bought slaves for cotton goods. In 1883 they did so. About 1890 it became generally known in the country that the British Government was against slavery. Since then the custom of going up and down ceased. One or two people used to go stealthily, but it ceased to be a general practice. People in the Shengay district where I was trading always say that the British regard slavery in a harder light than they (the natives) do. They only buy slaves to help them to brush their farms and do their work; that was the main reason they bought them. A great many of them used to sell their produce to us, and there was no complaint about slavery.

6479. Do you remember the Governor visiting Shengay in 1896, and Chief Caulker called a meeting?—Yes; I was present.

6480. Who were with the Governor?—Mr. Jacob Lewis was the confidential clerk.

6481. Was there an interpreter?—I think it was Chief Caulker himself on that occasion.

6482. Was Bishop Smith there?—I do not think I saw the bishop.

6483. Was there anybody else?—Yes; but I did not know who they were.

6484. What took place?—The Governor told the people that the Queen had been expending money largely in the country in order to protect them, and she had made up her mind to protect them more strongly, and open up the country and civilise it; but that in doing so she would require certain officers to be in the country to see after the laws. He said that he would divide the country into divisions. All this would mean expense, and about 1897 all traders would have to pay a trade licence of £2, and a spirit licence of £2, and in 1898 he would require every individual in the country to pay the hut tax: 5s. for every house of three rooms or less, and 10s. for four rooms or more. He said this money would be for the management of the country. If the people had anything to say let them say it. They would have two years to say it in. He also said that they were to buy no more slaves and that those who were in the possession of their respective masters could redeem themselves by paying £4, and the younger ones £2, and then they must be let free.

6485. Were there any Chiefs present besides Neale Caulker?—Richard Caulker and some elders from the Bumpe district, and George Domingo.

6486. Then nobody at that meeting said anything about the Ordinance?—They made no reply, but thanked the Governor for putting the matter before them.

6487. Did you become aware of Bana Lewis of Yonni calling a meeting soon after this?—Yes; he is looked upon by nearly all the Sherbro country as their Head Chief. I knew the time when he called a meeting at Yonni. Francis Caulker was present at that

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Mr. KING.

meeting, and Beah Boye of Mapoma, Kum Bassi of Bembelo, and Beah Kaindoh of Mando. I was not present.

6488. Who was your informant?—Francis Caulker.

6489. What was the object of the meeting?—Bana Lewis issued a summons to the people to collect a certain sum of money, in order to come to see the Governor. The people contributed produce, and I saw the produce with Beah Boye. I do not think that summons reached Neale Caulker.

6490. The object of this meeting was to subscribe money to enable the Chiefs to go to Freetown to see the Governor?—Yes.

6491. You met some of the Chiefs after that meeting yourself?—Yes; at Manjama. At that meeting they said they would not pay the hut tax, and they even threatened to war at that meeting. They said that their forefathers had never sold their country to the English Government, and that the English Government only made treaties with them, and promised to protect them, and not to interfere with them in the way that they were interfering. They said they would wage war with any of the Chiefs of the country who should venture to pay the hut tax. They said that by the Government asking them to pay tax, they would only become tenants of the Government, and not owners of the land. The people of Shengay were against the hut tax, but were prevailed on by Neale Caulker.

6492. Did you hear anything about a Porroh meeting?—Yes; a one-word Porroh The Porroh is the friendly society of the country. It is also made the means of governing the country. Only men are admitted into the Porroh, but even baby boys are admitted. They have what they call 'min,' a Sherbro word, meaning some spirit that comes from the other world, talking to the people on this side. They are initiated in the same way that the English have initiation in Oddfellows and friendly societies.

6493. How about the baby boys?—They are only taken into the bush and carried back into the town.

6494. Does that suffice to make them a member, or do they have to be initiated again?—That is sufficient. This Porroh society enacts laws for the government of the country. They keep the secret of the society from women to make them have regard for the laws. For instance, palm kernels are gathered mostly by women. At the time people are engaged in farming no kernels are allowed to be gathered. This 'min' is supposed to come and say that no kernels are to be cut till he comes again and says they may. The women now believe that the 'min' will be watching them, and they dare not gather the kernels.

6495. What would be the penalty for infringing?—Fining. Sometimes they fine you twenty or thirty heads of cattle (£60 or £90), and sometimes, in addition, a bullock or a sheep, or some rum. When any one has infringed, all the other people from that part of the country come to the meeting. The person who has infringed the law has to support all these people, as well as find the money for the fine. In former days, if you had no money, you would be sold privately to another country, and the people are then told that the 'min' has eaten you up, and you will not be seen again in this world.

6496. In old times was it not a common punishment to sell away a slave who had misbehaved himself to another country?—Yes; it was the hardest punishment they could give.

6497. You say this Porroh is peaceful?—Yes; when it is in session no war will enter the country, because these young men who are initiated have to remain in seclusion for eight or nine months before they are taken out of the bush. As soon as the 'min' begins to initiate these young men, he issues a song which is to be sung by the women during the day, while they are working on the road. Then the young men can hide themselves when they hear the women coming, as they are not allowed to see women during their seclusion. The men who are not initiated are not forced to join the society. At the same time the 'min' gives the song to the women, those men who are not initiated are given a whistle, which they have to blow, and then those who are in seclusion can hide

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themselves till the man has passed. During this period of seclusion each man is supported by his own family. The meal is said to be given to the 'min.' Each family brings rice, or cassada, or yams, to the town that is in session, and gives it to a woman who is appointed to cook it, and it is taken into the bush by a man. Those people who are being initiated are engaged in doing work not for themselves alone. If a Chief is brushing his farm, and requires the assistance of these young men, he takes a head of tobacco to the head of the Porroh, and says he requires the aid of the 'min' to help him in his farm. In the morning the alarm is given, and all the women leave the farm. The Chief supports the young men for the time they are working there. Each Porroh man is entitled to have their services free, on giving the head of tobacco. For instance, if this Porroh was in session at Freetown, and I was living twenty miles off, I could send to the head of the Porroh and ask to be helped in this way. They are kept in seclusion generally six to nine months—sometimes as little as two weeks, sometimes over a year.

6498. When they are taken to work in that way is any pay given?—Yes; when it is time for them to come out of the bush, the parents of each of the young men pay a piece of cloth. This is divided amongst the leading families who initiate these young men.

6499. You say that no war could come into the country when the Porroh is in session. But suppose a war comes in from outside?—I mean if there is any person friendly to the society with the enemy, they will tell them that the enemy is coming. It is a rule known all round that if a Porroh is in session no native war must be brought.

6500. Is there any Porroh among the Timinis?—Yes; all native tribes have their peaceful Porroh.

6501. Have you yourself become aware of it amongst the Timinis?—I have not been in the Timini country, but I know Timini men coming from Timini country who used to go and correct people in the Sherbro Porroh.

6502. Then there is another kind of Porroh?—Yes: called the Goyēla.

6503. What tribe is the word Porroh derived from?—I think from Timini. It means friendship or unity.

6504. About this other kind?—Goyēla is a Mendi word meaning 'one word.' It was instituted up in the Mendi country. It was first introduced into the Sherbro country, to my recollection, in 1884, and Chief Neale Caulker took very strong measures against it, and it was dissolved. It is a society that has a tendency only for evil. It is composed only of the elder people who have been initiated in this peaceful Porroh. The meaning of Goyēla is that whatever is done in it should be concealed for ever, and exposed nowhere except on pain of death. This is the Porroh that was convened by Bana Lewis at Yonni.

6505. Had you information from some one who attended that meeting?—Yes: Francis Caulker, Beah Boye of Mapoma, and Majanga. These are all leading men in the Mendi country. When these people returned from their first visit to the Governor in the early part of 1897, Chief Beah Boye told me they were not satisfied with the answer they had received. I asked what was to be done, and what was the object of his going so frequently to Bana Lewis. They said they only convened that Porroh just for the benefit of the country. But it is known all over the country that whenever there is a Goyēla nothing good will come from it.

6506. You say there was a second Goyēla?—They met every month after that.

6507. Was there a meeting in November?—Yes; that was the last time the Chiefs returned from seeing the Governor. Beah Boker and Francis Caulker told me the people were contemplating making war, and they would resist paying the hut tax, and would surely fall on any Chief who paid.

6508. Where did they say this?—At Manjama. We used to laugh at the idea, and joke with Francis Caulker, and say, 'Where would the war come from?' In February last year, when Captain Moore made his tour over the country and got to Shengay, Chief Neale Caulker told me that he told Captain Moore that the people were threatening to bring war against him if he paid the tax. Captain Moore said, 'Where will the war come from?'

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Mr. KING.

6509. Do you know anything about Captain Moore's tour?—I know he went from Kwalu to see some of the Chiefs and advise them to pay the hut tax. He was not collecting tax at that time.

6510. Then Neale Caulker advised his people to pay?—Yes; they paid upwards of £300, which was sent to Kwalu, I think, the Wednesday before the outbreak.

6511. Have you anything more to tell me?—I used to receive information about the way the Frontier Police treated the people: that they used to go round the country when they were on duty, and seize the people and take advantage of them, and take their things, and even tie them without cause, and bring men to suffer penalties of the law unjustly. Chief Nancy Tucker has usurped unlimited advantage over the people by extorting from them large sums of money, and telling the people that she is the Government Chief.

6512. Was it from one person you received this information?—From many.

6513. About what time?—Long before the hut tax began to be collected. Kanri Bahum of Yapoma in the Al Tucker river came to me and told me of the treatment he had received. Dr. Hood and Mr. Hudson know about it.

6514. Do you remember Corporal Brima Windy speaking to you?—I went to visit my factory at Pujehun, and Brima Windy was sent from Kwalu to Manjama. It was after Chief Francis Caulker, Beah Boker, and others had collected one shilling each hut, and sent it to Kwalu. After Captain Moore had returned from his tour the Chiefs met together, and imposed one shilling on every house in the country to pay the tax. They said they would not pay more than one shilling. The District Commissioner at Kwalu, though he accepted this amount, demanded the balance from the people. It was then the people met and protested against the payment of the tax. Brima Windy and two other police were sent to Manjama to demand this balance from the Chief. While I was talking to Brima Windy at Pujehun he told me he was not following the instructions he had received from Captain Fairtlough to shoot every Chief who resisted payment of the hut tax, and not to return to Kwalu without taking some news to him of what they had done in the country. These men had to use very hard measures, although they shot nobody. They collected about £50.

6515. On what sort of terms were you and Windy? What led him to talk to you in this way?—I met him at Pujehun. My factory had to pay ten shillings. He came into the house and sat down, and began to talk about the collection of the hut tax.

6516. Was it your belief that Windy was talking the truth?—I believe he was talking truth, because he told me of a certain town they had just burned, and I had heard about it before from another source.

6517. Do you believe that what he said about the orders to shoot people was true?—I was inclined to believe it at that time.

6518. Did you intimate any doubt to him?—I said, 'You are only three men; if you carry out your orders you will never reach Kwalu'; and he said, 'That is the reason we are not carrying out the order.'

6519. Anything else?—We Sierra Leonians were all regarded as being on the side of the Government because we always advised the people to pay the hut tax and not to resist. I spoke to the people in Gendema for several hours, and told them that my parents had paid house and land tax in Sierra Leone. I said that the Governors in Sierra Leone are not always long there; and if they paid the tax, and paid willingly, perhaps there might be another Governor who would listen to their complaints. We were always willing to advance the Chiefs any amount of money to pay the tax, and they were to pay us back in produce.

6520. Then if they killed you they would get rid of their debt?—We Sierra Leonians were killed so that there might be no evidence. The people who kill the traders are people whom they know.

6521. Did you ever hear any of them say that was the reason they killed the Sierra Leonians?—It is my own opinion.

6522. Did any of the Sierra Leonians ever advise country people and say, 'You had better

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hold out and not pay, and by and by it will be taken away'?—I never knew of it. In our part we were all glad that the people should pay. Mr. KING.

6523. Was the opening up of the Protectorate such as was expected to follow from the new laws likely to benefit traders?—Yes; because we consider it to be a benefit by the licence placed on trade.

6524. How was that a benefit?—The people in the country generally are taking to trade. If a man has about 10s. or so, he leaves his farm and takes to trade. We traders thought that when the Ordinance was passed, if the licence was paid, trade would run better, and there would not be so many native traders. The natives would have to work in the fields instead of trading.

6525. You thought it would have the effect of sending these people back to work?—Yes; to gather the produce that was wasting in the bush. The hut tax, to tell the truth, though we advised the people to pay, we considered among ourselves to be oppressive. The country is not yet in a civilised state. A single man may sometimes have a whole town of twenty or thirty houses; and for this single individual to have to pay 5s. for each house, we consider oppressive. The native man will never house all his wives in one house; if he has ten wives, he will build ten houses. The boys who are under him look to him to pay for them. Sometimes even they have more money than their masters. Another thing is, in the country, Chiefs will build several houses in a town to entertain strangers, so as to get a good name.

6526. Do they get paid?—No. We traders sometimes build ten or fifteen houses, and when strangers come to trade we give them clothes, food, water, and entertain them just as the natives would entertain us. What we thought the Governor would have done is, instead of taking the trouble of going up to the country himself, he could have summoned all the principal Chiefs, and make a demonstration with them, and entertain them and exchange thoughts with them. We believe that more money would have been realised from the country if the Governor had only called all the Chiefs together in town and put it before them that the Queen wanted each Chief to give aid, or, as the natives call it, 'food' at the end of every year, and leave the responsibility of getting this 'food' on each Chief for his own district.

6527. Do you mean that the Governor would have fixed the amount?—He could fix the amount, but at the same time do not make it compulsory. I say this from the experience I have had in the country. Chief Neale Caulker would send round at the end of every year after the rice harvest to the Headmen of the different towns for food; and in that way a large quantity of rice used to be taken down every year. Each man gave according to his ability: all contributed something. It is the idea of paying tax to the Government that the people do not like to hear. You should say, "The Queen comes to beg "you for food," that is the habit of the people in the country; it is not humiliating; native people take it as friendly terms.

6528. Then do you think that the Chiefs all over the country, if they were asked in that way year by year, would do so?—Yes; so long as the power is left in the hands of the Chief and the Government has nothing to do with it, they will contribute every year.

6529. That is if the Chiefs had the collection in their own hands?—Yes.

6530. Do you think there are many of the Chiefs who would make a profit for themselves in the collection?—There may be some.

6531. Would it be done to a large extent?—Not to any large extent. If 1s. at most was imposed for each house, I think they would pay it.

6532. You would not make it 1s. a hut uncompromisingly; you would leave it to the Chief?—Let each Chief collect the amount, and leave it to his judgment.

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1st *October* 1898.

Mr. Branton.

Mr. Branton.

6533. My name is John Branton. I am a trader at Mano on the Bumpe river. I began trading about seventeen years ago. Last year I heard about the licence and the hut tax. I paid my licence.

6534. After the hut tax became publicly known, was there much talk about it?—The natives talked too much. They said they were not capable of paying the tax; they were too poor. They say if they pay the tax, in a year they may stop their farms.

6535. You remember about last November being at your factory and seeing some policemen come in a canoe?—Yes. I saw two policemen with a lot of natives pulling very fast in the creek; they landed and rushed into the town, and rushed into a house and fell on the people, who were asleep. The man who was leading them said, 'These are the people against whom I complain.' They dragged them out. They were four countrymen. They handcuffed two and tied the others, and commenced beating and kicking them.

6536. Was that after they had handcuffed them?—Yes. They took them down to the wharf to take them to the station; they put them in the canoe. When the policemen wanted to get into the canoe and found there was not room, they threw the people out into the water. They said they must take them by land to Bumpe.

6537. Was the canoe upset when they threw the men into the water?—No; it was a small canoe, but it was not upset.

6538. Anything more?—What I know exactly is the hut tax. I heard the District Commissioner was going to Mafouri, because he heard some people were gathering there some time in February. As he was coming down he passed through Mabobo, and there he met a boy with a sword in his hand. He told the Frontier Police to take the sword away from him. The boy refused, and wanted to fight, so they were told to clear away, and he shot him. That is what I heard.

6539. Did only one person tell you this?—Plenty of people.

6540. Then you heard that he went to Mafouri?—Yes.

6541. Is it a big town?—Yes.

6542. One hundred houses?—I think not so many. Twenty houses is a big town in the country. Before they got to Mafouri the people heard they were coming, and had deserted the town. When they reached there they met nobody, so they put the town on fire.

6543. This you heard people talking of?—Yes.

6544. Do you know of your own knowledge that the town was burnt?—Yes; my landlord sent two boys to go and see if it was true, and they came back and said that Mafouri was burnt.

1st *October* 1898.

Mr. Lisk.

Mr. Lisk.

6545. My name is James Lisk. I am a Sierra Leonian. I was a trader at Sherbro. About the 21st or 22nd of February, Frontier Police went to collect tax at a town called Boma under Captain Carr. The Frontier Police left Boma, and went to a small town called Kobomp. I was close by at Yonni. There were only three houses in Kobomp, and they all belong to one man. When the Frontier Police went and asked him for the tax, he refused to pay. They tied him and flogged him. He ran away and swam across the river, and left his wives and children. The police took his wives and daughters. I heard about it; and when I went to ascertain the facts, the police heard of it, caught me, and tied me, because they said I was interfering with the Government by asking about them. I was kept from 6 P.M. to 9 P.M. A man I knew called Moses Taylor asked the Sergeant to loose me. Sergeant Smith said I must pay 10s. in cash and two demijohns of spirits. I paid that, and they loosed me.

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Mr. Lisk.

At Yonni, on 27th April about 8 A.M., I saw war-boys in the town. They came into my factory, and stripped off my clothes, and hit me on the head, and took away my goods and put them into a boat. When I saw them plundering, I ran away and got to a town called Masa, where I met some more war-boys. They caught me and tied me and flogged me. While I was crying, the head of the war-boys, called Gunda, a Mendi, came and took me from them. He dressed me in a war-dress and made me carry their things. I went with them. They said they were going to Bonthe. While on the way we stopped at Garinga and slept there. That was on the 28th April. In the morning a messenger came up from the interior and told the warriors that some of the chiefs of the Kittum river were on the side of the English. So they gave up the idea of going to Bonthe, and went up the river to kill these Mendis who were on the side of the English. Among them were Momo Jah of Pujehun, Momo Kiki of Yonni, and Bokai Dobo of Boma. One of these war-boys, a countryman called Bana, whom I had known before, called me and said, 'James, since Sierra Leone traders are trading here, did you ever see war?' I said, No. He said, 'This comes from the hut tax. See that house there, it has got no window and no door, and they say we must pay 5s. for it. That brings the war.' Gunda said they did not want English in the country, but they wanted French, because they would not ask them for tax; the French are agreeable. We stopped at Sinju on 2nd May. Those who were for the English defeated Gunda's people; so they turned back and came to Masa. They went to attack Mambo on 8th May, and killed a Sierra Leonian that they caught. Mambo is Moma Jah's wharf. There were about 17,000 war-boys in this party. When we left, Mambo wanted to go to Boma. We were far up in the interior. I got up one night and got away to Cape Mount, and went to the Governor there, and he gave me a paper, and I was brought to town.

6546. How did the war-boys let you go without killing you?—I can speak Mendi. They laid me down on the ground and wanted to cut my throat, but I pretended I was a Mendi, and one of the men said, 'Do not do it; he is a Mendi.'

6547. Did you hear why they killed Sierra Leone people?—They said the Sierra Leone people are with the English, and they all agree with Captain Carr and the Governor about the hut tax.

YOMRAH.

YOMRAH.

1*st October* 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

6548. My name is Yomrah of Ro Madonkia. I am a farmer.

6549. Do you remember giving evidence before the District Commissioner at Waterloo six months ago?—Yes.

5550. Was it about a man getting hit by a bullet?—Yes; Pa Sisay.

6551. Tell me what happened to Pa Sisay?—I was at my farm one Monday morning. We went to a little hut. While we were in that small hut, after a little time we saw some Frontier Police coming. Pa Sisay got up.

6552. Is there a road near this hut?—Yes; quite close.

6553. Between the hut and the road, was it clear, so that you could see the road, or was it high bush?—You can see everything.

6554. Was anybody else sitting with you?—I and Pa Sisay.

6555. What happened?—Pa Sisay said, 'Look, Frontiers are coming'; he got up and looked at them. Then the white man ordered the Frontiers to fire when Pa Sisay tried to get back into the hut. I ran into the bush, and he fell down shot.

6556. If you ran into the bush, you could not have seen them shoot him?—When I was running to the bush, they fired three guns. I came back afterwards and reported it to the town. Pa Sisay had no gun or cutlass.

6557. Did you see the Frontiers?—Yes.

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YOMRAH.

6558. Were there a large number?—Plenty; more than ten.

6559. Can you say if there was a white officer with them?—Yes; I saw him, but I do not know him; they were carrying him in a hammock.

6560. Had Pa Sisay another name?—No.

6561. Was he not called Sisay Lenga?—No.

6562. Was anybody else by him when he was shot?—No; but when they went to take him to Waterloo, there were many people.

6563. Did you say that when Pa Sisay was hit, he was standing up?—Yes.

6564. If Pa Sisay said he was lying on a bench, would he be telling a lie?—He was sitting down.

6565. But you have just said he was standing up?—He was sitting down, and got up to look at the Frontiers.

6566. Had you and Pa Sisay any business together that morning?—I went to get palm wine.

6567. Does not Pa Sisay go by another name sometimes?—No.

6568. Do you not know him as George Williams?—Lenga, I think he is called.

6569. You were both sitting on this bench in front of the little hut?—I was in the hut; Pa Sisay was outside.

6570. Was any one in the hut besides you?—Only I.

6571. Was there more than one white officer?—Only one.

6572. Think well; was nobody else in the hut?—No.

6573. How is it that the District Commissioner at Waterloo has it that his wife and child were in the hut?—They were at Madonkia, and had not come yet to the farm.

6574. Did you give your evidence through an interpreter?—Yes; I do not know his name.

6575. Had you known Sisay before that?—I knew him very well; we all lived in one house.

6576. When Pa Sisay was hit, did he run into the bush?—He fell down; he did not go to the bush.

6577. Did you see Sisay after he had been hit?—Yes.

6578. Where was he hit?—In the nose.

6579. Where else?—They pulled the bullet from behind the ear.

6580. Did you come to the hospital at Waterloo and see them pull the bullet?—Yes.

6581. Did you see the bullet?—Yes.

6582. Describe it?—A small, round lead bullet, not very large.

6583. If Sisay said he did not see you at all, what would you think of that?—It made him half mad. They brought his son to him and said, 'This is your son,' and he said, 'No, it is not.'

6584. Have you seen Sisay since he got cured of his wound?—Yes.

6585. Have you and he ever talked together about this affair since he got well?—Yes; Sisay told me I must come when the police came for me.

6586. When did you speak to Sisay about this?—Yesterday; I did not want to come.

6587. Do you know a man called Momo who lived somewhere near?—There are many men called Momo who live near.

6588. Did you hear of a man called Momo getting hit by a bullet?—No.

SANTIGI SHELA.

SANTIGI SHELA.

3rd October 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

6589. My name is Santigi Shela of Kukuna on the Great Skarcies. My Chief, Alimami Bassi of Kukuna, has sent me to come to see you concerning the hut tax. That is why I come. I come to tell you that we do not refuse the hut tax, but the Frontier Police spoil

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everything in the country. Alimami Bassi is a friend of the English Government; but who does agree and who does not agree to pay the hut tax are all mixed up together. To take one man's country and give it to another Chief would not be right. Concerning the hut tax, whether you will or not you must pay. We will make no disturbance about the hut tax, we will only beg and pray that it be put at a lesser price. Some in our country do not know English money: they get a few palm kernels. We do not disobey the Government; we make roads and clean them, and make bridges. For the slave affair we do not come now, but the Frontier Police come and tie us.

6590. Have they been in your country?—Many of them. They are sent from Karene.

6591. What particularly do you complain about in the conduct of the Frontier Police?—At Basia they are tying and flogging people. They take a small boy out of our people and make him Headman over the right people.

6592. What case do you allude to where the Frontier Police made a Chief?—There was a Corporal plundering and tying people. Our King is a very old man, and is in charge of the town. We carried a complaint to Karene. They should not go and tie a man in his own country and flog him.

6593. Do you know of any particular instances when the Frontier Police tied anybody or flogged them?—Yes.

6594. Tell me some of these cases?—Yangi, our King's brother, and his son they tied, and a man called Yega.

6595. Was that recently?—Some time ago; less than a year ago.

6596. Was not complaint made to the District Commissioner?—The last man we complained about to Karene is in prison now.

6597. Do you say the tax is too much for people to pay in your country?—Yes, but not to disobey the Government. There is no money where we live unless we are farmers. The locusts eat up most, and what little is left we pay. Five shillings each hut is too much. We do not refuse to pay, but we are not able; that is the trouble.

6598. What do the people produce in your country?—Rice, cassada, and guinea corn, and a few palm kernels, but no kola or gum or rubber.

6599. Are the people making their farms now?—They are reaping now.

6600. When will the next planting season be?—May and June.

6601. Is there plenty of harvest this year except for the locusts?—Not much; when the locusts have once eaten it, it is not good.

6602. Have the locusts done much damage?—Yes; they have gone now.

6603. Do your people do any trade on the French side?—When we want to come back into English territory we have to pay 4s. 6d. for each cow.

6604. Then there is not much trade being done with the French country now?—No; we have no road to get into the interior except through French territory.

6605. How do you make your houses in that country?—We make them round, and put posts and mud and a grass roof. We have to make a new roof every year.

6606. How many houses does a man who is fairly well-off generally have?—Five or six; they are only mud. Some only have one hut.

6607. Has a Chief to make houses for all his followers?—Every man builds his own hut.

6608. But would the followers of a Chief expect the Chief to pay tax for their houses?—No; each man must pay his own. The Chief collects it.

6609. But can a Chief collect it before it falls due, or must he pay it first and collect it afterwards?—The Chief has to collect it to get sufficient to pay.

6610. But suppose the tax is due on 1st January, could the Chief have succeeded in collecting enough to pay it on that day?—The King would not get it in one day. Some try very hard before they get it. When I was at Kambia I met an officer coming to collect it, so I sent word to my King to say I had seen the officer and he was coming.

6611. Is this collection the first time it has been asked for at that place?—Yes; we

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SANTIGI SHELA. wrote a letter to the Chief. When we commence to reap our rice we will pay. Before then we will go back.

6612. The Chief himself can always know who can pay the full amount and who can not?—Yes; the King knows it. All the huts are in the Government book now, and if they do not pay the King will get trouble. The country is very poor.

6613. Could they not make it better by cultivating more of the land?—If it were not for the locusts we could get more rice.

6614. Does every man cultivate for himself or for the Chief?—Every man for himself.

6615. How is the Chief able to get food for himself and his followers?—The King has to feed his followers. Sometimes all the town will go and help the King cultivate his farm for one day. But the Frontier Police do trouble us.

6616. Do they still trouble you?—Yes; to put a little boy over us.

6617. Who do you mean by a little boy?—The Frontier Police.

6618. Are there many Frontier Police who have been boys with the King?—Mendis, Susus, Limbas, Timinis, all mix up to be Frontier Police.

6619. When you speak about reducing the hut tax, what do you think would be a reasonable sum?—I cannot settle it. I simply beg that it should be reduced.

6620. What amount do you think they could pay?—2s. a hut would be easier; if it was not for these locusts it would be much better.

6621. Have these locusts only come this last year?—For about ten years.

6622. Suppose the Frontier Police were taken away, how would the country be managed?—The Chiefs would keep the country; they would even collect the hut tax and bring it to the Government. It would be very good.

6623. Are the Chiefs strong enough to do it?—They would do it. If the country was in their hands without the Frontier Police, they would collect it without trouble.

6624. But then, suppose the Chief went to collect and someone said, 'No; I will not pay,' what would he do?—There would be no such thing. The King is very old now, but nobody ever disobeys him.

6625. But then are there no ill-conditioned boys who would say I will not pay?—No; in my country they cannot disobey me; how much more the King?

6626. Have Chiefs never any complaints about the disobedience of their people?—They know no such thing.

6627. Suppose the King says to his people, 'Go and clean that piece of road,' would they do it?—They would all go one time.

6628. Do many people live about Kukuna?—Yes.

YAMAH.

YAMAH.

3rd October 1898.

(Samuel R. Mudge interpreting.)

6629. My name is Yamah.

6630. Tell me about those things that happened before the war came?—I heard before, when I was in the country, at the time when the Kings of the country were taken over to Bandajuma for the pay palaver, they sent all round the country, 'Let our children break the barracks and take us from this place.' They sent a man with a burnt leaf to go round.

6631. Did this man say who sent him?—Chiefs Berri, Baha, Biriwa, Bandibrah, and Kokki, and Thomas Bongo. When the man came, after he had given this message, he said they told us not to talk woman palaver; not to make war, and not to buy slaves; we agreed; and then we have to pay for our houses; we would not agree, we shall fight on account of that.

6632. Did this messenger with the burnt leaf deliver his message in a formal way to any of the Chiefs?—They gathered an assembly in the Barri, and all the Chiefs of Waliu, and said, let the man deliver his message.

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6633. That was the message from Berri and the other Chiefs who were then in prison at Bandajuma, to the Chiefs of Waliu?—Yes. YAMAH.

6634. Have you told me the whole message that this man brought to the Chiefs of Waliu?—They say, when they are going, who gets stick must take stick; who gets gun must take gun; who gets cutlass must take cutlass; and who gets rope must take rope. Then they say that Sierra Leone people are white man's people, and they would take their trousers from their head; they would take their clothes, and make them wear country cloth.

6635. When this messenger gave this message to the Chiefs, did they make any answer?—They all went up to Bumpe, and the messenger went on to another town.

6636. What was the next thing?—While my husband was at Taninahu collecting debts, the Frontier Police caught Katta's son and said, 'Your father ran away from the tax; walk before us and show us where he is gone to.' Then they came up to a place called Semabu, King Battu's town. Then they say, 'Battu, you are King of this town, you are hiding Katta; bring him out.' Then they held Battu by his cloth. His son ran out and drew his sword, and said, 'You will not carry away my father.' Then the guide went and fetched more police.

6637. Were you there?—I was not a mile off.

6638. Tell me something you saw?—The man that was shot I saw with my own eyes; and a constable was killed; and I saw the policeman's uniform which was taken to the King of Bumpe.

6639. Was this before the war?—Yes; about three days before.

6640. Was this man who killed a policeman one of the country people, or one of the war-boys?—All the women fled to the bush; it is said to have been an inhabitant of Semabu who killed him.

6641. What was the next thing that happened?—When the fighting began, I ran to Taninahu and told my husband that war had broken out and that we should run away.

6642. For whom was the war intended?—For the white people and their subjects.

6643. What led them to say that?—They say Sierra Leoneans are white man's piccin and they must kill them. When the war happened we were separated and I was taken captive, and was taken to the house of the King, and in my presence the King sent for Commandant Hughes and his wife, and they were killed.

6644. Who was the Chief?—Laruba and Sukan of Imperri.

6645. Tell me about the sending for Mr. Hughes?—When he ran for the bush he was shot in the thigh. Then they went and brought him out of the bush to the town with his wife. They said, 'Hughes, you used to fine us.'

6646. You were under the charge of Sukan?—Of Laruba.

6647. Was Mr. Hughes brought to the place where you were stopping?—They were all put in stocks in the same house, but in different rooms. I did not go to the room where he was, but I could hear him asking for water.

6648. What did he say?—'Give me water to drink; do not kill me; let me make a book and send it; let the war finish.' They say, 'No, you always fined us, so we will fine you now.' Then they sent and cut his hand every day. Then they said, 'Let us go to Bobo's place,' and they killed him on the road going there.

6649. Were you there?—I was not on the road, but all the women were in the one place, and they came and told Mrs. Hughes, 'your husband was not able to walk, so we left him on the road.'

6650. What did they do with Mrs. Hughes?—She said, 'As you have killed my husband, take me away and kill me.' Then they took her and killed her.

6651. Did you see it?—Yes; it was quite close.

6652. Were there any of Mrs. Hughes' family present when they killed her?—No.

6653. Where was Mr. Hughes stationed at the time they caught him?—Jangalal, at Mr. Martin's place.

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YAMAH.

6654. What more?—After that the white people went with soldiers to Bogo, and burnt the towns, and the Chiefs who had taken us captive took us far away. When we were rooting grass from the rice, they said, 'you will walk in this farm till you are tired, because your husband paid the tax and brought this trouble on us.'

6655. Do you remember hiding one night near the Porro bush?—I never went there; because women are not allowed to go there.

6656. Anything else?—Then they took me and sold me in a village called Mokelpe with my daughter. I ran away, and they caught me, and took me to Masonki and put me in the stocks. That day Yoko's war came up to that country and they fled to the Mendi country. When I was there the Chief who took me as his wife, brought me to a village called Mobanja, and told the owner of the village to pay five heads of money because they had let my husband escape. They told me to show them where he was hiding. Then I ran away.

6657. Was there not a law made by the Chiefs that women were not to be killed?—They had killed a lot of women, till their own conscience told them they ought not to. Their medicine told them the war would not prosper. They even killed their own children because they spoke English.

6658. Did you see that?—I did not see it; it was only at Mafwe where their own children ran to the school house, that they put fire and killed their children.

6659. The children that belonged to the school ran to the house for protection?—All the civilised people went there and locked the house. Frontier Police were shooting at the natives from the windows, and when they had finished their ammunition, the natives piled up logs, and put kerosene, and set fire to it.

6660. Were you there?—No; The soldiers said they had seen the people piled up, roasted.

They said that Nyagua's son, Moogbi has gone up to the interior to buy war from the Sofas.

Katta of Waliu, Grubru's uncle was making palaver with Katta Lowawa, and saying, 'you stole this war from me, it is my war.'

6661. You say Katta was the man who started this war?—He is an old man, and used to plan out wicked things. He is Grubru's uncle.

6662. What is the source from which you learnt that Katta began the war?—It was he who ran from the Jong river to Bumpe and asked for the war. The people themselves say so.

6663. Which people?—All the native people. Katta himself says so. Katta of Waliu stirs them up to do wicked things, and then draws himself behind.

6664. The country people where you lived, did most of them join in the war?—The whole of them; it is the same war.

6665. From what you heard talked by the people what should you say made them fight?—The war is caused by the tax, the pay palaver.

6666. What is there about the pay palaver that people dislike so much?—They are poor and have no clothes, and their houses are not worth paying for.

6667. But still it is a big thing going to war, why did they not go and beg?—I do not know. They say they came here once, and the Governor drove them away.

6668. On what occasion did they say that?—When the Governor told them to pay they gathered money, and sent Bai Sherbro and some other Chiefs to come and see the Governor and state the nature of their country, and beg that they should not tax it at such an early time; but the Governor drove them away.

4th Oct. 1898.

LAMIN LAHI.

LAMIN LAHI.

6669. My name is Lamin Abdul Lahi of Juring on the Sulimah river. I was trading at Whedaro. I was one of the men appointed by Government to receive the hut tax. My

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own people in the country had me in their mind because they said I had joined the Government, that was after I had met Captain Carr at Sembehun, and he asked me to collect hut tax in the Sulimah country. All the people went against me for that. They had been saying they would not pay the tax; I talked to them and told them not to fight against the Government, and then they said I must have joined the Government. After the ten police I had with me had left, one morning about 5 A.M. I saw people coming from the over side when the war had commenced. I was at Whedaro, and saw them crossing over at Niamama. The people all came to me to help them; they said, 'Do you not know we have written a letter long ago to the Governor to say that we are quite willing to pay tax but we cannot.' It was sent through Lawyer Lewis. They say we must buy no more slaves, and stop woman palavers, and make roads and bridges, and we do it. You know all that very well, and you go and receive the hut tax, we will put you in the war too. You are a native of this country and yet you join the Government.' So they plundered my place.

6670. What people were these?—People of Mano and Sulima.

6671. Was any Chief amongst these people?—When the letter was written they were all there.

6672. You knew about the letter to Lawyer Lewis, I suppose, dated 18th December 1896?—Yes.

6673. Do you recognise the names of these Chiefs who signed the letter?—Yes.

6674. Were any of those amongst the Chiefs who were talking to you when they began to plunder?—The Chief of Manoh; but the crowd was too big, and my mind was not lying down at all.

6675. You recognised the Chief of Manoh?—Yes; he reminded me of the letter. I was present when it was written, just after the death of my father. He said all those people who had 10s., and wanted to trade, cannot pay the £2 license; that I had paid the license and was doing a big business with Europe. He said, 'You are always the first to pay whenever the Government asked for it; we suspect you are the first man to tell the Government. You saw us write this letter, and now you are receiving the palm kernels. A man may have six houses, but he may not be able to pay for all. If it was made less, we might try. Every law the Government have put on us we have obeyed.'

6676. Did they seem very vexed with you?—Yes; everybody in the country knows it. Before the Government took the country my father was one of the big Chiefs. They are all vexed with me now.

6677. After they told you in this way why they were against you, what did they do?—They plundered the place, and I had to escape to the bush. I went across the Mano river.

6678. What was the furthest place you reached?—I went through the bush roads and got to Gambia, where I had a factory, and tried to remove the goods. I got them over to the Liberian side, but the Liberians gave them up to the war-boys.

6679. Did the war-boys go over to the other side?—No; the Chiefs over the other side made it up and divided the goods between them. They said to me the people want you and the goods. After a little while a man went to see the Chief, and said he would protect me and my partner, but could not protect my goods.

6680. Who was the Chief who protected you?—The Superintendent of Liberia.

6681. Then, I understand the war-boys at Whedaro would have killed you?—Yes.

6682. Were there any Sierra Leone people at Whedaro at that time?—Yes, one; P. G. Williams.

6683. Did he escape?—Yes; he had a revolver.

6684. What day of the month was it?—Saturday, 30th April.

6685. If I understand you, the war people were people of Niamama?—It was not from there the war people came down.

6686. Which were the people who really came upon you?—Perri people, Barri people, and Kittum people. I know some of them. The big men keep back, and send on their little boys to kill you, and then come forward. They know you would recognise them.

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LAMIN LAHI.

6687. Before this attack was made you had heard a good deal of grumbling about the tax from the people of your own country?—Yes.

6688. Did you hear anything about the combination of Chiefs who made this war?—It is rather far from us. We heard that Captain Carr went there, and they had a fight, and one of the police killed one of the men. I cannot remember the place.

6689. Did you hear about the circumstances of that fight; was there something about a man who would not give up his cutlass?—That was another thing altogether; that was at Chief José's Town.

6690. Then they began the war at the same time at a number of different places?—Yes; they commenced at Bumpe, and the Bumpe people came down and mixed with the others.

6691. Did you hear how they managed to begin in all those places at the same time?—When the war came to Bumpe, the Barri and the Perri people said they must come down to Whedaro and plunder the factory.

6692. You think the Bumpe people began it, and went on to Mafwe?—Yes.

6693. Then the people at each place they came to joined them?—Yes; they asked them if they had paid the tax, and if they did not join them, they killed them.

6694. Anything else you know about it?—I can only tell you what made the country so poor. There have been many wars in the country. The last was in Governor Hay's time. My father wrote to Governor Hay, and he went up as far as Cassie and called the Chiefs. He said, 'I hear there is war in the country, and I call you to give us protection, because we are afraid.' They said, 'There is no war in the country'; and not a week after he got back, the war swept the country.

6695. Which tribe made the war?—It was the same war Captain Crawford came to fight. It was the same Bumpe people; this is not the first time. That is what makes the country so poor. I have heard complaints of the Frontier Police.

6696. Have you heard many complaints?—Yes; many, many complaints, and even the District Commissioners, the Chiefs complain, pay no attention to them, not even answering them when they say good morning; and when they take a case before them they make them so small that the Chiefs are ashamed before the people that follow them.

6697. You mean they insult them in the presence of their people?—Yes; because the Chief has perhaps four or five wives and ten men with him; they complain about that. They are made too small. The District Commissioner at Bandajuma was sending for all the Chiefs to go and meet him for the settlement of the war; they were all going of their own accord, but he said, 'If you do not come at once, I will burn your towns.'

6698. Was that the time when he detained four or five Chiefs?—No; even the first time the way they used to treat the Chiefs in collecting the hut tax brought the war; they used to tie them up.

6699. Were you present on any occasion?—No; but when the District Commissioner gave me the hut tax to collect, I used to go to my people quietly, and if this war had not come, I could have coaxed them into paying.

6700. You did not go with policemen?—No; I left them in the town. I sent my boys to call the people; and told them to pay and then send in a petition.

6701. Do you think they are really too poor?—I think if the Government began with 1s. and gradually increased it; but this time they are really too poor; the country has not recovered. Some of them have only two or three boys, and some of them have a hundred houses to pay for. It is hard to pay at first. If you took it little by little the people would get used to it. But to catch them and force them to pay: it is the treatment.

6702. Have you policemen still with you?—No; the policemen left the place seven days before the war took place.

6703. Was it not you who dictated this letter of the Chiefs?—At the time my father died all the Chiefs met together and the Protectorate Ordinance met them at the same time. They called Cole, and they said, 'Who is going to put this letter to the Governor for us,' and I said they had better put in the hands of Sir S. Lewis. I was present when this letter

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(Shown letter, App. II. No. XV.) was written, and P. G. Williams was present. Cole wrote the letter, and read it to the Chiefs. LAMIN LAHI.

6704. They all concurred in the letter?—Yes; even after the letter had been sent they told me to go and see Sir S. Lewis.

6705. Do you know what he did after getting this letter: did he go to the Governor?—I do not know; I heard that he and the Governor were not on good terms. Then Momo Kiki came here after that letter, and when he was returning I was on the steamer, and asked him, and he said the Governor said he did not want to hear about this hut tax.

6706. Do you remember taking charge of a number of people who were returning from Liberia with police under Sergeant Macaulay?—Yes; that was after the war.

6707. You went down in a steamer?—By the *Tartar*, to Cape Mount, to Mano, and Juring, and up into the country.

6708. Did these people all get back to their own country?—We coaxed plenty back, but some are still staying in Liberia.

6709. Do you remember the Chiefs in the party?—(The Commissioner read the names and witness confirmed them.)

6710. Were there many followers?—There were a lot of little boys. The Government gave them seventy-five swords.

6711. There were twenty police under Sergeant Macaulay?—Yes; we drove away all the Mendis. Then the police went to Bandajuma.

6712. Had you any fighting?—Once: at Bahama, Tambahu's place.

6713. Then some remained in Liberia?—They were all coming back, but they heard another war was going through the country and would not come.

6714. How many factories have you?—At Sulima, Whedaro, and Gambia, and a depôt at Mano.

6715. You pay license for all of them?—Yes.

6716. Apart from license duty you had to pay and the tax, do you consider that the new ordinance would improve your profits as a trader or not?—If a man gets anything at all and takes it to talk before the District Commissioner, he does not listen to the black man properly. We profit by getting our debts collected, and the small traders are not able to pay the license.

6717. That is better for the big traders, but not the small ones?—Yes.

6718. What does this talking woman palaver mean?—If anybody takes your wife you must not say anything now. Formerly you had to go before the Chief and pay. There has been more immorality since that law has been taken away.

6719. Was it a heavy fine they used to pay?—£3 at first.

6720. It is not done at all now?—No. A Government official can come now and take your wife and you cannot say anything, and if you do he will write a long false letter about you. The District Commissioner has more power than the Governor. Bandajuma is too far to go from Sulima.

6721. Formerly, did you go to Bonthe?—The Chief heard the matter at Sulima.

6722. Did the Chief take care, and listen well to both sides?—Yes; a lot of them used to sit down to hear the case carefully, even if it took two days. Sometimes they had eight or ten to act as jurors. After they had talked the palaver, if you were wrong they fined you.

4th October 1898.

MR. MANNAH.

Mr. MANNAH.

6723. My name is John Rogers Mannah. I am a trader on the Mano River, and have been there for three and a-half years. My depôt is at Mano Salija. I was first established there, and not having sufficient stock I went up the river and opened at Karia and Disam on the Mano river. I am a native of the Gallinas. I am of opinion that the cause of the rising is due to the mode of collecting the tax and the conduct of the Frontier Police.

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Mr. MANNAH. When the ordinance was first made known, the Chiefs asked me what was to be done as they were not able to pay.

6724. What Chief?—The Gallinas Chiefs. I advised them to petition the Government, and I understood that on that advice they sent once or twice to the Government, but had no redress. I told them to pay and then complain.

6725. About what time did they consult you?—They were frequently consulting me between June and November 1897.

6726. Early this year in January the Frontier Police were going to collect the tax at a place called Bogbiabu in the Mendi country, King José's town. In that town they demanded all the cutlasses from the boys, and tied them up together to take away. One of the men came and drew his own from the bundle, and said he did not want to give it up. That man was shot by the police. Chief José took a white cloth and dipped it in this man's blood and sent it round the country to the other chiefs by a messenger to complain and explain what had happened. That was in January, I think. I came to Freetown in March this year and ordered some goods for Mano Salija by the steamer; but I went on by way of Kettum to await the arrival of the steamer at Gallinas. When I reached Cassie, a town on the Cassie Lake, I heard that the Frontier Police had gone to a town called Mendi to find a Chief Francis Farwoonda. Whilst they were in search of him they outraged a young girl and dislocated her leg. I also heard that the Frontier Police proceeded to Gendema, and that they were at Jawa, my late father's town. I proceeded there at once in order to prevent any clash between them and the people, but I found they were not there and that they were expected at Gendema with Captain Carr. They asked me to wait there and interpret for them when Captain Carr came. Meanwhile all the chiefs assembled and asked me what they should do now. I told them to pay the tax at once, and on no account to resist; but previously I had heard that they were fighting here. I told them on no account to imitate the Timinis in fighting the Government.

6727. Did those Chiefs speak about the fighting in the Timini country?—Yes; they had heard of it.

6728. Did they talk as if they were encouraged to fight by what they had heard?—They did not show any signs of resistance.

6729. You did not think they had formed any plans of resistance at that time?—No; they agreed to pay, and promised even after paying to send myself, Lamin, and a cousin to England to go and plead for them.

6730. Was that against the hut tax in particular, or against the whole Ordinance?—They said that the Government was oppressive. I told them that was a very good idea. We then learnt that Captain Carr was at Juring in the Sulima country. After which, in two days, and fearing that the steamer might call at Mano, I went, and hearing that Captain Carr was going there, I went with him. I came on to Juring, and all the Chiefs I had left at Gendema called the next day to see Captain Carr. Captain Carr asked them to pay the hut tax at once, and said that it was two months overdue. They said all right, they were willing to pay, but he must give them two months to take the kernels from the husks. He refused, and said if they did not pay he would take them to Bandajuma at once. He did not like to take them there, because it was not a nice place. Lamin Lahi interposed, and he promised to give them fifteen days. Within that time nearly all the Gallinas Chiefs had finished paying. I even had to advance forty-six bushels to pay for Koranto. All was considered quiet. On the night of the 30th April I heard the rumour that the war had taken Whedaro, and that they were pushing on to Mano Salija. A man came and warned me to clear out of my factory, and go over to the Liberian side for safety. I asked him where the war came from. He told me that the war was a general rising, and that Chief Nyagua and the Bumpe Chiefs were all in the war, and would send war against the English Government and all English-speaking people. He warned me because I had been kind to him.

6731. Was that one of your own townspeople?—No; a man from a place two hours' journey from my factory. He told me that he himself was a war-boy, and that everybody

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was in the war, and that as soon as the war reached Sulima and Mano, it would reach my factory too. So I thanked him, and crossed over to Liberian territory. I had only to cross the river to reach Liberian territory.

6732. The next day I came over to my factory, and sent on to a town called Jongoba, where there were five Frontier Police with a corporal stationed, and I asked them to come and protect me. They came and slept there that night. Next morning I issued out rice to them, and took a small canoe and came down to Mano Salija, because I heard the *Fox* was there. When I got down to the beach I heard that the bluejackets were bombarding the French factory, so I returned. On my way back I met these five Frontier Police coming down. They told me that the war-boys had come in such large numbers that they were not able to resist them, and had been obliged to take a canoe for their safety, and that my factory had been plundered. I kept on the Liberian side of the river, and went right up to Gambia to stay with my uncle Bessicai. I met Mr. Watson, the Liberian Superintendent of Cape Mount there. I heard that Bessicai had crossed over a lot of goods, and that the war-boys had come down to the water-side and demanded his goods. Mr. Watson asked Bessicai what was to be done, and Bessicai told him, 'I am under your protection.' So Mr. Watson asked the Chiefs on that side what was to be done. They told Mr. Watson to give them some time to consult, and he told the war-boys to wait till the next day, and he would give them an answer. The next day the native Chiefs told Mr. Watson that they did not want the war to cross over into Liberia, and advised him to give up the goods before the war crossed. So Mr. Watson told Bessicai that he could protect him, but not his goods. So the goods were given up. Bessicai and myself came further down. While we were coming down we heard that the war-boys came and asked why the people of the different towns had paid these hut tax kernels, and the people answered that they had to pay, because they could not resist the Government. They asked them if they liked paying or not, and if they said they did not like it, they said, 'Well, let us go and take back our pay.' We since learned that if they refused to join, the war-boys would have burned the town.

6733. When they plundered factories, did they burn or take away the kernels?—They took those that were on the beach over to the Liberian side and sold them.

6734. Did they burn the factories?—Yes.

6735. Then the kernels stored in the factories were burned?—They sold them all except about forty tons at Whedaro.

6736. But a good many must have been destroyed?—Yes; those that were far up country.

6737. You had several factories?—I had two, and a depôt at Mano.

6738. Did you pay licence for them?—Yes; and hut tax too. We also learned that the Perri people crossed the Sulima river with the war, and that this war had commenced at Bumpe. We had no intimation of it till the war reached Whedaro. I said before that the conduct of the Frontier Police had much to do with the rising. I remember in August 1894, on a visit to the Gallinas, in going up to a town called Niakanga, I met Corporal Harris, who was stationed at Jongwala, going to Kanja. We had to walk for a length of time on the same road. On the way we came across a little stream, quite fordable. Alongside that stream was a large rice farm. There were men on the rice farm driving away birds. He called them to come and cross him over on their shoulders, as there was no canoe there. The people did not come, either not hearing or refusing to come. After he crossed he gave the people a severe whipping.

6739. Then he caught some of the people?—Yes. The police go about with large hide whips in their hands.

6740. Where did you see that?—I have often seen it in the Mendi country.

6741. Have you seen them using these whips?—Only on this occasion. One of the police has been nicknamed Deriabu, which means in Mendi, 'I will flog you till you cover your feet.' I think the Chiefs have always been ill-treated by the police and the District Commissioner in general. In our country sometimes Chiefs are disgraced before their people. When the police come to a town they want the best of everything, and pay nothing for it.

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Mr. MANNAH.

6742. Suppose there had been no trouble, would you as a trader consider that the Protectorate Ordinance was an advantage to you, and tended to increase your profits?—I think, except for the mode of collecting the tax, it would have been all right.

6743. Were there many Sierra Leone people living near where you were?—Yes.

6744. And, apart from the licence duty, do they like the Ordinance?—No. The country people say that the country belongs to them.

6745. Did the Sierra Leone people advise the Chiefs not to pay?—I did not know of it. It was on my advice that Momo Kiki came to see the Governor last November.

ALIMAMI MOMOR.

ALIMAMI MOMOR.

4th October 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

6746. My name is Alimami Momor.

6747. You brought a message yesterday to Mr. Parkes?—Yes; Bai Bureh gave me the message.

6748. Did he give it to you personally?—Yes.

6749. You went to the head of the Timinis in Freetown first?—I am the head; and I went to visit Bai Bureh of my own accord.

6750. Did he talk to you much about the trouble?—Yes.

6751. What sort of mind did he appear to be in?—Bai Bureh's mind is for peace. He said he did not think to fight this war, because he was under the British flag; for a long time he has always obeyed what the English ordered. He is a warrior for the Queen. When he was asked for help in the Timini war by the Government he went. When he received orders to build barracks at Karene he went. But this hut tax nobody asks him. He was preparing to go and crown another king called Bai Sheka; while he was on the road to go he stopped behind his people a little. When his people were going they met white people. The white people called a boy called Tembili, asking him, 'What is in your hand?' The boy came to him, and he said, 'Bring your cutlass.' The boy did not consent to give up the cutlass. The white man took iron and struck him on the head, and he bled.

6752. You mean with the handle of the cutlass?—The iron was on a stick in the white man's hand.

6753. Did Bai Bureh say where it was that this happened?—He said it was at Romani. The boy cried out and the others came. The white man asked, 'What are you coming for? if you come I will fire on you.' The boys thought it was a joke. They came, and the police fired. After the order was given the police fired, and killed three of them, and one was wounded, but he did not fall down. Then the wounded man went and found Bai Bureh drinking palm-wine. He said, 'My father, they said they will come and take off your head; is it true? They have killed three of us. Because they have already killed three men dead and wounded me.' Then Bai Bureh got up, and came and asked what was the matter. No one answered him. They crossed the river. The next morning they burned some of his towns, and went back to Karene.

6754. Who was it that Bai Bureh asked, 'What is the matter?'—He followed the Government people to ask, but the party had gone on the day before.

6755. The party had gone away, and he did not overtake them?—Yes.

Then they came back again and burned some towns. This is the commencement of the matter. Nobody asked him; he had no cutlass or gun. He was for the Government. When he heard of your coming he was very glad, because they know no greater power than the English Government. Bai Bureh does not know what to do now. He is afraid. Who said Bai Bureh would come forward would not say true. They heard that you had come for peace; Bai Bureh was very glad. The Timini country is in trouble. We do not go to French country now. The rice we are planting and the palm-nuts we collect belong to Freetown. That the English should get up and go and destroy the country they are not

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satisfied. He was pleased when he saw me to come and explain his mind to you. He prayed to me, 'Do not go without making peace.' There is too much trouble in the country. Starvation has nearly finished them. People who have done a little work, when they heard this new regiment was sent to the Timini country, all ran away. ALIMAMI MOMOR.

6756. Is there some of that new regiment there?—Yes; in Port Lokko.

Bai Bureh says he does not blame the Governor; those the Governor sent he did not believe carried out the Governor's orders properly. He said when they behave badly the Governor did not send to inquire after him, the Governor simply sent war. He says he has no cutlass and no gun, and begs and prays you for peace. If two men have got a quarrel another man comes to make peace. The whole Timini country was very glad when you came. They heard the country would be full of soldiers; they all are confused. That is all Bai Bureh told me. Nobody sent me, I simply went and took five men with me, and tried very hard to see how this matter is. Trouble, trouble. I am not satisfied till I have explained this thing to you. Bai Bureh sent me to all Moslems in Freetown to beg the Governor. If any war is sent up they will be ruined.

6757. Did Bai Bureh in his talk make any allusion to the offer of a reward for his arrest?—He had heard of it.

6758. Did he say anything about it?—Yes. I stopped there three months before even I could see him. He did not trust me. Many people told Bai Bureh to kill me; but it was when they heard of you Bai Bureh wanted to report the matter to you.

6759. Then I understand you were up there three months before you saw Bai Bureh?—Yes.

6760. How did you and he succeed in meeting?—I was at Mangi. There is a man called Lahi Tabinki who is loyal to the Government, and wanted peace. When he saw me he was very glad, and he volunteered to go and see Bai Bureh. He stopped with Bai Bureh for nine days in the bush. Lahi Tabinki then told him Alimami Momor has come, and wants to let this matter be settled; he wants to see you. Bai Bureh said, 'What! Alimami from Freetown wants to see me; there is large money laid out to reward the man who catches me.' Lahi Tabinki said, 'Do not look at that; he does not come for that purpose; he comes with fair mind,' and he himself gave a present to keep the war-boys quiet.

6761. Did they want to do him mischief?—Yes.

Lahi Tabinki and Bai Bureh went and consulted, and he said, 'I am very glad to see you; if Alimami wants to see me, let him pass to that country which has been ruined by the Government; let him see what the Government has done. If a man come for peace he must pass through that place to see what has been done against me.' Lahi Tabinki said, 'No; if he pass through that country they will do him harm.' Bai Bureh said, 'I would not do anything that would bring him to harm.' Then he said, 'What did you come here for?' Lahi said, 'To let Alimami see you.' Bai Bureh said, 'But that man will catch me.' Lahi said, 'No such thing'; then Bai Bureh said, 'All right, I will consider.' Three days after he sent a messenger to me, Lahi Tabinki's son. Then I stopped again another twenty days. He sent the boy again then, and said Bai Bureh did not want to see me. About 1 A.M. one night one of Bai Bureh's wives came and knocked at the door of the house where I was living. They woke me up. I went to the woman, and she took my hand and said, 'Have you come to take my husband?' I said, 'No, simply to see him.' Then she led me to the bush. Then Bai Bureh himself appeared, with a small gun, and told me all this.

6762. Bai Bureh had a revolver?—Yes: I was afraid for myself, but Bai Bureh said, 'Do not be afraid.'

6763. Did Bai Bureh tell you about any previous messages that he had received from the Governor about surrendering himself?—No; I told the Governor before I went, and he said, 'If they kill you, I will have no responsibility: I did not send you.'

6764. Did Bai Bureh seem to be aware how much mischief had come out of this war?—Bai Bureh knows it well.

6765. Did he seem to feel that he was in any way to blame?—He did not think of that.

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ALIMAMI MOMOR He always says, 'The Government did not ask me anything but simply fought me. Bai Bureh said he had not anything against the Government: as they are fighting him still, let the Commissioner try to save him.'

6766. I understand then that all you have told me was the talk of Bai Bureh without your asking him questions?—Yes.

6767. Do you think that Bai Bureh would give himself up to abide the Queen's pleasure?—Bai Bureh now is in fear of his life.

6768. Are there many soldiers up in the country now?—Yes: they are at Karene, Port Lokko, and another place on the road between Karene and Port Lokko.

6769. Are the people in the country that was ruined beginning to make their farms at all?—Yes; some had begun but were confused when the soldiers came.

6770. What has become of all the women and children who fled?—It is very hard on them. Rice is 14s. a bushel. They ran away in all directions.

6771. Have any gone over to the French side?—No: Bai Bureh said they were not to go there, because he is for the English.

6772. Have you remembered thoroughly all the talk you had with Bai Bureh?—Yes: I do not want anybody to give me a penny, simply let the matter be settled.

Mr. COLE.

MR. COLE.

6773. My name is Funny Cole. I am a trader on the Mano river. I heard the tax brought the war. The natives said they were oppressed by the Frontier Police. When the tax fell, we heard the people were making war, and it came to the Sulima river on the 1st May. We heard reports for four days, and then we crossed to the Liberian side. My factory was plundered. The Liberian Superintendent protected us. The war-boys say, 'we come to drive out all traders.' The Superintendent asked them why they had the war; they said, 'on account of the tax.'

Mr LEWIS.

MR. LEWIS.

6774. My name is Francis Lewis. I was once a sergeant in the Frontier Police. I am a trader at Jenneh, on the Mano river, by the falls. We were doing our trading there when the time for the hut tax came round. We traders sent our tax and licence money to the District Commissioner at Bandajuma. We heard the natives complain that they had never had such a thing in the country before. Government had said that they must not talk woman palaver or buy slaves, but this is a hard task: but they kept on coming in paying. We heard that the people from Bumpe had brought in their kernels to Mafwe to pay, and then plundered it. Some one came and told us they were plundering and burning factories, and if you resisted them they would kill you. On 29th April we got a message that people were trying to cross at Whedaro. On 30th April they said they had crossed and were at Lamin's factory. About ten P.M. Lamin himself came. Then we began to cross over to the Liberian side. They said, 'We are going to drive away all the traders, because wherever the traders come the Government follows. We cannot pay this tax; our grandfathers knew nothing about it.'

Mr. WILLIAMS.

MR. WILLIAMS.

6775. My name is John Andrew Williams. I am a trader at Dea. On 20th April we heard that people were making war in the Bumpe country, and that they were coming down to cross over the Sulima river. I asked a native about it, what was the cause of it: he said, 'We are tired of the Government; they oppress us too much. They say we must not buy

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slaves or talk woman palaver: we agree, but that new law says we must pay for our houses: we cannot agree.' I said, 'Did not the Governor tell you you would have to pay when he came round?' He said, 'Yes, but we did not think he meant it.' If any war has broken out in the country, it is on account of the hut tax; they say the Government oppresses them, and their grandfathers did not know tax. They could not bear it; they would have to run away and go into the bush, so that when Government came they would not see them. On 1st May several war-boys came into my factory, and I made my escape to the Liberian side with my little box. They plundered my place. Mr. WILLIAMS.

6776. Were you and the other Sierra Leone people very much opposed to the tax?—No; we did not think it so hard; we were making a profit by trade; but it is hard for the natives.

6777. Would the licence and hut tax have the effect of making the trade better for the traders, or worse, if there had been no war?—The licence is good for trade.

6778. Because it prevents the small traders?—Yes.

6779. Suppose there had been no trouble, and the people had paid the hut tax willingly, it would not have affected trade?—Yes; because they would have to pay the tax with the kernels they collect for trade.

6780. Then, on the whole, do you think it was against the interests of the traders?—No: we were glad of the licence.

JENNISEN.

JENNISEN.

4th October 1898.

6781. (JENNISEN).—I am a trader at Jenneh. I was there when the war came. I was there when the Ordinance to pay tax was passed. We all paid our tax. While they were giving the kernels the people were complaining. While I was there I heard war had fallen in the Bumpe country, and that it had come to Mafwe. The people say this war is on account of this hut tax and the kernels they had paid; that was a week or two before the war. I heard people were coming to Whedaro Factory because they were paying kernels there. Before I had been able to get all my things over they came and plundered what I had not taken. The traders and the country people talked much about the tax before the war began. I cannot speak for the other rivers. The natives only came to us for our rent, but not to talk.

6782. Did you pay ground-rent for your factory?—Yes: 16s. to the Chief every month. We think it is too much, especially as we have to clean the roads and make the bridges in our part.

PA JOHN.

PA JOHN.

4th October 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

6783. My name is Pa John. I belong to Port Lokko. I was with the missionary there. I was their interpreter. When the war came the missionary left the place, and I stayed there. I can tell you how our country was all that time. The country was quiet; there was no dispute at all in the place. For a long long time our nation were well pleased to be with the white man. Whenever any King died in the country they gave notice to the Government; and if they want to make another King, they have to let Government know. We like the English. Only now there is unexpected war. We know they are for us; they think we are for them. We fear white man very much. They stopped wars. We took notice of this and liked it. They look on us elders as owners of Port Lokko. Our land is not far from Bai Bureh. Bai Bureh is a good warrior, and in all his warring he never made war on our land. Bai Bureh is a warrior: still he is fighting; but he is not going to fight all people in general. People used to come to Bai Bureh from different countries, and he would go and fight for them. The Susus asked him twice, and he went and fought for

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PA JOHN.

them. The Government asked him to fight for them, and he went. Then the people asked him to give up war and become a King. He said, 'I am a warrior;' then they crowned him as King, and he sat down in his country. There is no war between his country and the neighbouring peoples. They are all friends to this Government. They know this Government has done them many good things. The people are all for this Government. Whenever any King dies they have to tell the Government. The people all respect white men. They have got nothing. They live from hand to mouth. They have their little cloth and their little huts covered with grass. That is all they have. To bear a sword is a custom, and does not mean they are going to fight. It is the general custom to have a cutlass. Some men have a gun, but not to shoot anybody. The Government have told them all to give up war, and they have given up war. We only see war come from this Government, where we did not expect it. The country is ruined. People sleep in the bush. There is no one to speak for them now. If a great man who has more power than you holds you down, you cannot do anything for yourself. You have come from the Queen as our father to inquire what is the cause of fighting among your children. We pray to our mother. May God give her a long life. We thought when the fighting began that the Governor would inquire into it and put a stop to it. Your children make a dispute, and you go and help one against the other without inquiry. When we see you now, we all believe the Queen is our mother, as you come and inquire about this war. No black man is able to fight against a white man. The white man has more power. They have done us many many good things. We thank you for coming to listen to all our trouble. We do not know which way to walk. Who will save us now? None, none. Leave us alone a little. All our people are in the bush. When you are fighting a man, and he runs away to the bush, you are not able to do anything. I came to see you to explain my mind.

6784. Are your people making their farms round about Port Lokko?—Nobody is there. They are all scattered. Those in the small villages make a little farm; but they are running away and leaving them again now. No Timini is coming to fight the Government now; it is the Government who are fighting the Timinis. The 3rd West (W.I. Regiment) which have been sent by the Government have orders to go after the people who are hiding themselves. When the people run away, they will go and plunder. I saw them catch some women. I wanted to venture to ask the Captain who was in charge of the 3rd West not to let his men go to the bush, but I was afraid. I come to explain it to you. We have no town now; the huts have all been broken, and the war is still going on.

6785. Were you living in Port Lokko last February when Captain Sharpe came to collect hut tax?—Yes.

6786. Do you remember what occurred at that time?—Yes.

6787. About the time that Captain Sharpe arrested these Chiefs, it is said that Bai Bureh was coming to attack the town, and sent his war-boys?—There was no war.

6788. Do you remember when Chief Bokari Bamp was arrested?—Yes.

6789. Was there not a great crowd of people came into the town and all about that night, or the night after?—There was no war at the time; only people from the fakkis coming to hear the news brought about the hut tax.

6790. Suppose Captain Sharpe and the policemen were afraid of an attack from Bai Bureh; was there any foundation for that or not?—No foundation. When he arrested these Chiefs to take them down to Freetown, the next morning they crowned Sori Bunki as Chief to collect the tax, and gave him about twelve policemen. If anybody disobeyed Sori Bunki, they would have sent him to Freetown. They began to pay. It was very hard. Some had to pledge their children to pay the tax.

6791. From whom did they borrow the money?—Who had little money took to the man who had money, and said, 'Hold this child till I repay you.'

6792. Were they Sierra Leone people or natives?—From Sierra Leone traders.

6793. Did Sori Bunki arrest anybody for not paying the tax?—They had to pay. If they did not pay the very day, they might be fined £5.

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6794. Did Sori Bunki impose many fines of that sort?—Plenty.

6795. The people of Port Lokko did not like that at all?—No.

6796. What caused Sori Bunki to run from Port Lokko?—Because he knew he was not the right man to be King.

6797. Do you know what happened to Sori Bunki?—I heard he was carried to Bai Bureh.

6798. Was it his own townspeople who caught him?—No.

6799. Who was it?—I do not know—War.

6800. I heard that Sori Bunki's own townspeople caught him as he was escaping to Freetown, and drowned him in the river?—I have heard that. Those who caught him went to a distant place and killed him.

6801. His own townspeople?—People of the country. There are the Bangura family and the Kamara family, who are the right families. If a little boy of the Bangura family had been crowned by the District Commissioner, it would have been all right. To crown a wrong man for King will bring a gun. They made Santigi Doura Brima Sanda: that might make war. The Frontier Police ill treat the Chiefs and Fathers and Santigis. The King will be disgraced. When they went to call Bai Kobblo of Marampa, they tied him and put a bundle of bananas on his head. A man called Boka Bana paid 1s. to the Frontiers, and said, 'This man is a King.' He cooked food for them, and they passed on. Bai Forki at Port Lokko has been disgraced. He came down to Freetown to report it. When he came they did not mind what he said. He came to the Governor. He went to report the matter to Karene, and they did not mind what he said. These Frontier Police break all the people's minds. If they are sent to any King, the King and his Santigis will all hide. They will behave badly to the whole country. They fear them. They bring all the people to distrust the white man. They should not crown the wrong man.

6802. Are there any cases you know of where the wrong men have been made Kings except those of Sori Bunki and Brima Sanda?—Yengi Saio under Alimami Keha. He was taken to Karene and crowned. He has some police with him now, and is giving the people much trouble.

6803. What has Yengi Saio been doing that is troubling the people?—He is fining them. These things are going on in our country, and it is very hard. They would not dare do such things if the Government did not back them up. All this is in the Karene district by Captain Cave.

6804. If there had been no hut tax, would Bai Bureh be fighting the English?—Government did not ask Bai Bureh. They began to trouble the people at Port Lokko, but they did not go and ask Bai Bureh.

6805. Is Bai Bureh a special friend of the Port Lokko people?—Yes.

6806. Then if Port Lokko people were in trouble, he would count it as if it were his own trouble?—Yes.

6807. Is Bai Forki Paramount Chief over Port Lokko?—Yes.

6808. And if the Port Lokko Chiefs were asked to do something unusual, would it be the natural thing for them to consult Bai Forki?—Yes. If Bai Forki orders us to pay, we will pay; but Bai Forki was not present. If we pay, we might bring down war on ourselves, unless the others were of one mind.

6809. Were you present and heard Bokari Bamp say that?—Yes.

6810. Then there had been a great deal of talk about the hut tax before Captain Sharpe came to collect it?—When Bokari Bamp returned from the Jubilee at Freetown.

6811. In that talk what was the general feeling?—They said we are not able to do anything without Bai Forki's consent.

6812. Was there much discussion at Port Lokko about the hut tax before Captain Sharpe came to collect it?—They made some talk about it; said they were not able.

6813. Did the Sierra Leone traders join with the townspeople in the talk about the tax?—No.

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PA JOHN.

6814. Did the Sierra Leone traders say to the townspeople, 'You had better not pay the tax, and we will all get rid of it altogether?—No.

6th October 1898.

MRS. MACAULAY.

MRS. MACAULAY.

6815. My name is Susan Drusilla Macaulay. I am a trader at Bonthe. I first was at Jarrah Town, and then passed on to Yonni.

6816. A lot of people went to see the District Commissioner, Captain Carr?—Yes.

6817. What did they tell you about?—I was at Jarrah, and the people were going to see the Chief about the tax, and in a few days they came back and said the Chief was coming to town to see the Governor. I went on to Yonni. I saw the people all running away.

6818. Why?—Captain Carr said as they did not see Momo Jah to pay the tax, they began to plunder. I was there.

6819. Did they get the tax from Momo Jah?—No; at that time Momo Kiki had gone to town to see the Governor.

6820. You say the police plundered the town?—Yes; they caught sheep, and cows, and goats. They came to the town where I was and did the same thing.

6821. What did they do with them when they had caught them?—They carried them away.

6822. Had the tax been paid already in that town?—It was paid after that. After they had finished plundering they went off and did likewise at the other neighbouring towns, so the country shakes, and everybody hides in the bush.

6823. Did you hear about Josés town being burnt?—Yes.

6824. Do you know Josés town?—No; I was never there. When it was burnt, the people ran away, and then I heard about the burning of it.

6825. Do you remember some of the people bringing things to you to keep for them?—Some of the women brought boxes to me, and said that if Captain Carr came he would not harm me, because I was a Sierra Leone woman, and we were Queen's piccin. They said they feared that their town would be burnt as Josés town had been.

10th October 1898.

TESLIME WILLIAMS.

TESLIME WILLIAMS.

6826. My name is Teslime Williams. I am a trader at Masanka, in the Ribbi country. I assisted Inspector Johnson to collect the hut tax. We began on 2nd April, and finished on 16th April. We collected at many towns in the Ribbi district—Rokon, Rowal, Romneri, Malulum, Shebali, Mabendu, Saidigba, Shenguma, Yonni, Nokoss, Masampa, Makbelkop, Gbelo, Tike, Kangama, Mabomboosha, Masako, Makombe, Makombu, Mayambi, Maburi, Makashi, Mabanawele, Kabanga, Masabante, Pambol, Koyamani, Masanka. These towns are near each other. Some of them have ten houses, some six, some twenty, some two. We collected tax in all these places. I went with two policemen.

6827. Were you and Inspector Johnson in the same party, or did you separate?—He stayed at Masanka as headquarters, and gave me two policemen to go round and collect, and a corporal went round with two others. One of my cousins and an uncle also collected. After I brought the money I delivered it to Inspector Johnson, and he took it up to Kwalu on 16th April. I collected £108. On the 19th April we saw Sierra Leonians coming from Rotofunk to Masanka. They told us war was coming. On 1st May we got news that the war would be at Masanka that day. The Frontier Police called me and said, 'What shall we do?' I called my uncle Santigi Kana, and we decided that we must help the Frontier Police, and fight against the enemy. In the evening the Frontier Police gave me ten native

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men to go and watch: so I went: I knew the natives were quite ready to kill me and the police. TESLIME WILLIAMS.

6828. Which natives?—The people of the place where I was and strangers together: they watched to shoot me where I was. At that very time the war came on them in the night: I did not know it, as they did not touch me in the road. The Frontier Police fired on them, and as soon as I heard firing I ran to the town. I lost the people who they had given me to go and watch with. The Frontier Police scattered the natives who attacked them.

On 2nd May about eight o'clock on the road to Masanka I heard the news. We thought we would go and help the Frontier Police to fight against the enemy; so the Frontier Police sent me to meet them in the road. I did not know they really meant to kill me and the Frontier Police. I thought they had come to help. That was the country people of my own place. I could see by the war-talking and the face-looking that they had not come to assist us, so I ran and told the Frontier Police, and they all ran away but three, Bokari Susu, Bolasanda, and Jacob. I told them that the people who were sent for to assist has come to kill us. I put them in a canoe and crossed them all over. As soon as they had got away the war fell on the town and they caught me and said they would kill me. I asked why, and they said because my father was a Sierra Leonian, and I had helped to collect the tax and had crossed the Frontier Police over. In the meantime they plundered all our property and what we had collected for the tax. I think £27 remained, and Inspector Johnson had fined some of the people £18, which made £45 altogether. They plundered the whole of the goods of the Frontier Police and carried them away. When they wanted to kill me a man called Baoum and Robo said, 'We have already got property from him so we will let him escape.' So I ran into the bush. I heard they tried to fight against the soldiers who were going up to Kwalu. I went to my grandmother at Chatanisi, and they sent to beg her to send for me to surrender them to the British Government. I said I could not do it. When I refused they took four shillings in cash and begged me. I looked at it that if I did not do it they would kill my grandmother and mother, so I begged to surrender to the British Government. Then they gave me the duty to cross the soldiers at Masanka. I surrendered to Captain Langland at Songo Town. He sent a list down to the Governor; the Governor wrote to the District Commissioner at Waterloo to tell me that if I pleased to surrender I must take all the arms from the people. When I tried to take the arms from the people I could not, so I sent to the Governor that he must send me assistance; so the Governor sent Captain Carleton with twenty-two soldiers to assist me to collect the arms. When Captain Carleton arrived at Masanka he told me I must give him forty men to go with us. So I gave the forty men, and we collected all the arms in the Ribbi district. Captain Morrison got instructions from the Governor that I must supply the West Indian soldiers with fresh meat. After all this about six days ago I got a letter from Kwalu that I must go up there and talk what I know about the prisoners, and that one of my uncles at Masanka, Santigi Kana, told them that this little money was with me, and the war had already taken it away. Mr. Parkes' messenger told me that if I did not go up to Kwalu they would send Frontier Police and arrest me; so when the letter met me I was sick by the small-pox plague, and I could not go. I wrote a letter to tell them.

6829. When you were collecting the tax in these places did the people pay quite readily?—Yes; without objection.

6830. Was it these same people who joined afterwards with the war people to try and kill you?—Yes.

6831. Anything more?—About fifteen days ago—I live in the Ribbi district, and my mother and father and brothers live in the Bompe district—they plundered my father's and mother's property. I knew the people who did it, so I sent to Rotofunk for some soldiers to go and catch them. When the soldiers came a boy named Mustapha, with three other men, made a fight against the soldiers. The soldiers were just going to fire on them, but I took their guns from them and begged them not to.

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TESLIME WILLIAMS.

6832. Had these men any guns?—They had nothing but their fists. I and the soldiers went to report it to King Pa Kani, and the King said nobody must fight against the soldiers.

6833. Were they soldiers or policemen?—West African soldiers. The men who fought with their fists were Mustapha, Consa, Banaboum, and Conkoni. The soldiers said they must fine them. Mustapha begged the soldiers with 10s. not to report them. So after that, another day we crossed over to the Bompe district, and found the people who had plundered my father's and mother's property and caught some of them. I asked them 'Why do you do a thing like this?' They said, 'It is the war,' and that they must plunder Sierra Leonians. I told them that they must pay for the things or I would carry them to Kwalu; so I made them pay £5 each man.

6834. From whom did you get the soldiers with whom you went to catch the people who had plundered your father and mother?—From Sergeant Duncan. I got seven soldiers.

6835. How were they dressed?—West African. No boots, red cap with a tassel, black jacket.

6836. And you fined the people £5 each?—Yes; there were ten of them.

6837. Did they pay?—No; I gave them a paper for two months' time.

6838. What did you say in the paper?—A sort of agreement; they confessed they had plundered and agreed to pay.

BEAH BOYE.

BEAH BOYE.

11*th October* 1898.

(F. C. Dixon interpreting.)

6839. My name is Beah Boye, Chief of Yapoma. I have been told by Mr. Dixon to come to see you.

6840. Tell me all that you know about the trouble?—I have many things to say. Some time ago this year the District Commissioner from Kwalu came to pay me a visit and asked me to pay the hut tax. That was at Yapoma, on the Tucker river, south of Cockboro. The doctor at Kwalu first wrote a letter to me to ask me to pay; during the time I had this letter in my hand the District Commissioner came in person.

6841. Who was the District Commissioner?—Captain Moore. He went to Masanka and sent for me, and I went to him there. Then he asked me if I had paid the tax. I said, 'No.' He asked if I was willing to pay or not. I said I was willing. He then asked me to pay at once. There were more than twenty Frontiers with him. I said I was not ready. Captain Moore said I must pay at once. That was in February. Then Captain Moore pressed on me to pay. I said I wanted to put the matter before my big men. He said I must begin to pay something to him to show I was willing, and that if anybody refused to pay they would ill-treat him. I was afraid of that, so I gave him 19s. cash.

6842. How many houses in your town?—Sixteen houses.

6843. Have you more towns than one?—Other towns are under my control, but I reside at Yapoma.

6844. How many houses at Masanka?—Many.

6845. You paid 19s. on account of Masanka?—Yes. After I had paid that, Captain Moore told me he would only give me five days to pay the rest for my district.

6846. What other towns have you?—Mobambi, about nine houses; Mokunde, eight houses; Mobanabum, six houses; Tontollo, six houses; Gangara, two houses; Mokabe, sixteen houses.

6847. Then I understand you agreed to pay hut tax for all these towns, but you wanted some time?—Yes.

6848. Did Captain Moore agree to give you time?—Yes; he said he allowed five days. After this Captain Moore passed on to Manjama, on the way to Gihun. In the morning I followed Captain Moore to Gihun. Captain Moore called all the big people in that part, and they all gathered. He asked them the same question. They said they had not paid, but that they were willing to pay. He asked them to begin at once. They said they had

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nothing with them that day; but he insisted. They begged him to give them time; so he allowed them two weeks. After Captain Moore left Gihun he took some young men to carry loads without paying them. After that I tried and collected £40. This I took to Kwalu to Dr. Hood myself. Captain Moore was not there. Dr. Hood told me to return and try to get the balance remaining. I agreed and returned, and not very long afterwards a letter came from the District Commissioner at Kwalu to say that two Frontiers were at Manjama, and that I should take one of them to get one hundred labourers to send to Shengay. The letter came and was read to me. I then sent to all the big men round. Two days after I received this letter the outbreak took place, and there was no chance to get the labourers when the war came.

6849. The labourers were to be employed as carriers with the soldiers, I suppose?—I do not know what they wanted them for. When the war came they killed one of my subjects called Kong.

6850. The war people or the police?—The Mendis who came. When the war people came they threatened to kill me, and said I was the first to pay the hut tax in that part. I was hiding in the bush for a month.

6851. Why did they kill Kong?—Because they heard there was a Sierra Leone trader with him, and he chiefly had instructed all the Sierra Leone traders to hide. After the Mendis returned another war came from Kwalu, under control of Nancy Tucker.

6852. How was that?—Some Frontiers came from Kwalu to fight the war-boys that came into the district. I was saved by them. Had it not been for them I should have been killed.

6853. Were you taken to Kwalu?—No.

BEAH KAINDOH.

(Dixon interpreting.)

6854. My name is Beah Kaindoh, Chief of Mandoh. I have ten towns under me.

6855. What are their names?—Mandoh, sixteen houses; Baki, twelve houses; Piasama, six houses; Benki, ten houses; Bamor, twelve houses; Rongtuk, twelve houses; Komendi, three houses; Balalo, three houses; Kafimaie, eight houses.

6856. Can you give me any idea how many people live in each house?—Only husband, wife, and children. There might be as many as three or four children.

6857. What do you wish to tell me?—I was in the Ribbi country on a visit to Pa Kani, who is now dead. When I was there I received a letter from Captain Moore about the hut tax; but as I was not at home I had a spokesman who told Captain Moore's messenger that I was not at home, and that I had gone to Ribbi. The messenger said they must call me back in three days. They said it was too far. Then Captain Moore went to Yapoma and told Beah Boye he wanted the tax. After he had arranged with him, he passed on to me. He told my subjects that if they refused to go to Manjama he would punish them. My subjects said it was too far to go and tell me. After I came back from Ribbi my spokesman told me they had collected £4, and sent it to Beah Boye.

6858. Is Beah Boye over you?—Yes.

6859. What then?—After that the war took place. We got information that it was about the tax.

6860. How do you mean you got information?—When the war took place I hid in the bush. There I met a Sierra Leone trader called Goodman. After we had hidden in the bush all my property was taken to Mr. Goodman. We had a boat in the bush, but it was too small, and he and some of his children escaped to Dama. I got a small canoe afterwards. I was hiding for one month and eight days. After a long time I came out and saw some of my people, and asked them about the war. They said it was for those who had paid the tax.

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QUEH BARFITTA.

QUEH BARFITTA.

(Dixon interpreting.)

6861. My name is Queh Barfitta. Some time ago this year we were asked to pay the hut tax. I live at Walpallah on the Cockboro river, under Chief Neale Caulker.

6862. Who asked you to pay the hut tax?—Chief Caulker. After he asked me to pay Frontier Police were sent. They first met me at Banfi, and told me they were going to my place; so I followed them to Walpallah, and found that most of my people were not at home. I told the Frontier Police that I would take whatever I collected to my brother; but they said I must pay it to them. That day I paid the Frontiers £2, 10s.; the balance was 20s.; but most of the people were not there to pay. The Frontiers said they would call in two days' time. They came back in four days, but I was not at home. When I came in I was tied. I asked why did they tie me. They said because the amount was not paid. I said they ought not to have tied me. They tied my hands in front of me with ropes. I was kept tied for half a day.

6863. Are you the Chief of the town?—Yes. There are fourteen houses. I paid after they had tied me.

6864. Anything more?—The Frontier Police said I must give them a goat before they loosed me. I gave them a goat worth eight shillings. Not very long after I had paid this the war took place. When we heard the firing of guns, one of the young men called Pami went to see what it was, and told us that war had taken Nancy Tucker's place. We asked, 'What is the war for? The people said that it was for the tax, and that they would kill educated persons.

6865. Did the war come to you?—Yes; there were two Sierra Leone people at Walpallah with me, a school teacher and a young woman. I sent them away quietly in the night. After the Sierra Leone people started the war-boys rushed into the town. Most of the people and women ran into the bush. I myself was hidden in the bush. The war-boys told us that if anybody hide a Sierra Leonian they will kill him.

CANRAY TARSOE.

CANRAY TARSOE.

(Dixon interpreting.)

6866. My name is Canray Tarsoe. I am Headman of Mokelle, a town of ten houses on the Tucker river. I am under Chief Neale Caulker.

6867. How many people live in each house?—Husband and wife, and three or four children.

6868. Tell me what you wish to say?—Some time ago, Captain Moore came and told Chief Neale Caulker that his people should pay the hut tax. After we had paid the tax, we saw the war rushing in.

6869. Did the war come to you?—Yes; they captured one of my daughters, and my wife and boy, and took them away.

6870. Have they come back to you?—I do not know, because I was hiding in the bush myself. They would have caught me if I had not hidden myself. My wife was one of Caulker's family, and the war was for Caulker's family, because they had paid the tax.

QUEH KATE.

QUEH KATE.

(Dixon interpreting.)

6871. My name is Queh Kate, Headman of Mobete, on the Tucker river. There are twenty-eight houses in Mobete.

6872. How many people in each house?—Husband and wife, and two or three children.

6873. Tell me what you have got to say?—We were told to pay the tax and we paid. We paid Davis and Grant £4, 10s. There was a balance of £2, 10s., so they took me and

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tied me because I failed to pay the balance of £2, 10s. They tied my hands behind my back with twined ropes. QUEH KATE.

6874. For how long?—I do not know. I was taken to a town about two miles away. I had to walk over to the town tied. After I heard rumours of war, I ran away into the bush.

6875. Was the war coming to you?—Yes; it came because we paid the tax.

6876. Had you any Sierra Leone people with you?—No; all my property was plundered by the war-boys.

BEAH WILL. BEAH WILL

(Dixon interpreting.)

6877. My name is Beah Will, Headman of Rongtuk, in the Mandoh district, under Beah Kaindoh. There are eighteen houses in Rongtuk.

6878. What do you wish to tell me?—We paid the tax to Beah Kaindoh's spokesman, Kongomowah, and the money was taken over to Kwalu. After the payment of the hut tax the war rushed on us. That is the only trouble we have. We are under Chief Beah Kaindoh, and we paid the tax to him.

6879. How many houses did you pay for?—We gave £4, 10s.

SULIMANI. SULIMANI.

(Dixon interpreting.)

6880. My name is Sulimani of Motainke on the Cockboro river, in the Shengay district. There are thirty-four houses in Motainke.

6881. What happened?—Only the payment of the hut tax. After the payment of the tax the war rushed on us.

6882. To whom did you pay the hut tax?—To Davis and Corporal Grant, Frontier Police.

6883. Who were the people who brought the war on you?—Mendis from the interior, from Tikonko, and other places.

6884. Why did they bring war on you?—Because we paid the tax. I ran into the bush. We had not sufficient money to pay the tax. We took money on interest from the Sierra Leone people. It used to be very hard. The Frontier Police broke the houses.

6885. How much interest did you pay the Sierra Leone people?—We had to return 7s. for 5s. borrowed.

6886. What about the Frontier Police breaking houses?—When we paid the amount to the Frontier Police they broke the houses of those that failed to pay. Three houses were broken at Motainke, and a bullock was shot.

6887. Did the Frontier Police shoot the bullock?—Yes; Davis went and disturbed the bullock in an old house, and when it came out he shot it.

6888. Was Davis collecting with the Frontier Police?—Yes.

6889. How many police were there?—There were only two.

6890. Describe how the houses were broken?—They used to get sticks and strike the house till it fell down.

6891. Did they carry off the doors and windows?—No.

BANNA MITTER. BANNA MITTER.

(Dixon interpreting.)

6892. My name is Banna Mitter, Headman of Baki, on the Tucker river in the Mandoh district. There are eight houses in Baki.

6893. What do you wish to tell me?—I had paid £2 to Chief Beah Kaindoh as tax.

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BANNA MITTER.

6894. Were you under Chief Caulker?—No; under Beah Kaindoh.

6895. Did Beah Kaindoh collect by himself, or did he have policemen under him?—He sent his own messenger.

6896. What happened?—After the payment of the tax, the war took place, and when I heard of the war, being an old man, I ran away to Dama.

6897. Why did the war come upon you?—Because of the payment of the hut tax.

6898. What people brought the war?—Mendi people; we were told they came from Chief Berri.

SIACHO FURI.

SIACHO FURI.

12*th October* 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

6899. My name is Siacho Furi. I was under Sori Bunki. While we were at Port Lokko Sori Bunki's father got acquainted with the Bangura family, and a long time before he was acting as Alikali. When this hut tax became known, Captain Sharpe came down and asked Bokari Bamp for the hut tax. Bokari Bamp said he would consider. In three days time Captain Sharpe called them again, and asked Bokari Bamp if he consented to pay. Bokari Bamp said, 'My people say they are not able.' Then he was arrested. He was in custody for two days. Then he was told to consult with the people again. Captain Sharpe said, 'Who has power in this country now, the French Government or the English?' Bokari Bamp said the English. Then Captain Sharpe said, 'Well, pay the hut tax.' 'Sometime ago the country was full of war; who made peace?' Bokari Bamp said, 'The English.' Then Captain Sharpe said, 'Pay the hut tax.' Bokari Bamp went to consult again, but the people did not agree. Then Captain Sharpe called Bokari Bamp and the four other Chiefs; all the others were sent away, and the five Chiefs were brought to Freetown.

6900. Were they arrested and taken away to the canoe directly after Captain Sharpe cleared the room?—Before we got to our houses they were put in the boat. Next morning Captain Sharpe called all the principal people; most of the big people had run away. Sori Bunki, Bimba, Pa Fonte, and I came. Captain Sharpe asked about the big people, and he then wrote a paper and called Sori Bunki, and said, 'I place you in the room of Bokari Bamp. When I told him about the hut tax he did not consent, so I sent them to prison for punishment. You have to carry this thing out, and take charge of the people.' Sori Bunki said, 'My father acted for seven years. If it did happen that these people are prisoners in Freetown and you put me in the same place, I shall be very glad.' Captain Sharpe then appointed him, and we agreed to it. We then collected the hut tax in Port Lokko.

6901. Was it very difficult to collect?—Some of them were not able to pay for two weeks.

6902. Did Sori Bunki put any fines on those that did not pay at once?—Yes. Some who should have paid 5s. had to pay 8s. I saw him fine three men.

6903. What was it caused the people to run away from the town?—At the same time some officers from Freetown went after Bai Bureh.

6904. You mean when Major Tarbet and Captain Sharpe went to arrest Bai Bureh?—Yes.

6905. How did that make people run away from Port Lokko?—When they went to Bai Bureh they fought on the way; some Port Lokko people went to Bai Bureh, as I heard, to invite him to come and fight Sori Bunki.

6906. Was that after Captain Sharpe had had the fight, or before?—After.

6907. Who do you mean by the big people?—Sierra Leone and Timini people. We heard that all the roads were blocked against the Government. We sent a messenger, and he was caught by Bai Bureh's people; we sent another messenger, and they caught

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him too. There was nobody left in Port Lokko. We considered the matter. There was no messenger. I myself would go to Freetown to ask. Sori Bunki and I and my little brother went in a mission boat. When we got to Romakori, some party from Port Lokko came to attack us. Bai Bangura and Bai Kamara sent their boys, and they caught Sori Bunki. SIACHO FURI.

6908. Did they stop the boat?—Yes; they took him out. We swam from the boat and went into the bush.

6909. What did they do with Sori Bunki?—They carried him away and killed him. They tied a heavy stone and threw him into the river.

6910. Did you see his body?—No.

6911. How do you know they drowned him?—One of our people was there.

6912. Then you can say for a fact that he was taken, not by Bai Bureh's people, but by Port Lokko people?—Yes.

6913. What was the cause of this great animosity of the Port Lokko people against Sori Bunki?—They said Sori Bunki was fond of the Government, and brought the hut tax.

6914. You remember when Bokari Bamp was detained, he was detained over night, one night in Captain Sharpe's house?—Yes; for two days.

6915. Do you remember that there was a great commotion on that night, through people coming into Port Lokko?—Plenty.

6916. Do you know what people those were?—The country people; those that lived in the Fakkis.

6917. Was there any reason to suppose at that time that these were Bai Bureh's people?—No.

When we were driven away by the people we came to Freetown. Our property is all in the hands of Bai Bangura. All the huts have been burned. The Government burnt Port Lokko, and Bai Bangura burnt Port Lokko.

6918. Why did Bai Bangura burn Port Lokko?—Because Sori Bunki was appointed Chief over them. Bangura is the right man.

6919. Was that solely because Sori Bunki was not the right man, or was it that he favoured the English too much?—They said Sori Bunki brought the Government into Port Lokko.

6920. I presume from that that they did not like the English Government in Port Lokko?—They liked it except for the hut tax.

6921. Did the arrest of Bokari Bamp and the other Chiefs cause a good deal of excitement in Port Lokko?—That was the reason of all this; it annoyed the people.

6922. Did they resent it because the Chiefs were arrested or because they were arrested on account of the hut tax?—It is not their custom to arrest Chiefs. The bringing of these chiefs made the people angry.

6923. They were displeased with the English Government on account of the arrest of the Chiefs and for the hut tax; was there nothing else?—There was no other grievance.

6924. Nothing that the English had done previously?—There was no quarrel before.

6925. How was it then that the hut tax made such a very strong quarrel?—From our forefathers it is not the custom to pay anything. If we see hut tax unexpectedly the whole country trembles.

6926. There is no other explanation of the hatred of the hut tax except that they were unaccustomed?—That is all. They can tell no other grievance that makes the country tremble more than this hut tax.

6927. Suppose Government, instead of making the hut tax, had come to the chiefs and said, 'We want money for roads, etc., look round and see what you can give us'; what would they have said?—If it were so the people would be very glad.

6928. Would they have answered, 'We can give you from this town so much and from

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SIACHO FURI.

that town so much,' or, would they have said, 'We will try,' and not done anything? —They would find so much in each town, and the king would bring it to the Government.

6929. Anything more?—The Bangura family and the Government are old friends. If they bring any order to the Bangura family they must talk it quietly. They have come to ruin now. On account of Sori Bunki's death too, his family are looking to the English Government and are not satisfied.

6930. Is Bai Bureh a particular friend of the Port Lokko people that he should take them under his protection?—Beforetime they were friends.

6931. Was it so that Bai Bureh would make war on the English because the Port Lokko Chiefs had been arrested?—I cannot answer directly, because when this hut tax came on they called Bai Bureh first, and Bai Kompah of Kwaia. If anything happens, all the Chiefs will meet and talk on the matter. Bai Kompah did not go. Bai Bureh was more than ten days in Port Lokko before the hut tax came on.

6932. Do you mean that they were consulting about the hut tax before Captain Sharpe came for payment?—Renner had been sent by the Government and the Chiefs collected themselves together.

6933. When these Chiefs met they were all against the hut tax I suppose?—Yes.

6934. And they petitioned the Government?—Yes.

6935. They did nothing else at that time?—No.

AUSUMANI FURI.

AUSUMANI FURI.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

6936. My name is Ausumani Furi.

6937. Were you one of those who went in the canoe with Sori Bunki when he tried to go to Freetown?—Yes.

6938. Tell me what happened?—We landed at Romakausili where Sori Bunki left his wives. Then we went in the mission boat, and when we came to Romakori about 8 P.M. we heard a party from Port Lokko coming after us.

6939. You left the canoe and got into the mission boat?—Yes; to get quicker.

6940. You heard the people coming when you were in the mission boat?—Yes; we had already landed at Romakori; we were going to stop there that night on account of the tide. We went into the house. They sent a boy, Ali, to say to Sori Bunki, 'We are looking for you.' Sori Bunki said, 'What for?' They said, 'We have come to take you back to Port Lokko; Captain Sharpe is there.' Sori Bunki said, 'It is not true, Captain Sharpe would have written.' Then they caught Sori Bunki.

6941. What people were they who came and caught Sori Bunki?—From Port Lokko.

6942. What more happened?—We ran into the bush. I got into the canoe. They said, 'He is in the canoe still; he has a white cap on.' I said, 'I am a Mandingo from far off, look at the rubber in the canoe.' They said, 'This is the boat which was coming to take the new king to Freetown, we must take it back to Port Lokko.' I paid them five shillings and they let me go.

6943. Did you see what these people did with Sori Bunki?—They tied him and put him into the canoe naked, and took him away.

6944. Did you see what they did with him?—No; I came the same night to Freetown.

6945. Then what you can tell me is that Sori Bunki was caught by Port Lokko people and they put him in a canoe as if they were going to take him away?—Yes.

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12*th October* 1898.

Mr. Brooks, Superintendent of Civil Police.

Mr. Brooks.

6946. My name is George Lawrence Brooks. I am Superintendent of the Sierra Leone Police and Sheriff of the Colony.

6947. How long have you held this appointment?—Four years on the 19th October.

6948. You have been absent on leave?—Twice.

6949. What was the last occasion?—Twenty-seventh December 1897 to 18th July 1898.

6950. What is the establishment of your force?—Two hundred and fifty to two hundred and sixty is the ordinary establishment. At the present time there are twenty-eight special constables. Superintendent, Inspector, native Sub-Inspector, nineteen sergeants, ninety first-class and one hundred and thirty second-class constables.

6951. What information can you give me with regard to the sale of gunpowder in Freetown?—It is governed by Ordinance: not more than 100 lbs. must be kept on premises at one time, and that must be in a copper vessel. When landed it passes through the Customs and is put in the Magazine from where it can only be withdrawn on order.

6952. Is any licence required to sell gunpowder?—Permission has to be obtained.

6953. Is there any register or list of persons?—The Collector of Customs would know to whom every keg of powder was imported. Gunpowder has to be landed at a particular place: otherwise prosecution ensues and the powder is forfeited.

6954. There was a time during this year when the carrying of gunpowder into the Protectorate was prohibited?—I believe so: that prohibition is still in force.

6955. Have there been any instances of contravention come to your knowledge since you came back?—No; the stores were cleared before I returned and gunpowder is only allowed out of the magazine by permission from the Governor.

Mr. Robin, Inspector of Civil Police.

Mr. Robin.

6956. My name is James Mayne Robin. I am Inspector of Sierra Leone Police.

6957. Was there recently any prohibition on the importation of gunpowder into the Protectorate?—A Proclamation was issued last February to the effect that gunpowder was not to be imported into the Protectorate.

6958. Was it allowed to be imported into Freetown over the sea?—There was nothing to prevent the importation of gunpowder into the Colony.

6959. Did that Proclamation apply to guns also?—Guns and ammunition of all sorts.

6960. That Proclamation is still in force?—I think so.

6961. Are you aware of any instances of contravention?—We had three cases of gunpowder during May. In one case 150 lbs. was seized on the highway, Kissy road. We could not prosecute under the terms of the Proclamation as they were still in the Colony; but we were pretty well certain it was going to the Protectorate.

6962. Were there none before May?—No; both of these cases were of powder seized during the night.

6963. In what direction was it being conveyed?—To Waterloo.

6964. To what part would that lead?—Kwalu district. Another lot was seized at Clines town to be shipped by canoe. In the first instance one of the labourers said they were going to take it to Kissy Kissy, right up towards Falaba. We got convictions in each case.

6965. Convictions against the carriers of the powder?—Against the principals. We found out from the carrier who brought it: he pointed out a house in Korso town which was searched and two empty kegs were found.

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Mr. ROBIN.

6966. I presume the police have instructions to look out for anything they might suspect to be gunpowder or ammunition?—Yes: after the first seizure which happened about the first week in May, I had a special picket of three men placed on Kissy road bridge.

6967. Are merchants who sell gunpowder bound to keep a book or register?—I think so: it is open to inspection by the Collector of Customs. With regard to powder there is one Ordinance which has been repealed, which would have been of great assistance to the Police.

6968. Is this one of the cases to which you allude?—(Paper handed to witness.) Yes: this is a smaller case connected with one of the others.

6969. Then there are two others?—Yes; one of which we did not prosecute as it was 4 or 5 lbs. which had been bought by a blaster: a man we knew about. There was another case that happened in Clines town.

13*th October* 1898.

Mr. BISHOP.

MR. BISHOP.

6970. My name is Theophilus Colenso Bishop. I am a member of the Legislative Council. I am a merchant in business in Freetown.

6971. Are you a member of the Chamber of Commerce?—Yes; I am Vice-President.

6972. Your appointment in the Council was under nomination of the crown?—Yes. I have held the appointment since November 1894.

6973. Have you been much into the interior?—No.

6974. You carry on trade in the interior?—I have one factory, at Kambia.

6975. Does your firm consist of yourself alone?—Of myself alone.

6976. Would you say that the trade of Freetown was in a prosperous state previous to the Proclamation of the Protectorate?—Yes.

6977. Was it developing in spite of the French having got possession of so much of the Hinterland?—Yes.

6978. I suppose a great part of the imported goods that come into Freetown go into the interior?—Yes; everything, except building materials, and flour, and such things.

6979. Can you give me any estimate of the proportion of imports that pass into the interior?—I should say five-eighths went up to the interior, if not three-quarters.

6980. Leaving about 25 per cent. for Freetown: would that include the flour, and such things?—Yes: biscuits are imported and bought by the traders here, and sold to the natives and traders, and other things such as kerosine; but the mass of the imports such as tobacco, cotton goods, etc., about three-quarters goes into the Protectorate.

6981. And of the spirits what percentage goes into the interior?—About the same average.

6982. Is it possible to give any estimate as to the proportion of goods which having gone into the Protectorate goes into the territory beyond?—It would be very difficult; there is a through trade.

6983. The Colony itself produces very few articles for export?—Very few, principally ginger: and now coffee, but the price is very discouraging.

6984. Is coffee likely to be successful?—It would be, but the price has fallen from 8d. to 3d. per lb.: it thrives well.

6985. Are you well acquainted with the method of carrying on trade in the interior?—It is a barter trade chiefly.

6986. Is there trade to any extent with the French territory?—There used to be, but the French have been trying to cut it off altogether by their prohibitive tariffs: and the traders complain a good deal about having to pay duties on taking their goods into French territory as well as having to pay duties for what they take out.

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Mr. BISHOP.

6987. Is there much rubber comes from the Protectorate?—Yes; more now than in former years.

6988. Are there not wasteful modes of collecting it?—There used to be, but now I think they are avoiding it.

6989. That method of cutting all the trees down would have destroyed all the plantations in no very long time?—Yes.

6990. Does rubber come from the French territory?—A little: but mostly from our own.

6991. Are spirits carried far into the interior?—I do not know.

6992. Has the enhanced duty on spirits materially increased the price?—Not in proportion.

6993. It has been said that the spirits that are now being imported have some very hurtful quality: are you aware of any facts in support of this assertion?—No.

6994. Palm wine is very plentiful in the interior?—Yes.

6995. And in certain stages it is very intoxicating?—Yes.

6996. Have you ever heard of any bad effects of Palm wine?—No.

6997. Can you suggest any method of encouraging the importation of spirits of a better quality than the ordinary trade quality?—The natives want everything cheap. I know that spirits imported to the Niger were adulterated to more than 150 per cent. of water, and those people who wanted to drink were satisfied as long as there was a taste of spirit in it.

6998. Can you make any estimate of the value of the spirits carried into the interior as compared with the value of the other goods?—No.

6999. Kola nuts come from the interior?—Yes.

7000. Are they produced in the Colony at all?—In isolated cases. Not enough to form an article of trade.

7001. Are they being exported to any extent?—Yes; very largely, and it is a trade that admits of development.

7002. Is it a product peculiar to the regions round about here?—Yes; it does not grow in Africa generally.

7003. Is that dependent on the rainfall?—I think it is the soil.

7004. Formerly the strength of proof was taken as the unit for assessing the duty on spirits?—Yes.

7005. Now I believe there is no allowance for under proof, though above is charged for, is there any complaint about this?—To a certain extent: but now I believe they import at full strength: I think the object was to be able to get good spirit imported. The estimated increase in revenue was £10,000, but I believe there actually was a decrease.

7006. Was it a practice to import underproof spirit before that Ordinance was abolished?—Yes.

7007. And was that supposed to be adulterated?—I think more by agitation, by missionaries. It was asserted that it was deleterious in its effects.

7008. Was it ever analysed?—I believe so: I am not sure.

7009. The Protectorate Ordinance was expected to open up the interior and to benefit trade?—Yes.

7010. Would that opening up have been beneficial to the class of small traders?—I think so.

7011. But would it have increased the profits of the individual trader, would not the increase of competition have tended to lower their profits?—I think it would increase their profits under a good government, because there would be better protection.

7012. Apart from the risk of loss by robbery, etc., would the trader have been able to charge as much for his goods as when there were only a few?—No; but he would have better security.

7013. Can you say whether the trade of Sierra Leone increased or diminished after

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Mr. BISHOP.

the passing of the Protectorate Ordinance?—The time was very short before the beginning of the trouble: one can hardly judge.

7014. Do you find it necessary to sell spirits to the traders?—No; I do not sell spirits at all; they get spirits elsewhere.

7015. Do those traders who go to the interior carry on their trade fairly?—I think so: the natives are pretty shrewd, and most of those traders are natives themselves.

7016. Have you ever heard complaints by natives of Sierra Leone traders having treated them badly or unfairly?—I have never heard any complaints: there may be isolated cases on the wharf here.

7017. Is there not one bushel for buying, and another for selling?—I think so: generally in buying from a native you have to show him the bushel and make a bargain, and abide by it. In some places they use native bowls and there are different prices.

7018. So that no deception comes out of the different sizes?—No.

7019. You were present at the meetings of the council at which the Ordinance of 1896 was passed?—I was in England.

7020. Were you here when the Ordinance of 1897 was passed?—Yes; I was here.

7021. Was the policy of the measure much discussed in the council?—There were only amendments.

7022. I suppose the discussion took place previously?—Yes.

7023. Was the Ordinance much discussed outside the Council by the people of Sierra Leone?—No: there were no public gatherings whatever.

7024. Did people take a view upon it?—Not largely: the intelligent class expressed their views upon it. The bulk of the people did not take much interest in it.

7025. Did the class of traders in the interior take an interest in it?—I do not know.

7026. The intelligent people, what view did they take?—As a whole they thought it was a good thing, but premature in certain clauses.

7027. What view was taken about the hut tax?—They considered that premature in breaking the customs of the people. Slavery had been abolished, and people were just getting used to it. The authority of the Chiefs had been set aside by establishing District Commissioners, and the people could not see the benefits that were intended for them through superseding their own Government by the British Government.

7028. Was it generally considered that the effect of the new system would be to set aside the authority of the Chiefs?—Yes: by the representations that have been made.

7029. That was subsequently; was it understood that it was part of the scheme, that the authority of the Chiefs should be set aside?—On reading the clauses through, it seemed to be so; they had hardly any authority in the courts with the District Commissioners.

7030. But then if the Chief's authority was set aside, would it not require a very much larger staff of magistrates than the Ordinance provides?—So long as there is good government I do not think it would require a very large staff.

7031. It appears that as the Chiefs no longer had any authority, a much larger staff of magistrates would be required?—Yes: it has been said that the Chiefs are no longer recognised.

7032. But that is since the scheme is it not?—Yes; since District Commissioners were established there, the Chief's authority is nil.

7033. Is the staff of the District Commissioners able to look after the population as well as the Chiefs used to?—I do not think so.

7034. Assuming that it was absolutely necessary that the revenue should be raised from the Protectorate, is there any other method than the hut tax that you would think preferable?—I think a poll tax would have been preferable, because the people would not consider it so hard.

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7035. Do you know if the question of a poll tax was mooted at all while the Protectorate Ordinance was under discussion?—No. Mr. BISHOP.

7036. Is not poll tax very difficult to collect?—All depends on the situation of the places. One could assess the villages at so much each and make the Chief collect it.

7037. That is, not collecting from each individual, but assessing each village and collecting from the Chiefs?—Yes.

7038. That implies that the authority of the Chiefs should be preserved?—Yes.

7039. Would there be any likelihood of raising additional revenue by increasing the duty on spirits?—I think so; it would bear increase, but I fear the consumption would be much decreased.

7040. Are you aware whether the increase from 2s. to 3s. materially affected the consumption?—Yes; they had accumulated a stock when they heard the duty was to be raised.

7041. But I mean, did the higher price check the consumption?—Yes; the merchants raised their price, and the natives stopped buying.

7042. Could the duty on tobacco be raised with advantage?—If we had sufficient force to prevent smuggling, people would never give up their tobacco for 1d. a pound more.

7043. Does tobacco grow in the Protectorate?—I do not know.

7044. Would the duty on salt bear increasing?—I think perhaps to 10s. a ton: it is a necessary; but it might be a hardship.

7045. Could the duty on gunpowder be increased?—Yes; in view of what has happened: it would diminish the consumption.

7046. Is it used for hunting?—Chiefly for blasting.

7047. Would you increase the duty on guns?—It would diminish the import.

7048. It would not be good from the revenue point of view?—No.

7049. There were formerly certain export duties: do you remember that time?—Yes.

7050. Do you remember how those duties came to be abolished?—I think from a representation made by the Chamber of Commerce in England, and to encourage the production in the country, and the price of the produce was less than it used to be in former years.

7051. What would be your opinion as to imposing any of these export duties?—If as a substitute for the hut tax, I think it would be most beneficial. It would be a way of taxing the Protectorate indirectly, because all the produce comes from there.

7052. Would an export duty on palm kernels diminish the price at which they would be bought from the natives?—Yes; the producers would have to pay.

7053. The same with rubber?—Yes; but I think that should be left for some time in order to develop it more. A small duty might be put on gum copal.

7054. On kola nuts?—No; I think not: duty is levied at the Gambia.

7055. Can you suggest any form of direct taxation which would be practicable in the Colony of Sierra Leone?—I cannot, because the people are shortly to have a house tax, and there is a great drawback in the matter of representation.

7056. Then, suppose the Government were to undertake a general direct taxation of the Colony, and to pay over to the municipality that portion that came from Freetown, would that answer?—It would come to the same thing in the end, because all the rest of the Colony would be unrepresented. Everything that is brought to the Council is cut and dried beforehand, and it was supposed that the Secretary of State had approved of the Ordinance before it was presented to the Council, and it would be useless for the unofficial members to say anything.

7057. Then, have you any suggestions to make regarding the constitution of the Legislative Council?—Yes; that the unofficial members should be increased to the same number as the official members, leaving the Governor the casting vote; and that all

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Mr. BISHOP.

matters should be discussed and submitted to the Secretary of State before they were decided on.

7058. Would you retain the principle of nomination, or is there any kind of representation that would be practicable?—I do not like to express an opinion, though I think appointment by representation would be a fair thing: I do not know whether we are quite ripe for it yet.

7059. Have you thought at all of bringing in any of the Chiefs as representing the Hinterland into the Council, or if not into the Council, giving them some opportunity of expressing themselves?—I have not considered the matter.

7060. If there was a house tax in the Colony, would that be a tax on houses alone, or a tax on houses and land?—I think on houses only, because there is a certain abatement made for unoccupied houses.

7061. I am rather assuming that some general scheme were adopted, and that the Council got compensation?—I think it would be a hardship to tax lands, especially in cases where owners might be minors with only sufficient to pay for their education.

7062. There are a number of outlying villages round about; suppose these villages were taxed on the understanding that the tax was to be expended in improving the villages themselves, or the roads leading to them?—I think it would be more satisfactory to require them to do certain works; the Headmen used to see that the people kept the roads and looked after the sanitary state. Some of the people would be too poor to pay; that is one of the great difficulties of the hut tax in the Protectorate.

7063. These villages in the Colony, is there a Headman who looks after them as you describe?—Yes.

7064. That is a remnant of the old tribal authority?—Yes; they do it still in most of the villages.

7065. And the Headmen are able to carry it out?—Yes.

7066. Then if these Headmen were assisted with money produced from a small rate levied on the houses of the village it would help?—You could not expect people to pay and work as well; they would all work sooner than pay; most of the people are poor.

7067. How do they get their living?—Perhaps keeping a farm and producing fruit for the town here. They simply live from hand to mouth.

7068. Are you a member of the Municipality of Freetown?—Yes.

7069. Is the constitution satisfactory?—Yes.

7070. Is it doing its work well?—Yes, but slowly.

7071. Does it do its work as economically as if it were done by a Government department?—I think so; the town is better lighted now. They are building markets, I think as cheaply. The Government has called attention to the necessity of having another market at the Kissy road and Kroo town road. It is too much to do all at once.

7072. Is there much advantage in transferring trade from the roadside to the market place?—Yes; for sanitary purposes.

7073. What do you think about the licence duties in the Colony?—I do not think there should be any alteration.

7074. And as to these licence duties in the Protectorate?—I do not think there is any great hardship in them.

7075. Do you think that those licence duties are not apt to diminish the amount of trade in the Protectorate?—I remember some time ago that a man who was selling dried fish could not pay; the smaller traders do not do enough trade to be able to pay that amount.

7076. Is gunpowder a customary article of trade in the interior?—It was.

7077. Are merchants who sell gunpowder bound to keep a register?—Yes; to show the quantity sold, but not the names of the buyers. You are supposed to know to whom it is going.

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7078. Do you deal in gunpowder?—Yes.

7079. Can you say if trade in gunpowder has been carried on since these troubles began to any extent?—No; to begin with, you could not get it from the magazine. Whatever powder has been sold during these disturbances has been for use in the Colony for blasting. Mr. Bishop.

7080. If anybody was so unprincipled, they could buy for blasting purposes and carry it up into the interior?—No; the police examine their luggage.

7081. But you might go by water?—The customs stations examine your cargo.

7082. Have you formed any views on the subject of opening up the Protectorate by means of English capital and concessions of land?—Yes; I think it would be a good thing for the country. I do not think the projectors would make much out of it for the immediate future; when proper roads are made and there are means of conveyance things would be different.

7083. Would it be easy for an English firm to obtain labour?—Yes; but where there was English capital there would be Englishmen, and they would require a large amount of native labour to supply their wants.

7084. Would the labour require a great amount of supervision?—Yes; but natives from here would be able to supervise under a European; it would be less expensive than having European supervision all through.

7085. Suppose you got some influential Chief to supply labour and be responsible for it?—That might be done, but not now; because the Chiefs have not their former authority over the people.

7086. Have you anything more to tell me?—I had an interview with certain Chiefs last August. Some Chiefs called on me and asked me to beg the Government with regard to the hut tax; Sir Frederic was then expected; we were considering the amendments in Council then. I told them I regretted I could not do it. I understood that they had agreed to the proposals which the Governor laid before them when he was in the country. I heard the Governor proposed things, and they said Yes, yes. I told them the only thing that remained was for them to beg him, and he might reduce the amount. They said it was hard that they had given up slaves and been displaced from their authority by the District Commissioners, and their boys have now become their masters. I told them in reply that they must consider that the Government, in asking them to pay for their huts, is giving them greater benefits by protection; but as Sir Frederick would soon be here, they should go and beg him, and he might be able to make a reduction, but I did not think he would abolish it. These Chiefs were Alimami Bubu of Kambai, a loyal chief, Pa Suba of Magbele, and two or three others whose names I forget. There were some traders from Port Lokko who are accustomed to buy goods from me; and they came in the early part of the year stating that they did not know whether they would be able to trade, as the natives had threatened to burn down their houses, and drive them from the place if they attempted to pay the hut tax, therefore they were confused and did not know what to do. I advised them that they must remember that they are British subjects, and what they should do is to place themselves under the protection of Captain Sharpe, the District Commissioner, and pay the tax.

7087. Did any of these Chiefs that you spoke to at that time talk as if they had had any persuasion or advice from people in Freetown not to pay?—No.

7088. It has been said that people in Sierra Leone advised the Chiefs not to pay the hut tax; is there any foundation for that?—I do not believe it; it would be suicidal; we are in the power of the English.

7089. Do I understand that you spoke against this Ordinance when it was before the Council?—Yes; especially the hut tax.

7090. Is there a report of your speech in the paper?—In the *Weekly News* of 18th December 1897 and in July 1896 I spoke also that the Ordinance to indemnify public officers would be injudicious.

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13*th October* 1898.

Rev. Mr. KING.

Rev. MR. KING.

7091. My name is John King. I am in Orders, and belong to the United Brethren in Christ. I am coming out as superintendent of all the work. I was formerly superintendent of the Sherbro Mendi Mission, which is commonly known as the Shengay Mission. I left in 10th January this year.

7092. Had the authorities begun to collect hut tax in your district at that time?—They had made no effort further than sending down to ask the Chief to collect.

7093. Is Shengay a town of any importance?—It is rather a district.

7094. Before the Protectorate Ordinance was it understood that this district was in Colony proper?—I am not sure that it was. His Excellency was there in June 1896, and in a consultation with the Chief, the Chief's jurisdiction seemed to be recognised.

7095. What was your understanding on the subject—that you were in the Colony or not?—We considered ourselves as in the Colony, and applied for Government inspection of our schools.

7096. What was the condition of the people around you?—They were very much the same as elsewhere—engaged largely in agriculture and fishing. The produce is principally rice and cassadā, and a few vegetables. It is a good palm kernel district; they sell them to the traders.

7097. What kind of houses do they make?—The ordinary little round country house. Around Shengay the houses were larger, and some were rectangular. The round house has one room; the rectangular ones were being built with two, three, or four rooms. It was a question with them at the time of the tax whether they should build houses with less rooms. The African when he becomes a little prosperous likes to improve his house.

7098. Did it seem likely that the hut tax would counteract this tendency in any way?—As I have said, it seems likely that they would build smaller houses so as to come within the five shilling limit.

7099. You say there was no domestic slavery in that part; what sort of relations existed between the head of a family and those about him?—I knew there were none forcibly retained; but the head of the family we considered held them as members of the household rather than slaves. It was a sort of voluntary arrangement as far as we could see.

7100. A well-off man would have more than one house?—Yes; anything from three to twelve houses; there was a question whether their kitchens were liable to be taxed or not.

7101. What would you say as to the ability of those people to pay the five shilling hut tax?—So far as the immediate ability, I believe it would require a good strong effort on their part; but we believe that effort would be improving for them.

7102. But that was a question of development; as matters then stood it would have been a hardship?—Yes.

7103. Take the case of a Chief of a town being called on to pay for 100 houses all at once; what would have been his resources?—So far as I know, he would have been unable to have done it, unless he had had time to collect from the people.

7104. Is there any other remark that occurs to you on the subject?—We gathered that there was a feeling of opposition, but it was all vague. Talking to the men of influence, it seemed that they felt that their power was slipping away from them. I did not inquire very closely.

7105. Did complaints about the Frontier Police ever come to your knowledge?—I have heard complaints now and again some time back. I found that the natives had moved their towns off the high road, where the police patrols pass, and there were bush paths leading to them. We ourselves did not come into contact with these things.

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15*th October* 1898.

MOMODU WAKKA.

7106. My name is Momodu Wakka. I am one of the interpreters in the Native Affairs Department. I come from Foota Jalom: I came with my master and he died here.

7107. In what languages do you interpret?—Timini, Fula, Mandingo, Arabic and Susu.

7108. Do you remember going with Sir Frederic Cardew as interpreter in some journeys he made into the interior?—Yes.

7109. In what years?—1894-95-96. We visited the Kwaia country and the Lokko country.

7110. You went to Bonthe with Sir Frederic?—Yes, on one of these journeys.

7111. The Governor had meetings with certain Chiefs at various places?—Yes. I was present and acted as interpreter between the Governor and the Chiefs, at all meetings except in the Mendi country. Mr. Parkes was present at all these meetings.

7112. Did anyone accompany the Governor except yourself and Mr. Parkes?—Some European officers accompanied him in 1894.

7113. Look over these notes: do you recognise them as the substance of the Governor's address to the Chiefs?—I remember it well: I interpreted it to the Chiefs. The first meeting was held at Rokon in the Masimera country.

7114. What year was it?—In 1896, about the end of January.

7115. Do you remember what Chiefs were present?—Bai Simera, Pa Suba, Alimami Sena Bundu of Kwaia, Alimami Sai Sai, (under Bai Simera), Pa Kombu, Chief of Rokon under Bai Simera and their followers. Pa Suba was representing Bai Kobblo.

7116. And Alimami Konti?—Yes, someone represented him.

7117. Did you interpret that speech to the Chiefs?—Yes.

7118. What did they do: did they retire to consult?—Yes, to consult among themselves. Then afterwards in the night they came to Mr. Parkes. The hut tax was included in the speech. They wanted to inform the Governor through Mr. Parkes that they were friends of the Queen and the English Government, and the Queen had done much good for them and their country. Concerning the hut tax, it was the first thing they would go against: they were not pleased to pay hut tax, the other laws about cannibalism, witchcrafts, etc., they said they did nothing with cannibalism, it was more the Mendis: but they did a little witchcraft. They said they hoped the Governor had not brought the hut tax on them. As to slaves, not to buy or sell, all right, they were pleased; if the Governor allowed them to keep what they had, it would be all right. At the same time, they thought the Governor would give up the hut tax, and that he had it not much in his mind. That is what they said to Mr. Parkes. Mr. Parkes said he was only the Governor's servant.

7119. But was there any answer given by the Chiefs to the Governor at the meeting?—No.

7120. Did they not give an answer at the meeting?—They did not say a word. Bai Simera complained about a land question between him and Bai Kompah, and the Governor said the District Commissioner would see to it.

7121. Is it not a common thing for the Chiefs sometimes to say one thing, and then to say another afterwards?—Sometimes, but the influential Chiefs if they say a thing they mean it.

7122. Do you remember giving out any answer at all at the meeting to the Governor from the Chiefs?—No: the Governor said that the District Commissioner would see about the land question.

7123. Are you quite sure you are correct: Mr. Parkes thinks that they said they accepted everything the Governor said, and then came to him in the evening?—My own idea is that no answer was given. After Bai Simera brought the land question the Governor said the District Commissioner would settle it.

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MOMODU WAKKA.

7124. When Bai Simera spoke about the land, did he speak through you?—Yes; I interpreted to the Governor.

7125. Did you not say at that time that the Chiefs agreed to what the Governor said?—I did not say anything of the sort. The Chiefs did not say anything and I did not say anything.

7126. Might it have been this, that you said the Chiefs agreed to what the Governor said about the boundary?—They said all right, they would see what the District Commissioner would do.

7127. You recollect thoroughly what passed because you were interpreting?—Yes; I did not say that they said they agreed.

7128. It might have referred to the land question?—They did say they agreed to that for the District Commissioner to settle the question.

7129. In point of what is common it would have been unusual for the Chiefs to answer such a big lot of questions offhand?—They would probably say, 'We hear and hold your word,' meaning that they would consider it and give an answer later.

7130. Then the next meeting after Rokon was at Matenifori?—That was before Rokon.

7131. Do you remember which Chiefs were present at that meeting?—Alimami Sena Bundu representing Bai Kompah, and the Chief at Matenifori represented someone. Bai Kompah was Paramount Chief over the whole of Kwaia.

7132. Then you interpreted this same speech?—Yes.

7133. What did the Chiefs say?—They did not say a word: Matenifori was only a small meeting.

7134. Did they not say they would take the message to Bai Kompah?—Yes; they said they would send the message to Bai Kompah.

7135. Did the Chiefs at Matenifori not say that they had heard what the Governor had said and would follow his word?—Yes.

7136. What did they mean?—That they would obey.

7137. And they also said they would carry the message to Bai Kompah?—Yes.

7138. Is that the interpretation you gave out at that meeting?—Yes.

7139. They did not mean that they would agree to everything that was said?—No; it meant 'All right, we hear what you say and will carry the message to Bai Kompah, and whatever Bai Kompah says you will hear from him.'

7140. Then the representative of Bai Kompah could not make an agreement for Bai Kompah, could he?—Not unless he went and told him.

7141. But his position at that meeting did not authorise him to make a bargain for Bai Kompah, but only to hear what was said?—If the king gives them authority they can do so: the king gives them authority sometimes in small matters.

7142. But Sena Bundu did not say that he had any authority of that kind at this meeting?—No; he did not say that.

7143. Then would it have been usual if he had had such authority for him to say so?—Yes; he would have said so if he had had the authority.

7144. Then there was a meeting in the Lokko country?—Yes; at Bendibu. Alimami Keha was there. I think it was in March 1896.

7145. Alimami Keha and his Sub-Chiefs?—Yes; and many Mohammedans.

7146. You interpreted the speech as before?—Yes.

7147. What answer was given?—'All right, we are friends of the Queen and the Government: we hear all the Governor says, and are very glad': they gave no important answer.

7148. At this Lokko meeting was there anything decisive either agreeing or disagreeing?—No; nothing important was said.

7149. Do you remember the meeting at Karene in Biriwa Limba?—Yes.

7150. Who were present?—Alimami Bobo and his Sub-Chiefs.

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7151. Then you interpreted the same speech?—Yes, in Mandingo.

7151.* What answer was given?—They only answered if they were allowed to keep their domestics servants they would be very glad: nothing important.

7152. They did not say anything about the hut tax?—No, nothing; the Governor himself did not mention it.

7153. What was the date of the Karene meeting?—March 1895.

7154. Then there was a meeting at Bumban, what was the date of that?—The same month.

7155. What Chiefs were present?—Alimami Suluku, Paramount Chief of Biriwa Limba, and many of his Sub-Chiefs.

7156. You interpreted as before?—Yes.

7157. What did the Chief say?—They simply made some complaint about the Frontier Police and some of his wives, and the Governor said it should be seen about.

7158. Did they say anything about the hut tax?—No; neither good nor bad.

7159. When an intended law is stated to the Chiefs and they do not make any remark either good or bad, what does it mean?—They think that what is said will never really come into effect. They thought a white man was just passing through the country and that the matter was settled when the Governor went.

7160. Then if they said they agreed they would mean they would stand to it?—Yes; some would tell a lie.

7161. I understand that if they say nothing they understand it will pass away, and nothing will be done, but if they say 'we agree to this,' that is binding?—Yes.

7162. Then you remember the meeting at Madina?—Yes: it was in the same March month. Gardiru, Chief of Madina was there: he is not a Paramount Chief.

7163. You interpreted the same speech?—Yes: it was only a small town: the Governor did not say anything about the hut tax.

7164. But I suppose he spoke of the hut tax at all the other meetings before?—He said nothing about it at Karene, Bumban or Madina.

7165. But he did speak of it at the Lokko meeting (Bendibu)?—Yes; I think so: I am not quite sure.

7166. Then there was a meeting at Kambia?—Yes; Alikali Koya Bubu and many followers were present.

7167. What country is Kambia in?—Great Skarcies.

7168. Is there a Paramount Chief there?—He was very sick at that time: he was not present.

7169. What answer did the Chiefs give?—The Governor told them they would get their orders from the District Commissioner about the hut tax, and they did not make any answer. I do not remember very well.

17*th October* 1898.

ALFA SANUSI.

7170. My name is Alfa Sanusi. I am Arabic writer in the Department for Native Affairs.

7171. But are you not also interpreter?—No; hardly that.

7172. Did you not go as interpreter with Sir Frederic Cardew in a journey he took to Sherbro in 1896?—Not as interpreter: Mr. Parkes was not able to go and sent me. I did not act as interpreter on that occasion. There was an interpreter there.

7173. Do you remember what passed at the meeting?—I gathered most of them before the Governor's arrival: I went before him.

7174. What Chiefs were present?—Richard Caulker and Chief Caulker of Shengay. I cannot remember any others. There were many there: not only Chiefs. The meeting was held at Shengay.

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ALFA SANUSI.

7175. What took place?—So far as I can remember, when the Governor landed in in the morning he read a certain paper: I believe it was part of the Ordinance.

7176. Is this paper like it?—It was a paper telling the people about the tax. I believe this must be the same. I remember that part especially about the number of rooms in the houses.

7177. Then the Governor explained that as being the law he was going to introduce?—Yes; he himself explained that.

7178. Do you remember what the Chiefs did on this address being made to them?—The Chiefs said nothing. Amongst the crowd as soon as we rose up I heard a woman say 'the Governor say so many big talk like this and no one of you men not say anything.'

7179. Then did that finish the proceedings at Shengay?—Yes: they did not meet again. There were no other meetings on that tour at which I was present.

7180. You were with the Governor all the time on that trip?—No: the Governor sent me on a week before.

7181. But after you joined him you stayed with him?—Yes: we came on to Bonthe and then home.

7182. Was there any meeting at Bonthe?—I did not even go on shore there. The Governor laid the foundation of a church.

MR. COLE.

MR. COLE.

7183. My name is William Walter Cole: I am a trader at Mafouri on the Jong river.

7184. Were you there when the war came down upon it?—I was a Bonthe. About the beginning of the year I got a notice to pay license duty, and hut tax. Captain Wallis came to collect the tax with about eight or ten Frontier Police. I saw these police, and a clerk, Magnus Jones, come to Mafouri to collect the tax: they arrested Beah Fouri, Chief of Mafouri, who was my landlord, for not paying the tax.

7185. Were you present when he was asked to pay the tax?—No: but notice was given him previously that he must pay the tax.

7186. Do you know that he was arrested?—Yes: the police caught him and wanted him to pay the tax: he sent for me. When I came the police told him he must pay the tax, and he said he was not going to pay tax, because the country belonged to them, and if they did pay the tax the Bumpe would fall on them. Captain Wallis did not go himself. My landlord asked me to let him have the money to pay. The police took him over to Mattru on Saturday. When they first called me I saw he was tied to a post, so I told the clerk that he was my landlord, and an old man, and they must loose him: so they took him from the rope.

7187. Did Jones tell you why he had tied him?—No.

7188. Then you paid the tax on account of this Chief?—My landlord asked me to lend him £8, 5s. for thirty-three houses. I paid £5, 10s. in cash, and the balance in palm-nuts.

7189. Was this Chief tied in the presence of his people in the open street?—In his own town, in the Barri.

7190. But that is a public place is it not? what is it used for?—Where the people assemble to meet and talk.

7191. Is it not public for any one who goes to talk there?—Yes.

7192. You remember when the Chiefs went to Mafwe to meet Captain Carr?—Yes: I did not go with the Chiefs to see Captain Carr at Mafwe.

7193. Did you see them after they had come back?—No.

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Mr. Cole.

7194. About what time was it that the Frontier Police came and tied the Chief of Mafouri?—About 15th April.

7195. I suppose the people of Mafouri did not like their Chief being tied?—No; they were not at all pleased: the women were crying. It made a good deal of trouble.

7196. Have you been repaid the money you lent to your landlord on that occasion?—Not yet.

7197. Did the war-boys plunder Mafouri?—Yes.

7198. What countrymen were they chiefly?—I was not present: their Chief was a Sherbro man.

7199. Is there anything more that you can tell me on the subject?—I am told that Katta is the Chief who went to bring the Bumpe war-boys into the country. They said they are not going to pay tax, and if the Government says that they must pay tax they are not going to, and if the Government still insists they will die rather than pay.

7200. What Chiefs did you hear said that?—The Chiefs on the Jong river.

7201. According to your knowledge, what was the reason why the people were so very much set against the tax?—The tax that the Governor said the people must pay is what brought the war. They were grumbling all the time about their slaves running away, and not being able to pledge them, but at the same time things were going on nicely. But this tax to my knowledge is what brought the war: the people say that they are not going to pay, and that the country is theirs.

7202. Do they think that by paying the tax they would be giving away the country?—I do not know.

7203. Do you understand why they particularly disliked the tax?—No.

Beah Boye.

Beah Boye.

17*th October* 1898.

(Garnett Wolseley interpreting.)

7204. I want you to tell me who it was that asked you to come down to Freetown, and what they said to you?—What brought me to town, a man by the name of Frank Dixon, went to me and told me that a Commissioner has come out from the Queen, and that he was instructed to go and bring to the Commissioner all the head people about the affairs of the war that broke out. There is a person, Francis Caulker, in town now, whom I was always sending as messenger when this war broke out. Mr. Dixon met me getting ready to go to Kwalu, and I put that off and came here. I was going with Kanri Bassi, and I sent to inform him I could not go to Kwalu with him. When we came here we saw Mr. King, who gave instructions that we should be caught, and we are now in custody. We were coming to lodge a complaint with you.

Beah Kaindoh.

Beah Kaindoh.

7205. Beah Boye instructed me to come with him. I do not know what I have done, and I do not know why I have been put in custody. I have explained everything to you. After I had explained everything to you, I was arrested and was told that I was one of the principal Chiefs. When the war fell I was nothing; I was in the Ribbi country. I informed Mr. Goodman that they should make away. I concealed myself in the bush for over a month: when the war went away then I came out, but I had no boat to cross over to the Turtle Islands. Had it not been that the old man (Beah Boye) had sent for me to come to town, I should not have come. He told me he was sent for by the Commissioner, and that the order was that all the Chiefs and headmen of the country should come before him. I know nothing about the war affair. I had money with Mr. Goodman, and it was plundered and taken away.

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ADOLPHUS DICK.*

7206. My name is Adolphus Dick. I am a shipwright.

7207. You say when the war came you were on the Jong river?—Yes; at my town Tiboon.

7208. Is that on the mainland?—Yes; up on the river.

7209. When the war came what happened?—The war took place on 27th April. The war met me at Kambia. Captain Wallis was at M. Z. Macaulay's factory, and sent for me. I got the information that the war was coming to me, because I, a native man, paid the tax. Katta and Ba Fama were bringing it. I wrote to Captain Wallis that war was coming, and he sent for me, and I went to him at Kambia. On Wednesday morning the war came.

7210. In what shape did the war come?—Katta of Lowawa, and Ba Fama of Kanbalo, and Bana Mayowi of Bissa, and Kawinja of Mayowo.

7211. These were small Chiefs with a lot of war-boys?—They were armed with cutlasses, sticks and guns.

7212. Were there many guns amongst them?—I did not see them, I was inside the yard.

7213. Did many of the war-boys have guns?—I heard them fire two or three guns.

7214. Might it not have been Captain Wallis' men?—The natives fired first and killed Mr. Beale and another. I stripped myself naked and swam over the river, and got to York Island, and from there to Bonthe. I saw Mr. Cook, Paterson & Zochonis' agent, and from there they sent the report to Freetown. After that they arrested me and 'made false' that I joined the country people, but it was I who gave the first report. I am a Sherbro: they said I had joined the Government by paying the tax, and that they would kill me. Captain Wallis said they must release me. Ba Fama and Katta were the principal people in the war, they burnt my town.

7215. Who burnt it?—Katta: because I joined the Government. At the present time all the people are hiding in the bush. I came from the river on Monday, a few of them came to me and told me that as I had joined the Government, they heard the Government were going to make another step, and kill them all in the bush, and they asked me to beg the Government not to, as the Government had already beaten them. All my fakkis were plundered by Jones and the volunteers. After I had paid the tax they said the Chief of Mattru had brought his property, and left it with me: so they plundered my property, but he had not, it was my property they plundered. Jones is Court interpreter at Bandajuma. He took all my goods and sold them by action. I could not go against the Government or do anything. I advised my people that they should pay the tax for this year, and then go and petition the Government. 5s. is too much, we might manage 1s. The force of the tax and the treatment of the Frontier Police caused this war. They have no respect for anybody: they tie Chiefs, and take all their property. The treatment is very strong.

7216. Do the people suppose that the Government has allowed the police to do all this?—They cannot say.

7217. Then the people believe that the Government is backing up the police?—Yes; everybody believes so: but at the same time all the Chiefs, Bumba Kelly, Bumpe, and so on, are not fit to be Chiefs: they ought to put matters before the Government.

7218. Why do they not tell the Government?—They are frightened of the police: they fear they will do worse.

7219. Have the police been doing these things since the war?—No; but they did before.

7220. Did this kind of treatment go on till the war began?—Yes; I told Mr. Jones that he had plundered my property, and he must return it, as I had paid all my tax—£12, 10s. for fifty-two houses—but he said he would not. I acted for Queen Bessigai over

* *Alias* Sissi Kokki.

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all the Jong territory, which belongs to her, for six months before this war. She ordered her boys to bury her crown and all her property in the ground. Then Katta came and made one of the boys show him the place, and dug it up. She complained against him, and he had to give part of it back.

7221. Who made Katta give it back?—The Captain in camp at Mafouri.

7222. Anything else?—I have come to see the authorities. I want to try to gather my people, but I hear that the Government are going to kill all the people again, and I cannot do anything, as I am for the Government.

7223. How has that idea arisen that the Government want to go and kill all the people in the bush?—By flying news. The people want to come back, but every one is frightened.

7224. Suppose people were let alone and no more soldiers sent, would they go back to their farms?—Yes.

7225. You think if the troops were to go and march about the country the people would think they were going to kill them?—Yes.

7226. The war-boys might make a little fight?—They cannot venture again.

7227. Have you another name?—Yes; Sissi Kokki. The reason why the natives wanted to kill M. Z. Macaulay was because he received all the tax at Kambia.

7228. You were present at that meeting at Mafwe when Captain Carr met the Chiefs?—Yes; I represented Queen Bessigai.

7229. Has Queen Bessigai been a long time Chief?—Since 1886.

7230. Has she always been a good friend of the Government?—Yes; she is still; she is sick.

7231. Then at Mafwe there were Berri, Bongo, Ba Fama, Vandi, and a number of others?—Yes.

7232. Captain Carr asked them if they were ready to pay the tax?—Yes. They said 5s. a house was too much.

7233. Then, after the Chiefs told Captain Carr they could not pay, what was done?—He made five of them prisoners, and we were taken to Bandajuma.

7234. But a lot of their people were with them at Mafwe; did they not try to prevent it?—They had no end of people present, but I told them that no one must venture to touch arms; so they did not.

7235. Did you go to Bandajuma?—Yes; I paid £6 for my town, and was released.

7236. Did they make you prisoner?—Yes.

7237. But you, as representative of the Yong River, did not refuse to pay?—No; I said I could not speak for the whole country.

7338. Then, were you carried prisoner to Bandajuma?—Yes.

7239. Did you offer to pay for your town before you were taken to Bandajuma?—No.

7240. You heard about the Bumpe Chiefs preparing war before it really happened?—Yes.

7241. How did you hear?—I heard from Humpa Congo that the Bumpe people were preparing war, so I wrote to Mr. Macaulay. I made the report twice. Ba Fama joined them.

7242. Was Humpa Congo present at the meeting?—No; I do not know anybody who was present at the meeting when they prepared the war. I was not present myself.

MR. COULSON.

17th October 1898.

(Garnett Wolseley interpreting.)

7243. My name is Joseph A. Coulson. I remember news coming from the Chiefs who were taken to Bandajuma. I was in the Imperri country.

7244. Were you at Bandajuma at that time when the Chiefs were taken there?—No. After that we heard that war had broken out at Semabu.

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Mr. Coulson.

7245. You did not see that?—I did not see the war, but I saw the person whom they shot, and the women crying and running.

7246. Was this person shot dead?—No; they broke his arm. There were two of them shot, but I only saw one.

7247. Do you know what his name was?—I did not ask for the name. I was running with Mudge to Taninahu.

7248. Why were you running away?—Mudge sent me to go and collect his debts for him, and I heard from the policemen about it, and started back to tell Mudge. The wounded man belonged to Bumpe town.

7249. Do you remember when the war came?—Yes.

7250. You remember you and Mudge being together in the bush?—After I went to tell Mudge about this fighting we both started together to reach Taninahu. As we were going we met a man on the way who was loading his rifle, and he said if it had been in another country we should have been shot dead.

7251. Do you remember hiding behind some Porro bush with Mudge?—It was in the morning when Bogo was taken; we hid ourselves behind them and heard what the people were saying. While we were there we heard that two boatmen came from Bai Sherbro of Yonni from York Island to say that the war should now cross over. When this message was delivered the war-boys then started.

7252. Do you remember hearing anything more when you were in the Porro bush?—When they caught Mr. Hughes they tied him, and when they were taking him over to Imperri they were eating, and he was very hungry, and begged the people to give him a raw cassada. Then the war-boys cut off his fingers and said, 'We fine you £10.' At the same time they caught Mr. Hughes' wife and took her to Gangema and killed her there. After they had killed her, the head warrior, Fama Daliba, sent men to go and find us in the bush. We were in the bush for nine days. They caught a young boy, who cooked for us, and tied him, and threatened to kill him if he did not show where we were. They let him go when the marines came up to Bogo from the man-of-war at Bonthe. One evening they caught a policeman and chopped him, and a man put on his uniform and went to stop boats, taking Sierra Leonians over to Bonthe.

18*th October* 1898.

Mr. Cook.

Mr. Cook.

7253. My name is Gilbert Howard Cook. I am an agent of Paterson, Zochonis & Co., and was living at York Island. I was there the last day of April, when the outbreak took place. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the natives. I heard several of them complain that they were too poor to pay the tax. I did not hear anything about resistance to the tax.

7254. Did the war people come to York Island?—Yes; we caught about six of them.

7255. Did they come in any numbers?—They were beginning to come, but only a few came across; we were afraid of the people of the island itself. I wish to record this fact, as far as we can learn, our Bandajuma factory was burnt by order of the officer commanding the troops because it afforded defence to the attacking party. Our own agent there was told this by the sergeant who burnt the place.

19*th October* 1898.

Momodu Wakka.

Momodu Wakka.

7256. Was there a meeting between the Governor and Chiefs at Kintaballia in the Koranko country?—Yes; in February 1896.

7257. Who were the Chiefs present?—Bamba Farra, Fina Balla, and, I think, another.

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7258. What country does Bamba Farra rule over?—Koranko.

7259. What passed at that meeting?—The Governor talked about slave traffic; they were not to buy or sell slaves: nothing about hut tax or licences.

7260. What did the Chiefs say?—'All right: they were friends of the Queen and would obey what the Governor said.' The Governor said he hoped they would be loyal, and if they were their authority would be maintained.

7261. Do you remember a meeting at Bandajuma?—That was in Mendi; I cannot speak Mendi.

7262. Or at Mafwe?—There was another interpreter.

7263. Was the interpreter supplied from Sherbro?—No. It was Bobo, who is now Government interpreter at Kwalu. He acted as interpreter at Bandajuma, Mafwe, and Mattru.

7264. Do you remember what the Governor said?—I did not pay much attention.

7265. Were there two different Karenes at which meetings were held?—Yes: nothing was said about the hut tax at either.

KARIFALA SISAY.

20th October 1898.

(James Benjamin Lawson Parker interpreting.)

7266. My name is Karifala Sisay. I am Headman of Makompah in the Kwaia country. I remember a party of police, commanded by a white man, that came to Makompah this year about seven months ago. Seven moons have passed already, not counting this new moon. I saw the police force. When we saw the police come to the town they had guns: they said they were seeking some one: we ran away and hid ourselves.

7267. Do you know the name of the white man?—Perhaps it was Captain Fairtlough.

7268. Did you see what occurred at Makompah on that occasion?—Yes. When they came to the town the police asked, 'Where is Bai Kompah?' They said, 'We have come to take Bai Kompah; where is he?' We were hiding in the bush. They sat down there and slept at the place. In the morning they were going to look for Bai Kompah. Some of them went in a canoe and some of them were left on shore; afterwards those in the canoe came back and landed and joined the others, and then we saw the police begin to fire guns. They only fired their guns off.

7269. Was there nobody near that they fired at?—No: after they had finished firing some of them went back again into the canoe.

7270. How near the place were you when you saw this firing?—The river runs round the town in a bend, and I was inside a mango-bush just near the river. We could hear the shot flying. They were not shooting at anybody. The firing did not last long They burnt the town and the rice, and caught some sheep. They burnt Bai Kompah's buildings. After that the police began to burn the country store where the rice is kept. Then they went off to Romangi and then to Robeah, but I do not know what happened there.

7271. Was there any meeting between the white Captain and the Chiefs and Headmen?—Before the white man went into this place the Chiefs and Headmen all gathered at Romangi to talk about the tax. There was a white doctor who met the meeting at Romangi. I was not there, but I came after the white man had gone. I did not see the white man.

7272. Did you hear if the Chiefs of Makompah had agreed with the white man to pay the tax?—I do not know.

7273. When the police came to Makompah, did the Captain send for the Chiefs and Headmen?—No.

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KARIFALA SISAY.

7274. Was there no kind of quarrel or difference that you knew of between the Captain of the police and the people of Makompah of such a nature as to lead to this shooting and burning of the town?—They feared that the police would shoot them, and ran into the bush.

7275. Who said the police would shoot you?—The people ran when they heard the guns firing. They killed a man at Rowalla after they had come to Makompah. I saw the body of the man Momor who was shot. The police were plundering there, and the people said the Queen did not give them any order to plunder their sheep, and it was the man who interpreted it into English they shot when he said it. They brought him for medical treatment to Freetown, and he died afterwards. They brought him to Freetown, but as it was no good, they took him back again. He died and was buried at Robari. They shot this boy after they had passed Makompah.

7276. What made you so frightened of the police?—Because they were catching people and taking them up to Kwalu. The police only came once to Makompah.

MUSU KONTI.

MUSU KONTI.

20th October 1898.

(J. B. L. Parker interpreting.)

7277. My name is Musu Konti, of Robeah in Kwaia. I was there when a party of policemen came.

7278. Were they under the command of a white man?—The police went first from Kwalu, and the white man came after them.

7279. Did you see the police come to Robeah?—Yes; there were plenty, about thirty, I should think. When they came they asked us to pay tax. They called on all the people in the town to pay; we said we must tell our Headman. As soon as they came into the town they caught some of the men and began to plunder; then the other boys ran away into the bush, and only the women remained. After they had finished plundering they called the women and said we should have to pay tax. We said we should have to tell the Headman. The Headman was over at Bullom. After they had finished tying the men they went back to Kwalu and came back again on the fourth day. I do not know whether they went straight to Kwalu, but after the fourth day I saw two white men.

7280. You had not seen the white men before this fourth day?—No; only police.

7281. Did police come with the white men?—Plenty of police. As soon as they came to the town they shot one bullock, and climbed into the store and began to pull down the rice. They slept there that night, and in the morning they got dry grass and set fire to the houses. They shot at some boys: I saw them shoot. They shot at them because they say they refuse to pay the tax.

5282. Had these boys any guns?—No.

7283. Were any of these boys hit?—No; one of them got burned by the powder.

7284. How far from them were the police when they shot at them?—Not ten yards. I had a baby in my arms at the time.

7285. Did you hear what the names of the white men were?—I forget now. They burned all the rice; we had nothing to eat except cabbage.

7286. Was there not a fight between the police and the war-boys during the night?—No; only the police had caught some of the boys and tied them.

7287. Did you not hear shooting going on for a long time during the night?—Only the police.

7288. Did you hear them shooting throughout the night?—Yes.

7289. That is a different time to the firing you have already told me about?—When they slept there they fired the whole night till the morning. I slept in the town.

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7290. Did you hear that there was a number of the war-boys killed?—No; I never heard that. MUSU KONTI.

7291. Did you hear some shots from the bush before the police began firing?—Yes; near the town.

7292. There might have been war-boys killed during the night without your hearing of it?—I cannot tell if they killed anybody during the night.

GBOGBULA.

GBOGBULA.

20th October 1898.

(J. B. L. Parker interpreting.)

7293. My name is Gbogbula of Robeah. I am a farmer.

7294. Is Robeah a sacred town?—Yes; the people who get the place have some kind of ceremony which has made the place sacred.

7295. How many Chiefs and Headmen are in the town?—Only one: Pa Tam.

7296. Do you remember some policemen coming to Robeah early this year with a white officer?—Yes; there were two white officers. I did not count the police, because I was afraid.

7297. Why were you afraid?—Because when they meet us they catch us and flog us.

7298. Did you see them come into the town?—Yes; I was not present when they were coming into the town, I simply met them when they were in the town.

7299. About what time?—About two o'clock in the afternoon. I met some police sitting down at Pa Tam's house; then a bullock came from behind the house and they shot it. Then they climbed up into the rice store and pulled out the rice: after the rice, they cooked; after cooking they had chop, and after chop they slept in the town. I myself did not sleep in the town. I was afraid, because they catch you and force you to carry loads. I was not present when the town was burned. After they had burned the town, I came and helped to put out the fire.

7300. Were you at Mashenke?—Yes; I was not present when Mashenke was burned, but I went there after.

7301. How long after the police were at Robeah was it that you found it burning?—The very same day.

7302. Was that three or four days after you first saw the police come?—I did not go away; I slept in the farmhouse and came back the next morning.

7303. That day the police came to the town you ran into the bush?—I ran away immediately after I saw them.

7304. Did you remain near enough to the town to have heard firing if there had been firing?—Yes.

7305. How far from the town?—From here to Charlotte Street, about quarter-mile, I heard firing before the night.

7306. Did you hear country guns as well as police guns?—No country guns.

7307. About midnight did you hear shooting?—I do not know; I lay down and slept.

7308. When you went to Robeah and found it burning, did you hear that some Robeah people had been killed?—No; I never heard that any one had been killed at Robeah.

7309. Do you know about anything that happened at Mashenk?—I do not know what happened there; I simply went and found the place burned.

7310. Do you know a man called Sorsor?—Yes; he lives at Mashenk.

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UMKORO.

21*st October* 1898.

(Parker interpreting.)

7311. My name is Umkoro. I used to live at Kambrabai in Kwaia.

7312. Were you ever at Mafoloma?—Yes.

7313. Do you remember anything peculiar happening when you were there?—I saw Captain Warren and Captain Fairtlough come with plenty people. They came in the night and carried war. They plundered all the things in the town and took all they got. They killed some people in the town. They killed a woman and a child. They stripped some of the women naked, and burned the place. They took captives.

7314. Who was the Chief of Mafoloma?—Bouiyah.

7315. Did you see the Captains and their policemen come into the town?—I was present and saw them.

7316. Can you tell me how the fighting began?—On account of the tax: because they did not pay the tax in time, they carried war to them.

7317. Did the town boys fire on Captain Warren first?—The town boys did not fire at the Captain and the policemen. As soon as they came into the town at midnight they began to fire; they caught the women, and most of the men ran into the bush.

7318. Were any of the town's people firing on the policemen?—No; they never fired on the policemen.

7319. Did you hear how many of the town people were killed?—One woman, by name Dibar, and a child, and a small girl, and a man called Kolar. I saw these with my own eyes.

7320. Did you hear of anybody besides being killed?—No.

7321. How many houses are there in Mafoloma?—Plenty; more than twenty; the town is a large town.

7322. Then did the police fire at the windows of the houses?—The houses have no windows. As soon as the police came into the town they fired their guns, and as soon as any one came out of the house they shot at him, and afterwards they went into the houses.

7323. Were there any bush people with Captain Fairtlough, or only policemen?—There were some bush people; Fulla Mansa and some of his people.

7324. Did they catch Bouiyah?—No; he was in the town that night but he ran away.

7325. Did they catch you?—Yes; they took me to Ronietta and then on to Kwalu.

7326. Did they make you a prisoner?—Yes; there were many of us.

7327. How did you get away?—My husband followed Fulla Mansa when he went to Rotofunk to pay, but they wanted to kill him, so he ran back again. Dick Woolla went up to Kwalu to pay some money, and, as I was related to Mr. Lawson, Fulla Mansa handed me over to Dick Woolla. There were about one hundred prisoners besides myself.

7328. Was it Fulla Mansa's people who took them?—Yes; when the police caught us they used to take us to Fulla Mansa.

7329. Did the policemen begin shooting directly they entered the town?—Yes; they walked round the town and began to fire; as soon as the people in the town heard the guns and began to run away they fired at them.

7330. Had the men left the town before this morning when the policemen came?—The policemen met all the men in the town in the night.

7331. Did the men run away at once?—Yes; all the big men, only small boys were left.

7332. Were these one hundred prisoners mostly young boys and girls?—Yes.

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7333. Where are the people now who used to live in Mafoloma?—They all went to their Fakkis; they have not built the town yet. UMKORO.

7334. Are they making their farms at all?—They are brushing them.

7335. Did the people of Mafoloma pay the tax after that?—Yes. A man, by name Paymangu, took the money to Kwalu.

LANCE-CORPORAL SAMUEL WILLIAMS.

Lance-Corporal SAMUEL WILLIAMS.

21*st October* 1898.

(Deen interpreting.)

7336. My name is Samuel Williams. I am a Lance-Corporal in the Frontier Police I joined on 8th August 1894.

7337. What country do you come from?—Kambia, Timini.

7338. Who were you with before you joined the force?—In Freetown for fifteen years before. I was a boatman for three years in the Rio Nunes with a Mr. Bates, was employed with Mr. Williams selling rum in the Kissy road for a long time, and boatman to the Sierra Leone Coaling Company, and doing odd jobs.

7339. Do you usually speak Timini?—Yes.

7340. Were you with Mr. Williams when you joined the police?—As soon as I left the Sierra Leone Coaling Company I joined the force.

7341. Where are you stationed now?—At Karene.

7342. Were you stationed there in February?—I was relieved from the station at Kambia on 3rd February, and went to Karene.

7343. Did you go with Captain Sharpe when he went to collect the tax at Port Lokko?—I followed him to Port Lokko. I was there when he was collecting the tax.

7344. Did he send you on a particular message about that time with two other policemen?—No.

7345. Were you not sent by Captain Sharpe with a letter to someone?—No.

7346. Or with a message without a letter?—No.

7347. Is there another Lance-Corporal Williams?—Two or three; Lance-Corporal Stephen, Lance-Corporal Enoch, and Corporal Williams.

7348. Do you know if anybody was sent by Captain Sharpe while you were at Port Lokko with a letter to Bai Bureh?—Yes.

7349. Who was sent?—Lance-Corporal Stephen Williams.

7350. Do you remember Lance-Corporal Stephen Williams being sent with a message from Port Lokko to Bai Bureh?—A letter came from Captain Sharpe, from Port Lokko to Karene, that it should be delivered to one who could read and write to take to Bai Bureh. When I was going up from Port Lokko to Karene I met Lance-Corporal Stephen Williams on the road, going with a message to Bai Bureh.

7351. I suppose you had a chat with him, and then you went on to Karene?—Yes. He went on to find Bai Bureh.

7352. You saw Lance-Corporal Stephen Williams again soon after?—The day I went to Karene I did not sleep there, but returned to Port Lokko after delivering my message, and on the way back I met Lance-Corporal Stephen Williams again.

7353. Were you far from Karene when you met Lance-Corporal Stephen Williams the first time?—It was near the river, not two hours off.

7354. Then, when you were returning from Karene to Port Lokko, how far had you got when you met him the second time?—Not one hour's walk from Karene.

7355. You rested some time in Karene after delivering your message before starting back again?—I waited till they had prepared my meal; not three hours.

7356. When you met Lance-Corporal Stephen Williams the first time, did he show you the letter?—Yes. (Witness described it as being in a foolscap envelope.) I did not notice how it was closed.

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Lance-Corporal SAMUEL WILLIAMS.

7357. When you met him the second time you had a chat again?—Yes.

7358. What did he say about the letter?—He told me it was impossible to take the letter as he met some war at Katinti, and they almost killed him; he made a narrow escape.

7359. So that he had never seen Bai Bureh?—No; so he told me.

7360. The first time you met him, were there any other constables with him?—There were two other policemen with him.

7361. Did you see the letter the second time you met him?—Yes; he took the letter back to Port Lokko.

7362. Did you and he walk together to Port Lokko?—No; we did not travel together, but we reached Port Lokko the same day.

7363. Were you one of the party that went with Major Tarbet and Captain Sharpe afterwards for the purpose of arresting Bai Bureh?—Yes; I was with them. I do not remember the date; it was not January, as I came to Karene in February.

7364. What was the first place you reached?—We halted at Malal. The next day we were marching to Karene, when we met the war at Romani.

7365. Have you a distinct recollection of what happened? What was the first thing that took place when you got in sight of Romani?—I cannot say the first thing, as I was in the rearguard, except that we halted in the wide space before the town.

7366. Did the column march through the town before you got to this wide space?—The whole of us had marched through the town. When we halted there the people told us we could not pass to Karene.

7367. Did nothing take place before that?—Nothing had happened before that. When they said that, Major Tarbet endeavoured to beg them. I heard the people say that they would not allow us to carry the money that had been collected at Port Lokko to Karene.

7368. Then it was when you were halted in this wide space the war-boys said they would not let you go to Karene.—Yes.

7369. Did not Captain Sharpe go into the town with two policemen and come with a man between them?—Yes.

7370. Why did you not say that before?—I thought you meant when we were entering the town.

7371. Did you notice this man who came between the two constables, what state he was in?—There was a wound on his head and blood was trickling down; but I do not know how he got it.

7372. What became of this man with the bleeding head?—When they got to the wide space the young man cried to the people to come and rescue him, and when the Captain saw the people were annoyed at the boy being taken away, he left the boy.

7373. Did anyone try to shoot at the boy?—I did not see that; as soon as the boy was set free we started for Karene.

7374. What was the formation of the column?—The carriers were in the centre. There was an advanced guard in front of the carriers. The main body was just before the rear-guard, behind the carriers.

7375. How many yards behind the main body was the rear-guard?—I do not know the distance.

7376. How many constables were in the rear guard?—I do not know.

7377. Where was Major Tarbet?—With the main body.

7378. Were you not in the rear-guard?—I went to the front when I was there was a disturbance, but I had no orders.

7379. Is that the way the Frontier Police behave?—No.

7380. But you did it on that occasion?—Some of the carriers were deserting their loads and it was during that time I placed myself in the advanced guard. We were not in any order.

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7381. When you were in the advance-guard did you hear the rear-guard firing?—Yes; it was while we were in that field. Lance-Corporal Samuel Williams.

7382. When the rear-guard fired did the column take up the firing?—Yes; an order was given that they should fire generally.

7383. Were not the constables all in confusion?—Yes; a short time after we fired all the people ran back.

7384. Was any order given to the rear-guard to fire?—Yes; but I did not hear the order given.

7385. Then did you go on to Karene after this firing?—Yes.

7386. Was there any more attack upon you?—Yes; we were on the main road to Karene; they shot at Captain Hastings three times in his hammock, but without effect.

22nd October 1898.

Mr. Williams.

Mr. Williams.

7387. My name is Francis Thomas Williams. I am a trader at Rembi, and have traded there since 1890. I am twenty-eight years old. I paid my hut tax in March 1898. Chief Neale Caulker sent to warn us all that the tax was to be paid in the month of March this year. In the second week in March I found two Frontier Policemen, Davis and Grant, at Rembi. They stopped in one of my houses; they selected my house themselves and turned my boy out. He complained to me that he was turned out of the house. This was after the tax for this house was paid. I asked the policemen who gave them the house. They said the big man gave it them. I said to them how could the big man give them my house for which I had paid my tax, and he (the big man) did not give one of his own houses. The policemen said they did not care and that they were Government officers. I then told them they would have to pay for the house. They said they would pay. They stayed there for three days and left. When they were leaving I asked them for the payment. Davis, the corporal, said that he didn't care, that I seemed to make myself too high and that it was I who instigated the people of Rembi not to pay the hut tax. I met my father-in-law, Gbanna Coney, at Rembi and he was there to pay the tax for his fakki Baworgah where there were about nineteen houses. On Tuesday morning Gbanna Coney's gown which he hung up in the house of one Tooa Lakka where he (Gbanna Coney) stayed on his visit to Rembi, was seized by Corporal Davis for the hut tax on Tooa Lakka's house. Gbanna Coney explained to Davis that the gown was his but that the house did not belong to him. Davis in reply told him that if he wanted his gown he was to pay for the house. He demanded ten shillings for the house and I had to lend Coney the ten shillings which he paid to Davis in my presence. On Tuesday several of the people at Rembi went to the constables and asked for a little time to collect the money to pay the tax. I used then to interpret between the Frontier Police and the people. Some of the people had to pay country cloths which the Frontier received for little value. On the same Tuesday Davis asked for the owner of one house. Gagbah the owner, said it was his and he asked Davis to allow him time as he had no money. Davis said if Gagbah did not pay the house would be broken down. He said it was the Commissioner who told them that if any house was not paid for it was to be burnt or broken down. Gagbah then left the house as Davis threatened to break it. The two policemen, Davis and Grant, with a boy named Dark Eye, broke down the house. The house was a circular mud house with a diameter of about one and a half fathoms. It had no window nor door. The entrance had a mat for covering it. On Wednesday, the police went to Kala, a fakki of seven houses belonging to Banna Sobole to collect the tax. I met Davis there seizing small articles belonging to the people of the fakki. Some of the people asked me to pay for them. I told them I don't get money to lend them. The things seized were nine cans of palm oil and seven bushels of palm nuts. These things were seized in the bush. The Frontier policemen demanded from

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Mr. WILLIAMS.

the people and one of them named Gbarri, paid one piece of cloth for the trouble of the police gathering these, and a few other articles from the bush. The Frontiers after this threatened to burn the fakki if the people did not go and sell their produce and pay the tax. The people then took the produce to Rembi and sold it to Mr. James B. Halfur, who I believe is now at Hastings. The palm oil was sold at 3s. 6d. a can, and the palm nuts at 3s. 6d. a bushel, the nine cans and seven bushels bringing £2 16s. Banna Boye the owner of one of the houses had no property and he was unable to pay. He followed me the next night, Thursday, to borrow money from me to pay the tax. I could not give it him. The same evening Davis returned to Rembi and retook possession of my house, and slept there, and when my boy complained he took out his gun. Upon this I spoke to Davis about his conduct in thus taking possession of the house. I said to him that in doing the Government work he should not impose upon the natives, and that he should have asked before he got into the house. He then promised to pay for the house the next day. The next day he left without paying. I heard that going through the fakki of Kalia that Friday he burnt down the house of Banna Boye. On the same or next following day, one Peah Caleh came to me at Rembi asking me to write to the Chief Neale Caulker to report that the police burnt his, Peah Caleh's, town of fourteen houses called Torbombu. I went on the following Monday to see the place before writing: I saw one house broken down and four houses burnt down. The houses were fired by Davis, as I was informed by Peah Caleh's wife Yamkam, and that she begged him not to burn it, but he said that he believed her husband ran away. Peah Caleh himself told me that he had gone to Yondu to borrow money to pay the tax, and that on his return before entering the fakki, he saw the place on fire. A few houses (say six) a little further up were not burnt. The owners of two of the houses burnt had paid for them, Mamy Mary a trader, and another person named Mormodu. I did not meet Mamy Mary: she had I learnt gone to Chief Neale Caulker, to lodge the complaint about the burning of her house. I wrote the letter required by Peah Caleh, and therein stated also about the breaking down of the houses at Rembi and burnt down at Kalia. That letter was sent by Garnett, who is in Mr. Parkes' office. Garnett afterwards told me he delivered the letter to Chief Neale Caulker. On 1st January 1897, Lieutenant Barker came to Goree in the Shengay district, and there he held a meeting, at which the people of Rembi including myself were invited by Chief Neale Caulker. At that meeting Lieutenant Barker gave a copy of the Ordinance about hut tax to Chief Neale Caulker. Lieutenant Barker explained that the people would have to pay the tax this year (1898). Among the people present were Bana Sobo, headman of Rembi, Tooa Lakka, Canray Coney of Bahongoh, Foula Mordu of Canray Sumanah, the rest were young men. The headmen said that their parents never paid tax before, and therefore they themselves were not able to pay. What the people said was not explained to Lieutenant Barker. Chief Neale Caulker told the people in the Sherbro language that they must try and pay, and whatever they were able to get to pay they must get it and he would write to the Goverment. Tooa Lakka, Canray Coney of Bahongoh, and Foula Mordu replied in the Sherbro language that their parents had never paid tax before, and that it was not English sticks or nails they took to make their house, and now if the Government said they must pay tax they would go away and live in the bush: that they had no slaves, Government having taken away their slaves from them: and that they have not fought the Government and have said nothing against them, and now they are alone and having no one to work, the Government want them to pay tax. Chief Neale Caulker said that it was not he who called upon them to pay the tax, that the Government said he should tell them and he speaks to them. Chief Caulker had no further answer from them again and the people then all went away. I have after this met with the Mendis coming from up country to Shengay, and at Shengay they state that they in the up country being unable to pay the hut tax, had told the District Commissioner, Captain Barker, that they are so unable to pay the tax, and that they would send away all the Sierra Leone people

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from their country, as it is they who bring this tax, and if for this the Government would war them they could not help. During last year, Chief Caulker continued after the interview with Tooa Lakka and others to send round to the people to be ready for payment of the tax this year, but they said they were unable to pay. On the 1st May this year, about noon, the Mendi war-boys from the up-country came upon Rembi suddenly, and whilst I was in the bush with my wife and two children, I heard the Mendi war-boys talking in Mendi, that the Sherbro people should not run away as they had not come for them, as they had been forced to pay the tax, and that it was the Sierra Leone people they had come to drive away; and if the Sherbros kept any of them in the town they would burn the town. They said that it was the Sierra Leone people who had brought tax in their country, and if the Sierra Leone people had not been there the Government would not have brought tax in their country. On the third night (Tuesday), whilst in the bush, my wife's uncle, one Bana Sobole of Bonday, who had been hiding us, came and said the war-boys were searching for me as they said I escaped a Mrs. Phœbe Ann George from their hands, and they would kill me in her stead; upon which he got a small canoe and sent us away, and on Thursday we got to Kent and then on to Freetown.

7388. Anything further?—We only wish to reside at Shengay, but the Frontier Police are disturbing the people, still tying them and flogging them: that prevents people from doing their work.

7389. On what grounds do they tie and flog them?—I met five of them at Tisanna in the latter part of last month, and they were tying them and driving them from their farms and devouring their rice.

7390. Can you give me their names?—I do not know their names, but I could recognise them.

7391. Were they police or soldiers?—Soldiers of the new West African regiment.

7392. Do you know who is the officer in command of the detachment?—Sergeant Smith at Rotofunk.

7393. But is there not some superior officer?—No: they reside at Rotofunk; there is a sergeant and six men.

Tam Katineh.

24th October 1898.

(Parker interpreting.)

7394. My name is Tam Katineh, a son of Bai Kompah's. I was a farmer at Robaga. My father lived at Makompah.

7395. How many houses are there at Makompah?—Twelve houses and seven stores.

7396. Were you at Makompah when a white man with some police came there early this year?—Yes; I went there to see my father because he was sick. As soon as we saw them we ran to the bush because we were afraid.

7397. Was there a number of Bai Kompah's war-boys with him?—No; none at all.

7398. Were there war-boys under another Chief?—No; in our country no one had any war-boys.

7399. What river is there at Makompah?—A small branch of the Kwaia river called the Makonkoma. The Kwaia river is near Makompah.

7400. Was your father at Makompah at that time?—He was not in the town itself: they hid him in the bush, because he was sick and on account of the policemen.

7401. How far did you go into the bush?—About 300 yards: I could see what was going on in the town. We heard the police shooting in the town and we were afraid. There was plenty of firing down by the river side. It was about nine months ago, February or March, I think. They burned Makompah then. Makompah was only burned once. There was no fighting by the waterside, and nobody was killed that I know of.

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TAM KATINEH.

7402. Were you with your father when Captain Fairtlough and Captain Warren with Chief Smart came up to Kwaia this year?—I was present: Makompah was burned.

7403. Were you with your father when they came to Romangi and found your father in bed and pulled him out of bed and the police held him?—I was present at Romangi. He was not in the bush then. I saw what took place on that occasion. My father was lying down; as soon as the white man came in he told my father to get up. My father said he was not so well: then the white man kicked my father while he was still in bed. My father said, 'My sons all see this: I have done nothing: the man came and kicked me.' He asked the white man what he had done, and he said that he had come to my father for payment. My father said, 'What payment?' He said, 'On account of the house.' My father said, 'If I had to pay anything, would you not come and tell me quietly? but you come and kick me. I never thought of this. Suppose you want anything from any man, you come quietly and ask him for it; but you have not done this, you have come and kicked me.' I was in the parlour a few feet off. Then my father came outside into the verandah: he was a very old man, and he was ill. He sent me to call one of his wives, and I called her and brought her; and then I went back to my working place, and left my father there with the white man, and his wife and several other people.

7404. Did they set fire to Makompah on the same day they came there or afterwards?—The next morning when they left. I do not know why they burned it.

7405. Are you quite sure that neither at the time or afterwards did you hear that any one had been killed at Makompah or by the river side?—Yes: I am quite sure of that.

7406. Have they begun to rebuild Makompah?—No; the people are still hiding. Some of them have little country stores in the bush.

DARK EYE.

DARK EYE.

(Garnett Wolseley interpreting.)

7407. My name is Peyeh Dark Eye. I am a farmer at Shengay. I was employed by Chief Neale Caulker at the beginning of this year in the collection of the tax. There were four of us: two Frontiers, myself, and Dixon. We started collecting at Tisanna, a village of twenty-six houses, about two miles from Shengay. Dixon was not with us at first, but joined us later. I and two policemen went to Tisanna, and there we met a man called Sela, and we told him we had come for the tax. He said he was only visiting there, and went and called the Headman, Kanreh Salata. The policemen then caught the Headman and demanded the tax money, and kept him tied all day. They tied his hands behind his back with the cord they used to clean their guns with. While he was tied he sent to his Chief and told him that the Frontier Police had come for the tax and tied him. The Chief said, 'We have no power. What can we do? You must pay the tax, and they will leave you.' Then the whole of the people paid 5s. for each house. We slept there, and the next day passed on to Bendoo, where we told the people the same thing. Then they paid, and we did not tie any one there. Bendoo is a large town, and we took £8 there. Then we went on to Toomba, which is just the other side of the river. When we got there we explained what we had come for. We spoke to a man called Tooa Bally, who was not the Headman. Then some of them said they would not pay without seeing their Headman, Kaney Face. They sent to him, and he sent to say that they should all pay. Then they paid. While they were paying there was a boy called Bunker who had a big house, and he said he would not pay 10s. for it. They caught him and tied him for two hours, and then he paid 10s. Then we went to Mano: we asked for the tax. There is an old there Headman called Nyama, and we asked him for the tax. There we met Dixon. When we met him there the police gathered all the

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people and explained to them about the tax. Some of the people paid their tax in kernels. Then the police sent me to take those kernels to Shengay. Then Dixon and the police went on to several other towns. They burned houses at Torgbombo, but I was not present: they also burned some at Kalia, but not at Kaloko. After I was sent to Kwalu, I met them at Lawana, and saw them catch a cow. The Headman, Moodlie, said he had no money. When he said that, the policemen told him they should take his cow as he had no money. The cow was then sold for £4. Moodlie afterwards paid the money, but neither the cow nor the money it was sold for were returned to him. They caught Kamasoko and tied him, and told him it was for not paying for his village called Soko. DARK EYE.

7408. Did Dixon remonstrate with the police when they tied people and so on?—He was pleading for the people, but the policemen said, 'You sit down, it is not your duty; you are simply told to go before us and show us the towns, and leave us to enact our duty.'

7409. Did they say anything else about the instructions they had from the District Commissioner?—They said they do everything because they have the power; they are only having mercy. That their duty is, if any one refuses to pay the tax, if they like they will shoot him dead. They said that in the presence of the people of towns where they were.

7410. Did the people make any remarks about the tax and the way the police collected it?—They did not say anything right out that I heard; they did not like it, but they only murmured.

SURI KAMARA.

SURI KAMARA.

26th October 1898.

(Parker interpreting.)

7411. My name is Suri Kamara. I am a farmer at Mobayifu on the Upper Kwaia river. They carried war to the place. I saw some policemen and Fulla Mansa, and heard that there was a white man at Masimbi. I went to an island, Royil, to work on a farm. I thought I would not go into the bush. While we were on this island on the Rokell river, the police met me and ran after me. I jumped into the river, and when I got to the opposite bank I stood there: they fired guns at me. I tried to cross over to Masabo, and they returned back. They did not spoil anything at Mobayifu. They spoiled some rice at Royil. There are plenty of people left on the island, where there is a town of three houses. There was no fighting at all; they shot at me on account of the tax. I was not fighting with the policemen; I had not agreed to pay. I heard that they shot some people in Lower Kwaia. There was a small canoe upset with three small boys in it. They had gone to get a sheep, and when they saw the police they wanted to run away; but as soon as they turned round the police fired at them but did not hit them, and they fell into the water from fear. The police took the canoe and they never saw it again. After the police had burned Royil, they came to Mobayifu. I was there. They were stationed at Furudugu, and the white man said we could do nothing, whether we agreed to pay or not: so we agreed to pay, and he did not do anything to us. Mr. Brown was to take the money up. The sergeant came down and counted the houses. Sergeant Peppy told me not to run away. They came a second time, and said that the first payment had not been entered in the book, and told Samuel to collect the money again. On account of that they said we must give up all guns and cutlasses. We said we had none: what were we going to do now? Then they said that if they had no cutlasses every town must pay £1. We collected 10s. and went and begged, and they agreed on account of the cutlasses. We had cutlasses to make farms; the police did not make us give them up. There are twenty-two houses and some fakkis, and the people in the fakkis paid tax too. We collected £17, and gave it to Samuel of Mosulacata. Neither Fulla Mansa's people nor

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SURI KAMARA. the police killed any one in our town. They shot off their guns at people in the bush because they refused to pay tax: the people in the bush were not firing at the police. I saw Fulla Mansa's people kill people at Majackson. I was not present, but saw the bodies afterwards. Three people were killed. Fulla Mansa's people used to plunder the towns. When the police first came for the tax we said, 'All right, we cannot pay until we have seen Bai Kompah.' Bai Kompah then said he would go to Freetown. I did not know of any agreement among the Chiefs in Kwaia not to pay the hut tax. Bai Kompah ordered us to pay the tax.

RAKA MULOYA.

RAKA MULOYA.

(Parker interpreting.)

7412. My name is Raka Muloya. I am a farmer at Roliah, a town of thirty-four houses. Chief Smart and Fulla Mansa, *alias* Bonga, brought a lot of war-boys and burned down the place. They did not ask us to pay anything; they simply brought war and burned the place. None of our people fought. No one was killed: we all ran away. They burned the place the same day they came; it was about six months ago. I did not see any white man or police, but I heard there were some police. I ran away at once when they came. We paid the tax twice. The first time we paid it to Samuel, but he gave no receipt. The second time we paid the same Samuel and some police.

SA MAILA.

SA MAILA.

(Parker interpreting.)

7413. My name is Sa Maila. I am Chief of Mabaifu. A white man and Fulla Mansa brought war down to our place. Fulla Mansa had plenty of war-boys. As soon as I heard they were coming I ran into the bush, and I did not see what took place. After they had gone away I did not hear of any fighting. I heard that Fulla Mansa had killed some people on the way down. I did not hear of any one being killed in my town. They simply burned my fakkis and five rice stores, and took all my property. They came twice, first with the war and afterwards to collect the money.

SENNI KEBBI.

SENNI KEBBI.

(Parker interpreting.)

7414. My name is Senni Kebbi. I am Headman of Mashenk. I saw two white men come with some Frontier Police, and Chief Smart with some war-boys. They simply said that they were strangers; and we gave them food and lodging. They slept there. In the night they called me and asked me to show them where Bai Kompah was. I told them that Bai Kompah was in Kwaia, and if they wanted him they must go to Pa Tam. In the morning all the people had run into the bush, because they were afraid of the guns. My people had no guns. In the morning they asked me to take them to Mafileh. I took them there. When I returned back to my place two days after, I heard that they had gone to Bai Kompah and burned his place. They all had guns. I said, 'This is war; but after I have given them food and lodging and treated them kindly, they will not bring war to me.' Then I heard they had burned Robeah, and I ran into the bush. I went to Madonkia, but before I got there I found my place burned down. I am a blacksmith, and they took all my tools. I had no power. After that Fulla Mansa came to my place and said I must pay tax; but I had already paid it and did not pay him. I saw them flog Suri Kambi; they simply caught him and beat him.

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Suri Kambi.

(Parker interpreting.)

7415. My name is Suri Kambi. I am a headman of Mashenk. I remember some Frontier Police coming to Mashenk without an officer about seven months ago. There were plenty of policemen. They went to my farm, and some one called me; when I came I saw smoke in the town, and I asked, 'What is the matter?' They said, 'On account of the tax,' and caught hold of me and gave me a good flogging, and I ran away into the bush. I had already paid my tax. There are about twenty houses in Mashenk. They flogged me because I was headman, and asked what was the matter. I did not see any white man. The head black Frontier told them to let me alone. There was no fighting or shooting. I remember there was some old quarrel between the Yonnis and the people of Kwaia; I do not know what it was about. I do not know how old I am.

Selli Manni.

(Parker interpreting.)

7416. My name is Selli Manni. I am a headman of Mashenk. I remember some Frontier Police coming to Mashenk this year with two white men. I do not know their names. When they got to the town they asked for lodging. We gave them lodging, and they slept there. Next morning they went on to Lower Kwaia. They came back again. We had done nothing to them in the town; we simply gave them food and lodging. The second time the Frontier Police came again with the white men, and as soon as they came they began to burn the houses. I ran away as soon as I saw them the second time, because we heard the white men had burned down Mafileh. They burned our place on account of the tax. They demanded payment the first time they came, and we said we would go and tell our father (Bai Kompah), and the second time they did not ask us again; they simply burned the place. We paid the tax afterwards. Bai Kompah gave us orders that we were to pay. They troubled us very much, and burned all our things: we used to put our things on the top of our houses when we ran away.

Sella.

(Parker interpreting.)

7417. My name is Sella. I am headman of Mafileh. Two white men and some Frontier Police came and burned down the place about six months ago. We saw the war come, and they burned down the place on account of the tax, but they never asked us to pay. Fulla Mansa sent a message that he was employed to collect the tax; and if we did not pay, he would bring down war. We did not refuse to pay. There are twenty-two houses in Mafileh. £5 was paid for the town. The people have not begun to rebuild the town; they are still in the bush. There is a report from Kwalu that if any one goes back to rebuild the town, they will be killed. The people wish to build their town, but they are afraid.

Sumani.

(Parker interpreting.)

7418. My name is Sumani. I live at Mafileh. The white people burned down the town. I saw two white men and Chief Smart, and many labourers and Frontier Police. They did not ask for Sella, the headman, or Mammy Sarah. When they got to the town, all the people ran into the bush. They caught me and some others, and tied me and

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SUMANI.

took me down to Makompah. When we got to Makompah at night, the white man asked us what we had done. We told him we had done nothing, and they let us go. Then we left them at Makompah, and returned. In the morning they came back and burned our place, and went on to Robeah, which is not a mile away. I never heard of any fight there, or of anybody being killed. They burned twenty-two houses and fourteen country stores full of rice. The people had not paid the tax at the time the town was burned, but they paid afterwards. We paid the tax because Fulla Mansa sent a message to say if we did not pay the tax the white man had told him to come and burn the town. We collected £2, 10s., and used to send 10s. each day as we collected it. Bai Kompah had never given any orders either to pay or not. The Chiefs of Kwaia did not refuse to pay the tax. Bai Kompah's permission to pay was necessary in any event.

MOMR.

MOMR.

(Parker interpreting.)

7419. My name is Momor. I am a farmer of Mashenk. I saw three white men and some Frontier Police come. I do not know their names. As soon as they came to the town we gave them food and lodging, and they slept there that night. About two weeks after they came back, and we made them some presents. They slept in the town, and in the morning they burned the houses on account of the tax. We had already paid. We paid twice, because they said if we refused to pay again they would bring war upon us. There were twenty-three houses: five were not burned. Suri Kambi is Chief of Mashenk. I am Senni Kebbi's brother-in-law.

ALI BAMKAI.

ALI BAMKAI.

28th October 1898.

(Parker interpreting.)

7420. My name is Santigi Ali Bamkai of Furudugu. I was at Furudugu during the latter part of March, I think it was; Ramadan was not finished. This is the seventh moon. I saw Smart and Banga (Fulla Mansa) come with followers, and afterwards, on the same day, the white man came. They brought war to the town, and drove us out of the place. I did not see any fighting. I did not see any Frontier Police: Furudugu is on the river side. They killed one of Almamy's boys; they met him in the town. We all ran into the bush. The people of Furudugu were not armed. None of Banga's people were killed. The people made no fight when Banga came and set fire to the town. We have no fighting boys at Furudugu. When they burned the place, they left some of the houses where the white men lodged. When Banga's people left they burned the houses where they stayed. The whole place was not burned that day. There were ten houses left. No Furudugu people tried to cross the river. I do not know the names of the white men. One person was killed in Furudugu. I am sure there were not five killed. I do not know of any Nyamba leading a war party against Banga. When Banga was at Rotofunk he left for Majackson, and I heard that he killed eight people there, but I never went there. I know Suri Kamara: he was at his own place, Mabene, that day.

7421. Did not Suri Kamara and a lot of people put off in a canoe, and the canoe was upset, and Suri Kamara swam to the opposite shore?—Suri Kamara was at his own place. After the war people had left I went back to the town, and went into one of the houses that were left not burned. I was in the bush for two weeks and a half. I was not near the town. When I went back I met nobody there, but some people came afterwards. After that Chief Smart brought a lot of war-boys and plundered the town and burned the remaining houses. It was about four weeks after I had returned to the town. He

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brought war-boys and a large canoe: as soon as we saw him we ran into the bush again. ALI BAMKAI.
He simply plundered our things and burned the houses. I was in the bush for one and a half months.

7422. What is the source of your information about Banga having burned Furudugu? —One of my sons, called Santigi, told me. I only saw smoke when I ran away. I heard that eight people were killed at Majackson. I heard of no fighting at Robeah, Makompah, Mafuluma, or at Fondo. Both Mafuluma and Fondo are within a few hours of Furudugu. They burned Fondo, and killed two persons there.

SORSOR. SORSOR.

(Parker interpreting.)

7423. My name is Sorsor. I was present and saw Mashenk burned. It was about seven months ago. I saw two white men and some Frontier Police with guns and carriers. That is all the people I saw. When they came to the town we made presents to them. They passed on, and two days after we saw smoke, and some people came running to our place. They said the white men were beginning to burn their town. As soon as I went up to Mashenk I heard a gun. We left the town and ran into the bush, and left the white men's people in the town; it was they who fired the guns. As soon as they went into the town, they set fire to the houses; and as they were leaving the town, they met a man in a palm-wine farm called Pa Sisay; they shot him, and he was brought to Freetown, then they passed on. Pa Sisay is quite well now; he is at Madonkia. I never heard about any fighting.

BAINBAY. BAINBAY.

(Parker interpreting.)

7424. My name is Bainbay. I live at Majackson. Majackson was burned on account of the tax. When we came to the town we heard noises like war shouts. They caught some of my boys and killed them, and then burned the town. I saw Banga in a hut with some war-boys when they came first. They caught seven of my boys and killed them—Karanki, Kanri, Barha, Sekenni, Beuta and others. The boys had done nothing; they ran after them, and caught them in the bush, and brought them to the town and killed them. The boys did not shoot at them (the police). I saw some Frontier Police, but I did not see a white man. After they had burned the place they passed on to Ropolong. I am the headman of Majackson. The Frontier Police did not ask me for the tax. They asked me for nothing. I ran away. Ropolong is within shouting distance. I heard them fire guns at Ropolong. I do not know what took place. I did not make any inquiries. I heard that the white people had employed Banga to collect the tax. When he came he landed at Furudugu at ten o'clock on a Sunday and passed up to Majackson and burned it. I had not paid the tax then. I have paid it now.

LAMINA. LAMINA.

(Parker interpreting.)

7425. My name is Lamina. I am brother to Kawo, and represent him, as he is not so well. I was at Masubu. I saw some people coming to the town, and I ran away. They burned the town. I heard people say they were some Frontier Police and Timini country people who came to the town, but I myself saw nothing. I ran away. All our rice was burned. We were ready to pay the tax; we were waiting.

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KOLERRE.

KOLERRE.

29th October 1898.

(Parker interpreting.)

7426. My name is Kolerre; I lived at Magbene. I was there when it was burned down. I saw Banga and Charles Smart and two white men, and some Frontier Police. It was about six months ago. They came about 2 P.M. As soon as they got to the town, they drove us from the town. I hid myself among a banana patch in the town. When all had been driven from the town they set fire to it, and went on to Furudugu. Pa Nembana is Chief of Magbene. They had already caught him, and sent him to Kwalu. They had asked him to pay the tax, and he said Bai Kompah was Paramount Chief, and that he did not know what to tell them until he had heard from Bai Kompah. They never asked anybody to pay when they got to the town. Pa Nembana had always been friendly with the Government before he was arrested. They killed some people at Magbene. A man called Sumana was shot. He belonged to Magbene, and was a relation of Pa Nembana's. There was only one man killed at Magbene. I know nothing about the fight that took place at Robeah, or at Rokonko, or at Mafuluma, or at Makompah, or at Rofato, or at Rolia, or at Mayumera. I never heard of Masongli. I know Robump, Suri Kamara's town. It was destroyed the next day after Magbene; there was no fighting there. They killed one person at Robump. I do not know why; they simply go into the town, and if you do not have a chance to run, they kill you. I do not know Pa Kewan of Rofundo. If there had been fighting at any of these places, I should have heard of it, but no one confronted the war when it came down. They did not fire at them from the bush. Banga and Smart had more than 400 war-boys. As soon as they came they began to plunder all our rice, sheep, goats, and cows to eat; when they had eaten as much as they could, they stopped.

LAMINA.

LAMINA.

(Parker interpreting.)

7427. My name is Lamina. I am Kapur Serie's brother, and am a farmer at Makuna. Makuna was burned down. I was there and saw it. Banga and some war came, some Mendis, and some Frontier Police. I was lying down in the grass near the burial-ground near the town. There was shooting, but nobody was killed or wounded. They began to shoot into the town as they entered from the road. The people of Makuna ran into the bush; they had no guns. They burned all our rice, and took our things, and asked us to pay tax. The first time they came they did not find my father, who is the Headman; they asked me for the tax, and I told them we would try. There are eight houses in the town. Then about three days after they came again, but did not ask us to pay, and burned the town. They came back a third time and asked for the tax. My father paid them £1.

DAWUDA.

DAWUDA.

(Parker interpreting.)

7428. My name is Dawuda. I am a farmer of Robeah. Pa Tam is the Headman. I was at Robeah early this year when the war came. There was no fight. I saw two white men and some police constables; and as soon as they wanted to enter the town, there is a small hamlet called Kanrabai near the town. They met some boys standing by, and one of them, by name Momor Bullom, said, 'You are the people who come to spoil our country and burn up all our places; the Queen did not send you for that,' then they fired at him, and he was brought to Freetown for medical treatment. I saw that happen. As far as I can remember, it was eight months ago. The people came to the town about 5 P.M., and began to catch some of the boys in the town. I was hidden in a small bush. They slept there that night, and killed cows and goats and sheep. We were still hidden near and

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saw what they were doing. In the morning they got ready to go about seven o'clock. DAWUDA.
The white man was the first I saw scratch a match, then Corporal Sancho, who used to stammer, scratched one, and they burned up all the rice and the sacred places. Then they passed on to Mafileh. I did not follow them. I tried to put out the fire. They took two of my boys to Kwalu. They took one of my uncles and tied him and beat him; they wanted to force him to carry their loads. They used to catch people and make them carry loads whether they were willing or not. Captain Moore, Captain Fairtlough, and Chief Smart were there. My father is Pa Tam; he is not a Chief, but he used to crown Chiefs. I myself had one cow which was worth £7; they killed and eat it that night, and they burned my palm-oil and kernels. After they left Robeah they did not come back again. About two weeks before that time Sancho and some Frontier Police came down and took all our swords and guns. There was not a single man fought with them at Robeah. There are twenty houses at Robeah. While the white men and the police were sleeping at Robeah there were no war-boys came to attack them.

7429. If some one says that there was a strong force and a fight lasting nearly an hour, would that be true?—The man who said that would be telling a lie.

7430. Pa Tam was at Romangi when they went to ask for the tax, before Robeah was burned, and after they had taken away our swords and guns. I was present too. They asked Bai Kompah for the tax. They brought Pa Nembana in handcuffs. The white man asked, 'Where is Bai Kompah?' and took his revolver and pointed it at his head and asked him to pay the tax. Bai Kompah said, 'What tax?' Then the white man from Kwalu kicked Bai Kompah. I do not know his name; he was a young man. Smart and Pa Nembana were present at the time. Bai Kompah was inside the room when the white man met him. The white man took him outside. When the white man took Bai Kompah out I saw him kick him and then he threatened him with the revolver. Bai Kompah said, 'If you say Government sent you to say I must pay you, I myself will go to Freetown.' The white man said, 'I will take you to Kwalu.' Bai Kompah said, 'I cannot go to Kwalu, that belongs to the Mabanta district and Fulla Mansa; if you want to take me, take me to Freetown and put me in gaol.' The white man said, 'I am not going to Freetown.' Bai Kompah said, 'If you are not going to Freetown, you had better give me two Frontier Police and a letter and I will go to Freetown.' The white man said, 'All right,' and asked for some chop, and Bai Kompah had some prepared. Bai Kompah asked Pa Nembana if he was willing to go to Kwalu. Pa Nembana said, 'Yes.' Bai Kompah said, 'I have nothing at all to pay; if the Queen says I must pay tax, the proper thing is for the Governor to send a letter to me. I will go and see the Governor in Freetown, and if he says I am to pay tax, I will come back and tell the people to pay.' But he told Pa Nembana not to consent to pay at Kwalu. Then Pa Nembana went up to Kwalu with the white man, and Bai Kompah, in the evening, with the Frontier Police came to Freetown. I did not come with them. I was brushing my farm at the time.

7431. I do not know what happened at Makompah. I heard the white men burned it; I never heard of a fight there. I went up to see the place afterwards. I saw some of the Makompah people, but none of them told me about a fight. They cleared the place round the edge of the river, and as the people ran away they shot at them. The only man they shot was the man as they were coming to Robeah. I heard there was a fight at Rofundo; they killed one of my sister's children. They killed the Headman of the town, called Pa Kawan. That is what I heard. I did not hear of a fight at Rofuta. I do not know what happened in Upper Kwaia. I heard they burned Mafaluma. I heard six people had been killed at Mafaluma; some said less; I do not know about it. I heard that Furudugu was burned and some people killed. From Furudugu to Mafaluma I heard there were plenty of people killed. Chief Smart and Fulla Mansa's people took them unexpectedly and chopped them. They said they had come to collect tax. It was after they came to Robeah that I heard of their burning Rofundo and Mafaluma and those places. I heard they burned Majackson and Ropolong. There is only a river between these two towns. I heard they killed a Headman there.

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KARGBO.

KARGBO.

31*st October* 1898.

(Parker interpreting.)

7432. My name is Santigi Kargbo. I am Headman of Makroo. I was there last March. I was sick. I heard a great-war noise, firing, and horns blown. When I heard the noise I got up and went to a large tree and hid. When they fired, the shot passed over. I saw Chief Smart and Banga, and two white men, and some carriers, and some Frontier Police with the white men. I was alone under the tree. They began to plunder sheep and goats. They caught two boys, Lamina and Kanri. I did not know the names of the white men: they called them Captain. Makroo is a large town of about one hundred houses. I saw a white man take a match and scratch it, and my house was the first he lit. The other men lit other houses. The place was dark with smoke. The stores of rice were burnt. In the evening after they had left the place I came out and made myself a small hut. None of the people of Makroo were killed. The first time the white men came they did not ask for any money: afterwards when they had burned down the place they came and asked for money. It was about three days afterwards. The white man sent a man called Yamba Fakam; I gave him 4s. and said I would tell the people. I told them they must pay, and when we finished paying we never got a receipt. Yamba Fakam is a Kwaia man, and we paid him £7, 13s. He took it to take it to the white man, but he never met him, and returned back with the money to me. Afterwards again Samuel with some police came and asked for the tax, and I took the money and gave it to Samuel, and he gave me a receipt for it. That was about three and a half weeks later. Makroo is in Upper Kwaia. I did not hear of a fight between the police and the people of Robeah. Rolia is near Makroo. I did not hear about a fight there nor at Rofundo. I should have heard if there had been a fight. I did not hear of a fight at Majackson or Mafuluma. I never heard of any Kwaia people fighting the police. The Kwaia people are trying to make a little farm now.

FODAY KORRI.

FODAY KORRI.

(Parker interpreting.)

7433. My name is Santigi Foday Korri. I am the only Headman of Mabaing. I saw war there this year. I was there at the time. The Kwaia people were not fighting. I saw Banga and King Smart and two white men and some Frontier Police about 1 P.M. They came to the town and made war-noise, and I ran away. They shouted Ho-ah. I hid myself near in some banana trees. I saw what took place in the town. As soon as they came they began to plunder sheep and goats, and when they wanted to go away they lit up the place. There are about twenty houses. The white man did not ask me for anything, because I ran away and hid myself. They never came back again. Mabaing is not near Mafuluma or Robeah or Makompah; but Furudugu and Makroo are close. I did not hear of any fighting at Furudugu: I heard that they killed one boy belonging to the Alimamy there. I did not hear about fighting between the Kwaia people and the police.

SARLIAH.

SARLIAH.

(Parker interpreting.)

7434. My name is Sarliah. I am Headman of Mobandu. I saw war come into the town. I saw King Smart and Banga and two white men and some Frontier Police. It was some time in March. As soon as they went to enter the town, I heard them make war-noise, and went and hid myself behind a stick near the town. I saw them catch one woman and two men and some goats. They took them away; after that they burned the

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town. They never asked me to pay tax: I ran away directly I heard them make war-noise. They did not come back again. I never heard of any fighting in Kwaia. I heard of Pa Nembana being arrested, but not of Bai Kompah. SARLIAH.

MORGAN.

MORGAN.

1st *November* 1898.

(Parker interpreting.)

7435. My name is John Morgan. I am Headman of Rofu in Upper Kwaia, near Furudugu. I was there and saw Banga and Smart and some Frontier Police and two white men come to the town, and they burnt down the place. They spoilt all we had. Mr. Roberts has a factory there, but he was not present. They destroyed the rice-stores, and passed on to Magbene, three minutes off. They killed my bullock. They did not ask me for the tax when they came and burnt the town. The second time when they came to Furudugu they asked us to pay tax. Then I paid it to Samuel, who is a trader at Masurakata, and who used to act as interpreter to the white people; and he paid the money to the white people. I only paid once. They did not shoot anybody in my town. Kwaia is quiet now. The people are not building their houses yet, because the Alimamy of Furudugu has not come down from Kwalu yet. He came to Freetown and was taken up to Kwalu. I do not know if he was accused of anything; I heard by flying report that it was because he had not paid the tax quick.

KA HAGBAI.

KA HAGBAI.

(Morrison interpreting.)

7436. My name is Ka Hagbai. I belong to Mocassi, in the Bagru district. Tembi Yeva is Chief of Mocassi. I know Tembi Yeva.

7437. Has she paid the tax for Mocassi?—Yes; it is not completed. Tembi Yeva is now in Kwalu gaol.

7438. Do you know anything as to the cause?—No.

7439. You are detained in Kwalu gaol?—Yes; I do not know why: they never told me anything: they simply caught me; they never allowed me to say anything.

7440. Cabba Gaindah is also in prison at Kwalu?—Yes; he went there first.

7441. Do you know anything about the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment?—No.

7442. Do you know anything of the causes that brought on this war?—It came unexpectedly. We were at Mocassi. We got information that the war-boys were at Mano Bagru, a good way off. Then a man named Mannah went down there to see after his boats and canoes. Four days later people came with the report of the war: that the war was at Motasso. They went on to Mataii. We were still at Mocassi. We heard guns. The Bumpe people came and plundered every place that they met. As the report met us the women all left the town. Bunjama was the place where the Government had a station. Four police came over to Mocassi. There were plenty at Bunjama. When the four policemen got to the wharf one of the boys, called Morfi, took his sword and began to dance about the town, and when the policemen saw him they went away without coming into the town. The young men of the town took Tembi Yeva to Riponga, a small village. I called Morfi and asked him why he played with his sword: why did he not wait to hear what the police had come for. Tembi Yeva sent a message to call Mannah, a Gallinas trader who speaks English. Mannah went: it was towards night. I told Mannah that we had been hearing of the war, and told him about Morfi. The people of the town took Morfi and tied him, and wanted to take him up to Kwalu. While we were talking, Bako, Papoje, and Bunjawa came with war-boys and brought a quantity of people into the town and said we were wrong to tie Morfi, and that we should let him play with his sword, because we had been badly treated by the Government with

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KA HAGBAI. the tax. As the people began to make fighting in the town some of us ran into the bush. I went to a small village. The Mocassi people were the first to begin to pay the tax, and the war-boys came heavily on them.

7443. Did they say why they fell on them?—They told us because we had consented to pay the tax, and went against the will of the country. The Mocassi people did not join the war-boys. None of the Mocassi people were killed by the war-boys.

CABBA GAINDH.

CABBA GAINDAH.

(Morrison interpreting.)

7444. My name is Cabba Gaindah. I am one of the principal men under Tembi Yeva of Mocassi.

7445. Can you tell me something about the Chiefs of Mocassi being imprisoned on one occasion?—We were the persons: we were arrested at Kwalu. I was arrested for not paying the tax.

7446. Were some others arrested along with you?—Yes; plenty. Mana, Bombo, and Boyma were imprisoned before me. I was arrested at Sembehun by Captain Moore.

7447. When were you arrested?—In the dry season, at the time of brushing.

7448. Were any of the Mocassi Chiefs arrested along with you?—No; I alone was arrested.

7449. Tell me what happened.—Captain Moore sent some messengers to Mocassi that they should go to Tembi Yeva. She is Chief of Mocassi, Benduma, Kawayo, and Jagwa. When the messengers came they carried a report that Tembi Yeva should go and pay the hut tax. She said, All right. I do not know the messengers' names. They were not police: they were native boys that had uniforms given them. They returned back. Two days after the Frontier Police came. I only knew one of the Frontiers, Momo Loko by name. There were two Frontiers. They came and inquired for Tembi Yeva. She was sick at the time; she was in a private place where the women administer medicine. The Frontier Police asked for Tembi Yeva. I told them she was being treated by the women, as she was sick, and asked for time to call her. Momo Loko said, 'They are simply fooling us; they have hidden the woman; let us go back.' The other man said, 'No,' and did not want to go. Momo Loko said, 'Well, you can stay if you like; I am going.' The other man said, 'I will wait.' Then Momo Loko returned. Mocassi is about one and a half hour's walk from Benduma. It was moonlight. The same night the policeman left we saw ten policemen coming. They were just the other side of the river, and whistled to the policeman who remained in the town. He went to get a canoe to cross them over. I did not see the Frontier Police, as I was asleep. A boy came and told me. I got up and found people running into the bush, so I ran too. The police took two bullocks and three sheep, and they went to a small town belonging to me and took nine goats. They took all these creatures to Sembehun. Captain Moore had gone to Sembehun then. Tembi Yeva's boys went to the place where she was being treated by the women and took her to Benduma, the next town. From there she wrote a letter to the Captain to say she was there. The messenger returned to say that the Captain wanted to see her and all her principal men. She sent to tell us, and that I should go with her at once. I left the messenger and went at once. Then we went on to Sembehun, Nancy Tucker's place, with some of the Benduma people. At Sembehun the Captain asked Tembi Yeva why was it that he had sent police to see her, and Cabba Gaindah had hidden her away. She said, 'It was not Cabba Gaindah who hid me.' Captain Moore said, 'Very well; I have sent men to ask you to pay the hut tax: what do you say?' She said, 'They found me unwell, but as you have asked me for the tax, let me go and tell the people.' Captain Moore said, 'You can go, but I shall stop Cabba Gaindah.' Tembi Yeva pleaded that I should not be stopped, as I was the principal man to gather the tax, but the Captain refused.

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7450. Did Captain Moore give any reason for detaining you?—He said that I was the person who hid Tembi Yeva, and was a very strong-headed man, and that I should remain in his possession till Tembi Yeva had paid the tax.

7451. What did he do with you?—He gave orders to the police, and they took me and placed me in handcuffs, and tied me round a post. I was there the whole day and the whole night. Tembi Yeva asked that I should be let go. As Tembi Yeva was going away I asked her if she would leave me in that state. She said: 'I have tried, but I can get no redress.'

7452. What was your position as regards Tembi Yeva?—I am a servant of hers. I was her father's servant, and he left her in my charge.

7453. But with regard to her business matters?—I am the man that is sent about to see after her business; but she has a spokesman also.

7454. But he does not look after her business?—There are times when he goes out; but he is the principal person in the household. His name is Lissa.

7455. Did anything occur at the time that caused Captain Moore to detain you?—I never observed anthing mentioned, except Captain Moore said I was very strong-headed.

7456. Did anybody advise Captain Moore to arrest you in your presence?—I did not see anybody. Captain Moore said: 'You are a bad man, and were advising Temi Yeva to go against the Government.' He did not say who had told him that.

7457. You were arrested and handcuffed, and tied to this post, and Tembi Yeva went away to collect the tax: what happened to you?—The next morning two men took me over to Kwalu, and I remained there till Captain Moore returned. I was put in prison then. It was a bad place: it is a mud hut, and there are plenty inside it, and we lie on the ground. There are two huts. We had a very bad time. They gave us rice to eat, but no meat.

7458. How long were you kept in prison?—Until the outbreak took place.

7459. Were you not taken before the District Commissioner at Kwalu?—I was called when Captain Moore returned.

7460. Was any charge made against you?—I was only told by the District Commissioner: 'As I have now taken hold of you, even if Tembi Yeva comes to pay the tax, I shall keep you in prison for six months.' He did not ask me any questions.

7461. Have you ever been in a white man's court before?—I went to court at Bonthe some time ago.

7462. At Bonthe, when a prisoner was accused, was not the charge read out to him and interpreted, and was he not asked if he was guilty or not?—They used to have their charges explained to them.

7463. At Kwalu, this time, was the charge stated to you?—That is the only charge they told me, that I was the person who hid Tembi Yeva.

7464. Did they not charge you that you had unlawfully encouraged Tembi Yeva not to pay the hut tax, and also persuaded the people of Mocassi not to pay?—They simply said that I was the person to go against the Government, and that I was making the woman as strong-headed as I was. I said I was Tembi Yeva's servant.

7465. When they said that to you did you make any reply?—I denied it, and even appealed to Tembi Yeva.

7466. Was she in court at that time?—I am speaking of Sembehun.

7467. I am asking you what happened at Kwalu, after they had told you you were strong-headed and the rest. You denied it?—Yes.

7468. Did any one then come to give evidence against you in the court at Kwalu?—No: there was no one who gave that evidence in the court.

7469. Did not Sergeant Palmer give evidence in the court?—Sergeant Palmer was there, but he said nothing.

7470. In the court at Kwalu is there a place where witnesses stand when they give evidence?—It is an open shed. There is no division. There are benches to sit on.

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CABBA GAINDH.

7471. Does the District Commissioner sit at a table?—Yes.

7472. Is there not a place where the people who are to come and give evidence come and stand?—I never saw any such place.

7473. Did Sergeant Palmer not stand up and talk about you?—I observed Sergeant Palmer was there. It was he who arrested me at Sembehun. I never saw him rise and say anything against me.

7474. Think well, and tell me whether Sergeant Palmer did not make some statement with regard to you?—I am telling you the truth. I was called, and I came and stood before the District Commissioner, and he said to me that I was strong-headed, and had been advising Tembi Yeva not to follow the Ordinance of the Government, and that he would put me in prison for six months, even if Tembi Yeva came and paid the tax.

7475. Was there something further than six months?—He said if Tembi Yeva should pay the tax, I should remain in gaol for six months; if she refused, I should remain there for a year. Tembi Yeva was present.

7476. Was it not stated to you that in addition to the imprisonment you were to be fined £50?—Captain Moore told me that if I did not pay £50 before the end of six months I should have to remain in gaol for a year.

7477. After you were apprehended at Sembehun, what was the next place you were taken to?—We passed two small villages till we got to Bunjama, chief Yahis town.

7478. Who were you in charge of at that time?—Momo Loko.

7479. Was Sergeant Coker not also in charge of you?—No; it was Sergeant Palmer alone. At the expiration of six months it was Captain Fairtlough who was in charge at Kwalu. He said I was put in prison for twelve months if I was unable to pay £50, and I remained there six months more, as the £50 was unpaid. It is now nine months altogether. I was in prison at the time of the outbreak.

7480. Do you know anything about what brought the war?—No.

7481. Do you know about the policeman who was rather badly treated at Mocassi?—No constable was badly treated in my presence.

7482. Did you hear about it?—It was at Kawayo; we heard about that.

7483. What happened to the policeman there?—The man's name was Momo Falla, and he fought with Bombo, but I was not present. The people took hold of him, and wanted to kill him. I met Bombo in gaol.

7484. Is Kawayo a big town?—It is a large town on both banks of the river.

7485. Do you remember about a dispute as to land that Tembi Yeva had some time ago?—Yes; a bush matter between Tembi Yeva and Yahi of Bunjama.

7486. Did you not mark out the boundaries?—They made a mark, and Yahi objected to the mark.

7487. Was there a fight about the land?—We never fought; as Tembi Yeva made the boundary and they objected, some of her people went beyond the boundaries and were caught by the police, but there was no fighting. The boundary has not been settled.

7488. Then how did Tembi Yeva's people go beyond it?—It was a long time ago. It was between the Bunjama people and Tembi Yeva's people. Some of them were arrested, and they brought the matter to Freetown. They were told to go to Kwalu, and that the matter should be settled there; but it was not settled before Tembi Yeva got sick.

7489. Where is Tembi Yeva now?—In prison at Kwalu.

7490. Do you mean the common prison, with all the other people?—There is a small division behind the gaoler's house where Tembi Yeva is. The gaoler's house is inside the gaol yard.

7491. Then she is not in the common prison?—She was not put amongst us. She is a very old woman.

7492. Can she walk?—No; they carry her in a hammock. Tembi Yeva sent a message to Kwalu, and the police brought her to Kwalu.

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7493. What message did she send?—She sent some country cloth to Madam Yoko, and told the messenger to ask Madam Yoko's permission for her to come to Kwalu. Madam Yoko sent back word that she was about to go to Freetown, and if Tembi Yeva went to Kwalu she must wait there till she returned. CABBA GAINDH.

7494. When Tembi Yeva undertook to collect tax among her people, did she get police to help her?—After she went to Sembehun policemen were given to her to go back to her place and collect the tax. As Tembi Yeva has finished paying the amount to be paid by my town, I should like you to see to my release, as I am old, and I am afraid I may die in prison.

MOMO KAI KAI.

MOMO KAI KAI.

2nd November 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

7495. My name is Momo Kai Kai. I am the Chief of the Bandajuma district; Yonni is my chief town.

7496. Do you remember about the promulgation of the Protectorate Ordinance?—Yes.

7497. You and a number of other Chiefs had a meeting about it soon afterwards?—The Ordinance met us at Bandajuma while we were building barracks. The Ordinance was explained to us in 1897.

7498. After that, did you and the other Chiefs have a meeting and talk over the Ordinance?—As the Ordinance was read and explained, I started for Freetown.

7499. What Chiefs came with you?—I was the only one from my part of the country.

7500. What Chiefs from other parts came?—Sandy of Tikonko, Bayo of Mafwe, Francis Farwoonda, and Bai Kompah of the Timini country. Those are all I can remember. I and Sandy and Bokari went to see the Governor. Francis Farwoonda did not go. I went and told the Governor that I was very glad to have the opportunity to see him, and that the Ordinance had been explained that we should have to pay tax for our huts, and we had come to beg of the Governor that he should reduce that portion of the Ordinance. The Governor said that portion of the Ordinance would never be reduced. We asked whether there was any cause that brought about the payment of hut tax. I asked because the Governor knew well that we have only small mud huts to live in, so I asked if there was any cause that brought this. The Governor gave me to understand that the Queen had taken us under her protection, and as she had sent out officers and Police she desired us to pay something for the sustenance of the officers and Police. I told the Governor that I, being an old man, had taken the opportunity to come and see him. I told him if he asked us to assist the Government with what we could, we should be glad, but 5s. a house is a heavy law to impose, and I was afraid if he still held on to that law the people would have to leave the country. That was the reason I came myself to see the Governor. I told the Governor that I would be willing to go and ask my people to collect as much as they could, and I would give them to understand that they were required to collect a certain sum for the Queen for the support of the country, and if I failed to get the amount specified I would report to the Governor. As I returned home, I got to Bonthe, and information met me that the tax gatherers were going about the country and that they had been plundering and taking cattle from the towns on to Bandajuma. My son came and met me at Bonthe.

7501. Did you go and look at these towns that you heard had been plundered?—Yes; I went up, and when I got there I found that cows and sheep had been taken away.

7502 What towns were those?—Pujehun, Yonni, and Jehoma.

7503. Had any harm been done at those towns beyond the plundering of the sheep and goats?—No.

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MOMO KAI KAI.

7504. Had the people paid their tax?—No; they were waiting for me. As I returned I went to see Captain Carr, and told him that I had seen the Governor, and he had said I was bound to pay the tax, and that whatever I could collect I would give to Captain Carr. On that very day I began to pay tax. I paid £15—£5 each for Bandajuma, Pujehun, and Jehoma.

7505. Had you the money ready, or had you to borrow it?—I received the money from town and went to commence paying.

7506. Did you borrow it?—I had £5 out of my old stipend, and I had to borrow £10.

7507. Did you pay interest for the £10?—There was no interest business at that place. Then Captain Carr said £5 would not be enough for each town, and the houses must be counted at once.

7508. How much more was claimed from you?—The houses were counted by the Government but the sum for each town was not told me.

7509. Then you do not know how much you have to pay?—It was not told me.

7510. Then have you been asked to pay money in addition to the £5 for each town? Yes. They told me I should count the houses in the towns and pay for each house. We went and counted all the houses and have been paying in palm kernels and clean rice to the District Commissioner.

7511. That money that you paid on account of the towns, have you got it back from the people?—No; the people looked upon me as the man to pay for the whole town. They will look to me to pay next year.

7512. How will it be next year; will you be able to pay it?—I shall not be able to pay. The country has been spoiled.

7513. Suppose the country had not been spoiled would you have been able to pay it? Not myself. I should simply ask the Governor that a smaller sum should be asked for the towns.

7514. Had you and some other Chiefs meetings about the beginning of this year to consult about the tax?—No. I had no meetings with other Chiefs, except with my Sub-Chiefs.

7515. Do you remember a meeting of Chiefs that Captain Carr called at Mafwe?—I was at Freetown, but I heard of it.

7516. Some Chiefs were taken to Bandajuma, were they not?—Yes. Baha, Sissi Kokki, Berri, Vandi, and Thomas Buongo. The Governor told me when I was here.

7517. Did you see any of those Chiefs who had been at that meeting and talk to them afterwards?—On my return the other Chiefs had agreed to pay the tax, and they had all gone to their different towns.

7518. Do you know who were the people who began the war in the Mendi country? —I heard the names of some. The war started at Bumpe, by Grubru, Biriwa, and Bandibrah. These I knew, and they were the first to start the fight.

7519. They met together and agreed that they would make the war?—I heard; one Caulker sent a letter to me to inform me of the war.

7520. Did not the war start at Bumpe and go on to Tikonko, Gerihun, the Bum, and Kittum rivers, and then to Imperri and the Banta country and Bagru and Timdale and Tasso and Sherbro?—Yes.

7521. And then it went to the Krim country and Gallinas and Magbele, and as far as the Mano river?—Yes.

7522. At it first breaking out it spread over a large tract of country quite quickly?—Yes.

7523. How were the leaders able to arrange that it should take place all at the same time in these different places?—They despatched messengers very quickly from one town to another that it was on account of the tax; it was a hard law, and there were plenty of people in every town who were ready to join. As soon as they knew the purport of the war they were at once willing to join.

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7524. What was the purport of the war?—The people are not so sensible; they were not willing to pay the tax and they joined the others.

7525. Did the war go into the Ribbi country?—I do not know; I live far off.

7526. Did those who had paid their tax join in the war as well as those who had not paid?—All of them stupidly followed: those who had paid and those who had not paid.

7527. Then the war people wanted to kill Sierra Leone people as much as they could?—They went on to kill as many Sierra Leonians as they could find. Some of my children were killed: they said they had joined the Sierra Leonians.

7528. Had they been at school?—No; they have been sent to town for training.

7529. Did the war people kill natives of the country as well as Sierra Leone people?—Yes.

7530. Under what circumstances did they kill natives?—Those that had been servants to Government officers, or in training, or bearing loads for Sierra Leone men, or that were given as wives to Sierra Leone men. All these were killed.

7531. Then the war people were all very much against the English Government?—I am counted as one on the side of the English Government: they do not love me.

7532. Did the war people come upon you?—They burned down my town. They killed some of the people of Sawah, and caught two hundred people and made slaves of them.

7533. Did they carry away many slaves in the war?—They took a good quantity. Only now that things are a little settled they are making their escape.

7534. Where were these slaves taken to?—Dama.

7535. Were they sold?—They have not been sold as yet. Some of them that escaped gave me the information. Some of the people that brought the war came to me to beg to surrender.

7536. I sent you a letter to come here a good many weeks ago: did it reach you?—I believe it was delayed in coming up. I started directly I got the summons. Chief Momo Jah and Henry Tucker wrote a letter.

7537. Did you direct anybody to write this letter (produced) to me?—Yes.

7538. (The Commissioner read out the letter). Does that express your opinion about the cause of the war, and are you still of the same opinion?—Yes.

7539. Suppose there had been no hut tax, do you think the people of these countries would have wanted to fight the English in order to drive them away?—No; not for one minute.

7540. Did you ever hear of Queen Victoria of England?—We hear always. We hear very well of her.

7541. You think she is a good Queen?—With the exception of God in heaven, I have not heard of any so good and kind.

7542. Were you at the Jubilee in 1897?—Yes.

7543. Have you ever heard of the Frontier Police?—Even if I heard much, it was not the cause of the war.

7544. You know there are such people?—Yes.

7545. Are they well liked in your country or not?—They are kind in the country. If it had not been for the Frontier Police I should have been killed.

7546. They protected you?—Yes; they are good people: they are protecting the country, and it was they who stopped the plundering and slave-catching.

7547. Are your people settling down to their farms again?—Yes; the planting time is passed, but they are still looking after their little farms. They have just begun to rebuild their houses.

7548. Have you heard if there are any large gatherings of war-boys still about the country, or are they all scattered?—I have not heard of any gatherings.

7549. Going back to the time when the war began: the people who came from Bumpe were in no great numbers, but increased as they went along by other people joining?—Their number was added to at every town.

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MOMO KAI KAI.

7550. What weapons had these war people as a rule?—Chiefly clubs and sticks and some old guns and a few old swords. Not many guns, and not much gunpowder.

7551. Is there anything else you have to tell me?—Captain Carr did well in protecting me during the outbreak: but I have my own thought that I want to tell you about. I am an old man, and have been trying to bring about every good for the country and the Government. The people of the Government do not give me the least respect. The officers did not all treat me with respect.

7552. What officers do you mean?—Captain Carr left a Doctor acting in his place, and the Doctor took no regard of me. He gave me instructions at one time that I should see to my boys cleaning the roads. I told them to go at once. It was about 4 P.M. I made the Doctor to understand that it was late for them to go out. The Doctor objected, and said if the road was not cleaned that day I should not sleep in the town. I was driven out of the town and had to sleep in a small hut in the bush. Every one but the officers and sub-officers regard me as Chief in that district. For instance they said I was the principal man who had brought the Government into the country, and Doctor Berkeley said they ought not to have come to surrender to me. That has often pained me: my boys have done wrong, and the officer would not let them ask my pardon.

7553. Were you at Bandajuma when the attack was made?—Yes; I was in the same house as Captain Carr when the war came.

7554. Did you ever think of any explanation why the war-boys attacked the missionaries at Tikonko and other places?—I myself have not come to the right understanding of the people. I think they were stupid. They were all displeased at the payment of hut tax, but they foolishly went on killing.

7555. Were there any mission stations near your town?—At Gabaru.

7556. Had you much acquaintance with the missionaries?—I had taken some of my children to them: they are kind people. I and my son have been attending their services.

7557. You know no reason why the people should dislike the missionaries?—No; hence I say the people are foolish to have done so. They simply count them as English people and connected with the tax.

BOKARI.

BOKARI.

2nd November 1898.

(Morrison interpreting.)

7558. My name is Bokari of Jurung, in the Sulima country. My brother is Kalilo, and he sent me to call Lamin Lahi and see him. In regard to the treatment we used to receive from the District Commissioner of Bandajuma, he used to catch the principal men and have them tied with ropes. Whoever takes a complaint, without inquiry into it, he simply ties the man against whom the complaint is made. At one time the District Commissioner went from Bandajuma to Cape Mount, and then to Mano Pendi. When he got there he caught one of our grandfathers, Sefar Kingi, and he was tied and remained the whole night in ropes. In the morning a rope was put round his waist and he was to be taken to Bandajuma. It was Joe Metzger who begged the District Commissioner that this man being a Chief, should not be tied and taken to Bandajuma in this way. He sent a security for the Chief that he would accompany him over to Bandajuma whenever he was wanted. He said it would not be decent that they should lead him in ropes through the country. Now the country is a little quiet, some of the people who are scattered in the bush want to rebuild the towns; but information was told my brother that soldiers would be sent round to burn every town that remains standing. The District Commissioner went, and three towns were burned down.

7559. Was it said that the people of these towns had done anything bad?—He simply went on patrol and found no one in these towns and burned them.

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7560. When you speak of the District Commissioner having used people badly, do you allude to one particular man, or has it been common?—I used to hear of others, but I refer now to my grandfather, as I was present. I heard that of all the other Chiefs in the country that have been caught and taken to Bandajuma and put in prison by the District Commissioner. BOKARI.

7561. What charge was made against your grandfather?—No charge; they never told him why they caught him.

7562. Was he kept at Bandajuma?—After Joe Metzger signed the security he was never sent for. The people all over the country are staying in the bush; they dare not come to their towns, they are afraid of being caught and taken to prison.

7563. Are the people in your country, any of them, going away to Liberia?—Yes; most of the young men are going over and trying to go down the coast. Some of the women and children too have gone to Liberia, and some are still in the bush.

7564. Have many of the women and children died in the bush during the rains?—I have not seen any; I ran away to Cape Mount.

MANO WUNDU.

MANO WUNDU.

7565. My name is Mano Wundu of Mano Bunjema. I am son of Francis Farwoonda. During the tax time, when the Governor said that all people must pay tax, they came and asked my father for tax. Captain Carr sent a man to say my father must come and beg the Governor if he cannot pay the tax. Then the police came to my town and caught the principal men there and flogged them and tied them. They went on to Mende and caught my father's sister and tore her clothes off. Then my father said we must come and tell the Governor, and we went on to Bonthe. I heard that Bokari Manu was plundering the Sierra Leone traders; they all made a bargain to plunder. He came to our town and burned it, and all the people went to Cape Mount side. He just tells the District Commissioner they are war people, and the District Commissioner believes him. I found all our things that he had taken from Mano in his town. If any man wants to rebuild his town, Bokari Manu says he must pay him ten heads of cloth. The people want to build the town, but he sends his boys after them. The people are running away now on account of Captain Berkeley, because he said he was coming to burn them.

3rd November 1898.

LANCE-CORPORAL STEPHEN WILLIAMS.

Lance-Corporal STEPHEN WILLIAMS.

7566. My name is Stephen Williams. I am a lance-corporal in the Frontier Police. I joined in February 1896. I am a Sierra Leonian. I was born at Waterloo.

7567. Why are some of you called Volunteers?—Those who transferred from the civil police.

7568. What were you before you joined?—A blacksmith.

7569. Where were you stationed in the beginning of February this year?—Karene.

7570. Did you go with Captain Sharpe to Port Lokko?—No; I met him there; I was at Karene when he went down. That was when he came there to collect the tax. He arrived there on a Saturday morning.

7571. Do you remember Chief Bokari Bamp being detained at Captain Sharpe'. lodging from Saturday to Monday?—I was at Karene, when I came down I found all this over.

7572. Then you did not help Captain Sharpe collect the tax?—No; I was not there.

7573. Do you remember being sent by Captain Sharpe with a letter?—Yes; the letter was sent to the acting District Commissioner at Karene, and he gave it to me to take to Bai Bureh. I can read and write English. The acting District Commissioner gave me the letter to take to Bai Bureh on a Sunday.

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Lance-Corporal STEPHEN WILLIAMS.

7574. Do you remember meeting Lance-Corporal Samuel Williams on that day?—Yes; when I was going he was coming from Port Lokko to Karene.

7575. Then did you meet him again on that same day?—No; I met him in barracks when I returned back.

7576. When you met him going up you showed him the letter that you had for Bai Bureh and told him about it?—Yes.

7577. What kind of envelope was the letter in?—A foolscap envelope; there was no red seal upon it. The acting District Commissioner gave me the letter sent by Captain Sharpe, because I am the only man who is sent to Bai Bureh, because he is a cross man, and you have to be patient. I started with the letter and reached Katinti, where one of his Sub-Chiefs lives. There were two police with me. I asked for the Sub-Chief. They said he had gone Ninkani (a Timini word meaning to talk secret). I only met a woman in the town. I passed on with the two policemen; then I heard no end of people behind me, and they called Stop, Stop. So I stopped. Then they came and met me, and asked me, 'Where are you going?' I said, 'To Bai Bureh.' They said that Bai Bureh had given orders that no police or Government carriers were to pass that way, because Captain Sharpe wanted to send to ask for the tax. I said I had not come to fight. Then I asked them, 'Do I not always come to Bai Bureh with letters; do you not know me? and they said, 'Yes.' I had been sent four times before. I said, 'Why do you stop me now?' They said Bai Bureh had given orders because the Government wanted to ask him to pay tax. I said I would go on. They said I should not go. They had fifteen guns and six swords and plenty of sticks, and when I saw they got vexed I returned back and reported to the Doctor and the District Commissioner.

7578. Did you report to Captain Sharpe?—I went there next day. I went first to the Doctor at Karene, and he sent me to Port Lokko to report to Captain Sharpe. I told him just what I have told you, and he said, 'All right,' and took the letter from me.

7579. Then the letter when you delivered it back to Captain Sharpe was unopened?—Yes.

7580. When you went back to Karene that evening you slept there that night?—Yes.

7581. Did you see Lance-Corporal Samuel Williams at Karene?—I do not remember seeing him; it may have escaped me. I may have met him.

7582. What you stated now is the truth?—Yes.

7583. You did not say to Captain Sharpe that Bai Bureh had read the letter?—No; I told him I had never seen Bai Bureh, and had been turned back by the war-boys.

7584. And you did not tell Captain Sharpe that Bai Bureh gave you a message to the effect that if he came to him he would kill him?—No; I told him what the war-boys said.

7585. Where were you when the summons to come here met you?—I arrived at Karene from Port Lokko on the 28th of last month, and got the summons the same day. I had been out patrolling.

7586. What is happening there now?—Some of the people are trying to keep loyal to the Government and pay tax.

7587. Is there any fighting going on there now?—Yes; the Colonel went into Kassi country just now. He is trying to catch Bai Bureh.

7588. Was there any fighting before the Colonel came up during last month?—Sometimes the patrol used to meet attacks. From Bai Bureh's war-boys, and some of Lahi's.

7589. What state is Port Lokko in now?—Some of the people are coming back, but they are not yet building. The Chiefs are not in the town yet.

7590. Is there any Chief taking charge of the town?—There are some Santigis.

7591. You were sent on some previous occasions to Bai Bureh, when was the last time?—I went three times last November.

7592. What was your message?—I always took a letter.

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7593. Did you deliver the letter to him?—Yes: I saw him personally. He always made me read the letter to him, as he had no one to read it. Lance-Corporal STEPHEN WILLIAMS.

7594. What was the letter about in November?—From Captain Cave, to inform him that he wanted to see him to have a talk. He told me to go and tell the District Commissioner he was coming. All the November letters were about that.

7595. When was the first time you took a letter to him?—Some time in 1897. It was from Captain Cave about a brother of Bai Bureh's, who had committed a crime. The District Commissioner sent to say that Bai Bureh must inquire into it. Bai Bureh said, 'All right.' I reported all these answers just as I received them.

3rd November 1898.

SUB-INSPECTOR CROWTHER.

Sub-Inspector CROWTHER.

7596. My name is Daniel Peter Henderson Crowther. I have been connected with the Frontier Police since 1890. I was transferred from the Sierra Leone Police. I have been in the Frontier Police since the beginning of it. I think there were over 200 men at the beginning. They used to patrol the Frontier roads. I remember I was sergeant in charge of the Masimera and Marampa district in 1890. I do not remember the stations that existed at that time: I only went on the road belonging to my own station. The patrol consisted of not more than about three or four men. I had only five men besides myself. The work of the patrols was to see that the Chiefs cleaned their roads, and made bridges and opened new roads. In case of anything like Chiefs intending to make war, to report at once to the Inspector-General. The patrols kept to the Frontier road, except on special orders. I remember there was one occasion, when there was some war between Madam Yoko's people and Sembi Kamara's people; they sent me with I think seven extra men to Sembi Kamara's place to ask him to stop the raid. At that time the Timinis and Mendis were fighting. I was to see that they did not fight. It was a three days' march from Rokelle, where we were stationed. When I got there Sembi Kamara refused to have me in the town. I stayed there one night. I was sent to inquire into various matters of that sort.

7597. Then I understand that your duties in the patrol were confined to the Frontier road, except you got special orders to go elsewhere?—Yes.

7598. Is it a general rule in distributing the police to send Timini men into the Timini country, and Mendis into the Mendi country, so that they can speak the language?—No: they do not select them in that way.

7599. Then how do Mendi men get on with the people in the Timini country?—They speak to them through an interpreter.

7600. Then the companies are made up indiscriminately of Timinis, Mendis, Susus, Creoles, and Mandingoes?—Yes.

7601. Then if a company was sent up to Falaba or anywhere the men would not be selected in any way?—In relieving a company they send the same number of men; the men are kept in the same company independently of promotion, or if a man is sick or discharged. The men are armed with a rifle and sling, sword-bayonet, scabbard, water-bottle, haversack, and pouch. We have the Lee-Metford rifle now; formerly we had Sniders.

7602. Were you with Captain Sharpe when he went to Port Lokko in February this year?—when he went to collect the tax?—Yes: I left Karene with him. He arrived at Port Lokko on Saturday morning, 5th February.

7603. Do you remember Bokari Bamp being invited to Captain Sharpe's quarters on Saturday evening?—Yes.

7604. He was kept there till Monday, was he not?—Not as far as I remember. When he was called on Saturday he said he would like to collect the other Chiefs, that they might talk over the matter. The District Commissioner told him that he had not come to see the other Chiefs, but had only come to see Bokari Bamp about the hut tax. When he wanted to see the other Chiefs he would go and see them.

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Sub-Inspector CROWTHER.

7605. That was when there were some Sierra Leone traders present, whom Captain Sharpe had called to pay their tax?—I do not remember any Sierra Leone traders that first time. I think the first time they were called was on Monday.

7606. Did anything more pass between Bokari Bamp and Captain Sharpe on Saturday?—No.

7607. Did Captain Sharpe allow Bokari Bamp to go home on that Saturday?—Yes. He called him again on Monday, and asked him what decision he and his people had come to.

7608. Then Bokari Bamp was not confined or detained in any way between the Saturday and the Monday?—I believe Captain Sharpe detained him the next time—on Monday.

7609. You say that Captain Sharpe asked him on the Monday if he had seen his people?—Yes. He said he had seen his people; he still held the same opinion, that he must get the consent of the other Chiefs. The Alikarlie was there at the time, but he was very ill, and unable to do business.

7610. You think Bokari Bamp was detained on the Monday?—Yes; he was detained in one of the rooms in Captain Sharpe's quarters.

7611. Do you remember anything happening on that Monday evening, or the evening when Bokari Bamp was detained?—I remember he asked if Captain Sharpe would let him go and see the people again. I believe that was on the Monday.

7612. Did Captain Sharpe detain him on that Monday night?—Yes: till the next day.

7613. Do you remember anything happening on the Monday night?—I remember the people wanted to know why the Chief was detained, and asked if he was not going to be let out.

7614. Who was it came to ask?—The principal people of the town.

7615. Do you remember making any report during the night?—No.

7616. Was there any kind of alarm in the town on Monday night?—No; there was talk in the town.

7617. Any such alarming rumour that you found it necessary to report it to Captain Sharpe?—Not that night.

7618. Was there any afterwards?—After the people were sent to town.

7619. On the Monday night when Bokari Bamp was detained you say the people in the town were talking: do you remember anything particular coming to your knowledge?—They were talking that the Chief was shut up. and so on, but I do not remember any alarming remark.

7620. Was there not some rumour or statement that made you think it necessary to go and wake up Captain Sharpe?—No; that was at Karene, before we left for Port Lokko. I did not go myself; I sent Sergeant Nicoll between ten and eleven o'clock.

7621. On that Monday night at Port Lokko, do you remember the ammunition being brought from the barracks to Captain Sharpe's quarters?—That was afterwards, when we heard a rumour that Bai Bureh was coming to attack the place in consequence of the Chiefs having been sent away.

7622. On that Monday evening do you remember some one shouting out something to Bokari Bamp?—I remember some one was talking in the back part near the wall, and he asked Bokari Bamp how he allowed himself to be shut up. I did not hear it myself; the sentry heard it and reported it to me.

7623. Did you wake up Captain Sharpe that time?—He was not asleep. It was between 8.30 and 9. Captain Sharpe asked me what the sentry had reported, and I told him.

7624. Then all you heard was that the man had said to Bokari Bamp that he wondered how he allowed himself to be shut up?—Yes; something like that.

7625. Were there a good many people in the town walking about the streets that night?—Yes.

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7626. What people do you suppose they were? Are there not a large number of small villages belonging to Port Lokko?—Yes; over ten fakkis.

7627. A lot of people live there?—Yes; a number of people from the fakkis were in the town.

7628. I suppose there was a good deal of commotion about the Chief being shut up?—Yes; the people were annoyed about it; they were not pleased.

7629. Then did you come to the conclusion that these people who were moving about were people from the fakkis who were displeased about the Chief's imprisonment?—Yes; I think so.

7630. Had you any reason to think that they were Bai Bureh's people on that Monday?—I could not have said so.

7631. You did not form the idea that they were Bai Bureh's people?—No.

7632. Did you make a report to Captain Sharpe that it was Bai Bureh's people who were in the town on Monday night?—No; I could not have done so.

7633. You were with Captain Sharpe in the court-room all the time the proceedings were going on with the Sierra Leone people and the Chiefs?—Not all the time; he used to send for me when he wanted me.

7634. Were you present when Captain Sharpe made the order for the arrest of the Chiefs to be sent to Freetown?—Yes.

7635. Was there any charge made against Bokari Bamp to which he was asked to plead?—Captain Sharpe simply told him, 'You are charged with refusing to pay the hut tax.'

7636. Was any charge made against Santigi Keareh?—He was charged, with Ansumani Bali, with aiding the Chief not to pay.

7637. Against Alfa Saidoo?—He was charged: I do not remember the charges separately. I only saw the interpreter tell Bokari Bamp that he was charged with refusing to pay the hut tax, and the four others with aiding him.

7638. Was Bokari Bamp asked for his defence?—I do not remember that he was asked.

7639. Did Captain Sharpe ask the four others who were charged with aiding him if they wished to make any defence?—Yes: he asked Bokari Bamp after he had charged them, 'What have you to say.' He said, 'I do not say I will not pay: I say I want to consult the other Chiefs.' Then he asked the four others, and they said they did not aid him not to pay.

7640. Then upon that did anything more take place, or were they at once sent to the canoe?—They were sent to the canoe.

7641. Nothing more took place?—No: they were sent to the boat in handcuffs with a police escort. There were lots of people coming as if to rescue them.

7642. Did Bokari Bamp say anything to the people at that time?—He told them in Timini not to make any fight or trouble.

7643. The people were not pleased?—They were not pleased. Even some wanted to get small canoes and follow the boat.

7644. Was there a police escort went in the boat with them?—Yes: Lance-Corporal Bindi and four men.

7645. There was some report made against Bai Salamansa?—Schlenker, a trader, complained to me, and I took him before Captain Sharpe. Schlenker was shut up at the time.

7646. Was Bai Salamansa also shut up?—No: he told Bai Salamansa what Schlenker said about him.

7647. Bai Salamansa was not present when Schlenker made this statement?—No.

7648. What did Schlenker say?—He said he sent his boy to get the hut tax money, and Bai Salamansa took the money from him.

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Sub-Inspector CROWTHER.

7649. Was this boy present when Schlenker was making the statement?—The boy was present.

7650. Did the boy make any statement?—Yes: he said his master sent him to get money, and Bai Salamansa said he must not pay the hut tax, and that the money was in Bai Salamansa's possession.

7651. Then was Bai Salamansa afterwards called about this money story?—He was not called: the police were sent to find out. The policeman came back and said that Bai Salamansa had given him the money. He handed the money over to the District Commissioner.

7652. It was not a lance-corporal who reported it to you?—No. It was not I who examined into the matter.

7653. Did you remain at Port Lokko after this?—Yes.

7654. Was there anything occurred in the town after the collection of the tax, and previous to your leaving?—There was a rumour that Bai Bureh was coming to Port Lokko to take the money and be revenged for the five men sent to town. Two nights, I remember, I went with the District Commissioner and three police almost as far as the stream, and sent Alfa, our landlord, to find out if the report was true. He went to Sendugu and said he saw a lot of people there.

7655. Do you know whether Bai Bureh is a particular friend of the Port Lokko Chiefs?—Yes: they are good friends.

7656. How do you know that they stood together as good friends?—Bokari Bamp himself told me that they were good friends. That was before this hut tax time. Even the Alikarli is a good friend to Bai Bureh. Bai Bureh used to visit the Chiefs at Port Lokko, and they used to visit him.

7657. Up to the time Captain Sharpe left on the 17th February there had been no attack made on Port Lokko?—No; one morning a sentry saw ten people coming from the Karsi side; he challenged them and they ran away and dropped two swords, which he picked up and brought to me.

7658. That was the only threatening of attack then?—There used to be rumours.

7659. Did you go with Captain Sharpe on the 17th February when he went to arrest Bai Bureh?—Yes.

7660. Previous to that were you aware of any intimation being sent to Bai Bureh that he meant to arrest him?—I remember Captain Sharpe saying so himself in the hearing of the people.

7661. Where was it that he said that?—At Port Lokko. He was telling the people, 'I will go and arrest Bai Bureh, and you will see him on his way to Freetown.'

7662. He started from Port Lokko, and the first night you slept at Malal, on 16th of February?—Yes.

7663. What force had he with him?—Major Tarbet, Captain Sharpe, Captain Hastings, myself, Sergeant-Major George, and about fifty police, non-commissioned officers and men. Most of the men were recruits. We slept at Malal and went on next day to Romani. When we got to Romani we found a host of people, about 2000 armed natives, with guns and cutlasses. Romani is a walled town. We passed through the town: they did not interfere with us; there is an open space the other side where we halted; they were guarding all the paths. They began to throw grass and stones. They were only a few feet off. Major Tarbet asked George to take ten men and see if he could find Bai Bureh, so that he could talk to him. He went and returned and said he only saw a host of people. Then Captain Sharpe asked that I and the interpreter should go with him; so we went, but I called three police to come too, as I was afraid of an attack. As Captain Sharpe got to one end of the place he called one of the warriors and told him not to run. I was close by. In the other enclosure I saw a lot of war-boys coming in. The Captain held the man and asked him to come with him. The man had a weapon at the time; he said, 'Why does the white man hold me?' I saw the war-boys coming,

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and told the police to fix bayonets. The man shouted out, and Captain Sharpe hit him over the head with a short stick which had a knob of lead or iron at one end. One of the Frontiers took the sword from the man. At that time the man was bleeding. Captain Sharpe ordered them to take him to Major Tarbet. The man shouted out, 'Do you see, the white man has broken my head!' and the other people were not at all pleased. We got back to the main party with this man. He was ordered to sit down. No orders were given to detain him. The man went off and I saw one of the police aiming at him, and I told him not to fire at him. The man went back into the town. We had no orders about him at all. The people now seemed indifferent. Major Tarbet asked them, 'Why do you assemble here?' They said, 'We are assembled here to elect a king.' Then they asked, 'Where are you going? If you are going to Karene, the road is open; but if you go to Bai Bureh, there is no way.' Major Tarbet decided to go to Karene and gave orders to march. There was an advanced guard, then the carriers, then a number of men and guard for the officer, and then the rear-guard. The rear-guard was almost touching the body of the column. Major Tarbet was in the advanced guard, Captain Sharpe next after him, Captain Hastings was in the rear. Sergeant-Major George was in charge of the rockets almost in the centre. We started in that order for Karene, and the war-boys were rather mocking us, and saying, 'Cowards!' and that they would not let us go, as one of their men was wounded already. The war-boys were all round us. We had not gone very far, about one hundred yards, and the war-boys were close on us, when Major Tarbet said, 'Halt! Volley-firing!'

Sub-Inspector CROWTHER.

7664. To whom was the order given, was it to the whole column?—Yes: we were marching in fours, and on the order, the men broke into files and faced outwards. There was one volley fired. Then the war-boys tried to come round in front, and another volley was fired. There were only two volleys. After firing the column moved on again and the war-boys began to close up: the police pointed their rifles at them and they retired. There were about 15 in the rearguard.

7665. If anyone said it was only the rearguard who fired, it would be a mistake?—Yes.

7666. Were you aware at the time whether any of the war-boys were hurt or killed?—I could not say. They returned our fire, but none of our men were hit.

7667. To what extent did they return your fire?—Only a few shots. Then we went on to Karene.

7668 Did you meet with any more opposition?—After we left Kagbantama at the next town they fired at us. They only fired a few shots; no one was hit.

7669. What state is the Kassi country in?—A ruinous state; all the towns are burnt.

7670. What has become of the people?—Some may be killed; I do not know how many, but there are a good many killed.

7671. What has become of the women and children?—I do not know.

7672. I suppose it was a populous part?—Yes; Bai Bureh has lots of people. Lots of people who come to him besides his own countrymen. Those who did not like the hut tax joined him. The whole of the Chiefs joined Bai Bureh because they did not want to pay.

7673. Was there anything which showed clearly that Bai Bureh was fighting on account of the hut tax?—I cannot say; because no one has asked him for the hut tax.

7674. He knew what had taken place at Port Lokko?—Yes; I believe that some evilly disposed people told him that Captain Sharpe was going to catch him. Bai Bureh hears whatever is done in Port Lokko.

7675. Is there any fighting going on in the country there now?—I believe the Colonel is trying to get Bai Bureh.

7676. Where were you when my summons met you?—I got it on 22nd in the Kambia district.

7677. Do you know anything about what occurred to Sori Bunki?—I was there when

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Sub-Inspector CROWTHER.

he was made acting Chief. He was only appointed to collect the hut tax. The people did not like him. The Bangura family did not like him. I heard he left Port Lokko meaning to come to Freetown, and was caught on the way; but I do not know anything about it. I left him at Port Lokko. They say it was the Bangura family who caught him.

7678. They say they drowned him?—I do not know what they did. There is too much talk about it.

7679. Are they beginning to rebuild Port Lokko at all?—They are about beginning. Ansumani Bali's sister told me that he had sent up to collect sticks and would soon be up there to commence building.

7680. How many war-boys followed you from Romani?—About one thousand or more. They were armed with guns and cutlasses.

7681. Were they people of Romani?—I think it was a collection from various Chiefs.

4th November 1898.

Rev. J. JOHNSON.

REV. J. JOHNSON.

7682. My name is Joseph Benjamin William Johnson. I am minister of the United Brethren in Christ. I have been principally stationed at Pali on the Bumpe river. I have been there seventeen years, and twenty years altogether in the district. I have travelled about the country a good deal, and have become familiar with the Chiefs and people.

7683. Did you become acquainted with the circumstances that preceeded the recent disturbances in the Ronietta district?—Yes. Since January, the Chief of the Bumpe district, R. C. B. Caulker, hid himself away and his whereabouts could not be told. Having inquired, I was told that it was on account of the hut tax, as he did not wish the people to pay, so that whenever the District Commissioner goes round he may not find him. And now and again, whenever I travelled, the people asked me several questions relating to the hut tax. I said we came to show them God's road, and this tax that the Governor said they must pay, it is God who said so. They said they had stopped them from keeping slaves, and any one who ran away they have no power to bring him back; they agreed to it, and are now working for themselves; they said they had yearly licences of 10s. for their canoes, and they agreed to that; and now, again, to make them pay for their huts, they will not be able to pay. Some time in the month of March, R. C. Caulker sent some messengers to Pali. About 7.30 P.M. the whole town gathered together; I stood at my house windows and heard all they said. The messengers said that the Chief had sent them to the big men of Makete, a neighbouring town, and as Makete and Pali were one and the same place, the big men had sent them on to deliver the same message: that for all other things they were to agree and be willing to yield to the Government, but for the tax they will not pay, and all who are his subjects are not to pay, and, if any one does, he will send and destroy the town.' The messenger added also that the Chief was then at Mokaba, and the Headman of Mokaba, Cariboo said they had employed the blacksmith to make shots,[1] and after he had made sufficient they would take it to Kwalu; this caused much laughter. Not long after, the Chief sent to say that they were to pay a tax of 2s. 6d. for each house, so the people came to me and told me that the Chief was only troubling them and now they had nothing in their hands, and he only gave them three days then to pay. The Headman of Mahonoah was collecting for Caulker. So I told them I wondered why he had said 2s. 6d. instead of 5s. They tried to get the 2s. 6s. in time to pay. They were willing to pay the 2s. 6d. but they said they had no money, so I lent them most of what they paid at that time. A week or two afterwards the Chief sent to say that they were to pay the 2s. 6d. remaining. They paid that also. I lent them that. This was all paid to Chief Caulker through the messenger. At the time when they were asked to pay the last 2s. 6d. the Chiefs had been

[1] This word in the native language also means money.

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arrested and taken to Kwalu. Caulker was arrested on 21st April, and was at Kwalu all the time up to September, I think. He was tried and sentenced to seven years. I do know exactly what he was charged with. At that time we heard that war was at Mafuluma in the early part of March.

7684. Do you know anything as to the causes that brought on the war?—They said it was on account of the tax, and the people of Mafuluma refused to pay and the District Commissioner was going to enforce it, and, as the Frontier Police were nothing much, they took the Yonni's with them.

7685. Do you know anything about the combination that preceded the outbreak?—I heard R. C. B. Caulker was gathering war at Mafuri. I was told that the District Commissioner went and scattered them and burned the town, and a sick woman was burned.

7686. Have you examined in any way into the authenticity of that statement?—No; not at all. I have only heard it from two or three people. From Mafuri, Caulker moved to Makaba, and from thence I heard repeatedly they were collecting war.

7687. Did Chief Caulker join in the war?—Yes; as far as I know.

7688. Did he join with the people who came from Bumpe?—He was arrested at that time.

7689. Were constables sent to collect the tax in Caulker's country?—No; at the time he sent for them they only went with a warrant to arrest him.

7690. Did the war-boys from Bumpe come into Chief Caulker's country?—Yes; Chief Caulker's people joined with the Bumpe people.

7691. Did you learn what was the object of the raid?—Yes; they considered the hut tax as oppression, and wanted to kill all of us English people, whether black or white, so as to get rid of us from the country.

7692. How did you ascertain that that was the case?—From repeated questions of the people themselves.

7693. Then most of the people in Chief Caulker's country, when the war came, had already paid the tax?—Yes; and they joined in the war.

7694. Did they plunder the factories?—Yes; their object was to get back their money and to get rid of the English.

7695. Then, was there a general desire, apart from the hut tax, to free themselves from the English?—They used to say the Sierra Leone people were the children of the Government, and it was through us that the Governor knew that they had money to pay the tax with, and if we are all killed the Governor will not follow us to make them pay tax.

7696. Suppose there had been no hut tax, would there have been a desire to get rid of the English?—I do not think so.

7697. What was the attitude of the people towards the missionaries?—They were very kind formerly. My circuit contains about sixty-two towns, and I used to go round about three times in a year. They always tried to get me the best hut and food. I have found no discouragement during twenty years. A good many of them joined the Church and brought their children to be educated.

7698. Could you make out the motive that they desire their children to be educated?—It is from a spiritual standpoint, that is the main thing that is put before them.

7699. You think that there was a desire on the part of those to go in the better way, and they did not feel any aversion to the missionaries?—No.

7700. Have you any theory to account for the atrocious deeds that were done at missionary stations?—Bai Yonga who has already been executed, was a very wicked man. In 1887 when the Mendi people toook war to Shengay he was the foremost leader. Although three were caught and executed, he hid himself. When they made up for this war he sent up to the Lokko country to the people to come down and help him in the fight. When the news got to Rotofunk, Bundu called all these people there and

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Rev. J. Johnson. they were told if the war was only for Sierra Leone and white people they must not fight, but if the Mendi people were mixed up they should fight.

7701. Do you suppose the mission people were killed by the Yonnis?—No; by the Lokko people.

7702. What was the ground of their dislike?—They aimed more at plundering: they thought if they killed the people there would be no one to recognise them: their object was to free themselves from detection. At Tiama and Tikonko it was the same thing.

7703. Then you think it was not due to any dislike of the missionaries or fear of their subverting their old practices or anything of that kind?—No; I myself have burnt down several devil houses and have been received by the same people afterwards. At first we put them down as seeker members and instructed them that it would not do to have a devil house, though at first they themselves were afraid of burning it.

7704. When you speak of the devil does it mean the native personification of evil or merely a spirit?—Personification of evil. In every town there is a small hut built near the wharf or trees with a bug-a-bug (white ant) hill in it.

7705. How does the white ant come to be chosen as the representative of the devil?—I do not know: I think probably from the fact that the same hill lasts for perhaps hundreds of years:—the red ant hills decay after a time. They make a festival annually and cook rice and palm oil and give it to the hill and they think it will bring them good fortune. That is among the people of the Bumpe country. Some of the women if they had a pain leant the part against the hill and it used to get well. At first after I burnt the hill they thought nothing would go well. They gave me leave to burn the devil house but they dared not do it themselves.

7706. Have you been recently in that part of the country? Are the people settling at all?—Yes; I got to Rotofunk on Monday 19th September, and met one of the men there. The people hastened to meet me and brought me rice and said they would rebuild the mission house if I would mark out the place, and that they would be glad to have me back. I did not see any sign of disturbance, but the road to Kwalu is not safe yet.

7707. Is there any hindrance to their coming back and rebuilding their towns?—They are only waiting to hear from the District Commissioner that there is no danger.

7708. From where is the danger apprehended?—They are afraid of attacks from the English.

7709. Then were these towns burnt by the war-boys or by the English?—Partly by one and partly the other.

7710. Why were they burnt by the English?—Colonel Cunningham and Colonel Woodgate found some of them stockaded.

Bobo.

Bobo.

7711. My name is Mohamed Bobo. I am an interpreter in the Department for Native Affairs for Mendi and Timini.

7712. Do you remember going with Governor Cardew as interpreter on certain journeys that he made?—Yes; I think it was in 1895. I have only been with him once. We went first to Kangora in the Konnoh country: there was a meeting there at which Binda, Chief of the Konnoh country and his Sub-Chiefs were present. The Governor told them sometime they would have to pay hut tax and talked to them about the country; that there was no war again in the country, that he would send Frontier Police to protect the country. Binda said he was very glad that there would be no more war, and that the Sofas had destroyed all his country. He said that if the country sat down and there was no war he would try to cut rubber and make trade. The Sub-Chiefs did not say anything. Afterwards we went to Timbi Kumbu, Buruma and Mattru, but there were no meetings. Mr. Parkes and Momodu Wakka were with the Governor. Nancy Tucker has commenced to rebuild the town.

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4th November 1898.

Dr. Renner.

7713. My name is William Renner. I am a M.B. of Brussels, M.R.C.S. of England, and L.R.C.P. of Ireland. I am acting Colonial Surgeon. I have held my present appointment since 1884. I have acted as Deputy Harbour Master. I have had much practice among Europeans.

7714. Have you observed any material difference in the health of the Government officials and mercantile clerks?—Yes; I have noticed that the Government officials keep healthier than the mercantile classes, because they have more frequent changes. The mercantile people remain here for three years as a rule.

7715. Do you consider that the frequent change to a cooler climate is a material element in preserving health here?—Yes.

7716. Are there any other circumstances in the life of the mercantile people as compared with the Government people that would account for their worse health?—No; I believe it is due to their prolonged stay in the country.

7717. What would you say is the most typical disease of the country?—Malarial fever, and, next to that, liver troubles.

7718. Do the mercantile people have good health in the earlier part of their stay?—Yes; and after, say one year or eighteen months, they seem gradually to run down.

7719. Have you any experience, or information, as to the health enjoyed by the Europeans in the interior as compared with Freetown?—It depends on the station. Some of those at Falaba have never had fever, others at Kwalu have had fever and diarrhœa. The personal equation comes in a good deal.

7720. Is there any appreciable difference in the health of persons living in an elevated place such as Tower Hill?—At certain seasons those on Tower Hill seem to suffer more than those in the town: that is chiefly in the dry weather, but, on the whole, they seem to keep better health.

7721. Is their period of service the same as the civil officers?—I think for every year's service they have a year's leave.

7722. Then they ought to keep their health better?—Yes; but, as a matter of fact, it is not so. It depends very much on the season.

7723. At the elevation of Mount Oriel, does that make any difference?—In dry weather the health is very good. In wet weather it is very damp, and the men get colds. Those that are sent up the hill from Freetown seem to pick up very quickly.

7724. Is malarial fever, as a rule, quickly recovered from after leaving here?—You quickly recover from the actual fever, but the debility is retained much longer.

7725. Is six months' absence quite sufficient for full recovery?—It depends on the form of the illness. In the case of black-water fever, an extension should be given beyond the six months.

7726. Do you think that six months is about the smallest proportion that ought to be taken?—Yes; I would propose that in a year's leave they should have about two months at the beginning of the rains.

7727. Do you think that men by going for two months during the heaviest rain would be able to remain for a longer period without detriment?—Yes; they could remain for the whole eighteen months. Or, you might have a year's service, and six or four month's leave.

7728. How was it in the old times when men used to remain for two or three years without a break?—When I joined the service it was eighteen months, and two months' Maderia leave. After the two months they returned, and did six months in the Colony before they went for six months' leave.

7729. Is black-water fever a form that occurs in Freetown, or only in the bush?—I look upon it as a more serious form of fever, but more prevalent among river residents than among town folk.

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Dr. RENNER.

7730. Does dysentery prevail in Sierra Leone?—Yes; I have seen more amongst natives than Europeans.

7731. Is a change to a colder climate effective for curing dysentery?—I think so: it braces them up. It is not common among Europeans, owing chiefly to the care they take of their drinking water.

7732. Do you think that people become seasoned to resist malaria, or is it always a downward process?—I think they get worse and worse.

7733. So that new officers would have a better probability of freedom from fever than if they had served for a term of years?—Yes.

7734. For officers who are new to the West Coast, what is the best period of the year to commence service?—November: the dry weather is better than the wet.

7735. The period immediately succeeding the rains is thought to be rather an unhealthy period?—It depends on the rainfall: if there is a good rainfall the dry season is healthy.

7736. I suppose there are no particular rules for preserving health in this climate? There are rules laid down: but they do not save people from fever. It is a matter of degree. The chief rules are plenty of exercise, and abstinence from alcohol; but I have seen total abstainers suffer as badly as the worst drinkers.

MORLAI BENGA.

MORLAI BENGA.

7th November 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

7737. My name is Morlai Benga of Romafengbe in Upper Kwaia. A Government war came to Kwaia this year. I saw Fulla Mansa and a white man and some policemen. When they came to fight we ran away into the bush. I saw them plunder all the things in the town. They asked Merka, the headman, for the tax, I believe. I was not present. Many other towns were burned, and many of the Kwaia people were killed. One man was killed in our village, and nineteen were caught by Fulla Mansa. He kept those he caught. The Kwaia people did not fight. At Rofundo I heard they killed some people; they fired on the people, but the people did not fire any gun against the Government party. They went and attacked Furudugu and burned it. They burned Romabing. At Romatiko they killed one man, and plundered all the things in the town. Many towns were plundered—Rokopa, Romanabasanka, Romabangani. Not one man used any sword or gun against Government in Kwaia. When they heard it was Government war they ran for their lives.

FURIBUNDU.

FURIBUNDU.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

7738. My name is Furibundu. I was in charge of Mabangani. War attacked us, and they burned the town. Fulla Mansa was in front of the war. I saw Timini people and Frontier Police and a white man in a hammock. They plundered all the things. When they began to kill people we all ran away. Banga was killing the people. The police did not kill any in our town. My people did not fight Fulla Mansa. They killed five people at Rofundo and burned it. We heard they killed many people at Ropolong, but we did not go there. Fulla Mansa carried his war to Majackson, and stopped there, and killed some people by the big road: he laid an ambush for them. They attacked Mafuluma, and burned the town, and killed some there. None of the Kwaia people fought against the Government. If any war come against the country, the Chief will give the order what to do; but there was no Chief at that time: they had all run away. The people have not come back to their towns yet: they are living in the bush.

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12*th November* 1898.

CAPTAIN MOORE.

7739. My name is Samuel Moore. I am an Inspector and Adjutant of Frontier Police.

7740. How long have you been connected with the Frontier Police?—Since February 1894. I went and took command in the Falaba district, and was fixing posts on the boundary for about nine months after that.

7741. What was the force in 1894, when you were first appointed?—There is no record to give any idea of the force in January 1894; roughly it was 400. There was only one European Inspector when I arrived, but five others were appointed within a month or so. It was about five or six months after I joined them that the force was increased.

7742. These posts you speak of were along the Frontier?—Yes; and posts on the direct roads into French territory where slave trade was going on. I fairly well put down slave trading during that time.

7743. What number of men were usually stationed at these different posts?—They varied from a non-commissioned officer and three men to non-commissioned officer and nine men. The Head Quarters of the slave trade was Bougon, I think. I put a strong post there.

7744. Did you place posts of that kind all along the border territory where our Protectorate meets the French territory?—Not in all instances. In some cases they were a mile or two from the river, and had orders to patrol. The boundary has been slightly altered since then.

7745. Did you go on leave of absence after a time?—Yes. I went home at the end of January 1895, and returned the end of July, and took up my duties as Inspector and Adjutant, and also, I think, Acting Inspector-General.

7746. Were you resident in Freetown?—I remained there the whole fifteen months with one exception, and then went on leave again.

7747. In January 1898 you were appointed to act as District Commissioner in the Ronietta district?—Yes. I think I left here about 17th, and took over the district about the 20th or 21st. Dr. Hood had been acting as District Commissioner.

7748. Dr. Hood had reported about the collection of the hut tax before you were sent up?—I believe so. I did not see his report. I knew the reason I was sent.

7749. What was the reason?—That the tax would have to be collected by force, and that there was resistance offered, and that they were arming.

7750. Had you instructions how to act?—Yes. If possible, to collect the hut tax peaceably, to assemble the Chiefs and explain to them the object of the hut tax, and point out that the Frontier Police were appointed to protect themselves from one another, and for their good, and that they should bear part of the expense. I was to give time if I saw any case of real poverty. I had a pretty free hand if they showed any signs of payment.

7751. Were these instructions in a written paper that you found at Ronietta?—There would, no doubt, be papers at Ronietta; but I got distinct verbal instructions from the Governor before leaving.

7752. Did you see this paper at Ronietta?—I have no doubt I did. I may mention on the march to Ronietta I came upon a number of carriers on a by-path. When they saw us they threw down their loads, and we found that they were carrying powder. I took the powder with me. I had fifteen or twenty men with me to reinforce the station.

7753. Where did you meet with this convoy?—In the last day's march between Ronietta and Kwalu. If they had not thrown their things down, I should not have noticed them. There were between forty and fifty casks of about five or ten pounds in each. They had just come out on the direct road to Kwalu. It was not the direct road to Falaba.

7754. Then what was the first step you took in the collection of the tax?—I sent out

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CAPTAIN MOORE. court messengers to the Chiefs to tell them that I wanted to see them. I waited for them for four or five days. Information was brought me that theywere holding a meeting five or six miles from Kwalu. I sent out to them again, and they promised to come in the next day. Next day they came, sixty or seventy Chiefs, Paramount and others, with a following of about 6000 or 7000. That was about a week after my arrival. On the 24th Bai Sherbro of Yonni and Bai Simra of Masimera were the two big men. Fulla Mansa of Yonni and others whose names I forget were also present. Before they arrived, Fulla Mansa, who had been at this meeting, came and told me that the Chiefs had taken the oath over a kid, which they had killed, and that the oath was administered by Bai Sherbro; that they would stand together to resist the Government in the collection of the hut tax. Fulla Mansa said he had already done a seven years' sentence, and was not going to resist himself. He asked me not to say anything about it when the Chiefs came the next day. When the Chiefs arrived I informed them that I had been sent as District Commissioner with a view to collecting the hut tax, and that I hoped that I should have no difficulty in getting it. I told them what my instructions were; that if there were any cases which I was satisfied were cases of inability, and not unwillingness, I would give time, but those that were able to pay I should insist on their paying. I heard what each Chief had to say, and it practically was to the effect that they were not going to pay until they had consulted a big man in Freetown. Fulla Mansa told me this was Lawyer Lewis. They found out afterwards that Fulla Mansa had told me about their taking the oath, but did not know at the time. This meeting went on till four or five P.M., and I gave them till the next morning at nine o'clock. They were to stay in the town and give their answer in the morning.

7755. Was Madam Yoko amongst the Chiefs at this meeting?—She was not exactly amongst them; she took no part one way or the other. About dinner time Fulla Mansa came to my quarters (he had privately paid the greater part of his tax some days before), and gave me certain information about Bai Kompah of Kwaia, who was not at the meeting. He said that Bai Kompah was in Freetown, and was sending up arms and powder to the Kwaia people, and that he was acting as the mouthpiece of the other Chiefs, and was staying in Freetown to send up this stuff; so I sent down a warrant to arrest him, but the Governor would not have the warrant executed. On the 25th they came and practically gave the same answer. I told them I had said I must have a definite answer; and if they refused to pay the hut tax, I would arrest each one of them, which I did.

7756. How many did you arrest?—I should say ten or twelve. I arrested no Sub-Chiefs; they were all leading Chiefs. They were placed in the prison, with the exception of Bai Sherbro, who asked to see me just as they got to the prison gate. He was brought back to me, and said he was willing to pay; and he told me just what Fulla Mansa had said about their meeting, except that he said that Bai Simera administered the oath. This was between four and five P.M. As soon as Bai Sherbro had finished his talk, I got several messages from the other Chiefs that they wanted to see me. I told them I would see them the next morning. I did not send Bai Sherbro back to prison. He came to my quarters and told me very much what Fulla Mansa had said about Bai Kompah. On the 26th I had them all up. They all knew somehow that Bai Sherbro had told me about their meeting; they began to groan at him when they came into court. I then had Bai Sherbro sworn, and he denied having made a statement to me. The whole of the other Chiefs at once agreed to pay the tax.

7757. Did Bai Sherbro speak through an interpreter?—Yes. I do not know his name. Bai Sherbro said they had found out that he had made a statement, and threatened that they would kill him. I did not hear how they had found this out.

7758. Then each Chief said he was willing to pay?—Yes; I released them all, and each Chief did pay afterwards.

7759. How about the Sub-Chiefs who had not been arrested?—The big Chiefs were responsible for them.

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7760. Then the big Chiefs paid for themselves and their Sub-Chiefs?—Yes, not immediately, within a month or so. Then I heard that they were collecting arms in Nancy Tucker's district, and that powder was going in by the river, and that her own people were threatening her. I immediately started with an escort of twenty police. This was not more than three or four days afterwards. I saw most of the Chiefs, and was satisfied that they would pay.

7761. Have you any remembrance which Chiefs those were in Nancy Tucker's country?—Not at present.

7762. What steps did you take with regard to these Chiefs?—I tried to arrest them but they took to the bush. I left part of my escort to protect Nancy Tucker.

7763. What name does Nancy Tucker's country go by?—Sembehun is her town; Mano Bagru is the district. I sent to another Chief, Tembi Yeva, to ask her why she had made no effort to pay the hut tax. There was a Sub-Chief of hers, and she told me that Lawyer Lewis had told this Sub-Chief not to pay. Finally she paid. I marched on, and halted two nights at Tembi Yeva's town, Mocassi.

7764. Then you made no collection of tax in that district at that time?—Nancy Tucker and some others paid some. I went on to the Ribbi country.

7765. In Nancy Tucker's country did you collect personally?—I brought a considerable sum that I received personally in Nancy Tucker's court.

7766. Did she collect it herself or with the aid of police?—A good many of her Chiefs came and paid her the money in my presence, and then she handed the money to me.

7767. Was that all that took place in Nancy Tucker's territory?—There was nothing else of any importance. I had several palavers with Chiefs, and they all agreed to pay.

7768. Did those persons in Nancy Tucker's territory who paid pay willingly or reluctantly?—It did not strike me as reluctant. I went back to Kwalu, I think, the next day.

7769. When I was away, the Governor would not sanction my arresting Bai Kompah, but sent him up with a letter written, I think, by Mr. Parkes to me, asking me to deal as gently as I could with Bai Kompah. The letter arrived, but without Bai Kompah, who had struck off into the Kwaia country. Chief Smart came in from the Kwaia country, and told me that they were all armed and determined to resist. I left next morning, and started with about twenty police. About an hour after I had got to Songo town, Captain Fairtlough met me with an escort. He was on his way to Kwalu. We started that night.

7770. Is this your report (Confidential $\frac{4}{98}$)?—Yes.

7771. At the time of your commencing that expedition had you any information of the country being in an armed state, or intending to resist, except what Smart had told you?—I had heard that they were arming from the Governor, and he asked me if I thought it necessary to place a post on the road to see if arms were coming up.

7772. Did the post that you placed succeed in discovering any arms being brought up?—No; they never caught anybody.

7773. Had you any independent information other than that of Smart?—I am not prepared to say so. I cannot give any data.

We halted a night at a place called Rokonta. On our arrival at this town we could hear the war drums beating at Robia. We pushed on, and on arriving at Robia we found the town filled with people. I went with the advanced guard myself. Instead of attacking us, they ran into the bush. Most of the men in their front rank were armed with the ordinary native gun. I took the interpreter up to the edge of the bush, and told them in a loud voice that I had not come to fight them or fire on them, but if they offered resistance I should fire on them. They knew that I had come to arrest Bai Kompah. I only stopped there half-an-hour. Sub-Inspector Johnson was in charge of the rear-

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CAPTAIN MOORE. guard, and told me that the natives were closing in. The result was that two shots were fired by the natives on the rear-guard. I went back to order Johnson to fire two or three volleys to clear the place. We pushed on to Makompah that night. Nothing occurred that night. We found Bai Kompah was not there. We were told by the Sub-Chief that he was the other side of the river. The Sub-Chief said that if we sent a boat and five or six men, he would go with them and take Bai Kompah. We got a boat ready, but he suddenly disappeared into the bush. We stopped there that night. The first thing next morning, about half of us got into the boat, and when we had got into mid-stream a heavy fire was opened on us from both banks of the river. We fired several volleys from both sides of the boat and cleared the bush. None of our men were wounded. We then marched to this town, but did not find Bai Kompah. On the way back to Robia they followed us up, and after our arrival about 5.30 P.M. they attacked us, and we followed them for a mile or so.

7774. What was the nature of the attack?—They came within ten or fifteen yards and delivered a volley, retreated and did it again. Our men replied; we never lost an opportunity. Between twelve and one that night they charged the camp with a fiendish yell, and I let off a rocket at them. The interpreter heard them discussing whether they should attack us again or not. On this expedition I burned Robia as the headquarters of this ruffianism, and also Makompah. We met with hardly any opposition on our return.

7775. On that occasion at Robia when the war-boys attacked you, were any of your men hit?—Not one.

7776. Was this an expedition on which you were collecting the tax at all?—I did not go for the tax. I was determined that if I found them with arms I would take them away and arrest Bai Kompah.

7777. Then that finished that expedition?—Yes; I came back to Kwalu. I had been away about fifteen days.

7778. What was the next thing you did?—I handed over to Captain Fairtlough and came down here. Captain Fairtlough took over the duties as District Commissioner about 3rd March.

7779. Were you engaged on any other expeditions in the Ronietta district?—I assisted in the taking of Tiama.

7780. When did you go back to Ronietta?—In May, after the outbreak had commenced. I went up with Colonel Woodgate. I did not start with him, but joined him at Rotofunk.

7781. Then you were not engaged in any other tax-gathering expedition than this you told me of?—No.

7782. You know nothing as to what took place after you left Kwalu?—No; we found plenty of powder at Tiama; we got dozens of empty casks; some marked TCB and Crowther.

7783. Had you any means of knowing when this powder was supplied?—There is no doubt when they brought it up, but I have no evidence. On more than one occasion I found ten or twelve Chiefs at Kwalu having the Sierra Leone papers read to them, and I found that every Chief had a Sierra Leone boy to read the paper to him. On one occasion at a meeting I found a Sierra Leone boy going round telling the Chiefs not to pay the hut tax. Sergeant Palmer gave evidence, and he was imprisoned in February, I think it was.

7784. Was the boy's name Williams?—Possibly.

7785. What was the sentence?—Six months.

7786. Where was the charge heard?—On the spot. I brought him back to Kwalu.

7787. Was it at Geahun?—I cannot say. The witnesses against Williams were Sergeant Palmer and Sub-Inspector Johnson, and in addition it was his chum who came and told me what he was doing.

7788. Who was the chum?—I do not know.

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7789. Do you remember whether you took part in the hearing of the charge against Pa Nembana on 21st January?—I tried him, and sentenced him. A year's hard labour and thirty-six lashes. I was sorry the Governor would not allow me to inflict the lashes.

14th November 1898.

7790. You spoke about Tembi Yeva having mentioned a Sub-Chief what was his name?—Cabba Gaindah.

7791. In a report you made to the Governor you said you had a big palaver on the 5th February with the Timdale Chiefs?—At that meeting there was no Paramount Chief, and when I arrived I asked the Chiefs to select one. Chief Boya of Masanda seemed to be the most likely, but they could not agree. After a long palaver they all agreed to pay the tax, and they did pay afterwards. I gave them time.

7792. When you took over the Ronietta district was there an Inspector or Assistant Inspector in charge as well as the District Commissioner?—Yes; Captain Warren. He is now at Karene.

7793. Do you know if he had been with Dr. Hood in a previous expedition he made into the Kwaia country: I think he went shortly before you arrived?—I have no recollection of that. He went to Tiama. Captain Warren accompanied him to Tiama a few days before I arrived.

7794. To what place did you send Dr. Hood?—To the Kwaia country some time after. It was after I returned from the Timdale district.

7795. Did Captain Warren go with Dr. Hood?—No; he was on the sick list.

7796. I think on some occasions Chiefs have had assistance of Frontier Police in collecting the tax?—Nancy Tucker and two others asked for them. Neale Caulker applied, and Bai Simera got one man. I am not clear about Madam Yoko. I do not think she had any assistance during my time.

7797. When the police were detached on that duty, were they clothed as usual and with arms and ammunition?—Yes; I never allowed a man to go without.

7798. You were there till the 17th March?—Yes; about that time.

7799. In the Bagru district you said you remained at Nancy Tucker's, and her Sub-Chiefs brought in money; you did not go about collecting?—No; she had collected a sum of money and she paid it me in court.

7800. Whilst you were in Nancy Tucker's town on that occasion were there any police collecting in the Bagru District?—None.

7801. Then you passed on to the Ribbi country?—I went to the Timdale country first and came home by the Ribbi country.

7802. Were you at a place called Kangama?—I think I remember, in the Ribbi country.

7803. Do you think you passed by Kangama?—The name is familiar: I think I must have passed through it.

7804. Do you remember Pittifu?—I think that is in Madam Yoko's country.

7805. Do you remember anything happening there?—Nothing.

7806. Do you remember the village of Mafuri being burned?—On no occasion. I have told you the only two that were burned in the Kwaia country.

7807. Do you remember a man being shot at Makaia?—No; the only occasion on which a shot was fired was in the Kwaia country.

7808. Then I take it you were not aware of a man being shot at Mabobo?—There was not a single shot fired the whole time except in the Kwaia country.

7809. Do you remember being at Mabobo?—I have heard the name but cannot fix anything.

7810. You are not aware of such an incident as a man being shot?—No.

7811. Anything about a man not giving up a cutlass?—Nothing of the sort during the whole of my command. I disarmed one man in Kwaia, who was brought up to Kwalu.

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CAPTAIN MOORE.

7812. Do you remember that occasion in the Kwaia country when crossing the stream they opened fire on you from both sides; how wide was it?—About 120 yards. My men replied, and we came back and crossed further up where the water was lower.

7813. During the whole expedition in Kwaia was there any casualty?—Only one boy slightly wounded, no one severely wounded: there were only forty altogether.

7814. You spoke about finding a number of Chiefs sitting down with a Sierra Leone boy reading the paper?—It was Bai Simera's boy.

7815. When was that?—Shortly after the meeting at which I imprisoned the Chiefs—26th or 27th January.

7816. Which of the papers was it?—It was the white one (*Sierra Leone Times*).

7817. What was the process of reading?—He was talking in Mendi language, which I do not understand.

7818. In the Kwaia country, did the war-boys come out into the open to fire?—Except at a town. The Kwaia country is very thick. At certain cross-roads I tried to follow them.

7819. Do the Frontier Police go into the bush after people, or keep to the roads?—I would not allow them to do so. I kept them to the roads.

7820. Did you ascertain the number of war-boys killed on any occasion?—No; if I had tried I could not have found out in the bush. They never came into the towns except on that night attack. I could not see any dead bodies on that occasion.

BOUIYAH.

BOUIYAH.

12*th November* 1898.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

7821. My name is Bouiyah. I am Headman of Mafuluma. War came at night and attacked us. We heard the noise of guns, and I ran away into the bush. I told all the people to run. I left my children and wife in the town. The war destroyed the town. Three persons were killed, and one man's foot was broken, but he did not die. I am not sure of the date. I think it was in Bangali (probably March). I ran away directly I heard the firing. The shooting lasted from 3 to 5 A.M. I heard they fired guns and burned Rofundo and killed Sitafa, the Headman. I only know of that one man being killed, but I heard that others were killed also. The war went to Furudugu, and they have burned up the town, and I heard they killed some people.

MUSTAPHA.

MUSTAPHA.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

7822. My name is Mustapha. I am Headman of Maserakuli. The war which attacked Bouiyah came to my town. I saw Timini people and one Frontier. Fulla Mansa was leading the Timini. They fired guns and all the people ran away. I ran into the bush. Fulla Mansa's people followed us into the bush. They killed four men. A woman was very sick, and they set fire to her house and burned her. The whole town was burned. I found the body of the sick woman in the house afterwards. This was in Bangali.

7823. Are the people returning to their farms now?—They are still in the bush, but are doing some work on their farms.

RUKO.

RUKO.

(Momodu Wakka interpreting.)

7824. My name is Ruko. I was the wife of Bai Kompah and lived at Makompah. Bai Kompah is dead now; he died in my hands. He was sick, but when he got kicked the place swelled up and burst out. He was an old man. The white man kicked him on

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account of the hut tax; I was present. When the hut tax commenced, the people came to Bai Kompah. Bai Kompah and the Queen of England were friends. Bai Kompah said, Let us go to Freetown to beg the Government. They went to Freetown to beg, because they have nothing, but the Governor did not agree. I was in the house when Bai Kompah was kicked. Two white men came, and Charles Smart brought them. When they came to ask Bai Kompah, Bai Kompah was in bed with a cough. Charles Smart said he was in the room. The police knocked at the door, and when they came in they found Bai Kompah on his bed. The police drew him out of bed. The white man was in the piazza. They dragged him to the piazza, and the white man came and said, 'Bai Kompah, I come for the tax.' Bai Kompah said, 'You come for the tax, and give order to your boys to drag me from the house.' Then the white man pointed a gun at him and said, 'If you do not pay I will shoot you.' Bai Kompah said, 'Shoot me; I will not pay.' Then he got kicked by the white man, and he fell down in the piazza. RUKO.

7825. Was Bai Kompah standing when he was kicked?—When they brought him out of the room he stood up. He was standing when he was kicked: he was kicked in the ribs at the back: then he fell down, and his own people came and took him. Bai Kompah said, 'You kick me? This country is mine. I did not think that white man would behave to me in such a way. I shall go to Freetown to the Governor.' The white man said, 'I am not going to Freetown.' The white man said Bai Kompah should go to Kwalu. Bai Kompah said, 'If they do me any harm I have to go to Freetown.' Then he gave Bai Kompah two policemen and said, 'All right, go to Freetown.' Then they came in a canoe to Freetown. The Government sent a doctor to visit him, and he gave him medicine to rub on him. After a little while, the Governor ordered him to go back. They carried him to the Governor. The Governor said, 'Bai Kompah, I call you here for payment of hut tax.' I was present. Bai Kompah said, 'If you want such a thing you ought to send and ask me, and all the Chiefs will give you something, because the Government has done much good to our country; but you sent to me guns and men to go and kick me. Think over the matter. Because we are friends of the Queen. I did not think that a white man would behave to me in such a way.' The Governor said, 'If you do not pay your hut tax to-morrow, I will send police and soldiers to take you to Kwalu.' Then one of Bai Kompah's sons said they would hold the Governor's word; and they went back to the lodging. The king said, 'I am very ill.'

7826. Do you know if Bai Kompah's stipend had been stopped?—For some time they had not paid it. He wanted them to keep the stipend for the payment of the tax.

7827. Did Bai Kompah go back to his own country after that?—The king got orders to go to Kwalu. At the same time they wrote a letter to Kwalu to take his stipend for tax. The people with that letter were kept by the officer at Kwalu; and at the same time messengers came back with two white men and police to take Bai Kompah.

7828. Anybody besides the two white officers?—Some labourers and Frontiers.

7829. Where was Bai Kompah when these officers arrived?—They came to Romange: he was at Makompah. When they got to Romange they did not see Bai Kompah. Bai Kompah's people told him, 'If the officer is coming to kill you, never mind.' The two white men went back to Kwalu. Then they came a second time and heard that Bai Kompah was at Makompah; but they did not find him there, as he was moved to Robaga. All the people ran to the bush. The police came into the town and fired guns, and the white man remained behind. They came again to Makompah and burned the town. They fired guns all night and all day. Nobody was killed. No Timinis fired any guns. They fired many guns after us. Robaga is close to Romange. I had gone to Robaga. They went on to Romange, but they did not go to Robaga. They met a boy preparing a house. He ran to tell the people that they were coming. When he wanted to run they shot him, and he was brought to Freetown. After this I went to Bai Kompah and told him all his property was burned. I stayed with him at Robaga. He lived for some months, and the sore kept getting worse till he died. After the officers had left,

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RUKO.

Bai Kompah was carried to see how they had burned his town. He kept moving about in the bush villages till he died.

7830. Did Bai Kompah encourage his people to make war on the English?—No; he said nobody was to fight.

7831. Who brought the gunpowder into the country?—What powder?

7832. Was there no powder?—None except small powder to hunt.

7833. You spoke of a white officer having held a gun at Bai Kompah's head: was it a gun or a revolver?—A revolver.

7834. Was Smart present at that time?—Yes; at the same time Pa Nembana was taken prisoner to Kwalu. I saw him in handcuffs.

7835. When Bai Kompah went to Freetown, you went with him?—Yes.

7836. Did the two police who had been left go with him to Freetown?—Yes.

7837. Then the two policemen were to bring Bai Kompah to Freetown whether he wished or no?—Yes.

Examined by MR. WILBRAHAM (Acting Attorney-General).

7838. Was the kick with the knee or the foot?—With his foot. The officer's boots had some iron.

7839. Had Bai Kompah many people in the town when the officers came?—Yes.

7840. Were they armed?—No; they had no guns or swords.

15*th November* 1898.

Sir S. LEWIS.

SIR S. LEWIS.

7841. A statement was made by a witness the other day which I think is right you should have the opportunity of answering. The witness stated that he had gone to Madam Tembi Yeva in collecting the hut tax, and had asked her why she made no effort to pay the tax; and thereupon she stated that a Sub-Chief of hers named Cabba Gaindah had been advised by lawyer Lewis not to pay.[1] I presume you are the lawyer Lewis referred to?—I presume so.

7842. Did you ever advise Cabba Gaindah that he should not pay the hut tax?—It is deliberately false.

7843. Did you give such advice to Cabba Gaindah?—Never. I may add that I believe Cabba Gaindah left the Colony finally long before the hut tax was to be collected.

7844. It would appear that this Cabba Gaindah is now undergoing a sentence?—I know nothing about that. I mean that he left Freetown when I say the Colony.

7845. In a report made by the same witness to the Governor some time ago he stated that Madam Tembi Yeva of Mocassi, when asked for the tax, first said that her people had no money to pay the tax, as all her money had gone to lawyer Lewis to fight the Government?—That also is not true. In 1896 I was retained by a man by the name of Say, on behalf of Tembi Yeva, to watch over and protect their interests with regard to some land that Tembi Yeva and some of her people were claiming against one Yahi, and I received from this man Say a retainer of not more than £10 or £11. That was long before the hut tax. Since I received that retainer certain proceedings had to be taken by me for Tembi Yeva, Cabba Gaindah, and others, in the Supreme Court, for the purpose of having a *habeas corpus* to question the right of the Government in imprisoning these people, as I conceived, unlawfully and arbitrarily. That case was not covered by my retainer, but I expended as well in that case as in actions that I had to institute in the Supreme Court on behalf of Tembi Yeva and others, a sum not far from the amount which Say had paid me for a retainer; in fact, I believe I paid more.

7846. This statement of Tembi Yeva, if it was made, seems to come into relation with the tax scheme of the Governor; but what you say now is that whatever fees might have been paid to you were for something that took place long before?—I may mention that this question of retainer or money paid to me was incidentally mentioned by

[1] *See* 7763.

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His Excellency the Governor in the Legislative Council in a statement which he read attacking my loyalty, and to which I replied then. I refer you to the proceedings of the Council for that matter. I must add that beyond this amount of retainer not a penny has been directly or indirectly received by me from Tembi Yeva or on her behalf. Sir S. Lewis.

Mr. Domingo.

Mr. Domingo.

7847. My name is George Maximilian Domingo, trader of Bumpetuk, Shengay, in the Ronietta district. When the Governor went to Shengay on 1st June 1896 I was present, and all the Headmen. Among them, Chief Thomas Neale Caulker, Chief of Shengay; Cassiba, *alias* Yacomba, Sub-Chief of Tasso under Neale Caulker; Cainy Face, *alias* Yabome of Toomba; Say Long, *alias* Yorgbok, Chief of Bendu; Beah Hai, *alias* Cohen of Bumpetuk; Say Bouthlear, *alias* Coyamak, Chief of Mano; with all their followers. The Governor was accompanied by a young man, who, I believe, is a clerk under Mr. Parkes. Mr. Parkes himself did not go. The customs clerks, Elba and Faulkner, were present. It was on the occasion of the Governor returning from Monrovia. The Governor arrived at Shengay on 31st May 1896, and landed the next day, having, on the 31st May, sent to request Chief Thomas Neale Caulker to collect all the big men, as he, the Governor, came with the intention of dividing the Sherbro, some part into Colony and some part into Protectorate, and that he did not like to do so in the absence of the elders. On the 1st June the Governor addressed the people in this wise through an interpreter, Charles A. Reming, who interpreted in Sherbro:—'According to the constant troubles in this part, I have made up my mind to divide all the Sherbro into Colony and Protectorate. Whichever Chiefs will be in the Colony will be only nominal Chiefs to be protected by Commissioner, and the Chiefs will have no power to judge any matter; but in the Protectorate the Chiefs will have power to judge matters there. A Court will be held by the Chiefs only between natives and natives, in cases which are not slave cases. There are cases where the District Commissioner and the natives will sit, and that there will be cases where the District Commissioner alone will sit, and that there must be no more slave trade. Those you have got you must treat them kindly, and especially to women: give them no brutal treatment; and if any adult does not want his master again he must redeem himself with £4 and child £2, and if that money is paid, the person for whom it is paid is to have his freedom.

'Besides, any waste lands which are not owned by anybody, the Governor will have charge over them; that no Chief shall have power to prevent any sawyer from entering the forest to saw boards, as he (the Governor) had heard the Chiefs were doing.' He said some more things. He said at the commencement of 1897 there would be a licence levied on all traders in the Protectorate, and whoever sells spirits without goods will pay £2, and who sells spirits and goods will pay £4; and on the commencement of 1898 every house of one room shall pay 5s., and every house of two rooms shall pay 10s., for three rooms 15s., and for four rooms and upward 20s. every year. He then asked Chief Neale Caulker what he had to say for his people. Chief Neale said, 'I have nothing to say.' The Governor said, 'You have nothing to say?' The Chief replied, 'Yes, I have nothing to say. What have I to say? You have stated your intention, I dare not contradict it.'

7848. The Governor asked him, 'Where will you like to be, whether in the Colony or in the Protectorate?' Chief Neale Caulker said, 'Just as you like.' He said nothing more. The Governor then said, 'I had better not say anything more then,' and he said he was going.

Before leaving, he said to Chief Neale Caulker, 'I hear that you are taxing the Sierra Leone traders in your place here?' Chief Neale Caulker said, 'I never did; it may be done by the other Chiefs, but not I.' The Governor said to him, 'I dare you not to do that, because I am taxing them myself. They are paying licence and duty on their goods, and why are you taxing them here?' Chief Caulker said, 'I never did.'

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Mr. Domingo.

Chief Neale Caulker asked the Governor, 'What about the dispute about the demarcation between myself and the Bompeh Chiefs?' The Governor replied, 'When I go I shall send you a man, whom you will not be prejudiced against, to decide about the demarcation.' After the Governor spoke about the Protectorate and his plans as above stated, one Lucy Curtis, usually called Aunt Lucy, spoke aloud in Sherbro, 'We won't agree for this tax upon these houses.' She went up to the Chief and said he must say to the Governor that he did not agree. Chief Neale would not do so. After this the Governor went away.

7849. In January 1897 Mr. Littlehales Barker was sent up by the Governor to decide the boundary question between Bompeh and Shengay, and in the early part of that year we in the Shengay district were made to pay to the Government trade licences. Messages were then generally coming from the interior of Mendi, Tiama, and Bompeh to us, that if we paid the tax they would bring war upon us. When the rumour came to the Chief he said we must not mind them, we must pay the tax, and that it will be better to be on the side of the Government. This was after Chief Neale Caulker had sent me to Sir Samuel Lewis, and he sent to advise him to be on the side of the Government.

Before the 1897 Protectorate Ordinance was passed, Chief Neale Caulker called a meeting of the Chiefs of Shengay and read the order and interpreted it to the whole of them, and used these words to the Chiefs:—'For my own part I am powerless; and as we know that we are powerless, the only protection that we can have is to abide by the laws of the English Government. If you do not abide by this law they will arrest you and take you to Kwalu, and will deal with you as they like. You see the power that the District Commissioner has is even over the power that the Governor has in town. If it is a case where you can be arrested and taken to Freetown it will be better, because you can have a lawyer to defend your case; but you people who are not accustomed to English laws at all, if you are taken to Kwalu you will not know how to plead your case. So I tell you this in warning, that you may be guided by the Ordinance.' After he had spoken two of the Headmen spoke, viz. Cassigbo and Moodali. Cassigbo said, 'This is a heavy task. I am a Sherbro man, and why can they say that we must pay for these huts in which we are sleeping? The mud is ours, the sticks are ours, the boards or straw we take to make the doors are ours, the palm litter to cover the huts is ours: why should we pay for these huts? Chief, if it is this money that the Government has been paying for stipend to the former Chiefs they must say so, and if you call on us we shall know what to do for that. Just think of some of these boys who have not anything: they can get a hut for themselves, how can they get 5s. to pay? Chief, this thing is too heavy for us, and if there is any way the Chief can arrange to help them he must try.'

7850. Moodali stood and said as follows:—'Chief, you are our light, and we are in the dark. You can only think how many houses we have as big men, and not because we get people to put in all these houses. It is only because we are men of note, and when travellers hear that we are in such a place they run there to sleep; therefore we build these houses. Now, if we are to be called on to pay for all these houses, where shall we have the money? You people who are here do not know what is taxation. I was over-side near the mountains (Sierra Leone) and they were taxing those people, and I know what trouble the people had. If such intelligent people could be troubled with the tax, how much more would we? The Sierra Leone people are paying duty on goods, and we are bound to pay it, and the licences they say Sierra Leone people are to pay, it is we who are going to pay it. Where shall we then have money for the huts in which we are sleeping? So, Chief, as you are the light, and you can manage that this trouble don't break upon us, do help us.

On behalf of Chief Neale Caulker I stood and said I thanked them all for what they had said. It is all late now. If I remember, some time in 1886, when they seized my boat, I went to get advice through the Chief from lawyer Lewis. The gentleman took the trouble to refer away back to the treaties that our parents had entered into, and showed

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me all the other treaties which generally left out privilege for the natives, and he showed me that in agreement of 1881 we had shut up our privileges, and it was optional with the Government to do with us whatever they liked; and even when this Protectorate matter took place the Chief sent me to go and get advice from him. He told me in plain words that I must come and tell the Chief he must just do what the Ordinance says. I then added: 'I tell you now, my people, on behalf of the Chief and myself, let us be on the side of the Government, and if they see that we are not able to pay the hut tax at all, they may perhaps have mercy on us,' and then I sat down. Mr. Domingo.

Semaleh then said that he heard that the other Chiefs are gathering money to go and fight out their case. In answer to that Chief Neale Caulker said, 'Don't mind them; I don't think they will succeed, but if at all they succeed, we shall enjoy the benefit.' In that way these people were kept down that day.

7851. About October the District Commissioner who was in charge of the Ronietta district after Littlehales Barker, wrote to warn Chief Caulker that it was coming near to the time for the hut tax. Chief Neale Caulker summoned a meeting of Chiefs. I was present all through this meeting. He read the letter to them. Some of us said, 'All right.' Cassigbo said in the meeting, 'But we hear the interior people of the Mendis are saying that if we pay the tax they will bring war on us.' I then stood up and said, 'How will they manage with Kwalu, which is the seat of government? If at all the tax will commence there, and how after they have paid their own tax there will they come and put war on us here.' Then the assembly said, 'If they first pay, we shall pay.' The meeting then broke up.

7852. On 31st December last Chief Neale Caulker received a circular letter from the District Commissioner. The letter was for the Chief and his headmen telling them it is time now to pay the tax, and that all the Chiefs who collect the tax will receive 3d. on every house. The Chief sent one of his circulars to me and asked me to distribute the others to the headmen. I distributed them. On 3rd February 1898 I left Bompetuk for Freetown to get married. Before I left, news had reached us at Bompetuk that Madam Yoko was afraid to pay, and wished the District Commissioner to insist upon Foray Vong of Tiama first paying the tax, as it had been reported that Foray Vong was gathering war to resist the payment. The report had also reached Shengay that Captain Moore with the Frontier Police had seized Foray Vong's property, and that after Foray Vong had come to town to complain, he had been sent up with a letter to the District Commissioner, who therefore arrested and put him in prison. Upon receiving this news the people of Shengay were getting afraid, and some of them were hiding what property they had, as they said if they paid the tax the interior people would make war upon them, and if they refused the Frontier Police would fall upon them.

7853. I remained in Freetown up to 15th February and reached Bompetuk on the 17th. About the 19th or 20th I attended Shengay at the request of Chief Caulker, and he showed me the record himself of what passed between himself and Captain Moore at the meeting which had taken place, in my absence, between them in February. By the record the meeting took place between the 5th and 7th February 1898. It appeared that the headmen were present at the meeting, and that Captain Moore having demanded the payment of the hut tax, one of the headmen named Solathay said that the interior people say if we pay the hut tax, they (the interior people) would bring war upon us; and the natives said if in paying the hut tax they would be protected by the English Government they would pay the tax. Captain Moore consented that they should have two weeks for collecting and paying the tax.

After the expiration of the two weeks, on or about the 25th February, two Frontier Policemen were sent from Kwalu by the District Commissioner to Chief Neale Caulker to assist him in gathering the tax. The Chief preferred to collect the tax himself. They said they did come to make long stay, and that the Chief should allow them to go and collect the tax. The Chief then gave them two men to go and collect. On news

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Mr. DOMINGO.

of the police beating and tying people, some of the people of Manoh ran to me on Sunday night to borrow money to pay the hut tax. I gave ten shillings to two men who came. Their names were Beah Hai and Sey Cambeh. After this several others came to borrow money from me to pay, but I declined to give those coming to me from places beyond Bompetuk. I summoned a meeting of the Bompetuk people to meet me the following day (Monday). Chief Caulker appointed me one of the persons to collect the tax from Bompetuk and the suburbs. Other Headmen were appointed by the Chief to collect in different places.

7854. On the Monday when the Bompetuk people answered my summons I told them that they should at once make arrangement to get the tax ready, as they themselves said they had heard what the Frontier Police were doing at Manoh and Sumba. The majority of the people said they had not the means then to pay, and asked me for credit to enable them to pay, promising at the next palm-nut season, in June this year, the amount lent to them. I lent them £22, 10s. which they were to pay back to me in June. Some of them, whom I could not trust, had to break down their houses before the Frontier Police came.

On that same Monday about twenty to twenty-five houses were broken down before the policemen came. They arrived at my place on the same Monday. On that day they saw some of the houses which had been broken down. In the collecting the tax at my part I had commenced before they came. I had gathered £12, 10s., independently of what I was to pay for my own buildings. There were two of them, one private and another a corporal named Grant. The private came to me first. Before his arrival I had that morning (Monday) lent some of the people of Bowmah the money to pay their tax, and receiving it back from them as collector I had given each of them a receipt for the payment.

7855. The Frontier Policemen came to me with the headman of Bowmah (Queh). Queh said, 'The Frontiers have reached us and we showed them the receipts: they said they don't want receipts they only want the money.' They met me with people all around me paying their tax. I asked Queh, 'Where is the Frontier Police?' Queh called him from outside and the Frontier came in. I asked him and he said, 'We come for the money.' I asked him, 'Where is your authority?' He answered, 'Authority, what authority? You don't know I am Her Majesty's officer?' I said, 'I know that, but I was instructed by the Chief to gather this tax, and, after gathering, to carry it to him; but if he wants me to deliver the money to you, it is only the authority I am asking for.' He said in reply, 'Daddy, I don't want too much talk. Chief, Chief, if you no go give the money that is all make, I know make you know how I go fix you.' I said to him, 'If I give you the money will you give me a receipt?' He said he was not instructed to give anybody receipt. I said, 'I will not give you the money, go and call your corporal.' He went away. I therefore sent away the remaining people who were applying to me for loan to enable them to pay their tax. In about half an hour the corporal came to me. I then said, 'Do you come for the money? Your private handled me very rough, so I want to transfer all your business to you.' He begged me to do it and he will be thankful. He went round counting the houses and I continued to collect the tax, lending to several of the tax-payers money to enable them to pay. Corporal Grant saw me lending money to the people. The portion of the £22, 10s. which I lent to the Bompetuk people was exclusive of other loans I made to people of Tumba, Manoh Shengay, Morbit, Morcheble, Tombay, Morsonkah, and Messinah, the total amount being £53, 2s. 6d.

7856. After paying Corporal Grant the £22, 10s., of which £2, 15s. was for my own tax, Corporal Grant declined to give me a receipt, as he said he was not instructed to give any. After this I went to Shengay and while I was there two men came down from the interior soon after the Frontier Police. Each of them lodged a complaint to the Chief in the presence of Corporal Grant at a meeting convened by the Chief. One of the men was

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called Gbannah Bompetuk, residing at Yogbofoh. He explained that after he and his people had given provision of rice and fowls, according to the instructions of Chief Neale Caulker, the policemen went and caught a cock and two hens for themselves without the consent of the people, and that when the owner of the fowls protested he was caught by the policemen and tied with rope. Corporal Grant said that he was not present when the affair took place, and that it was done by the private Frontier. Mr. Domingo.

The private stated to Chief Neale Caulker that the rice and fowls given to them by the people at Yogbofoh were not sufficient, that is why he went and took the other things. Chief Neale spoke seriously on the matter. Corporal Grant seemed annoyed and remarked to Chief Caulker, 'Chief, since I have been in this work I have never been called to question by any Chief. I know my duty.' We, who were present, begged the Chief to drop the matter, telling him in the Sherbro language, which Grant did not understand, that the Frontiers always went to tell lies to the authorities. Corporal Grant then asked the Chief's pardon.

7857. The other complaint was by Saisy Tellah. He said he was the first man who paid his tax at Yogbofoh for his houses to Chief Neale Caulker himself and had got his receipt: that when the Frontier Police went to Yogbofoh for the tax he showed the receipt to them. They demanded pay for a house near his own, belonging to a sick man named Yambiah. Saisy Tillah informed the Police that the owner was sick. The Police asked whose relative he was; he told them that Yambiah was a man from Mopieh. The policemen asked what he was doing there, and who was looking after him, and Saisy Tillah said he was looking after him and giving him the medicine The Frontier said that Saisy Tillah must pay for Yambiah: he said that Yambiah was not working for him, and the corporal then said to Saisy Tillah that he would take the receipt for the money paid, not for his house, but for that of Yambiah. The corporal went inside his house and seized his box.

Chief Caulker asked Corporal Grant about this complaint, and the Corporal said so it was, and that he had got the money, and was with him for the Government, and that all he got he was only accountable for it to the District Commissioner, and if the Chief liked to take money and give it back to the man, Grant had nothing to do with it. About three days after I left Shengay a man named Cassigbo, Chief of Tasso, sent his speaker Kong Tasso to say that he was ill-treated and his house plundered because he had not finished paying his hut tax, as he had not sufficient money in hand; and the boat taking his produce to town for sale had not yet returned, and that he had gone to explain this to Chief Caulker; but that one evening before the return of the boat, the Frontiers went to his town and tied him, and therefore he sent to me for a loan of £2 to pay the tax. I sent the money. Tasso is about eighteen miles from my place, Bompetuk.

When Cassigbo's boat returned from town it only brought 20s. for his produce sold. In April this year I went to Tasso, and then Cassigbo was very bitter against Chief Neale Caulker for allowing him to be tied by the police after he had explained to him that he was collecting the balance of the tax, after having previously paid some directly to himself. In lodging this complaint against the Chief he was crying and shedding tears and saying to me, 'Domingo, you see that is the way country spoil. All along during the time of former Chiefs they were not treated thus. Do you think I should sit down in my own house and be treated as I was treated for my own house? I don't owe the people. My heart is spoiled.' I tried to speak words of encouragement to him, and told him that in future the collection of the tax would not be so much felt, as people would be more prepared. Upon that he said nothing more to me, but I left him crying. This was between the 10th and 15th April last.

When the war came this was the very man who hid Chief Neale Caulker and afterwards showed the Mendis where he was hidden. This last information I received from one of my boys, who was caught in the war. His name is Tuah Lamokinki.

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31st *October* 1898.

Lance-Corporal GRANT.

Lance-Corporal GRANT.

7858. My name is John Grant. I am a Lance-Corporal in the Frontier Police. I joined six years and fifteen days ago. I am a Gallinas boy.

7859. Were you with Captain Moore when he went to a meeting of the Chiefs early this year at Chief Caulker's?—No: I went to Shengay to help collect the tax. Captain Moore sent me.

7860. Private Thomas Davis and Frank Dixon were with you?—Yes: and Peyeh Dark Eye.

7861. You commenced collecting at a place called Tisanna?—Yes.

7862. How many houses?—Twenty. I am sure; I numbered them.

7863. Did Dixon number the houses?—No: he was not there: only Davis and Dark Eye were with me then.

7864. Who was the headman of that place?—Beah Boker is the Chief.

7865. Was it not Kawa Salata?—Salata is the headman of Tisanna.

7866. What did he say to you when you asked him for the tax?—He refused to pay it. I met Salata at a small village near Tisanna, first. I asked him for the tax and he said he had no power. I told him I had orders from Neale Caulker to make any man prisoner who did not pay. Then he paid 20s.

7867. Did you not tie him?—I put him in handcuffs.

7868. Did you go to Rotumbo?—Yes. I saw a young man called Daniel Caulker there. He was a carpenter at Bendu Tumba. There are two towns. I went then with Peyeh. They said the headman was not there. Davis went to this young man and said, 'You must pay 10s. for your house; it is a big house.' He refused. Davis made him prisoner and brought him to me. I told him that we might arrest any man who refused to pay and send him to Kwalu. I said, 'Are you going to resist the police?' After talking, I went to the place. I saw four rooms. I said you must pay 15s. altogether: if you have not got it in cash you can pay some in palm kernels. I have orders to take your goods if you have not cash. He got one of the men to lend him 5s. and he gave me the 15s.

7869. You had him tied for a time?—No. Davis made him prisoner: but he did not tell me he had tied him. I told Davis not to tie the men till he had seen me.

7870. Then you went to Torgbombo?—Yes. I went there about 3 o'clock. When I got there I found all the people had run away when they heard about the hut tax. I met a woman called Mary Macaulay, and told her to tell the people to get the house tax ready by five the next morning. When I came next morning I told the woman that the Chief had given orders that we were to burn the town if they did not pay. There were only fourteen houses. One of the men said he had not the money to pay, and I told him the Chief had given orders to break his house if he had not money to pay. Mary Macaulay had only got half a bushel of palm kernels for her house. I set fire to the house next hers and the people began to sing out. The breeze took the fire to Mary Macaulay's house, and the town was all burnt but four houses. I told Davis[1] to get pen and ink and report to the Chief. I told Mary Macaulay to take a big house with three rooms, belonging to a man whose name I do not know. The owner was living in it but would not pay me: so I told the woman to take his house as hers was burnt. She was to live there till the owner rebuilt her house. I did not get tax for the big house. I only collected ten shillings.

7871. Did you go to Kalia on the Cockboro river?—I went to the Cockboro river. I met Sey Lebbi. The people of Mofoss paid. I went to Kalia and met the people. They said one man Sey Lebbi had been to collect. They had collected two shillings each. There are twenty-four houses in the town. They said Sey Lebbi had given no receipt. I told them he ought to have. I said I would sell a big woman goat for two houses.

[1] Dixon.

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7872. Did you go to Moyongo?—I did not go there: only Sey Lebbi, the Headman of the Cockboro river. He collected two shillings each from the people and took £10 to Captain Fairtlough. I told him he had no right to collect there.

7873. Did you go to Moyongo?—Yes.

7874. Were there not two houses broken there?—No.

7875. Do you remember the kerosene tins being seized?—No; they paid four bushels of kernels at Moyongo.

7876. There were two houses left, were there not?—Yes; we broke them.

7877. You went to Lawana?—Yes; Moodlie's town. A cow was seized there.

7878. Was it sold?—Yes; for £3, 14s.

7879. What was done with the £3, 14s.?—Paid to Chief Caulker. All the money went to the Chief.

7880. You went to Mafoss?—Yes. Dixon paid twenty shillings for four houses there.

7881. That was for people who could not pay to save them from being broken?—Yes.

7882. Do you remember Queh Barfitter, Headman of Walpalla?—Dixon and Davis went there.

7883. Where were you at the time?—At Marthyn: I did not feel well. Dixon had the Ordinance with him.

7884. Do you remember Mosoko at Marthyn?—That is a small fakki: Dixon and Davis went there.

7885. Do you remember a widow at Mokong who could not pay for her house, by name Bettly?—Yes. She paid; her house was not broken.

7886. How much did she pay?—Only five shillings for a one-roomed house.

7887. Did Dixon use to tell you to go softly?—No.

7888. But when you were seizing people's cloth and so on, did he not tell you to go softly?—That was close to Shengay, and the man went to the Chief, and the Chief himself auctioned the cloth.

7889. Who sent you to Neale Caulker?—The District Commissioner, Captain Moore.

7890. What orders did he give you for your guidance?—Captain Warren told me I must go to Chief Neale Caulker to help him collect the hut tax.

7891. Did Captain Warren give you any orders as to how you were to do the collecting?—The Chief showed me a letter and read the Ordinance.

7892. Did you read the letter?—I cannot read.

7893. Did Captain Warren give you any instructions as to the manner in which you were to collect tax?—He said I was to receive all orders from the Chief.

7894. Was that all he told you?—Yes.

7895. What orders did Chief Neale Caulker give you about collecting?—He told me and Davis, and Peyeh, if any man refuse to pay the house tax, that man's town must be broken or burned. If any man refuse, you must make him prisoner and seize his goat and send it to me.

7896. What more?—That was all his orders.

7897. When you went on this service were you dressed in uniform, with guns and cartridges and bayonets?—Yes; all my arms and accoutrements. I made Dixon write a report of everything to the Chief.

7898. Did you ever hear Davis say that he had orders that he might shoot people?—No; at Mabago the people came to say they made war at Tisanna and that they were going to fight us. I told them if they killed me the Government would make an outcry. When I went there, I met the Headman of the town with a long sword in his hand, and all the boys with sticks. He drew his sword from the scabbard. Davis and Dixon and Peyeh wanted to go away. I told them not to go. I told Davis to make this man

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Lance-Corporal GRANT.

prisoner. I took the sword from the man and broke it and sent it to Chief Caulker. This was at Mabaho, about nine o'clock in the morning.

7899. Where is Mabaho?—You go from Shengay by boat, and land at Marthyn, and then walk to Mabaho.

7900. Did you make that Headman prisoner?—Yes; Dixon called me and said, 'You must let that man go.' I said, 'You are the Chief's clerk and see what I do.' I let him go.

7901. What other places in Neale Caulker's country did you go to to collect tax?—I went to several other places.

7902. And when they did not pay you broke or burned them?—Yes.

7903. Were you employed in collecting tax anywhere else?—No; we never finished collecting the tax.

7904. Were you at Kwalu when the war came?—No; I left Kwalu on Friday, and went to Makouri, then on to Taiama, Saturday and Sunday, then to Gundama, and on Tuesday morning to Mongree. On Thursday morning I heard war was at Kwalu.

14th September 1898.

Mr. LEWIS.

MR. LEWIS.

7905. My name is Ebenezer Albert Lewis. I am a farmer and trader. Before the outbreak I was living at Mano Bagru. Sometime in December last the Reverend Joseph E. Hughes, a minister of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ, and I were in conversation about the dissatisfaction which was prevailing on the subject. He told me he had preached a sermon on the matter at Bagru in the church there on the very day we were conversing. He said he had preached to the people that day upon the hut tax, and had told them that whether or not they liked they were bound to pay; that God had been speaking to them before, and they would not hear, and therefore He will chastise them. That is what he said to me. Mr. Hughes preaches sometimes in English, on other occasions in Mendi language. When he preaches in English, I know there is always an interpretation into Mendi. Mendi people and Sierra Leonians attend Mr. Hughes' church. He told me that the church was full on that occasion, and that he therefore took occasion to speak to the people. Afterwards I heard from Mr. Alphonso Caulker and Miss Lucy B. Curtis that a sermon of similar tenor had been preached at Shengay by the Reverend Mr. L. O. Burtner of Shengay.

7906. I have been living in the Bagru for fourteen years. It is within the colony of Sierra Leone, but under the new law has been administered as part of the Protectorate. Sometime in 1885, when there was an outbreak, I wrote to Mr. Moseley, then Commandant of Sherbro, reporting and asking him to give us protection, that is for myself and other Sierra Leone people living in Bagru. He came up himself to investigate, and stationed three policemen. Since that time up to December 1896 we have always had protection from the Government. During 1897—in the early part—when the Protectorate started, I had occasion to send to Kwalu to pay a licence for myself and two others, and when the licence was sent on to me I found a letter written by the District Commissioner enclosed with the licence. The letter was to the effect of reminding me that it was for my interest to report any one trading without licence. This letter led to a further communication. I replied, 19th January, pointing out that there was much smuggling from the northern rivers, and suggesting that one or two Frontier Police should be stationed at the river's edge to prevent smuggling—the police formerly stationed having been withdrawn. To this letter Captain Barker, then District Commissioner, replied on 22nd January 1897, stating that he had long suspected smuggling and would send down some police as soon as possible. I wrote again on 18th February pointing out that the trade of the district, including Bangbatoke, Mattro, Bendumah on to Conkowang, depend mostly upon the annual crop of bush-rice and small

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quantities of benni seed, Guinea corn, etc., commencing late in October and ending in March, and small quantities of palm kernels, commencing in May and ending about September. Thus the unlicensed traders could come and go, getting almost all the benefits of the trade, while the licensed traders who remained permanently were scarcely any gainers from being permanent. Captain Barker replied to me on 26th February 1897, thanking me for my assistance and promising the matter would be looked into. A few weeks after the receipt of this letter, the sub-inspector Jones was sent down; just in the height of business he was recalled. Captain Barker had not then received instructions to proceed to Bandajuma district to take charge. Since that time nothing in the shape of protection was given to that part of the district, although sometime in the early part of the present year I had occasion to write to Dr. Hood, Acting District Commissioner. At 1st of January this year I saw the Chief of the district, Seliloo, Chief of Manu Bagru, Peacal, the Sub-Chief or Santigi (Latteri in Mendi), Sub-Chief Barrowil, several Headmen of the Banta Tribe, armed with weapons and blowing their war-horns. I was curious to inquire the meaning of these men being armed. I learned from one of the men who had been present that they were meeting about the tax. I live on the other side the river and could see the meeting. The next day I met those same Chiefs in the fakki where they were assembled: suddenly they began to disappear. I tried to gather information, and I learned that they had met for the purpose of taking an oath not to pay the hut tax. Then I communicated to the District Commissioner. I suggested to him to station a few Frontier Policemen in that district. No protection was then given. Things went on until two Frontier Policemen were sent to collect the tax. I had advised my landlord—who is Chief Sello—over and over to pay this tax, and several of the other Chiefs, as I take interest in all going on. I pointed out the necessity of paying the tax, and then, to see the Governor and beg for the next year. They explained to me that they were poor, and wanted me to see the District Commissioner on their account, as in former time before the place was made into a Protectorate. I generally assisted them, and go to Bonthe to see the Commandant in anything concerning the welfare of the country. I declined to go to the District Commissioner, and explained to them the Protectorate law was different altogether to what used to be at Bonthe, and I could not interfere in representing them to the District Commissioner at Kwalu. After several interviews with them they began to feel displeased with me; hence, when this meeting of theirs was held I was not consulted. After I wrote to the District Commissioner he wrote back to say he had power to recommend any district to be exempted from paying hut tax, and that they should come up to explain to him. I advised them to go. They told me they were afraid, as other Chiefs who had gone up had been detained at Kwalu.

7907. In the early part of February Captain Moore began to collect the tax in the Bagru. When they saw that some of their country people were running away and coming to hide from the treatment of the people, as they heard, the Chiefs met, and gathered a certain number of gravel stones, handing to each Headman one stone, and pointing out that each stone represented a pound which he was to pay, and that it did not matter what was the number of houses they had in their town. Upon learning this I called these Chiefs together, and pointed out that the Ordinance said 5s. was to be paid for each house. They grumbled, and I told them it had to be done; and I prepared two receipt-books, as I know some of the Chiefs might deal with it as a matter of trade. I handed a receipt-book to my landlord. He handed it to one Charley Stephens. The other I handed to Say Bahoom, who was Headman of the Banta Tribe, with a clerk named Theophilus Pratt. They began to collect, some by one shilling, some sixpence. First amount forwarded from Chief Sellahoo was £13, 6s. 7½d.; from Say Bahoom, £13, 13s. Then it seemed both Chiefs and people had resolved not to pay more than this amount. When the District Commissioner wrote back that the balance was to be sent up, Selahoo and Say Bahoom asked that Frontier Policemen be sent to assist, and two men were sent, assisting Say Bahoom's clerk to collect payment. Two Frontiers were sent down to see Sellon and ascertain what

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Mr. LEWIS.

amount he had collected. Charley Stephens had been employed by me as shipwright; and as I generally do all writing work for Chief Saraband, I took to giving receipts for the amounts then being paid. I afterwards paid the amount at Senbehun about two days before the outbreak. The amount was £17, 5s. Nancy Tucker was Paramount Chief over that part of the country. Pratt afterwards brought £22, which was paid to Sergeant Coker, but he got no receipt.

7908. The outbreak began in the Bagru on a Monday night. Sellaton, Chief of the Manu Bagru district, had sent to the Bengelor people to come and pay the tax. They refused. He asked me to see them. I called and saw Banna Bamboo, who was understood to be their Headman. He promised to pay within a few days the amount due, but never did. Sellaton asked me to go with Pratt and the Frontier men to see Banna Bamboo and the others. We went. About twenty or thirty yards before we got to the town we met three boys, who called out, 'They are coming; they are coming.' We heard at once the sound of war-horns. We went on and got to the town: found a crowd of war-boys with clubs, cutlasses. I saw no guns then. They were shouting they would not have policemen in the town this night. One of the police tried to explain the nature of our visit, and inquired after Banna Bamboo. They did not do more than threaten. One by one they retired into the bush. I advised the police to return. We did so. On our way, at a winding, three of the war-boys were coming in front of us saying, 'If this we catch these policemen to-day, we will teach them sense.' As we turned round the winding, Coker, the Frontier, who was leading, held one of them. The other two went in the bush. They separated, and we went on. About twelve midnight I heard a voice calling my landlord from overside the river (he was then on opposite side to where I was) telling him, 'That stranger you got with you bring war on us and wound one of our boys, but we come and ask you to-morrow.' The policemen were living at the Chief's house. The same man called in Mendi an answer. Then we heard a crowd of people beating their feet on the ground, and the war horn-was blown. The police came up and we caught two of them, who were taken to the Chief. Next morning about three hundred people came. Chief Banna Bamboo had gone to report to the corporal that I had taken policemen to their place to collect tax in the night and wounded one of their men, and when they came to inquire, I had killed two of them. On Friday the general outbreak took place, and on Saturday we were attacked at Sembehun. We escaped to Bonthe, taking Banna Bamboo with us.

I had occasion to go to Mocassi in Bagru, in October or November last year. There were certain land cases then in the Supreme Court. Afterwards they were sent to be decided in the Protectorate. Sir Samuel Lewis, who was then acting for the plaintiffs, instructed me to see them; to go with them, if possible, to Kwalu to see the matter decided. Sometime in February, during the collection of the hut tax, I received information that one Thomas George had written to the District Commissioner that I was advising the people of Mocassi not to pay the hut tax. I wrote the District Commissioner challenging George to prove his assertion. Captain Moore wrote to me in reply saying the charge I made against George was unfounded, and mentioning that a Frontier had been ill-treated. There was another matter about trying a Frontier. Madam Tembi Yeva got George to write a letter, which resulted in Chief Tembi Yeva being fined £50. That in the town Kaivaiah was fined £50 on account of the policeman being seized and tied, and the offender was not discovered. The fine was not paid. The police about ten were sent to plunder, and the people ran away. Bags of rice, goats, cattle, etc., were taken.

7909. After the Ordinance of 1896 was published, two of the principal objections I heard urged by Chiefs was the law empowering the Governor to give away lands; the next was the hut tax. The Chiefs of the Kittum said to me that at the time the Treaty was signed they did not understand that the lands were given over to the Government. They considered this power was wrongfully assumed. They seemed strongly moved

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about this. I explained that this part of the Ordinance was being reconsidered. The hut tax was the principal bone of contention. I explained to some of them that the hut tax was to help the Government to defray expenses. In the Kittum, Momo Kai Kai in particular said to me that would not be a bad idea, but to pay 5s. for a hut he thought was too much: that there are some men who have got about four towns or fakki, and it would be an oppression, but that if they were asked to subscribe a certain amount which would not be oppressive they would be willing. I understood him to mean that they should themselves, on request of the Government, fix the amount they could reasonably pay and collect it themselves. I advised them to go to the Governor: but they formed porro with G. Bannah Lewis to stop the trade. I believe this outbreak comes from this porro. G. Bannah Lewis is Chief of Bonthe. He had not previously been a bad friend of the Government. I myself believe that the 5s. a hut is excessive. I know of money being borrowed from traders in a good many instances to pay the tax. It seemed that a day had been fixed for simultaneous outbreak. The night I met them was Monday, 25th April, and the general outbreak in Manu Bagru was on Friday, 29th. On Saturday, 30th, they attacked us at Sembehun. They began in the Imperi I think on 27th (Thursday). All the Chiefs of Sherbro attended G. Bannah Lewis' porro, except Selilov, and Bannawili at Manobogru, a Sub-Chief. This included all the Chiefs of the Bum, Kittum, Jong, Bagru river, and Timdale. This porro was for the purpose of making a collection to employ a lawyer, or some one to oppose the Ordinance, to prevent the country being governed by those laws. This was for protesting only. When the Chiefs, G. Bannah Lewis, and some others, came to Freetown, and called on the Governor, there was no result. Then they made a porro to stop the trade. The Government objected to stopping of trade, and took measures against Fama Banby, who was G. Bannah Lewis' Santigi (Lattery), and another man named Mansa were arrested and sent to prison for three months each at Bonthe. Charge was for preventing people from doing legitimate trade. The precise secret of the combination for war has not been discovered. There was no protection. Many of the Chiefs and people who were promised protection have been killed for paying the tax. Many who had paid the tax afterwards joined in the war. They were compelled to do so under penalty of being killed if they did not. I do not think the non-existence of a house tax in the colony had to do with the outbreak. I believe that if the Government had been lenient with the people and had reasoned with them, as Governors used to do before, they would have paid willingly, I do not say 5s., but would have paid what they could. The reason of the violence against Sierra Leone people I believe to have been, that our advice was to pay. We told them they must pay, and so they think that we were the people who were urging on the Government the severe measures they took. They (the Chiefs) advised the Sierra Leone people not to pay, but they did all pay, and the Chiefs thought therefore they were with the Government, and that is why they fell upon them. They wanted to destroy all the white men, and those who sided with the white men. As to the missionaries, I believe the people thought they were siding with the white men. Prior to this present rising, where there is a mission station, and an outbreak is expected, the property of natives and traders are moved to the mission station, and never yet has any war touched any of the mission premises except in Shengay during the Caulker war. That was on account of a private spleen against the Rev. Gogar, by Caulker. All the other mission stations were safe. From such sermons as I have mentioned, and also from other things, they believed the missionaries were joining in advising the Government to maintain the hut tax.

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7910. In 1892 I addressed at letter to Mr. G. H. Garrett, Manager of Sherbro, drawing attention amongst other things to the complaints against the Frontier Police of oppressing the aborigines. Many such complaints had come to me, which I also reported in detail to Mr. Garrett at that time. Mr. Garrett investigated the circumstances, with the result

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that in all the instances the Police were found to be in fault. Some were fined, some imprisoned. Complaints ceased in great measure after this, but not entirely; until the Frontiers were withdrawn, and Civil Police were put in the station. Since the Protectorate the Frontier Police patrol in parts of the Bagru district, but were not stationed, except latterly, at Sembehun between October and November last year. I believe about six were stationed there under Sergeant Coker. Then there arose general complaints of ill-treatment, and unlawful seizures property by the men, and no redress could be obtained. People were afraid tomake complaints. Mocassi in particular was a place where a great many instances occurred of ill-usage, arrests, and seizures. During the collection of the hut tax, the cattle of the people were seized. Some of the people were brutally ill-used, and when Tembi Yeva had to go to Sembehu at the call of Captain Moore, a speaker (Santigi) was arrested at Sembehu,—named Caba Gaindah—and brought to Kwalu. I understood it was said he advised a woman, Tembi Yeva, to hide herself. The Santigi, I understood, was detained until Tembi Yeva paid the tax. I know as a fact that he was detained; he is now in Freetown gaol. She was a Chief of Mocassi, and a large tract of land, and had to collect. She collected £30, and took it to Kwalu. She asked for the release of Caba Gaindah. That was refused until she collected more money. She endeavoured to collect £21. In the meantime she received instructions from Nancy Tucker, and Sergeant Coker, that what other moneys were collected for hut tax were to be paid direct to Coker and Tucker, who were both at Sembehu. I learned that she declined to pay to them, and sent the £21 to Kwalu. She was told to collect more money, Caba Gaindah being still detained. I do not know how many houses are in Mocassi, and other towns belonging to her. In the meantime Caba Gaindah was sent to Freetown gaol, and is still now detained. A few days before the outbreak, Sergeant Coker himself told me that unless Tembi Yeva would pay the moneys direct to them at Sembehun she will continue to pay up to December. This meant that he wanted her to recognise Nancy Tucker as a Chief. Nancy Tucker would be Paramount Chief in room of Humper Rango, who died a few years ago, if she were his rightful successor: she is not the successor according to native right, but was put up by the Government. She was born at Sulong in Bum Kittum river. Father was Bacey John, a descendent of the Tucker's Chiefs of the Lower Bum Kittum. She lived with a Portuguese, Antonio Rodrigo, a merchant at Ronte, near Turner's Peninsula. She acquired a number of slaves. After Rodrigo went to his own country, she migrated to the Upper Kittum, and built a town called Mannee, and traded there. During the Kittum war in the '80's, she migrated to the Bagru, having Chief Humper Rango as her landlord. She got a place from him to carry on as a trader, and built Sembehu. She became rich and very influential. She was only known in the country as a stranger and a trader. During the establisment of the Protectorate, the Frontier Police patrolling off and on to Sembehu, and always having a grand reception, made it a place of resort, until Sergeant Coker was attracted, and they are now living as husband and wife. It was through his recommendation that she was first regarded as a Chief, all the Chiefs and people of Bagru disapproving. She acted as a Chief, sending police to arrest people and bring them to her barri (Court). In February of this year there was a ceremonial in which Captain Moore proclaimed her as a Paramount Chief, firing volleys of rifles, etc. I knew that she was backed by Dr. Hood in what she did, whilst he was acting as District Commissioner before Captain Moore's coronation of her.

7911. In the early part of January last an instance occurred in my presence. Two Frontier Police called at Mano Bagru, under instructions, as they told us, to recount the houses there. The two police were talking with Chief Seylolo. The corporal (I don't remember his name) asked that a man be given to him to take him by canoe to Manoh. One Jimmy was deputed by the Chief. Jimmy was reluctant to go. The corporal hit him about three times with the butt of his gun; he fell; as he rose, the corporal presented his gun, and said they had instructions that if any one disobeyed them they were to shoot them.

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I took the man away from him. I could not make a report as I felt my position a ticklish one. I did not feel safe with the authorities, as I knew I was being particularly watched by the Frontier Police. I did not think I would get redress if I complained to head-quarters; because, from what had transpired during the action against Tembi Yeva and others, there had been a number of representations made by the Frontiers which, I knew, had embittered the Government against my brother Sir S. Lewis, and also involved myself. Hence, as soon as I heard a report was made against me with regard to the Mocassi business, I challenged the truth of it. Mr. Lewis.

7912. The predecessor of Madam Yoko was her husband, G. Banyah. This Banyah succeeded his father, Coing Borah, who was first Chief of Senahu. That is so far as I know. I do not know who was the predecessor of Coing Borah in Senahu. Banyah, during the Ashantee expedition of 1873, supplied to the Government a number of war-boys and labourers. By this he became a great friend of the Government. After his death, Sir S. Rowe, then being Governor of this Colony, in visiting Senahu, made friends with Yoko, and made her Chief: a man, Camanda, brother of Banyah, being the rightful Chief. This Camanda had previously been transported by the Government to Elmina; I do not know for what offence. He has been released, and is at present living in a fakki, about three-quarters of an hour from Kwalu. I frequently hear of his complaining. I believe he complained to Captain Barker. The Sub-Chiefs were compelled to recognise Madam Yoko. Frontier Police were sent to compel the Sub-Chiefs to come to Kwalu, and there she laid heavy fines on them, and, backed by the authorities, they had to give in, paying the fines. She compelled them to work her farms, build her houses.

I have heard of Francis Farwoonda, Chief of Manoh Farwoondu. He came to Freetown with Momoh Kiki to see the Governor. I think about December or January last. He made some remark for which the Governor asked him to apologise. It was on the subject of the hut tax, but I do not know what were the words. He declined to apologise; the Governor deposed him, I think this was by letter. He declined to be deposed. He left for Sherbro. When he got to his place he learned that an instruction was sent for his arrest. He came to Bonthe on his way returning to Freetown. The Frontiers were sent to his place, and not meeting him, caught hold of his sister, a young girl, and dishonoured her. She was brought to Bonthe to meet him. He came to Freetown with the girl, with the view, I believe, to complain, and was arrested in Freetown and put in gaol, where he is still. The girl, I afterwards learned, returned to Bonthe. I believe Momo Kiki was at Government House when the incident occurred of Francis Farwoonda made the remark as I have narrated. Francis Farwoonda's son told me about the misconduct of the Frontiers.

7913. I have thought earnestly as to the government of the country, as to whether, apart from the great outlay in the Frontier Police, the Protectorate might not be similar to that of the Gambia Protectorate. I know, from my experience of Sherbro, that the people can be easily governed if properly treated, that is to allow the Chiefs certain latitude, watching their dispensing of justice, allowing some of their customs that are not contrary to English law, and a change of the Frontier Police. They would be asked in the meantime to pay a reasonable sum for hut tax, which, if properly arranged with the Chiefs, would not be objected to. Some of the Chiefs, I fear, would make too much a trade of it, collecting the money and not paying it over. By watching, I do not mean in any other way than through an appeal court. The hut tax might be modified so as to make it smaller in districts where the people were poorer, than where they were richer. I think the Chiefs would much prefer that a certain sum were assessed upon each by a trustworthy person according to the apparent ability of his people to pay, rather than by counting the houses. It would be requisite in order to avoid doing injustice that the Chiefs had the right of objecting to the valuations and claiming reduction. If this were not successful, I think it would be necessary to fall back upon the hut tax, but a smaller sum, I think not more than 1s. 6d. to 2s. a house at most.

7914. An important matter has occurred to me with reference to the Paramount Chief

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of Bagru district. Prior to the death of Chief Humper Rango, Sub-Chief Bannawill, a friend of his, and recognised as an adopted brother, was deputed by him by consent of Humper Rango the elder, to act in his stead at his death and take charge of his household, and with that view, Humper Rango designated his head-wife Irgro to live with Bannawill after his death. She did so until the outbreak. This circumstance I understand was made known to the authorities at Kwalu, and despite of this Dr. Hood recommended Nancy Tucker. Just after the ceremony of crowning, Bannawill received after five days a citation to appear at Sembehu before Nancy Tucker, to show cause why she should not be recognised as Paramount Chief of Bagru. Charles Remnvie explained the document to Bannowili. I understand a reply was sent, but it was late.

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7915. My name is John Myers Harris. I have been acquainted with this country for forty-three years, visiting England from time to time. The greater part of my residence has been in the Sherbro and Sulyma districts. I have not lived very much in Sierra Leone, but have done so from time to time. Had business establishments there for several years. I have mingled much with the natives. Have always lived amongst them, so got to know much about them. I was in fact almost governing the Sherbro country before it was taken over by the Government, from the Sherbro downwards. I know the Northern rivers intimately as far as the Rio Pondos, Meldomi, etc.

7916. There are two porros, viz.:—the religious porro, to which all boys of age from twelve to fourteen years are taken to the porro bush, where they are circumcised. Porro is like the Hebrew expression for the law Pir. The boys are taught certain secret signs, but, so far as I make out, having nothing to do with civil or political life. I know little about this. As to the civil porro, it is formed for any special purpose. For instance, if going to war, they would form a porro in which the Chiefs would compel all their people to join, and under oath would organise their raids. It is a very common thing for them to make a porro for promulgating any new law amongst the people, and this porro would, for instance, not allow the palm-nut to be cut before a certain time, would put some sign on the bush, which would signify that the palm-trees had a porro. The motive here would be that if they allowed the people to cut the nuts, they would neglect their farm work, and consequently would be short of food. That is one instance. They would put porro on the fish in the river, or fruit, etc., which they wished to preserve until it came to maturity. I have seen several porros brought down from the interior. These have always been the forerunner of some new law they wished to promulgate in the district. They would have a visible symbol. One porro I joined was exactly like the three degrees of freemasonry. This was the forerunner of a war between the Gallinas people and the Tawa people. This was about 1867—was called the Sowah porro. The Tawa people—across the Manoh river—had a porro at the same time called Sombo. I take it, the custom of the country is that when they wish the whole country to join in something, they do it under oath: in very many instances they get the people to join the porro before they know the object. The head Chief is always at the head. When they join the porro they are bound to adhere to it whatever its purposes. As a rule the porro is brought down to the head Chief of the country, who forms a porro bush in his town, and he will then initiate the Chiefs of various districts under him, and they, as they call it, buy the porro bed from him and take it to their own town where they initiate the people. The porro bed is something of the same sort as an initiation in Freemasonry. There is no such thing as disobedience to the orders of the porro: if there was such an attempt, the recalcitrant member would be called before the porro assembly, and the punishment might be death. He would not know what it would be. Would vary with circumstances. I have known a man killed for divulging the secrets of the porro bush. As a rule, it only holds in the one country where it is promulgated. I have never known an instance of porro in the Toom district which would

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extend to the Timini district. I don't know if the Timini practise porro at all. The Susus have something similar. They call it Smio. It would never extend beyond the tribe in which it originated. Would have no influence at all. Several Head Chiefs may combine in a porro—indeed very rarely is anything attempted by one man. There is always a tribe of several. Porro is a power for combining the people. It is the only way of governing the people—the fear of the porro. No woman is admitted into the porro, but they are bound to obey its laws. If porro was put on a house, that would mean a taboo of the house. No one would be allowed to go into it, take water to it, etc. Peace porro. Suppose two are at war, neighbouring tribes may combine to stop the war. Would put porro on the persons at war to stop their fighting. There might be a war porro also. Often is the case. Where several Head Chiefs resolved on a war, they would meet and form their porro, then communicate with the Sub-Chiefs and spread it through the country. A one-word porro would mean a one opinion. Mr. HARRIS.

Now to-day in the Gallinas country there is no Chief powerful enough to raise a porro. The power of the Chiefs is entirely gone. I believe the one-word porro comes from the Taiama and Bumpe District. The people of these districts have always hired themselves as mercenary, and I have often seen two people fighting, both sides hiring people from the same districts to fight against each other. They are known as the Bah people.

7917. The commencement of the Mendi disturbance was a law stopping trade. When they saw the Timini people rise, they had their organisation ready by which they could simultaneously rise. The war-boys when once they set on foot, no one can stop them. The desire of plunder comes in largely. Now there are no Chiefs who have power to stop them. When called to assist in a war, those assisting generally turn round and plunder those who called them. That occurred in the war that Captain Crawford dealt with. Those same Bah people were engaged, and Kongo, having at their head Makaia and Baig Boah. These men were arrested and sent to Cape Coast and not allowed to come back. The porro has almost always some visible sign. There are various symbols. A red kola and pepper would mean war—a white one peace.

In old times Prince Manoh, for instance, was powerful enough to stop war. There is none such now. Been gradually declining for twenty years. Amongst the causes of decline of the Chief's power I would place the decline of slavery, and secondly, trade enables every one to have something for himself, so that they are not dependent on the Chiefs. Apart from questions of peace and war, the Chiefs have lost power very much. This varies somewhat. The most wealthy are the most powerful. This is not from any apprehension of war.

7918. The recent disturbance was hardly a war, it was merely a plundering raid. There was hardly a cutlass in the country. I do not think the decline of the Chief's power is owing to Government interference: it is the interest of the Government to have powerful Chiefs. The Government wishes them to do so and so. They have no power. The Government has caused them to lose power indirectly. By the appointment of Commissioners and Magistrates, every one can have redress without going to the Chiefs. Through the procedure of the English Government wishing to open up the country, they have destroyed the power of the country and have put no real governing power in its place.

7919. I have thought of plans for the improved government of the country. Through Mr. Stanley, I handed a paper to Mr. Charles Cain the other day. I think the great weakness is the want of knowledge of the country on the part of the officers of Government. I think not one knows the country four miles out of Freetown. I am not speaking of the Commissioners, but the subordinates. If the officers knew the habits and customs of the people better, they would of course be better able to deal with them—could enter into their feelings, know their weaknesses. The people would feel better satisfied, would feel they were talking to people who knew their ideas and customs. I think the great remedy for that would be an African Civil Service, by young men, entering the service with the view of making their career here. They would study the people and get to

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know their customs and be better able to govern them. As it is, young or middle-aged people come, and their one idea is, when are we going to some other climate.

The Colonial Office think the climate is the difficulty. I think people who live a proper life can be as well here as anywhere in the tropics. I think this climate is better than Demarara. The Governor here has no official assistance. He can get no real information except outside, which they won't accept. To quote a case, I met Mr. Aldridge at Gigbara: I heard there that the people were preparing war to carry into the Gourah country, over the Manoh river. I sent my boy after him with a letter informing him of this fact and giving the names of the people. He replied to me that there is no such thing as war in the country. There is no idea of war. Within a month they crossed and destroyed the whole of the Tawoh country from which we were getting a large amount of trade, and naturally drew the war back on our side until the District Commissioner took it in hand and prevented the people from coming over. That was in 1890 or 1891.

7920. The District Commissioners make themselves feared too much. The people have not confidence in them: they are surrounded by Frontier Police, and make it very difficult for people to get access to them. The Frontier Police collect debts principally, for which they get paid: when they go into a man's town they abuse the man and take his women.

Ansumani Suwarry owed Bessi Kai some money, and he got a Corporal of Police at the town of Gera on the Manoh river to go to this man's town, Dumagberri. He handcuffed the man before all his people, and brought him down to the station, and kept him there some days. Suwarry promised to pay in palm nuts, but Bessi Kai said, No, you must wait till the palm nuts arrive in the town. I was talking to the old Chief in Firo. A policeman came up and said the Corporal had sent him to say that the Chief must send down to repair his house. The old man had no one there to do it. They threatened to take the old man himself down, but I put a stop to that.

After the dispute in the Sulima district, the people were paying the hut tax. Captain Carr authorised Lamin Lahi, a native, to receive the kernels. Government gave this man a measure of 56 lbs. He used one of 101 lbs., and made the people pay in that, and pick out every bit of husk. A boy told me to-day that Lamin and Jow were sent up by Government with police and fifty cutlasses, and every town they came into he caught the headman, and said, 'Have you got my money; I am paid £10 a month by the Government,' and ill-treated them.

I know Government have done all in their power to stop it; but it is most difficult. The difficulty is this: if a Chief reports a matter to me, I take steps to get him redress: a District Commissioner goes and inquires into it: meanwhile the police have terrorised him, and the man tries to back out of it. This particular case was one where a boy wrote to the Governor to complain of a Customs officer. Meantime they got hold of the boy, Sandy, and made him drop the matter, and Brooks, who had been sent up to investigate, went up in vain. Sierra Leone Inspectors are just as bad. They get what they like through fear. It is not war, it is a plundering raid.

7921. Another matter I think wants looking into is the system of Government appointing Chiefs. Nancy Tucker has been appointed Chief. I have known her for years: she has nothing whatever to do with that country. She has made a little money, and like all these old women, has got hold of the best girls, and for some cause they have made that woman Queen. I hear that her elevation is due to the good offices of one of the police, who keeps her. I know that to be so.

Farwoonda I have known from a boy. He has always been very respectful. Because he was independent enough to say, 'I am not going to pay,' he was arrested and put in gaol without trial; and a cousin was put over his head and made Chief of his town Farwoonda was Chief, and was entitled to be Chief. I have known him from childhood.

7922. You want to know my ideas on the subject of benefiting the country. The country is teeming with produce; we have miles of forest full of rubber. All we want is roads. If the people had roads by which they could take their produce and earn money, there

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would be no difficulty about collecting any tax you want. The Sierra Leonians are shop- Mr. HARRIS.
keepers and not merchants. My friend and I are prepared to go up to the boundary of the Colony, and bring people from Para, and work the rubber. Then you would find that people could pay the tax. You could increase the duty on tobacco by another 2d., and the duty on salt also: it is greatly used. What I object to is this: the duties levied here are chiefly from the interior native: the Sierra Leone people pay little or no duty, and have all the benefit of the revenue.

7923. Could you give me any idea what proportion of imported goods go into the interior?—90 per cent. Sherbro was paying £23,000 per annum. There is another source of revenue: the importation of silver money. In this place, to-day, you could not get £50 worth of silver. What silver there is is French; but there is any amount of gold. The greater part of the silver that is used for the purchase of produce goes into the interior, and never comes back: it is melted up to make ornaments. The want of silver hampers trade very much. At the present price of silver, indirectly the Government would get the benefit. £20,000 worth of silver is absorbed every year.

There has been a great lack of funds: a lot has been spent on Frontier Police and travelling expenses. I think what has been spent on travelling expenses would have made good roads in the Colony: the present roads are very poor. I have suggested the making of permanent bridges, and you could then bring down any amount of produce. I have bought excellent rubber for 4d. a pound in the country. People forget that when they collect forty bushels, it means forty men's work for a week to bring it down. The roads as they are now are not fit for wheel traffic.

7924. Would they be used by ox-carts if they were made?—Certainly.

7925. Could such roads be kept in order during the rainy season without much expense?—Yes: the bridges would be the difficulty. There is a splendid climate up there, and less rain. In all parts of the interior you will find running brooks which have many of them got choked up by fallen timber. I believe if you cleared these rivers you would get water communication all over the country. The water now, instead of coming down in its proper channels, spreads out and forms marshes. Any amount of revenue could be collected in this country. You cannot carry up enough goods to the interior. I have samples of both gold and silver ore from our Protectorate in the Bandi country.

7926. You made a remark about the regard with which ruling Chiefs are held in any emergency. If there is still existing a certain amount of respect, is there any way by which that could be fostered so as to bring it in line with the Government?—You have got to take the right man. If you find a certain man is the right man to be Chief, you must appoint him. The District Commissioner would have to look after that. The natural tendency of the native Chief is to oppress everybody.

7927. Is there anything to be hoped for from the education of the Chiefs or their young men?—Yes. I could bring you a Chief in receipt of a stipend of £10 a year whom I have educated. I have seen W. B. Tucker preaching as good a sermon as you would want. To-day you will see him as an ordinary native in a dirty shirt: the tendency is to relapse: they want looking after. This boy whom I educated is the grandson of the man who first stopped the slave trade down there. In the old slave day a man from this district would fetch twice as much as the Congo men: they are more intelligent.

7928. Sir F. Cardew asked me to speak to you about the native land laws. I have always found that the native Chief, not personally, but in conclave with the other Chiefs, has power of disposing of the land. The King of Sulima and his family were residing at Bandi in the Gallinas river. Prince Manoh's father, King Sharki, drove them out, and the Chiefs of what is now called the Bemna river said, 'We will give you land. Come and sit down with us.' They went, and have ever since been acknowledged as owners of that land. If a native stranger comes to the Chief, and asks for a place to sit down in, they allot him a portion of land, and he can sublet it. If a European comes it is the same thing.

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7929. In your experience of disposal of land, is it an absolute disposal in fee simple or merely a right to occupy?—Absolute disposal. When the Government took over the country I held land on the beach at Sulima on a lease for 999 years, I think it was, and the Government bought the land from me on that title. The Chiefs assembled have the power of disposal of land, and whatever they get for it each town receives so much.

7930. Do you know if the missionaries have much influence among the natives?—They are always respected.

7931. But are they a force with the natives?—I do not think so. I think more natives are becoming Mohammedans than Christians. They seem to take to it in preference; and there is no doubt that the Mohammedan influence is a very beneficial one in many ways.

7932. Are there proselytising priests among the Mohammedans?—Yes, many.

7933. Are the Mohammedan priests a powerful influence?—Very powerful: even the coloured ministers in Sierra Leone are afraid of them. The superstition of many of the educated natives is as great as that of uncivilised natives. I think they are very loyal to the Government. The stopping of the slave trade altered the character of the natives altogether.

7934. Is the overland trade cut off?—Yes; now we have the land behind Waterloo. No doubt, if you went up to the Soudan, you would find some of our boys who have drifted up there.

7935. If the people were left to themselves, would it revive?—Yes; that tendency is never likely to die out. The native slavery is not a hard service at all: it is a feudal system.

7936. Your view is that direct taxation of any amount is undesirable?—I think so Six out of ten houses are never occupied. The best house I have ever built in the country cost £4. It had glass windows, and doors, and was plastered with mud, and had a grass roof.

7937. Do you know anything of the Government arrangements in the French territory adjoining ours?—Only from Colonel Trotter. He says, 'This country is only awaiting development. Make roads.' But the northern portion is not by any means so rich as the southern. If we have proper Government on the borders the natives will come over and squat if we give them land to do so. They would far sooner be under the English Government. The French treat the natives like dogs. The greater part of this outbreak was for plunder.

7938. You do not adopt the idea that it was to get rid of the English?—No; I have lived among the people for forty years, and know all that takes place. The boys who were raiding mostly had sticks. It was for plunder. I suspect the guns came across the border. At one time I could not get a gun in the country.

7939. Then the number of guns that existed tended to show there were some preparations?—Where did they get those guns from; it is my opinion they came from the French. In my time the Mendi people were brough down as slaves and their language was practically unknown. Since then the Mendis have overrun the country. It shows, I think, that the people at the waterside degenerate.

7940. What about the spirit licence and duty?—I have imported as many thousand gallons as anybody. The last time I was out here in 1896, I went up the country and scarcely a soul asked me for a bottle of spirits. The extra duty had made it so dear that they did not care about buying it, and they were doing without it. When I first traded we imported Hollands and American and West Indian rum. Since the importation of the German spirit many of the best men of the country have died from the effects of it. A case of gin was to be had at so small a price, there was no difficulty in getting one. They were selling spirit 55 per cent. under proof, and the men would get mad drunk drinking it. They would drink spirit 25 per cent. under proof without that

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taking place, which shows this other spirit must have been deleterious. I consider the increase of spirit duty was a great benefit. Mr. HARRIS.

7941. But samples had been analysed and said to contain nothing but pure spirit; were not the ill effects from the quantity as much as anything else?—I think not; of course they drink large quantities of it.

7942. The system now is to make allowance for under proof but they charge for over proof; is that fair?—Yes; why not? If I import spirit 60 per cent. over proof I can add water. The thing would be not to allow it to be sold under a certain strength.

7943. Could anything be done to regulate and improve the quality?—I do not think so. The greater part of the whisky imported is Hamburg spirit.

7944. The natives use palm wine?—Yes; when fermented it is very intoxicating.

7945. Did you ever hear of its having bad effects?—No; I believe doctors say that it has the effect of producing elephantiasis. The palm wine drawn from the palm tree is quite distinct from the wine made from the bamboo, which is very sweet and has that effect.

7946. Perhaps the Government might give some encouragement to better quality?—The natives are better without it.

7947. Do you think it is the cause of illness among Europeans?—Yes. I have known Europeans perfectly abstemious who all at once seem to take a madness and drink themselves to death bottle after bottle. The great drawback for Europeans is the want of proper food and occupation.

19*th September* 1898.

F. M. STEWART.

F. M. STEWART.

7948. My name is Frank Montgomery Stewart. I am an agent of the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

7949. You were at Magbele last year when the Protectorate Ordinance was read by Mr. Renner?—Yes. Pa Suba, Alimami Sisi, Santigi Banda, Santigi Kamara, Bai Kobblo, and some Sierra Leone traders were present.

7950. Did the Chiefs make any reply to Mr. Renner?—Yes; but not on that day; they said they would consult. They sent a written reply; I did not see it.

7951. How did you know what was said?—It was told me by some native boys; I was not present.

7952. Pa Nembana told you that if the Government had sent to them to raise money from each district they would have agreed; did he also say they would not pay for their houses?—Yes; and that their houses did not cost them a shilling, and were built by their slaves and wives. Several of the Chiefs of Mahera, after they had returned from Freetown and after they had written, said they had made up their minds to sit down, and when asked for the tax they would die rather than pay it. Then I went to Port Lokko.

7953. Did the people of Mahera refuse to pay?—The Chiefs met there and Chief Smart said he was not going to pay, but he afterwards told me privately that he was, but was afraid of the other chiefs who had threatened him.

7954. You went to Port Lokko in January and heard that Captain Sharpe was expected?—Yes; he came the first week in February. He came on Saturday morning and sent for the traders on Saturday afternoon.

7955. How many traders were there?—About forty; Inspector Crowther, Captain Sharpe, a police clerk, and myself were present.

7956. Was anybody else present?—No. He told them the new law that they should pay tax; he first asked for the biggest trader. He said they had paid the licence and they had no power to pay tax for another man's property; if their landlords agreed to it they would pay the tax and deduct it from their rent.

7957. What did Captain Sharpe reply?—That he had nothing to do with that. He

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F. M. STEWART.

was there to collect the tax, and they must not deduct it from the rent. Mr. Bickersteth asked him to arrange with the landlords, as they had said they would burn their houses if they paid the tax. Two days before Captain Sharpe's arrival they stopped two boys from firing one of the houses. Captain Sharpe said he was able to protect them. He then sent for Bokary Bamp, who was Acting-Chief at the time. Bokary Bamp arrived with two or three other Chiefs, Santigi Keareh, Ansumani Bali, Bai Salamansa and some others of his people. Only a few came. This meeting took place in the Alikarli's yard. Captain Sharpe spoke to the Chiefs. Yaski, the Government interpreter, was interpreting to the Chiefs in Timini. I understand Timini. He said he had called the traders to pay for their houses, but they said they refused and asked their landlords. He asked Bokary Bamp, as acting Chief, to give the traders permission to pay. Bokary Bamp said he could not give a reply, because every man had his own landlord and they must see them, and if they agreed he would not interfere, but for himself he did not agree that any man should pay. He said he was only a sub-Chief under Bai Forki, and if he told him to pay he would be ready to pay. Captain Sharpe then said, 'I make you prisoner; you will never go from here till I get satisfaction.' The other Chiefs were not arrested and went away. He was left there till Monday. Bickersteth and Cowan were arrested at the same time as the Chief. After that, on Monday morning, Captain Sharpe told them that if they would agree to pay and sign a paper they would be released. They were arrested on the Saturday and remained in custody till the Monday morning. Bokary Bamp was released at the same time

7958. Then they came again in the afternoon?—Jarrett(?) was telling Captain Sharpe that some of them were poor, and after paying the licence they had not enough left to pay the tax. The traders were asked to pay again that Monday afternoon. They said they were not ready, and were detained three days. From Monday afternoon to Wednesday morning they were shut up. Then he issued a warrant against each of them, and the police went into the house of each of the traders and brought their goods to Captain Sharpe.

7959. Then you say Bokary Bamp came before Captain Sharpe?—Yes; with five or six Chiefs; that was while the traders were still in confinement. That morning the Chiefs went to ask Captain Sharpe to pity the traders, and while they were talking Captain Sharpe told them to wait as he was writing. He then asked Bokary Bamp if he was ready to let the people pay the tax. Bokary Bamp said, 'If I get an order from Bai Forki I will order the people to pay.' He said Bai Forki was his Paramount Chief.

7960. What reply did Captain Sharpe make?—He said they were going against the Ordinance, and he would make them prisoners and send them down to Freetown and keep them there twelve months. Then a canoe was prepared.

7961. Was there not any charge made against Bokary Bamp at that time, and was he not asked for his defence on that charge?—No; Captain Sharpe said they were charged with wilfully disobeying the Ordinance.

Continued on 24th October.

7962. You stated that two boys were stopped from firing houses?—I was in Port Lokko, but I did not see them. They were arrested, and it was said that they were trying to fire houses.

7963. You say Bokary Bamp was practically prisoner in Captain Sharpe's quarters from Saturday afternoon till Monday? -Yes. And the traders, Bickersteth and Cowan, were also prisoners for the same time.

7964. When Bokary Bamp and the four other Chiefs came before Captain Sharpe and they were arrested and sent off in the canoes, did the conversation between them and Captain Sharpe take place where he was lodging?—Yes.

7965. And the conversation with the traders, did that take place there too?—In the piazza of the house where Captain Sharpe was lodging.

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7966. From the time that Captain Sharpe asked Bokary Bamp if he was ready to let the people pay the tax, till he was sent away in the canoe, were you present?—Yes.

7967. You say that there was no formal charge made against Bokary Bamp, and he was not called upon to make any defence, if he had any to make?—That is so.

7968. Did anybody give evidence, policemen or Inspector Crowther?—No; there was nobody called.

7969. Was Sergeant Wilson called, and did he give evidence against the Chiefs?—No.

7970. Was Lance-Corporal Lamina Touri called?—Not in my presence.

7971. Were formal charges in these terms (Charge Sheet shown to witness) read?—They were charged and the charge was read, and they just sat down. If the charge was in these terms I was not aware of it.

7972. Was there no more articulate or formal charge than that of disobeying the Ordinance?—No; there were so many people in the place and there was so much noise that I did not clearly hear what was read. I was outside the piazza.

7973. Was Bokary Bamp called upon to plead to the charge of disobeying the Ordinance?—I did not hear it.

7974. Was Inspector Crowther called, and did he give evidence on the charge of disobeying the Ordinance?—I heard both him and Sergeant Wilson talking, but I was not near enough to hear what they were saying.

7975. After Inspector Crowther and Sergeant Wilson were talking, was Bokary Bamp called upon to make any defence?—He was talking, but I did not hear what he was saying.

7976. In your previous statement you said that after the traders were imprisoned Bokary Bamp and the Headmen went to beg Captain Sharpe, as they were sorry for the traders, and when they got to his place he gave orders that the policemen should get a canoe ready at once, and told the Chiefs to wait, he was busy writing. When he had finished he said, through Yaski, 'Bokary Bamp, are you ready to pay the tax for Port Lokko?' that Bokary Bamp said, 'If I get orders from Bai Forki I shall pay,' and that Captain Sharpe then said, 'You go against the law: I now send you to prison, to Freetown for twelve months.' Is that a correct statement?—Yes. The Captain passed the same sentence there and then on the other four Chiefs. They were at once arrested and placed in canoes, which pushed off in the direction of Freetown. After he read the charge against them I went to the gate side; what happened after then I do not know till I saw them in the canoes.

7977. The Alikali was very ill at that time and died soon after?—Yes.

7978. You say of a broken heart?—So everybody said.

7979. Do you know about a boy being beaten?—Yes; it was about three or four days before Captain Sharpe came down: they were building barracks, and the police used to go and gather the people and make them work at the building. This boy refused to go that morning as he had something else to do, so they beat him and he died before daybreak. So the news came to me; I did not see it.

7980. Was that a statement you heard from the police?—From the traders.

7981. Do you know about a man being arrested?—Yes; a man who said the boy died from the effects of the beating, and I have heard traders say he paid some money to get his release from the police.

7982. Who told you that?—Isaiah Pratt.

7983. Do you know anything about the appointment of Sori Bunki as Chief?—As soon as the Chiefs were sent to Freetown he was called, and Captain Sharpe told him he was to be Chief of Port Lokko and gather the tax.

7984. Do you know as to his gathering the tax and his methods?—He gathered the tax for a few days before the war broke out.

7985. How did he do it?—As soon as Captain Sharpe finished he went to Magbebe,

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and Sori Bunki was left in the town to gather the tax. He was gathering it when I left for Freetown.

7986. Was he gathering it with the help of policemen?—So I heard.

7987. Was the constable to whom the money was paid by the man who was arrested named to you?—No; Sergeant Wilson was in charge, but I do not know who was paid or how much.

7988. In your statement you say that he had to pay £4 to Sergeant Wilson?—So they told me; it was he who arrested the man.

7989. You know that as a fact?—Yes.

7990. Was there some objection to the appointment of Sori Bunki; was it a proper appointment according to native law?—No.

7991. Why?—He was not of the tribe.

7992. Did this appointment as Chief of a man who was not of the tribe cause dissatisfaction?—Yes; everybody was against it.

7993. Was it such a thing as would be felt not only by people in Port Lokko but also by neighbouring Chiefs?—Yes; I have heard that that was one of the grievances of Bai Bureh.

7994. How long did you remain in Port Lokko after the arrest of the Chiefs?—About four days.

7995. At the time of the arrest of the Chiefs or during those four days, was there any expectation that an attack would be made?—There was a rumour that Bai Bureh was coming to attack the town on account of Sori Bunki being made Chief, and on account of the imprisonment of the other Chiefs.

7996. Did any fact come to your knowledge tending to support that rumour?—No; I left Port Lokko the same day the rumour came.

7997. How long have you been a missionary in this country?—About fifteen years, stationed at different places—Magbele, Mahera, Sherbro, Bumpe, Shengay, Rotofunk, and the Bum River.

7998. You were at Mafwe on the Big Bum in 1889, what was the situation as regards slave trading at that time?—There was no open slave trade from that time.

7999. Was there any carrying away and selling at that time?—No; but there was pledging and pawning amongst themselves quietly.

8000. Was there no buying or selling?—If there was any it was done very secretly; they used to say they were doing it but we could not find it out.

8001. Do you remember when the Frontier Police were first instituted?—It was about that time or 1890.

8002. At the different stations where you have been have you heard complaints of improper conduct by the police?—Plenty; I have settled several myself; they were ill-treating the poor natives. They used to come into a town and plunder, and take goats, and sheep, and property, and even men's wives and daughters. It is still going on.

8003. Do they carry off the wives and daughters?—Yes; several times they have gone into the house and taken them away for the night, and if the man made any objection they flogged him and sometimes put him in irons.

8004. Did these complaints use to come from time to time?—Wherever these police are sent we used to get these complaints from natives; even in our own mission town, and the police even threatened us. It is mostly the native police, very few of the Sierra Leone boys do that.

8005. Did the natives who were used in this way not make complaint to the Government?—They feared the police. The native people think that what the police are doing is by orders of the Government, hence they make no resistance.

8006. You heard about a private meeting of the Chiefs at which they came to some determination about the hut-tax?—Yes; Pa Nembana, Bai Kompah, and Sena Bundu met privately when I was at Mahera, and a letter was written to Chief Smart. I was

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present when he read the letter. After that, Nembana came to Smart and cautioned him not to pay the tax. I was present then also. He told him that it was decided on among all the Chiefs that they were willing to obey all the rest of the law, but the country could not afford to pay the tax. There are many of them who do not earn twenty shillings a year. F. M. STEWART.

8007. Do you remember precisely what Pa Nembana said to Smart on that occasion? —He told him that he and Bai Kompah and Sena Bundu had met together, and they had decided that they were not to pay the tax. He said, 'Chief Smart, as you are near the Government and are educated and are ready to pay the tax, if you pay, the whole of the other Chiefs are ready to kill you publicly or privately.' He was just cautioning him. He was Smart's brother-in-law.

8008. What you heard Pa Nembana say to Smart, was it a threat or was it only cautioning him?—He came privately to him as his brother-in-law and cautioned him. It was not threatening at all.

8009. You understand Timini?—Very well. There were only us three present. After this caution by Pa Nembana he reported the same to the District Commissioner as a threat, and it was on that ground that Nembana was arrested and convicted.

8010. Upon Smart's evidence?—Yes.

8011. Anything more?—The present condition of Port Lokko is very bad, as far as the natives are concerned. The soldiers are ill-treating the people very much. They rush into their farms and shoot the people and burn the rice.

8012. Are those soldiers of the West African regiment?—So I hear, and the Frontier Police as well. All the people are in the bush, and the soldiers are hunting them. News comes down daily that the people are suffering very much at Port Lokko.

8013. Do you mean that they are hunting and attacking people who are peaceably working in the fields?—So they tell me. They go into the fields and shoot the men and even the women.

8014. Who was your informant?—Some of the Port Lokko boys.

25th October 1898.

MR. WILBRAHAM, Acting Attorney General.

Mr. WILBRAHAM.

8015. Mr. Wilbraham, called on *subpœna duces tecum* in following terms: 'To bring 'with you and produce at the time and place aforesaid all correspondence, papers, and 'other documents in your possession and control relating to the enactment of Ordinances, 'Nos. 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26 of 1898: also all cases or questions submitted to the 'Attorney General by the executive Government, and all opinions and answers returned 'by him in relation to matters arising under the Proclamation of the Protectorate, the 'Protectorate Ordinance 1896, the Protectorate Ordinance 1897, and Ordinances in amendment of either of these Ordinances,' produced the following:—

1. ORDINANCE REPORT BOOK.—No. 18 of 1898. Attorney General's report on the trial by Jury Amendment Ordinance. Reports on 22, 23, 25, and 26 of 1898. Report on the Bill, trial by Jury Amendment Ordinance of 1897, which was not passed. Clark gives reasons why this was necessary; apparently passed in the beginning of this year.
2. REPORT, trial by Jury Amendment Ordinance 8 of 1895. In Ordinance Report Book beginning 30th April 1883, p. 206.
3. CONFIDENTIAL OPINION BOOK (22nd March 1892 to 12th January 1897).—Opinion by Mr. de Groot—'Secretary of State forwards draft Ordinance for the delimitation of the Protectorate.' Apparently sent out to take the place of 21 of 1896.
4. CONFIDENTIAL OPINION BOOK (22nd January 1897 to present date).—Trial by jury and resolution of Executive Council. Page 120, Opinion by Mr. Hudson on the carrying of arms by natives in the Protectorate, and the power of the

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Mr. WILBRAHAM.

District Commissioner to prevent it. Page 120, Opinion by Mr. Hudson on the subject of Chiefs who refuse to pay hut tax (18th January 1898). Page 141, Minute by the Chief Justice on the Jury Bill. Page 149, Opinion by Mr. Smyly as to incitement to rebellion. Page 162, Minute by Mr. Wilbraham on Jury Bill (26th July 1898).

5. GENERAL OPINION BOOK, Vol. x. (22nd July 1896 to 4th March 1897).—Page 449, Opinion by Mr. de Groot, compensation to informant, etc.; case of smuggling under Protectorate Ordinance 1896.

6. GENERAL OPINION BOOK, Vol. xi. (5th March 1897 to 29th January 1898).—Page 59, Minute on subsistence to prisoners. Page 94, Similar. Page 132, Petition of Tembi Yeva and others against section 3 of the Protectorate Delimitation Ordinance. Page 154, Opinion by the Attorney General on the subject of store licences in the Protectorate. Page 171, Same subject. Page 323, Draft Ordinance to repeal Protectorate Ordinance 1896. Page 358, Tembi Yeva's petition against Delimitation Ordinance. Page 378, Opinion as to definition of 'store.' Page 472, Same petition (Tembi Yeva). Page 478 (no reference given).

7. GENERAL OPINION BOOK, Vol. xii. (2nd February 1898 to present date).—Page 154, Death of armed friendly native boy at Port Lokko; and Portuguese traders at Kambia (opinion by Mr. Wilbraham). Page 155, Magisterial return. Page 158, Same as page 154. Page 164, Trial by jury. Page 205, Opinion on the Protectorate Ordinance. Page 216, Opinion on Imperri being included under the Protectorate Delimitation Ordinance 1898. Page 224, Case of smuggling under Protectorate Ordinance. Page 282, With reference to definition of Protectorate. (This was my first view on the subject; I have since rather qualified my opinion. The Governor suggested that the word Protectorate should mean all those places and territories to which the Protectorate Delimitation Ordinance of 1898 applies. The definition of the Protectorate in the Ordinance was intended to apply to the same places and territories as are referred to in the Order of Council, and is taken from that.)

8. LETTER BOOK (5th August 1896 to present date).—Page 32, Report on Protectorate Delimitation Ordinance 1896. Page 52, Letter from Mr. de Groot to Captain Sharpe, giving various opinions on the Protectorate Ordinance. Page 180, Letter from Mr. Hudson on the subject of the Protectorate Ordinance.

8016. Are the District Commissioners always amenable to the opinions of the Attorney General?—In one of the Returns I have read the Solicitor General had made a number of remarks which appeared to me to be very just, and the District Commissioner has replied to some of these remarks:—'I regret to say I know nothing about legal phraseology. I am guided by what common sense I have and by my intimate knowledge of the native character, in awarding punishment, having first satisfied myself as to the guilt of the prisoners'; and on another occasion the same gentleman minuted on the Solicitor General's remarks—'I am sorry I am unable to follow the learned Solicitor General in his remarks. Every one convicted committed an offence against the good government of the country.' I have been Acting Attorney General for about four or five months, and I find that not much attention is paid to my recommendations. I used to give instruction in Treasury matters in Sherbro, and there I had to tell them the same thing time after time.

8017. You have told me that the Ordinance 8 of 1895 introduced trial by judge with assessors?—Yes.

8018. There are two sets of circumstances under which this method is employed:—(1) Persons charged for any felony not punishable by death may elect to be tried in this way; (2) Public officers charged with offences connected with Government property,

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providing that the Governor in Council should order that this particular method should be adopted. Was this much discussed in the Council?—I cannot tell; I did not come to the Colony till 1896. Mr. WILBRAHAM.

8019. The method of trial by assessors seems to have been very little acted upon; from a Return I have obtained it appears that there is only one instance up to the present time where any one elected to be tried by assessors.—I have only seen one.

8020. As to the compulsory method, there was only one case in 1895 and one in 1896; it seems to show that there was not much need for the Ordinance?—The Ordinance says that the magistrate when he commits the prisoner gives him his choice. The police magistrate in Freetown does so, but the man at Sherbro never does it. Cases from Sherbro go to the Supreme Court.

8021. In the present year there seem to have been thirty cases?—That includes these recent cases at Kwalu. I have conducted a criminal prosecution at this last sessions, and I have the right to request that they should be tried by assessors. I should certainly do so another time.

8022. What is the practice in these trials as to the assessors stating their opinions?—The judge calls upon each by name and asks him to give his opinion. He sums up as if to a jury. The assessors give their opinions *viva voce*, and each assessor knows what the preceding man has said.

8023. Has there ever been any case in which the opinion of all the assessors has been against the opinion of the judge?—Not within my experience. I have known one of the assessors to give a contrary opinion.

8024. The Ordinance of 1898 made an important change. Under the first Ordinance the Attorney General could only obtain this order for trial in cases affecting Government property, but under the 1898 Ordinance he is able to apply in any case not punishable by death. The accused person against whom such an order is obtained may discharge the order by showing the Court that the trial by jury will not act unfairly. Can you say under what circumstances this change took place?—It was due to a trial that took place where the Government prosecuted some people for riot, and the jury going against the evidence returned them not guilty.

8025. Was it much discussed in the Legislative Council?—I was away at the time, but I believe there were a lot of petitions. I think there were petitions against the first Ordinance of 1898.

8026. Where would these petitions be?—Probably at Government House.

8027. All these matters go to the Secretary, I suppose?—I cannot say: I know they have to be made in triplicate.

8028. Then this Ordinance made a change which seemed to be in the favour of the accused? In the previous Ordinance the judge used to select the assessors himself; but in this Ordinance of 1898 the assessors were to be drawn by lot from the special jurors' list, and the accused was to be allowed to challenge for cause?—Yes.

8029. Then there is an Ordinance 22 of 1898, providing for trial of prisoners during the vacation of court, by which the Chief Justice is not to try any person he commits for trial: does he commit?—I never heard of him doing so.

8030. What does it mean?—That appeared in 9 of 1883, which was repealed.

8031. It may have referred to the case of some one who acted as Chief Justice, having been previously a magistrate?—Yes; that was very frequently the case.

8032. Then there is a clause that no one is to sit as a juror in vacation sessions if he resides more than two miles from St. George's Cathedral; what is the explanation of that clause?—That also was in the old Ordinance, and was probably an indulgence to the jury, many of whom might have to come five or six miles.

8033. Then Ordinance 23 of 1898 provides for trial by the Supreme Court in the Protectorate by judge and assessors, of offences committed in the Protectorate; the judge is to select his own assessors from the jury list; the challenge for cause is taken away

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Mr. WILBRAHAM. and the assessors are to go with the judge wherever he goes; and there is a provision that whenever there is a trial by the judge in the Colony out of the Peninsula, he was to choose his own assessors: what was the cause of that?—It was necessary to authorise the sitting of the Supreme Court, because the sitting of the Supreme Court was ousted in the Protectorate. As to the judge selecting assessors, it was a matter of convenience. He probably could not take the whole body of the jury round with him.

8034. But the assessors might have been drawn by ballot in Freetown?—I think it was not desired to compel jurors to go round the circuit. I think the idea was to choose people to whom it would not be a great inconvenience, and to select them from men who would not mind going up into the Protectorate.

8035. What would be the practical effect as to the class of people who would become assessors under that? Would the judge be guided by the principle that he would not select any one to whom it would be inconvenient to go?—I should think he would make inquiry, and find out people who would not object very much to go. I do not think he would select a man to whom it would be a very great inconvenience to go.

8036. But then, it is generally a great inconvenience to a business man to be called on a jury?—Yes; but they are not called as a rule for three or four weeks.

8037. You think that was the idea, that assessors should not be selected by ballot, in case the ballot should have the effect of drawing men to whom it would be inconvenient?—Yes.

8038. How do assessors get paid?—The Ordinance provides for their expenses and loss of time, I believe. I rather think the Secretary of State said that assessors should be chosen by the judge.

8039. Then Ordinance 24 of 1898 makes further alteration in the law: the scope of this Ordinance is, that persons tried in any part of the Colony other than Freetown are to be tried by judge and assessors, and also that any persons moved from the Protectorate into the Colony by the Governor under section 13 of the Protectorate Ordinance, are to be tried in this way: this applies to capital cases: can you tell me the reason of this?—This was meant to apply to the insurgents, and cases of criminal offences including murders arising out of the recent rebellion. And the idea was that all these people should be tried by assessors. It was supposed that a Freetown jury would not convict them because they sympathised with the rebellion.

8040. Can you give me, or were you aware yourself of any grounds for thinking that they sympathised with the rebellion?—I do not think so myself.

8041. Were there any facts that showed they did?—I am not aware of any. My own idea was that trying the prisoners by assessors instead of by jury would give them an advantage.

8042. If you had told me that the Freetown people would be too ready, under recent circumstances, to convict, I could understand it: it would rather seem that trial by assessors would be a protective measure?—My view is that the Sierra Leone jury would be only too ready to convict these people.

8043. Ordinance 25 of 1898 seems to have for its object the taking away from accused persons of the right which they had under 18 of 1898, of setting aside the order obtained by the Attorney General, of trial by court with assessors, so that when the Attorney General makes the application and the order is granted, it is absolute and passes as a matter of course?—I remember this Ordinance: we had rather conflicting instructions from the Secretary of State. As a compromise I drafted this myself. It did not seem that the Secretary of State meant trial by jury to be entirely taken away, but apparently his intention was as in Ordinance 25.

8044. Can you explain why, in the case where the order is made as of course and there is no power of discharging it, it should be an order of court at all?—The Attorney General makes the order and the court grants it as of course: the accused has no power to discharge it.

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8045. Why does he have to come to court?—I can give no reason.

8046. Ordinance 26 of 1898 was to the effect that the Governor may appoint sittings of the Supreme Court for trial of offences committed in the Protectorate, in the Colony or the Protectorate, and all cases tried out of Freetown are to be tried by a judge and assessors selected by himself: was that necessary?—The only alteration I can see is that the Colony is added in the latter. I see in 26, section 5 is omitted. I do not see the object of it.

8047. Ordinance 5 of 1896, to amend the law in relation to Perjury: that Ordinance gives power to the court to commit or to fine summarily, as for contempt—to the Supreme Court, or Police Magistrate or District Commissioner or any two magistrates: can you tell me the reason?—This was passed before I came in 1896: but a dreadful amount of perjury is committed in the courts. I do not know any particular reason.

8048. Can you tell me what is the practice under Ordinance, is a charge made out and can the accused defend himself or is it a simple act of the judge?—It is a simple act of the judge.

8049. Is the procedure such as to afford the accused any opportunity of defending himself?—I have only once seen a witness committed; the judge called him up after the case and told him he had been committing perjury, and sent him to gaol for three months.

8050. So that if the judge forms an opinion that a witness has sworn untruly, he can simply inform him of that, and commit him, without his having an opportunity of making any defence?—So it appears. A District Commissioner has the same power, subject to his sending a copy of his notes to the Attorney General for revision.

8051. But the Attorney General would hardly interfere in such a case, as the perjury would be a matter for the judge's own decision?—Well, there would be witnesses.

8052. But there is no need for witnesses?—If I were the judge, I should like the evidence of the offender to be contradicted by two witnesses in the case.

8053. In the case of a magistrate's return, you as Attorney General could quash the conviction?—It would go to the Chief Justice. That deterred me once from using those summary powers: I was convinced in my own mind that the man had committed perjury, but it was not proved.

8054. Can you tell me whether Ordinance 1 of 1897, which empowered the Governor to appoint Assistant District Commissioners, has ever been acted upon?—Yes; in one case in the Imperri country: Mr. Hughes was appointed Assistant District Commissioner.

8055. The view was that the Assistant District Commissioner would live at a different part of the district?—Yes.

8056. Ordinance 21 of 1896, Delimitation Ordinance, section 3, provides that the courts of the Colony shall have no jurisdiction in the proceedings instituted in territories defined as Protectorate: were there any actions pending at the time that Ordinance came into force?—Yes: I have marked it for you—Manor and Palmer.

8057. Ordinance 9 of 1896, to facilitate the detection and punishment of crime, is amended by 31 of 1896; but 9 of 1896 seems to be a re-enactment of 15 of 1895 with the additional provisions of 31 of 1896: the effect of this is that the whole of that law is terminated on 14th April 1898—can you explain this?—That particular form of crime is now extinct.

8058. I believe the Chiefs discountenanced it very much?—I can hardly say: I should think they countenanced it when it was going on.

8059. Why should they?—I think some of them were mixed up in it.

8060. Have you any grounds for saying that the Chiefs countenanced it?—I had experience of an analogous society—the Human Alligator Society in Sherbro. Whenever there was any alleged case of Human Alligator there were some leading men in the district mixed up in it against whom a good deal was said.

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Mr. WILBRAHAM. 8061. Was not the Alligator Society rather a society for kidnapping people than killing them?—They did both.

8062. Did any authentic cases come under your observation?—Three alleged cases were brought before me. I could get no evidence and they were all consistent with their having been carried off by real alligators. The Chiefs of the Imperri certainly did not succeed in putting it down.

8063. How did it become extinct?—By the Government prosecution. In 1895, I think, fifteen people were hanged.

8064. A case occurred in 1895 in which five persons were sentenced to death and executed, was that the last case?—There have been some in 1896. James Cattel, who was one of the leading members of the society, was executed in 1896, and I think there were more cases in 1896. I am not quite sure that there were fifteen cases sentenced to death in 1895, they may have been tried.

8065. Section 34 of Protectorate Ordinance, 1896, is a proviso preserving grants already made, were there any grants made by the Government when the Ordinance was passed?—I am not aware of any.

8066. What would you say was the intended operation of the clause, 'shall be valid as against the Crown'?—I do not know.

3067. Look at sections 35 and 37—what scheme had those sections reference to?—I presume the intention was that the Governor should have the sole power of alienating waste lands to concessionaries.

8068. Had you not any knowledge of any scheme that was in view at the time those clauses were passed?—No.

8069. Have you formed any opinion as to the success of European enterprise in these territories on a large scale?—I do not know of any actual success I should say there were many hindrances placed.

8070. Suppose there were no hindrances, what would you say as to the favourable results, would they pay well?—I should not care to invest my money.

8071. I think you were not willing to stand godfather to the doctrine propounded by Mr. Smyly in section 19 of the report on the Protectorate Ordinance, 1896?—I confess I am not.

8072. Would you describe what is the effect of proclaiming a Protectorate?—I should be puzzled to answer that question. I do not know what status the natives of such a Protectorate occupy—whether they are British subjects or not.

8073. You do not feel disposed to approach any nearer the question?—I should say it was more a case of *force majeure* myself. I do not quite understand the legal status of a Protectorate.

8074. Then is your view that the effect of proclaiming a Protectorate is that the natives of the territory are subject to whatever law can be enforced?—I should say force is the prevailing element.

8075. Then force is not exactly a jural element? I contemplate the legal position?—You mean their position in relation to the English Government; the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890 contemplates proclaiming a Protectorate for protecting British subjects. We have treaty rights with the natives, we recognise them as not being British subjects.

8076. Taking it, as undoubtedly was the case, in a long series of treaties made with the Chiefs of the country, they were recognised as being independent treaty powers, what alteration was made in that status by the proclamation of the Protectorate?—I should not think any.

8077. You would think there was no change?—I should think the people were still subject to their own Chiefs.

8078. And the Chiefs retain the same status as they had when they made those treaties?—I should say so.

8079. What generally is the law in force in the Colony?—All English statutes of

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general application up to 1st January 1880, I think. (Supreme Court Ordinance of 1881.)

8080. Then under section 9 of Protectorate Ordinance 1897, the court of the District Commissioner and native Chiefs would have to apply the statute law of England as far as possible?—Yes.

8081. I presume that that incorporation of statute law includes also the judicial interpretation of the law?—I should think so.

8082. Then the District Commissioner and the native Chiefs would have to apply these cases as well?—I suppose so.

8083. Then, no doubt, there are local Ordinances in force in the Colony as well?—Yes.

8084. Have you any law reports?—No; there have never been any.

8085. Look at section 43 of Protectorate Ordinance 1897: according to native arrangement a Chief may have jurisdiction over one town, or two or three towns, but there is also a superior Chief having jurisdiction over a number of such petty Chiefs, if one may so call them; now, does the obligation to pay the hut tax lie on the immediate petty Chief of the town or on the superior Chief?—It might be either.

8086. But it could hardly be either. The Chief who is liable to pay must also have the power of collecting from the people: you could not have two sets of Chiefs both having power of collecting?—I do not know how they do it in practice.

8087. But as a matter of construction of the law?—There would practically be two people having jurisdiction.

8088. But which of these has the liability of paying the tax?—I should say the petty Chief.

8089. You think, as a matter of construction, that the obligation would be upon the immediate Chief of the town?—I should think so.

8090. Can you tell me whether that is a question on which the Attorney General has ever been consulted?—I do not think so.

8091. Ordinance 11 of 1891 (Small Penalties Ordinance), I take it, would apply in the Protectorate?—I think so: at any rate the District Commissioner has been so advised.

8092. Look at the provision as to alternative terms of imprisonment on non-payment of a fine, in the case of fines not exceeding £5?—'Not exceeding two months with or without hard labour.'

8093. Then a sentence of £5, with the alternative of six months' hard labour, would be a bad sentence?—Yes.

8094. I show you the return of cases tried before the District Commissioner at Karene in February last. I ask you to look at those charges against W. B. Cole and thirteen others. You see three charges, (1) refusing to pay house tax when lawfully called upon, (2) fraudulently evading payment of house tax, and (3) contempt of court. Is it in accordance with the law prevailing in the Colony to join three offences as different as those are, and adjudicate on them in the mass?—No.

8095. The first of those charges—refusing to pay the house tax when lawfully called upon to do so; assuming that there was a refusal, is there any law which makes a refusal to pay the hut tax a criminal offence?—No.

8096. Then that would be another ground on which those convictions would be bad?—Yes.

8097. I need not ask you if it is an offence incurring the penalty of hard labour or of flogging, if it is not an offence at all. Was it with reference to these cases that Mr. Hudson gave the opinion that refusing to pay the tax was an offence?—I could not say. It was early in the year.

8098. Look at section 11 of Protectorate Ordinance 1897: do you consider that imprisonment with hard labour is the same punishment as imprisonment with merely an incident added?—I should think they were two distinct punishments.

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Mr. WILBRAHAM.

8099. Look at Ordinance 9 of 1884; you see that Ordinance has for its object to substitute a certain punishment for the punishment of penal servitude: what is the substitute?—Imprisonment with hard labour.

8100. Would a judge who sentenced a person who was guilty of an offence liable to penal servitude previous to that Ordinance fulfil his legal duty by sentencing such person to simple imprisonment?—The judge has a discretion; but not in varying the nature of the statutory punishment.

8101. Are 'Imprisonment with Hard Labour' and 'Imprisonment' convertible terms?—No.

8102. Look at the whole of sections 10 and 11 of the Protectorate Ordinance; do you see any provision vesting in the District Commissioner power of awarding sentence of imprisonment with hard labour?—Nothing in section 11; but there is an Act of George III. which empowers a judge to award imprisonment with hard labour for certain misdemeanours.

8103. But that would be a specific statutory penalty for the offences therein dealt with?—Yes. I think there is a general statute of George III. which specifies certain misdemeanours which are punishable by imprisonment with hard labour.

8104. That statute would go to show that imprisonment and imprisonment with hard labour are distinct. Is there in your knowledge any English statute which provides generally that where there is a statutory power of awarding imprisonment the judge may at his discretion award imprisonment with hard labour?—I do not remember any.

8105. Can you give me any authoritative decision where it was held that imprisonment implied imprisonment with hard labour?—I do not know of any such decision.

8106. Look at the charge appearing as No. 4 of this same return of the Karene District Commissioner's court. There are three charges made. Compare the first charge with section 67 (inciting others by threats to defy, etc.); is there any offence under 67 which corresponds to that offence so stated?—I should say not.

8107. What does section 67 really provide?—It says that 'Any Chief who shall be ordered by the Governor either directly or by a deputy or messenger to do or refrain from doing any public act or acts, and shall either defy or neglect promply to obey such order shall be guilty of an offence.

8108. Is it possible to find under that section the offence which is described in No. 1?—The offence is practically defying the order of the Governor: this section does not cover 'inciting.'

8109. Can you say that that is a good statutory offence at all under the Ordinance?—I do not think so.

8110. No. 2, 'refusing to collect the hut tax,' offence under 68: is that an offence under 68?—I do not think so.

8111. Section 68 seems to apply to resisting legal process?—That has always been my view.

8112. No. 3, 'overawing by force a public officer in the exercise of his duty': does that appear to be an offence under 68?—I should say that was.

8113. You think that is an offence under 68? Then you would need to show that the offender did overawe the public officer?—'Conspiracy' seems to apply to both resisting and overawing.

8114. If that be so, an individual could not commit the offence of conspiring to overawe by force?—Apparently there are four people.

8115. But the charge is not conspiracy?—No.

8116. Look at the provision with regard to the house tax, sections 43 to 48 inclusive, and then look at section 67; can a District Commissioner, by ordering a Chief to pay house tax, convert what under the house tax clause is a liability into an offence?—It seems to me not. There is a civil remedy for the liability; it is not a public act.

8117. Under those clauses it is a civil liability?—Yes.

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8118. A neglect to pay Income-tax in England cannot be converted into a criminal offence by ordering you to pay it?—I should think not. Mr. WILBRAHAM.

8119. I show you the warrant under which the first-named of these persons (Bokari Bamp) was imprisoned, look at it along with the charges, is the statement of offence on that warrant the same as in the charges or different?—They do not seem to be the same.

8120. The warrants in each of the other four cases are all in the same terms. Assuming that these charges were good charges, and that these persons were properly convicted, is it in accordance with the law in Sierra Leone and the Protectorate that the warrant of imprisonment should state the offence in different terms to the charge?—Not that I am aware of.

8121. Looking at these warrants and the charges, should you say that they were good warrants or not?—I should say they were bad. The offence for which a person is convicted ought to appear on the warrant.

8122. I have heard of a practice which has occurred more than once of a District Commissioner detaining people not under any warrant of imprisonment, but still detaining them; are you aware if that practice is founded on any law of the Colony?—On none that I am aware of.

8123. Can you tell me on what principle the boundaries of the districts in the Protectorate were arranged?—No; I cannot say.

8124. Is there any general law of the Colony under which the Governor has the power of appointing the place for carrying out of sentences on convicted prisoners?—You mean where a prisoner shall serve his term? For punishment extending over a month the District Commissioner can send them down to Bonthe or Freetown.

8125. Under section 74 that is: apart from that, is there any law empowering the Governor to fix the place for fulfilling the sentence?—I am not aware of any. District Commissioners in the Colony may send a prisoner to serve his term in Freetown.

8126. But section 74 fixes the place of imprisonment, does it not; Freetown or Bonthe?—The Governor apparently has the power, but I am not aware of a special provision on the subject.

8127. Look at this letter—(Circular letter, Kwalu, 31st December 1898, *sic*)? Would the Chief who after receiving that letter did not pay the tax become guilty of an offence?—No; I should say not.

8128. It is rather like a tax collector's warning to pay?—Yes.

8129. Can you tell me what the law is prohibiting the importation of gunpowder into the Protectorate at present?—There is a Proclamation which was published in January prohibiting it.

8130. It is still in force I presume?—If you can call it so: in my view it is waste paper.

8131. Was it made under any Ordinance?—Under the Customs Ordinance; the only penalties that can be inflicted are the ordinary penalties for smuggling. There is to be another Proclamation under the Peace Preservation Act.

8132. Can you tell me if people who sell gunpowder are bound to keep a register of of their sales?—I think that is in the Ordinance to be passed.

8133. What is the present Ordinance?—The Firearms and Ammunition Ordinance of 1892. There does not appear to be any provision under the Ordinance, but as a matter of fact I think they do keep registers. That is all to be specified in the new Ordinance.

8134. Read that charge against Pa Nembana 'intimidating Chief Charles Smart, etc.,' and read the evidence: do you think that evidence supports the charge?—I should not think so.

8135. Can you see any threat in it: is it not rather a friendly warning?—I think so.

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3rd November 1898.

Mr. Ring.

Mr. Ring.

8136. My name is Henry Nathaniel Ring. I am a trader at Magbele on the Sierra Leone river. I wish to tell you about the troubles I have been experiencing from the District Commissioner in April. In February I was on that river doing business. There was a Chief there called Chief Smart who had some feelings against me that I do not know. Captain Fairtlough was at Furudugu, and I landed to compliment him and ask him if it was safe to go down the river. He told me it was safe, and he gave me two Frontier Police in my boat and some despatches to His Excellency and asked me to bring him up some ammunition and some stores to Furudugu. After he had given the order and I was ready to start, Smart said, 'This is Mr. Ring, and he is a friend of Pa Balla, who has lately been dethroned. Mr. Ring will be able to tell you about the war that he has.' Captain Fairtlough asked me, and I said the only war I heard of was the war that he was coming up the river with; but of Pa Balla I had never heard anything. So I started with the police that he gave me. When I got to Robomp, I saw several people going down the river; the constables said they were enemies and wanted to fire at us. I told them, 'No, there is a road there, and it is only the people passing along the road that you see. If they want to fire they will hit me' (as I was sitting high up in the boat). However the policemen insisted on firing at them, so I turned the boat right round and went back to report to Captain Fairtlough. He said it would have been better if I had let them kill half a dozen or so. He ordered the war to cross the river at once, and he himself in another canoe with the rest of the Frontier Police escorted me down the river to where we had seen the people before; but this time we did not see any people, and we got down to Freetown and Captain Fairtlough returned back. Before he left me he asked me to tell the Governor all that I had seen, as he himself had not time to write. So I did so, and I asked the Governor to mention in the despatches that it was false when the Frontier Police said that the people had fired at our boat. He asked me about it three times and thanked me, and said he would tell Captain Fairtlough to take the war from that part of the country. He sent me up with the stores and ammunition, and I took them up and delivered them, and he thanked me. So I left him. Before I left Captain Fairtlough he told me that Kombo had told him that this Balla was coming from the interior with a war, but he had seen nothing of it and it was all false. I said I had told him so. I left him and went up the river, and three days after got up to Masu. The Chiefs had been gathering there to settle a dispute between Kombo and Balla. While they were doing this Chief Smart sent to tell them that there was a still bigger war coming up the river and they must be on the look out. So Chief Alimami Fa Sisi and Pa Suba asked me to take a message to Captain Fairtlough to ask him to advise them what to do. I asked for another man to go with me as interpreter, so they gave me one and a canoe, and I went to Captain Fairtlough and delivered the message. Captain Fairtlough asked Chief Smart if he had sent such a message up the river. Smart said he never had, but that he sent to say that Captain Fairtlough was leaving the next day and that they should come to see him before he left, but nothing about any war. Captain Fairtlough told me to tell the Chief that there was no war, and I prepared to start. Then Chief Smart said that Captain Fairtlough should write warning any Chief against sending any message by a trader, and that if they do that there will never be peace in the country. I told him that I was sorry to hear him say that, because he saw me bring this message from the Chiefs. So I left Captain Fairtlough and went with the letter. A few days afterwards they had settled the matter between these two Chiefs, and had sent a copy of the settlement to Captain Fairtlough. Shortly afterwards I came down to Freetown. While I was in Freetown the headman of that country went and arrested Chief Kombo, and I heard they took him into the interior and executed him. This was told me by one of Chief Kombo's brothers. I went to Bishops' Court and saw the elder brother of this Kombo to ask him about it, and he said it was true. A few

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days after news came to us that Colonel Marshall was up at Rokelle, and he had invited all the country-people to go back. On hearing this I went back. I saw Charles Smart and Mr. James Parkes. I went on up to Masuba, and then went with a few of the traders to see Colonel Marshall to ask him if we were safe. He told us we were quite safe, and should be still safer in a few days. When I was returning I saw Smart and Parkes again. Two hours afterwards the Colonel sent to say that he wanted to see me and my two friends. By that time I had got fever, and it was late, so I could not go, but my friends went. Presently I saw about twelve soldiers coming for me with a hammock. This was about 8.30 P.M. on 28th June. The soldiers came and said the Colonel wanted to see me. Before I went out the soldiers came inside the store and upset all the boxes, and broke them open: after that they went to the outhouses. After they had finished we started. We got to Rokelle, and the Colonel said, 'I sent for you; why did you not come?' I said it was late and I did not know the matter was pressing. He said, 'You are charged on a serious charge. You are a friend of Balla, and you have been charged here with supplying powder and ammunition to the insurgents and interfering with the hut tax.' He said, 'You will have to go to Kwalu to prove it.' So they took me, and I was handed over to a sergeant-major, and they put me into a cell. I was in that cell on the bare ground. I lay there from 28th June till 4th July. Then I was sent up with seven other prisoners from Rokelle to Kwalu. We started with a lieutenant and some West Indian soldiers, and they sent on to tell them at Kwalu that we were coming. We stayed two days at Ronietta. While we were there these two days, and these escorts were coming from Kwalu, they went to make some man prisoner. They did not find him, but they took a lot of goats and spoil and two men and four women and three children tied, and a drove of men behind them. When they got to Ronietta they complained to the constable that they had plundered their towns and got their spoil with them. The big man called upon Chief Smart and said, 'See what your people have done. We are fighting for the Government.' Smart called the constable and asked him what was this bother. He said they had a bother to make a prisoner: the people who were tied were the man's brothers and wives and sisters. Then Smart said, 'What has that to do with it? If you go after one man why do you make other people prisoners? What about these goats and fowls? And the corporal was speechless. Smart told the constable to fetch all the things he had plundered and let him see what they were; and that if he did not he would report him at Kwalu. So I saw them bring all sorts of goods. Smart asked the people if that was all they had lost, and each came and picked out his own things. They said they were not all there, but they were satisfied with what they got. He ordered that the people should be loosed and let go. The next morning we started for Kwalu. There was a trader among the prisoners who had the privilege of going with Smart and the other men. As soon as we got to Kwalu Dr. Hood asked, 'Who are these?' Smart said, 'They are prisoners.' He asked, 'What is Mr. Ring?' 'A prisoner.' 'And Mr. Roberts?' 'He is not a prisoner. We were taken to goal, and half-an-hour afterwards Roberts was let out. He was discharged with a fine of only 20s. I had seen gold passing between Roberts and Smart and Parkes on the way to Kwalu. Roberts had kept the Chief Sena Bunda for four months, and had sheltered him. He was reported to the Colonel, and he sent him up to the District Commissioner. Roberts was charged with supplying powder to the insurgents and sheltering Sena Bunda. By this time Dr. Hood and Smart had had an interview, and Dr. Hood sent for me from the goal on the evening of 7th July. I went. He said, 'You are charged under a serious charge. You are a friend of Balla, and you have been charged with supplying powder and ammunition to the insurgents and interfering with the hut tax.' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Well, witnesses have sworn against you: it is enough to hang you.' I told him I had witnesses to prove that it was a false charge by Chief Smart and his brother. Dr. Hood said, 'Your witnesses will be of little help to you.' I was surprised to hear him say that, as I had not been before him before. I asked him to allow the witnesses to come. He said, 'Very well, I will give you a

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Mr. Ring.

chance. You can send for the witnesses.' The distance which they would have to come was over sixty miles; so he would get the witnesses for me. I gave him the names and addresses of six witnesses. After that he said, 'There is a man you have been bribing.' He told me he would send for the men, and the case would be called in seven days. I said that there were some customs officers who had been taking bribes, and he ought to send and find out the truth of it. He has that letter that I wrote about it. After the seven days the case was not called. Twenty-five days after, the case was called. Smart had gone back to Rokell in the meantime. On the 4th August he returned, and the case was tried on the 5th, and there was never one of the witnesses sent for, and the case was tried without the witnesses. So I asked Captain Fairtlough, 'How about the witnesses, where are they?' He said, 'They are your friends, you should have seen to them coming.' I said, 'I was kept here and have had no communication with people outside: how could I send for witnesses?' He said, 'We have nothing to do with that.' So the case was tried, and the witnesses said they saw me with a bag of powder in my boat, and that I bribed the customs officer, and he did not examine the boat. I put my questions, and the District Commissioner answered instead of the witnesses. I asked Smart, 'How could you have seen powder in the place in March, when you were not there,' and the District Commissioner took up the question and said, 'Smart did not say in the month of March, he said February.' The next question he answered for Smart was: 'I asked him why he did not make this accusation against me before this time.' The District Commissioner said, 'He has told me, but my hands were too full, I could not ask him.' I asked the other two witnesses in what month they saw me load the powder. Captain Fairtlough said they could not answer that because they were aborigines, though they could speak English quite well. He asked me if I wanted to put any more questions, but, as I was feeling annoyed, I did not put any more questions. There was no evidence to show that I had brought or sold gunpowder up there.

8137. When you were charged, was there no evidence as for the prosecution?—The witnesses only said that they saw me with two kegs of powder, and I said I was not guilty, and they could not get any more witnesses. I was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment with hard labour, and when I was sentenced I called his attention, and said I wanted to say something to him, but they drove me out of the court. My hat was knocked over the palings.

8138. Then, do you say as a fact that at that time you never had any gunpowder?—I never had even half a pound in my store. It would not be worth the risk of selling: the profit is small. It appeared that the gentleman who put me into this trouble could not do anything on the charge of knowing Balla. For the other man, they obtained witnesses from further off than mine, and they came. After some fifteen or twenty days I wrote a note to say I was dissatisfied with his decision and took it myself and handed it to the District Commissioner, Captain Ferguson (Captain Fairtlough was then in Freetown). So he took it and read it, and said, 'It is false, you never were pushed out of court,' and that he had a mind to have me retried and punished for contempt of court. He said he would report my complaint, and they took me back to the gaol. About half an hour afterwards a police clerk came to ask if I wanted my statement taken down: I lost my temper and said it was he who had not sent for the witnesses, and that he should go and do his duty. I was in the gaol up to 27th October, when I was called by Captain Fairtlough and told I was to be released. He said that the Governor, if he wished, could forbid me to go into that district again to trade. On the way to Freetown I was left in the middle of the road with my boxes; but I managed to get some carriers, and came on down to Freetown. When we were at Masanta, there were some Frontier Police who went and took hold of a man and began to beat him, and I went and inquired. The man had been asked for rice, and had not refused, but had said 'Mami,' which in Susu means 'Wait on me,' but in Creole means 'Murder.' I called the senior corporal, and told him they had abused the man, and it was his place to inquire into it. So he

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inquired into the truth of the matter, and they were obliged to beg the man's pardon for what they had done. On Sunday morning there was another dispute, and they beat me. The wives of some of those people are traders, and the police compel the people to take their loads. I applied to the corporal, and said I would report the matter to head-quarters: and told him that I and Mr. Lemberg had had a large factory there for four years, and that it was this that was spoiling the country. Mr. RING.

8th November 1898.

THE BISHOP OF SIERRA LEONE.

THE BISHOP OF SIERRA LEONE.

8139. My name is John Taylor Smith. I have been connected with this country since early in March 1891.

8140. In what capacity did you come out at first?—Sub-Dean of St. George's Cathedral and Canon Missioner.

8141. I understand there are Church missions here, and a number of others?—The Roman Catholics have been here about thirty years: the Wesleyans about as long as the Church Missionary Society. There is the United Methodist Free Connection with its station at Tikonko: Mr. Proudfoot is the Superintendent of the mission. Mr. Goodman also belongs to it. There is the Soudan, a modern mission under Mr. Kingman, which has practically no work near the coast: they stretch to Tibabadugu near Falaba; they have planted rubber, I hear, and will soon be self-supporting. It belongs to the American Board of Missions, and their rules are simple, and they belong to various denominations. There are the United Brethren at Rotofunk. At Shengay there was a mission planted by a Mr. Gomar which has also a branch at Bonthe; it was one of the American missions, I think Baptist. The Rotofunk mission was one of the best equipped missions in the whole country. The Church Missionary Society has been in existence here since 1807. With reference to Rotofunk, I visited it in 1895, and found brickfields; schoolrooms with the most modern appliances, such as instruments for teaching the relative positions of the heavenly bodies; most modern American desks; walls lined with blackboards; a skeleton to teach anatomy; premises well laid out with fruit trees; store houses for rice—built on pillars away from the ground; walks well kept and the whole premises in a state of perfect order.

At Tikonko the mission was in its infancy comparatively; they had erected a house which had been sent out from England, made of white pine and composition, covering a sort of wire canvas. I have heard that the Shengay mission was in good order, and the pupils were trained in the cultivation of the ground. I think they had coffee plantations there. Coming to the Church Missionary Society work, the first two missionaries were sent to the Susu tribes in 1804: it was not until 1816 that the work began here in the Colony of Sierra Leone. In 1822 nearly 2000 were attending the mission schools, and several thousands were attending divine worship.

8142. Then until the Church Missionary Society began was there no provision for divine worship at all?—None. The work continued to prosper with great loss of life owing to the climate, and their inability to deal with the fever. Fifty-three missionaries and their wives died between the beginning of the mission in 1804 and 1824. In 1851 the Bishopric was founded, and the first three Bishops died within nine years. In 1862 the progress had been so great that the Church of Sierra Leone became self-supporting, that is to say it was organised on an independent basis and undertook the support of its own parishes; they received a little support from home. In 1876 it began its own missionary society, and sent missions to Bullom, Kwaia, and Sherbro. Fourah Bay college was founded by the Church Missionary Society in 1827 with a view to the training of schoolmasters, catechists, and clergy. It has supplied not only Sierra Leone proper, but Yoruba country and the Niger with missionaries. Its scope was enlarged in 1876 by affiliation with Durham University, since which time thirty-five have taken the degree of

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THE BISHOP OF SIERRA LEONE.

B.A., thirteen being licentiates of theology, and six are licentiates without a degree. The college is still in charge of the Church Missionary Society, and also receives any who wish to take their degree apart from the Society's work, but they pay their own fees. The Grammar School having between 100 and 200 students is the leading boys' school on the coast. This was established in 1845. The Annie Walsh Memorial school with about 100 students is the high school for girls. The Church Missionary Society have missions in the Timini country with Port Lokko as headquarters. Portions of the Bible have been translated into Timini, and the Europeans are assisted by native agents. Mr. Alvarez, Church Missionary Society, has started a mission at Sinkunia; he is as far west of Falaba as the Americans are to the south. I have not been to Sinkunia, but have been within a few miles of Tibabadugu. These are the furthest mission stations from the coast. The native church missions extendas far as the Gallinas country, right along the Bum Kittum, north of the Cassi lake, to a place called Gobra I think. There are mission stations along the Bum Kittum, and the Jong river, that are entirely supported by the congregation at Bonthe. These originated from the request of the resident native traders. There are two Diocesan missions, the Industrial, and Medical. The Technical School here in Freetown was built in 1895. This is to train the boys in house-building, drawing, surveying, and practical work in the shops beneath.

8143. Is there any industrial education connected with the ordinary Church Missionary Society schools?—I think there was such as carpentering, printing, and gardening; but I think they thought afterwards their work ought to be limited to preaching and teaching.

8144. Those Americans missions include industrial training?—Yes; they are so modern that they avoid the old mistakes.

8145. How as to the Wesleyan?—They have no industrial work here, but further down the coast also the Basle mission at Accra go in for teaching, cooperage, smiths' work, etc. There is a Diocesan medical mission, the Princess Christian Cottage Hospital where the native ladies are trained to nurse, there is an open dispensary with a staff of English ladies. There are twelve free beds in the public ward, and a small private ward with two beds for paying patients. It is supported by voluntary contributions; we have 70 to 100 out patients three days a week, and the beds are never empty. Three European ladies, one of whom is honorary, have the training of the native nurses. That is a rough sketch from memory of the different missions. With regard to all these missions, now all the missionaries are withdrawn to Freetown, except those at Bonthe, Sinkunia, Falaba, and Tibabadugu. The troops are in possession of the houses at Port Lokko.

8146. Can you tell me what missionaries there were in the Timini country?—At Makomp a few miles from Port Lokko, Mr. Lewis with native agents; three missionaries at Rogberi, that has recently been occupied. We had native agents also at Magbankitta, Makori, Mapoli, Kagbantama, Rogbani, Rokatelon, and Funknin. At Port Lokko there were three Europeans, viz., a clergyman, his wife, and lady nurse. Mr. Humphrey began a forward movement two or three years ago: the Church Missionary Society provided the money. Mr. Elba is one of the native Church Missionary Society agents, and he with others took charge of a number of native laymen and they went out in different directions in twos and threes. In the beginning of this year we had a conference at Port Lokko and I met all the agents of the Timini country. It was then Bai Bureh came up for discussion. We had asked his permission to sit down in his town and he refused. Mr. Humphrey went once to ask him, Mr. Lewis went once and Mr. Elba went once. The first time he said he would not have us, he did not want any Europeans, afterwards he promised to give us a small village but not his own. Then he refused altogether. At this meeting we considered whether as Christians we should go there, as the door was shut. Some thought that as the Chief refused it was going against Providence: others thought that we should ask permission of the Governor or of the District Commissioner at

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Karene whose decision would of course overrule that of the Chief. The question was whether we had a right to sit down without the permission of the Chief or in other words force ourselves on them. For my own part I consider we had a perfect right.

8147. Did the missionaries visit him personally?—Yes; Mr. Humphreys went, and also Mr. Elba and Mr. Lewis.

8148. Did Bai Bureh assign any reason for his refusal except that he did not want to have missionaries?—None: he even allowed Mr. Humphrey to take a photograph of him. He was at a little place away from the main road. We had three missionaries at Robari at the time of the rebellion, Castle, Caldwell, and Helmsley.

8149. Can you form any estimate of the efficiency of the work done by those missionaries amongst the people with whom they came in contact?—It is difficult to estimate the result of mission work in Sierra Leone owing to the constant exodus. Too often the cream of the scholars have been carried away down the coast, to the Niger and Yoruba stations and in Government employment. We have had all the difficulty of training these men and the Government or some wealthy merchant offers them an inducement and off they go. These and other difficulties we have had to contend with. Missionaries are not usually backed up by other Europeans, sometimes there is opposition, but usually the hindrance of indifference. In the early days the natives would say, 'White men are Christians,' and if a man was a drunkard or living a loose life they naturally associated it with Christianity. The greatest difficulty is the lack of continuity. A missionary has died and it may have been years before the post has been taken up again. It is a history of beginnings. Each man has his own views. I should say the greatest hindrance was the lack of continuity and the fewness of the agents: and I think the wonder is that the results are so good. It is most difficult to gauge results. Some may only acquire reading and writing without any moral change. Take for instance the way they support their churches and missions: this Church is entirely self-supporting. The very poorest have been taught from the beginning to give their three halfpennies a week. When the Church Missionary Society withdrew their white agents in 1862 they withdrew them too soon: there was a craving for independence here. They admit themselves when talking privately that the white agents were withdrawn too soon. At the time I was consecrated they never even asked for a native bishop. The climate, the fewness of missionaries and the interregnums were all against the work. Another great mistake is that we have not gone further afield. It was only in 1893-94 that we knew anything about the interior: when the present Governor made his tours. On one of his tours, the second, through the Mendi country right to the Liberian frontier, we passed places where they had never seen a white man. We went through Waima, and the Konnoh country, which was devastated by the Sofas: for six days we went through a country where we hardly saw a human being, all the towns were burnt. Then we came to within a day and a half of Falaba, and down by Bumban, Suluku's country. Suluku himself is a very great Chief. He is much superior to any of these other Chiefs. He is a Timini, and an old man now, quite different to the Chiefs south and west of him. Then we came back through the Karene country. Some of the towns in the Mendi country had ring fences of living trees, the trees are quite close together with creepers interlaced and a small door generally of cotton wood: there are sometimes as many as nine rings. The houses in the town itself are very close together, so that it is not easy to find one's way out. They were built in that way owing to their liability to be attacked. The towns themselves were close together. At Panguma I believe there are thirteen towns. These fences have been destroyed now by the order of the Government. There was a great contrast between the Timini and Mendi countries. The northern tribes are much more developed: this is probably due to the influence of Mohammedans travelling about there: the houses are larger and cleaner.

8150. Did you find that there was any dawning of a feeling among the natives themselves that these intertribal wars were bad for the country?—The Mendi man had never

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seen any civilisation. I showed them a magic lantern and some of them ran away: they regarded the white sheet itself as a very strong fetish. That was about 200 miles inland They knew nothing of the power of the English: they sometimes had a smattering through the police. That would not apply to the Timini country. Freetown itself was originally a Timini town. In regard to the fenced towns of the Mendi country, they had no idea of the British until the Governor's tours, in fact if you had asked them they could not have told you whom they were under.

8151. Have they not a strong feeling of allegiance to their own Chiefs?—Yes: particularly if he is a warrior, but even if he is not. These Chiefs are surrounded with what they call 'yelé' men who cry their praises, often in an extravagant manner. The common people, even if the Chief was a weak man, would not know it; as the 'yelé' men praise him and they look upon him as something very superior to themselves.

8152. Then in point of fact they have a great amount of respect for the Chiefs?—Very great.

8153. And anything that touches the Chief touches them?—Yes, certainly.

8154. Do they give them a practical obedience as a rule?—They dare not do otherwise: it is a matter of fear. If they did not, the Chief would take steps to suppress them.

8155. You went through that region where the rising assumed its worst features?—Yes: through the Mendi country north of Imperri.

8156. What was the state of intelligence that you found among the Mendis at that time?—He is distinctly not a man of intelligence, but is strong physically.

8157. As to the yelé men. After the trouble broke out in the Timini country you may have seen in the local papers 'Our Mahdi' and 'the Cardew war.' I mention this to illustrate to you the influence of the town-talk against the Governor; how it would be interpreted in the country. The strongly disrespectful and even disloyal remarks made in the streets in Freetown would strengthen considerably the hand of Bai Bureh, in exactly the same way as if the yelé men spoke against the Chief instead of for him.

8158. Would that talk be repeated in Bai Bureh's country?—Certainly: almost within twenty-four hours. I have known news come from Port Lokko which only reached me a day or two afterwards by letter. In my own mind I am convinced that the disrespectful language in the streets here had a great influence.

8159. Suppose there was an important matter that affected the Timini tribes, would that be communicated to the Mendis?—Yes: they would hear of it and talk it out in their palavers, but I do not think it would influence them.

8160. I have sometimes asked Chiefs about some event, and they have said 'it happened far away,' and they had not heard of it?—If the Mendis saw there was something that touched them as no doubt the hut tax did, I think it would influence them. I think the rising was more the instinct of looting among the Mendis: it was just the present moment. It was a common saying, 'Mendi man no good.' That never was with the Timinis. The Mendi man has felt the down-treading and availed himself of the opportunity as against the Sierra Leoneans.

8161. Then do you think that these Mendi atrocities took the spirit of what had come out before in intertribal war and plundering?—Most distinctly. There was one insurrection and one rebellion, but there are certain causes that are common to both Timini and Mendi. By that I do not mean any characteristics of the natives, but I mean the hut tax. The Timini man is not changeable: the Mendi man is always changing.

I proposed to the Church Missionary Society some time ago, when missioner, that I should leave the coast and go up and become a missionary among the Mendis. I was convinced that the Mendis had the power to destroy which might be made the power to construct. It has never been brought under control. There are even qualities which they possess which you do not find among the Timinis.

I have two Mendi clergymen, Canon Moore, Principal of the Grammar School, and Mr. Bowen, who is a man who reads largely. These are two instances of men who

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have been brought under training and have a more vigorous nature than many others. I have heard it said that the Mendis are not wanting in natural intelligence, and yet some of them who live near the Colony must have known that this rising could only end in one way. For instance the Timini would make a stone stockade; the Mendis actually made one of corrugated iron and biscuit tins, which seems to be rather against the idea of their intelligence.

8162. The Mohammedan element is not large in the Mendi country?—No: there are more amongst the Timinis. Coming through the Timini country they have more or less influenced them in the building of their houses. They used to build walled towns too. There has been a remarkable influx of Mohammedans since I have been here. They are great traders and being more intelligent influence the country people.

8163. Are they proselytisers?—Very little. There are very few Mohammedans who can read Arabic. I should say that the Mohammedans here are a very inferior sort: they are not strict. There are very few of the best sort.

8164. Do you think the Mohammedans are not making much progress?—I think they are increasing in numbers, and are acquiring property and influence. They have built a new Mosque recently.

8165. Have you any idea as to what is the secret of their increase, and influence?—I do not think they make converts. The attraction which such a town as Freetown affords them in regard to trade and protection, so much as that they are exercising a great influence especially on countries that have not been evangelised, and the people of those countries naturally take to it.

8166. Do they follow the Mohammedan rules of abstaining from strong drink, and for prayer and cleanliness?—I should say not as regards prayer and cleanliness. I do not think their influence on the liquor traffic is at all perceptible.

8167. Do you think it is any less among them?—I am not in a position to say, but I should think that it must be so. I should say the majority of them do not drink.

8168. It is said that they treat their wives better than pagans?—I cannot say. I do not think so. They count them as cattle, and thrash them if they want to. I have not seen any difference in regard to the treatment of women in any part of the Hinterland.

8169. Do the Mendis make the same kind of houses as the Timinis?—They are of the same materials, mud and sticks; but I should say the Timini house was vastly superior. The Timini makes a wider house. The Timini is more civilised, and careful than the Mendi.

1870. What proportion of the people of the Colony proper are Christians as compared with pagans or Mohammedans?—I cannot tell you without reference. I should say that while Christianity has made some progress, it has not been so perceptible of late owing to the great influx of Mohammedans.

On the Governor's tours lately he had about 600 carriers, and a bodyguard of 40 police. The carriers were well looked after, and made to behave properly to the natives: this had a wonderful effect in bringing trade. Some of the carriers on their return received wages amounting to several pounds, and with this money they bought goods, and having become acquainted with the country went up to the same places where they had been and sold these goods and were well received. Another thing is that slaves came down here afterwards, and the population was increased in that way. They naturally come down here and some go down the coast. This naturally incensed the Chiefs because these slaves tilled the ground and so on. Now the Chiefs are the poorer and the individuals the richer.

8171. When a slave comes down to Freetown would it mean a total severance between himself and his master?—As a rule. If he had made some money and went back the Chief would probably pounce on him. Again and again the Governor freed slaves.

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8172. There have been slaves who left their masters and got work in the Congo, have these men gone back to their former Chiefs?—Not with the same feeling of allegiance they might go back to trade. That has something to do with the increase in Freetown of Mohammedans. A Mohammedan might go to a town and ask to sit down there with the Chief, who would provide him with wives, and be glad to be honoured by such a resident. The Mohammedan in return would sell him, and his people charms, etc., thus a pagan would become a Mohammedan more easily than he would become a Christian. The difference between the two is smaller.

8173. Does a missionary when he makes a convert insist on his putting away his wives?—Yes: he is not baptised until he has only one wife.

8174. Is there any disposition on the part of the Chiefs to educate their children?—Yes and No. In some cases they have been very glad to let their children learn English so as to have a representative near themselves: on the other hand there is a feeling that the child would know more than his father, and probably prefer living in Freetown.

8175. I have heard that there were instances of Chiefs' sons who had been educated in Freetown, and who had not turned out well?—I believe one of the ringleaders in the rebellion was educated at the Shengay mission, so it is said. But as I have said education may give them knowledge to use ill. I think on that account the industrial training is the right one, as it teaches truth by the eye and the hand.

8176. Have your missionaries made much progress in christianising the Chiefs as apart from the people?—I cannot think of any Chiefs at this present time who are under Christian influence more than in hearing the preaching. They are generally pagan. There was an old Chief at Mafwe in 1892 whom I baptised. He came to me and said his son had been trained by missionaries down the river, and when he came back he was so changed for the better that he asked him the reason of it. With the result that I found the father converted through the influence of his son's teaching and example, and had given up his heathen ways and customs. We have not done more than scratch the coast of Africa with the missions. As regards Sierra Leone it would apply not only to the church, but to the state and to commerce.

8177. Was the Human Leopard Society connected with cannibalism?—Yes: they eat certain parts of the body. There is an interesting story of how this society was introduced. I was told that there were three countries, A, B, and C. A wanted to make war on B and came to C and said, 'Let us pass through your country and we will not harm you.' B meeting with reverse, A did not carry out their promise but fell upon C, and C in revenge introduced the practice of substituting human fat for animal's fat, and said that by so doing A would gradually destroy themselves. Some years ago they tried to do away with it amongst themselves, and sent for a Tongo man to point out the members. He came and pointed out some of the richest men, and his followers took their property. They clubbed them and burnt the bodies. I myself saw the charred remains in 1894. If a Tongo man is sent for to come down he will come, but before he comes he will have sent down his spies to get him information. Sometimes he will not come till a year after he was sent for. He is supposed to have supernatural powers. Leopardism has been going on till quite recently.

8178. My attention has been called to a letter of yours in the *Messenger*?—That letter was written to Mr. Morton Smith the Secretary of the Diocesan Fund, and was sent to him as a private letter in reply to one asking me to jot down what I thought were the causes of the rising, and he very unadvisedly published it. I never meant it to be published, as you could see from the somewhat disjointed form.

8179. There is one paragraph in which you say many of the Sierra Leonians affirm it is an act of retaliation on the part of the country people who have not been fairly treated by themselves in the past?—That is an assertion which the Sierra Leonians made again and again. The common expression was 'We did 'em bad, God go punish we.' It was at the time of their hearing the reports of their relations being killed. This is not

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so strong as the remarks of Mr. Maude (Superintendent of Wesleyan Mission) made at the time.[1] It is my firm conviction that these people felt they had done the natives injustice, not only in their trade intercourse, but in little things. They might employ labourers, for instance, and then not pay them in full. It would be difficult to put each little thing down. For instance, one of my own native clergymen to the Mendis said to the Sierra Leone people of his Mission District, 'If you do not alter your lives God will punish you.' This was a year before the rising, and he reminded them of it at Bonthe afterwards. In a sentence it was taking advantage of the ignorance of the natives. It did not cause the rebellion entirely, but I believe it was the cause of the rough handling of the Sierra Leonians. There is a common street expression 'Mendi man no good.'

8180. The most general explanation that I have had of the turning the edge of the knife against the Sierra Leonians was that they were looked upon as being connected with the Government in bringing the tax upon them?—I think that is what they, the natives, thought of the white missionaries. There may be some truth in it, but I certainly think it was more a case of retaliation and fear of identification. There was probably also a good deal of blind fury.

8181. Then there is a paragraph, 'If the Hinterland Chiefs who came to Freetown . . . had not remained four or five months . . . I doubt very much whether we should have had the awful massacres of a fortnight ago?—I understand that the Chiefs came down to Freetown and sat down waiting for the Governor to talk about the hut-tax. They were sitting down here and drinking in the talk of the Sierra Leonians against the hut-tax, which was simply rabid. They would naturally infer 'why should we pay five shillings a house when we have only just been taken over while the people here do not pay.

8182. Why were the Sierra Leonians so much against the tax?—The gross injustice of the tax before Pope Henessy's time. The way it was collected was exceedingly oppresive. When Pope Henessy came, instead of modifying it, he swept the tax away altogether. I think that was a great mistake. I am convinced that if the Chiefs sat down here all that time they thought they had the sympathy of the whole of Freetown. None were more surprised at the rising than the Freetown people themselves, because they had always looked down on the Mendi man, and thought him incapable of self-assertion. In the last paragraph, the local Chamber of Commerce took it into their head that I was speaking of them. I was referring to the Liverpool and Manchester Chambers.

8183. But then their own interest goes with the welfare of the country?—But if they do not think the hut-tax is for the good of the country.

About the sale of gunpowder I corrected this; instead of 'Ordinance against the sale of gunpowder at this time,' I asked the editor to read 'a proclamation prohibiting the importation of gunpowder into the Protectorate.' At this time when the letter was written, there was a case of some natives going up into the interior. It was common talk at the time. In one case it was said they had gunpowder in a rice sack.

The local Chamber of Commerce at a meeting decided to write to me and ask me for an explanation. I did not reply to them beyond acknowledging their letter. I heard before they wrote the letter that they were only asking the questions in order that they

[1] Extract from *Sierra Leone Weekly News, May 8th* 1898. Sermon by Rev. W. H. Maude (Superintendent of Wesleyan Mission), College Chapel, May 8th. . . . 'Now it is well for us to have clear views as to the origin of the rising in the Protectorate. I think there are many contributing causes. I believe that "the hut tax" has something to do with it, but it is not the sole cause. I think that the conduct of Sierra Leonians is largely the cause. The treatment they give to the country-people when they come to us—taking from them their money and cheating them, and afterwards run them in for causing a disturbance, simply because they could not speak the language that we speak—is reported to their brethren on their return. They have no written records, no books to read from, but when they sit around the hearth they do communicate their experiences in Freetown to one another, and thus the seed of disaffection is sown.' Mr. Maude then recounted his experience a few years ago when he took a Missionary journey into the interior, and the effect of his boatman's conversation on him. Though ignorant of the language, he said, I could guess from their gestures and the way they mimicked the Sierra Leone manners what their opinion of them was.

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might make use of my answers and write a pamphlet and send it down the coast. The questions were not asked in good faith.

The Kissy Road traders followed in the steps of the Chamber of Commerce, who, as it appeared afterwards in their discussion, reported in the local paper that they had twisted my words. They went on to refer to certain utterances of mine in 1892, in which I had spoken as they said against commercial men here. As a matter of fact two anonymous letters appeared afterwards, then (as now) twisting the words of my speech. It will be evident to you that I was speaking of principles and not of individuals. I afterwards traced the writers of three of these anonymous letters; one was a Jew, another was a Greek, and another a European clerk.

8184. So that what appears in the papers may not repressnt the native feeling?—Yes and no. I never send a local newspaper home if I want to give the real state of the news. The people here are not as a rule a reading people. Take one of those anonymous letters; here is a European clerk who writes a letter which appears to have come from a native.

8185. Do you think that the black man is radically hostile to the white man?—Most decidedly there is race feeling. I asked the most spiritually minded black man that I know about the matter and he affirmed that such a feeling of antipathy certainly did exist on the part of the black man for the white man. He said he thought it must date back to the old slave days. Speaking generally, the white man too has a feeling against the black man. There is a strong appreciation of the superiority of the white man on the part of the black man.

8186. Has the disestablishment made much difference to the Church?—It is really disendowment. It is a blessing in disguise. Now the people feel that the Cathedral is theirs and they have to support it. This they do most liberally.

14th November 1898.

MR. FITZJOHN.

MR. FITZJOHN, Editor of the *Sierra Leone Times.*

8187. My name is James Augustus Fitzjohn. I am editor of the *Sierra Leone Times.* I was born here, and educated partly here and partly in England.

8188. How long has the *Sierra Leone Times* been in existence?—It is in its ninth year. I have been editor for the past three or four years. I have been connected with it all the time.

8189. What is the average circulation?—About five hundred copies weekly.

8190. Where does your paper mostly circulate?—In Freetown itself, Lagos, Gambia, and the Gold coast, and a few copies in England and Sherbro.

8191. Does it circulate in the Hinterland?—We have no subscribers there.

8192. Can you give me any information about the land tax in Kwaia, which was abolished in 1872?—The house and road tax. I remember it was a tax by which those who could not pay had to give labour in the public streets so many days in the year. It was in force in Freetown.

8193. And in the rest of the Colony?—Not to my knowledge.

8194. On what principles do you conduct the *Sierra Leone Times*?—I can best answer by the motto of the paper 'to consult the welfare of the people in the first great law.'

8195. Is this paper directed in any way from home?—I am the sole responsible conductor.

8196. But the directors have some knowledge or voice in what is going on?—They gave me to understand I was to have a free hand. I assume the responsibility in every respect.

8197. Can you give me a more particular answer as to its principles?—The paper was established at the time the Municipal Council was first thought of. It was decided that one paper could not represent the views of the public. It was established to balance the other paper, and to educate the taste of the people for public matters.

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8198. By the other paper you mean the *Weekly News*?—Yes.

8199. One great function of a newspaper is to furnish information?—Yes; such information as is imparted to it.

8200. On what principle have you been guided in furnishing information?—From reports which, after inquiry, I believed to be authenticated, and also from correspondence which might be sent in, which I had reason to believe to be authentic.

8201. Then the other great function is giving comments: in what principles have you been guided in that?—Upon reports which I believed to be authentic and repeated in a manner which could not be gainsaid.

8202. Coming to the Protectorate Ordinance and questions connected with that, you have published news respecting it and also some commentaries?—Yes.

8203. Your publication of news on it was on the same principle as you have already explained?—Yes; and from reports.

8204. But reports may be very vague?—I believed the reports to be authentic.

8205. Did you investigate these reports?—Short of going into the Protectorate I did all I could.

8206. And such comments as you have made have been framed upon what principle?—Generally upon reports which I believed to be authentic.

8207. I draw your attention to a paragraph headed 'The Protectorate Ordinance' in the fourth column of the third page of your issue of 14th August 1897; what is the substance of the matter which is there referred to?—It was based upon a petition from Sherbro, a copy of which I believe I saw, and the reply to which I saw afterwards.

8208. Then did that article correctly set out the substance of the petition which you saw?—So far as I can recollect; I believe a verbal explanation was given to me about Gbanna's opinion about the Porro. This embodied some of the complaints made.

8209. Then I understand that article was derived from the petition and some verbal communications?—Yes.

8210. One of the things that the petitioners asked the Government was to raise the price of produce?—I am not certain whether that came from the petition or not.

8211. But that, of course, the Government could not do: the price would be regulated by the state of the market?—Yes.

8212. Then there is a certain amount of comment on the position taken up by the Sherbro Chiefs?—Yes.

8213. What was meant to be the force of these comments?—The situation was that some time previously had been published the reply given by the Secretary of State to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, in which it was said that the people of the Hinterland were quite delighted with the Ordinance, and which went on to say that a certain amount of debts had been collected.

8214. Did not that come afterwards?—No; it was believed that it was only Gbanna Lewis and one or two others who were putting Porro and preventing trade, and it was rumoured that Colonel Caulfield had gone down to see about it; but that when he landed, instead of finding opposition he was met by a petition from about two hundred Chiefs. I may point out that this column is meant as a humorous review of the situation. The people of the Hinterland are not in it.

8215. It was meant for Sierra Leone people?—Perhaps one-seventh of them read it.

8216. That clause about trading *nolens volens*?—It was said that the Governor was going down because Gbanna Lewis refused to trade. It was thought that the Governor could not compel a man to trade, and as events turned out it was not so.

8217. I suppose it is part of the duty of a journalist to make himself acquainted with the public opinion of the place where he is situated?—Yes.

8218. I have heard it said that there is no public opinion here?—To a certain extent; but some have learned to discriminate.

8219. Then in the issue of 28th August 1897 there is a leading article—'The Protectorate

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Mr. FITZJOHN. Ordinance'; what did that have reference to?—To the situation at the time when the Ordinance was before the Council, and when the Ordinance of 1896 was being repealed; and it was meant to explain the silence we preserved on such an important matter.

8220. What was the reason of the silence?—Because subsequent to that I found it was really no use making representations of what we believed to be the views of the public, and that no attention was paid to them. You will observe that after this article there came a break. The reason for the silence was that for myself personally I thought it might be better to give the Ordinance a fair trial. I seized the opportunity when the Governor arrived of calling upon him about another matter. He himself introduced the subject of the Protectorate Ordinance, and I gave him to understand that if the actions of the District Commissioners and Frontier Police could be more closely watched, and mild measures adopted as to the amounts to be collected, it would be a good thing; and I formed the impression—in fact, His Excellency told me that he had important modifications to the bill in hand which he believed would meet these objections. He said he would watch the actions of the District Commissioners. So that when he gave me this assurance, I thought it was best not to say anything more about the Ordinance.

8221. In the issue of 16th October there is a letter about the division of the Sulima district?—Yes; that was from some one in Sulima; I knew the correspondent.

8222. In the last column of the third page of the issue of 22nd January 1898, there is a paragraph about Chief Bia Kompah of Kwaia?—I saw that petition, and some days after I was told that the paper had received a reply from the Governor, but I did not see the reply.

8223. Was it from the petitioner that the statements there made were drawn?—Yes, the substance of them; in fact before this petition was sent, I saw some of the parties connected—not Bai Kompah himself—and I suggested that they should get into communication with the Governor.

8224. At the time of writing, you intimated the doubt whether the statements are true?—Yes; I thought it was better to do so. Not having been in the Protectorate, I could not speak with any degree of certainty.

8225. Then suppose these had been untrue statements, what would have been the result of publishing them; people would have been misled?—I thought it would lead to inquiry.

8226. If it had been brought to your notice that the statements were untrue, would you have given a wide contradiction?—Yes; as wide as we could.

8227. Then in your issue, 12th February 1898, in which there is a news item: 'Great excitement in Port Lokko'?—It exactly expressed the situation at the time. There was a great excitement in the town at the time; I can speak to it from personal observation.

8228. It refers to the arrest of the Chiefs which had taken place at Port Lokko?—Yes; they had been brought to Freetown. There resulted a great excitement in Freetown about it.

8229. There is also a leading article on the same subject: could you say in a general way what is the object aimed at?—The object was, that although the reports which were being circulated might be to some extent exaggerated, still there is no doubt there was some truth in it; and although we cannot ask Government to withdraw the Ordinance because the people say they are not able to pay, we thought an inquiry might be made as to the reduction of the tax.

8230. The leading idea was to suggest a reduction of the amount?—Yes; that there should be an inquiry; that possibly the Government might find some way of meeting the people half way.

8231. Then in the second column of the issue of 19th February 1898, 'It is just as well we have made up our minds to discount 99%, etc.,' what would you say was the drift of those paragraphs?—One must have been in the town at the time; at one time we imagined we should see a fleet of canoes coming from Port Lokko. I have never heard such alarm-

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ing rumours as there were then. As regards the tax, it is only for the principle of the thing; the Freetown people had no sympathy with the Timinis. Mr. FITZJOHN.

8232. Those Sierra Leone traders at Port Lokko?—That was the principal thing that brought the excitement. They came here and complained of what had happened to them.

8233. Then I understand you to say that those paragraphs were written with a view to moderate the excitement?—Not only that, but to point out that there was actually a state of disquiet.

8234. In the issue of 26th February 1898 there is a news article, headed 'Troubles at Port Lokko'; there is a statement that a great deal of disaffection exists among the Frontier Police; on what information is that statement founded?—When these reports and rumours get circulated persistently, I generally give them publication. That was the report at the time.

8235. Did the rumours and reports come from separate people and places?—Yes; at any time after, if I believe the statements to be incorrect, I generally give them a denial.

8236. On 5th March 1898 there was an article headed 'Troubles in the air'; what does that refer to?—To the great scarcity of food in the town, and the anxiety as to affairs in Port Lokko.

8237. And in this part on page 2?—The poor people were saying that if the big men felt a hardship, they went up to Government House to represent their views to the Governor; as the poorer class did not do that, they did it in the street.

8238. Then about a prayer-meeting in the third column?—That actually took place.

8239. Then as to 'The rumoured recall of the Governor'?—There was a rumour that he was to be appointed to the Gold Coast.

8240. But that would not exactly be a recall?—The rumour was that he had been recalled by telegram with a view to going on to the Gold Coast.

8241. Then in 12th March 1898 there is a paragraph headed 'Waterloo district' about the Frontier Police; what was the source?—So far as the complaints against the conduct of the Frontier Police, it has been so extensive that I could not point out one particular circumstance. It has been published over and over again and not denied.

8242. Do you remember when the Frontier Police were first instituted?—I think the force was enlarged in 1896.

8243. Did there come to you, as a recipient of news, a great many complaints?—Since 1894 the complaints have been almost weekly; both the people themselves and eye witnesses.

8244. When complaints of ill-treatment were made, did it appear that the complaints had been investigated?—I used to ask them if they had complained to the District Commissioner. In most cases it appeared to me as if many of the complaints had not been brought to the notice of the District Commissioner. Those who have suffered have not known how to approach the District Commissioner. Many cases I had reason to doubt whether they did occur. I have been brought to believe what I believe must be in the interior from what I have seen in the town here: beating people and taking away their things and not paying for them.

8245. In the same issue, under 'Freetown day by day,' at the bottom of the second column; can you explain the drift?—The revenue was not as elastic as we could wish. There appeared to be expenditure without corresponding receipts, and we hoped the Protectorate Ordinance would fill it up. The poetry was a humorous way of illustrating it.

8246. Then this paragraph, 'Let us hope that next year, etc. . . .' what does that aim at?—It was said that the original estimate was £20,000, and although it had not been put in operation yet, it was with reference to proposed expenditure on a pier-head and one or two other matters.

8247. In the same paper, on the third page in column four, there is an article, 'Evil grows apace,' and reference is made to the burning down of a town in Kwaia, and also to the

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Mr. FITZJOHN.

death of a man who was said to have been shot by a policeman; on what information is that?—I got information from Mr. Crowther himself, who told me he brought the wounded man down in a boat. The other information I got from other sources which I considered reliable.

8248. But then the being brought in Mr. Crowther's boat would not have showed how the affair occurred?—I got a report from another source as well.

8249. The article goes on, 'The incident has caused a profound, etc., . . .' was there a rumour that Waterloo was going to be attacked?—Yes; choir-boys rushed away from the church in their surplices to town.

8250. Was it understood or supposed that Kwaia was in a state of rebellion?—It was believed that Bai Kompah went away dissatisfied, and was determined to take his revenge.

8251. Can you say what that belief was founded on?—People come from Waterloo on Mondays and Fridays and bring reports. I believe Bai Kompah must have made use of threats. When the people heard the firing in the Port Lokko district they thought it was war coming, and then the scare came.

8252. In 2nd April 1898, there is a letter in which a correspondent speaks of the burning of towns in the Senahu district, and three men being shot, and a dumb man being burned?—That is a letter as I received it from a correspondent.

8253. Did you investigate the matter in any way?—I considered the person reliable. All correspondence must be sent with a covering letter, or must be handed in by a reliable person. I have no independent knowledge of the facts of this case.

8254. Then there is an 'Ode to Bai Bureh.' It is published in two papers?—It was sent in in two parts. I read it at the time, and I really construed it as a roundabout way of telling Bai Bureh to cave in. That was the construction that I put on it. I thought it would amuse one or two people in town. As far as Bai Bureh was concerned it might have been in Hebrew. It was a witty conceit of a young man who had just left school.

8255. Are you aware if Bai Bureh reads English productions of any kind?—I could not say. Our paper does not circulate in the Hinterland.

8256. Then there is a conversation on page three, third column, in pigeon English?—I overheard that myself with my own ears.

8257. Did you ask the people who were speaking any questions?—No.

8258. Then was it not a little rash to publish a statement of that kind?—I believed I understood what the people meant; that some of the people in the town regretted Mr. Humphrey's death. One woman said Mr. Humphrey should not have gone up, and the other said he went for his work's sake. I intended to convey nothing else.

8259. Then in issue of 9th April 1898, 'one thing and another,' what is meant there?—What was really reported at the time.

8260. Was it a report by anybody of any credit?—The report went right through the town. It was a general report even amongst Europeans, which of course I did not believe.

8261. Then, not believing it, was it a suitable report to publish?—In the newspaper, reports circulated among the lower classes are ignored, but you are bound to take notice of a general rumour.

8262. Then is it not a principle that the more injurious a report is, the greater caution you would exercise in giving publicity to it?—I would not have made it a definite news item. It was the rumour of the week. I should like to say, reports or news of that nature I would not pay any attention to: but that was the report at the time.

8263. Then there is an article, 'A voice from the west'; what do you say about that?—At the time when this correspondence was sent in I read this article, and did not lay any great stress on it, because I believed that what was intended was to give expression to a rumour that His Excellency had gone to Port Lokko, and had not landed. I put it down to the vapourings of a young man who had just left school.

8264. But you do not warn your readers?—The thing almost speaks for itself. Had I thought there was likely to be any ulterior motive I would have rejected it.

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8265. Is it not rather an encouragement, to any one taking it seriously, to continue the war?—I did not attach any importance to it. Mr. FITZJOHN.

8266. You knew the writer?—Yes. I know him well. In issue of 23rd April, page two column two our policy is well shown.

8267. You admitted this youngster's production with no intention of adopting its sentiments?—I did not attach any importance to it.

8268. Did you see that if taken seriously it might have led some people astray?—I would not like to say that these publications are intended for the country people. They have not that confidence in Sierra Leonians.

8269. Then, if I understand you rightly, you do not consider 'A voice from the west,' as a serious production?—No; I read it and put it down as an attempt to show the situation. I did not take it seriously. I would not like to say I did not read it. Both this article and the poetry were published at a time when so much importance was not attached to the rumour.

8270. Why were you not attaching so much importance to it?—No fresh news was coming from the interior.

8271. There is a letter in the first column of 9th April 1898, about one Mormoh, said to have been shot by a policeman in Kwaia, had you information on these matters?—Yes; the correspondence was sent to the office by a man who represented himself to be one of the jury.

8272. But he does not say that these facts came out as evidence at the inquest?—I knew my correspondent.

8273. Were you aware from any separate information what was going on in Kwaia at that time—that there was a state of war or armed resistance?—We had no information of that kind.

8274. In 16th April 1898, what does the expression 'our Mahdi' mean?—I regarded it more as chaff than anything else. I wrote that myself.

8275. And this paragraph about the Frontier Police was founded on similar rumours to those you mentioned before?—Yes; we had no sympathy for Bai Bureh. We published some time ago a statement about burning rice fields in Port Lokko. The Governor told us that Colonel Woodgate had denied it, and we immediagely published a denial.

8276. You say in this article on Port Lokko affairs: 'It is well known that,' etc. (23rd April). Have you had information to that effect?—Yes. I know one was Bai Koomba. He was told he had no permission to leave his district, and was told to go and get leave.

8277. Have you heard of any other cases?—Berri and one or two others. It was only in the case of Bai Koomba that I got definite information.

8278. Then your statement goes a little beyond your information, does it not?—So far as my information goes, there have been more than two or three instances. Rumours have got about that several applications have been made.

8279. Then in the issue of 30th April, there is an article on the Port Lokko difficulty. In the third paragraph you make some rather strong statements about the conduct of the police and District Commissioners?—As we believed the affair was practically over, these articles were a summary of declarations and reports. It was the summary of general rumour since 1894.

8280. Has there ever been any contradiction of all these complaints?—Not one. Captain Carr informed me that in his district he asked every morning, and no complaints were made to him.

8281. Are you aware whether, before these troubles, Bai Bureh was considered a loyal Chief or otherwise?—He rendered some assistance to Government. I knew nothing about him till four or five weeks after the rising commenced.

8282. Do you know whether your newspaper is read in the Hinterland?—I should not like to say, No. We have no circulation in the Hinterland.

8283. Not even amongst the traders?—Not as a rule. Of course, traders going into the

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Mr. FITZJOHN. interior, might take a paper with them. We have about 250 subscribers in Freetown, and ten in Bonthe.

8284. Does the circulation you mentioned include every one ?—Yes.

8285. I would like a reference to the paragraph which contains an exposition of your policy ?—In the issue of 12th February 1898.

8286. It comes to this, that there have been various important objections to the Protectorate Ordinance, and if it was found on inquiry that they were well founded, they should be sustained ?—Yes; and in the meantime we would not hamper the Government by any ill-considered advice.

By MR. WILBRAHAM, Attorney-General (for Sir F. Cardew.)

8287. You have an agency at Bonthe ?—We had, about four years ago. Not last year.

8288. You say that petition was presented to Colonel Caulfeild at Sherbro ?—I do not know if he had a formal meeting. Anyhow, he went in the *Countess* to Sherbro.

8289. I was acting as Commissioner at Sherbro at that time, and if Colonel Caulfeild had gone there, I should have known it ?—He must have gone to Sherbro.

(Mr. Wilbraham stated that Colonel Caulfeild had gone to Liberia about that time.)

8290. Have you a notice in your paper disclaiming the opinions of correspondents ?—Yes.

By H.M. COMMISSIONER.

8291. *Answer*—The policy of the owners of the paper was to accentuate the gratitude they all felt to the Government. They would never dream of inciting the natives to any act of disloyalty. They may criticise the acts of the Government.

8292. Can you say whether there was a strong public opinion in Sierra Leone respecting the Protectorate Ordinance ?—I could say so.

8293. Was it favourable or adverse ?—I should say adverse as regards its provisions. The general opinion favoured an annexation more than a Protectorate.

8294. Could you say as to what particularly this opinion was adverse ?—Three things. The power given to the District Commissioners was the principal point. The amount of the tax. The system of locating the Frontiers.

Mr. MAY.

MR. MAY, Editor of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News.*

15*th November* 1898.

8295. My name is Cornelius May. I am editor of the *Sierra Leone Weekly News.* I have been editor since 1885. The paper commenced the year before.

8296. What is your average circulation ?—It is increasing, and is now about 1500 weekly. The paper chiefly circulates in Freetown and Sierra Leone generally, including Sherbro, the Gold Coast, Lagos, and the West and South-West Coast.

8297. Does it circulate in the Hinterland, in the Protectorate ?—I believe we have a few subscribers there.

8298. What do you consider to be your function as a journalist ?—To report news and to give information to the public as much as I can.

8299. And also I suppose to help to guide public opinion ?—Quite so.

8300. With regard to the reporting of news, what principles do you follow ?—We try as much as possible to test the accuracy of the reports, and if we consider them sufficiently accurate we publish them. Sometimes we publish rumours, if we hear them from more than one source.

8301. Then you publish it as a mere rumour ?—Yes.

8302. Then in making commentaries on events, what principles do you follow ?—We try to gauge public opinion as far as we can do so. We take any public measure if in print, and thoroughly master it ourselves, and then present our views on it.

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8303. Is your method to instruct or to write upon the level of public opinion?—We do both. Mr. May.

8304. Sometimes it is said that there is no public opinion in Sierra Leone?—I suppose those who say so speak as compared with civilised public opinion. I should not say it was accurate to say there was no public opinion.

8305. I suppose the Protectorate Ordinance has formed a subject of discussion in your newspaper?—Quite so.

8306. When did you begin to write upon that subject?—I think the Protectorate question was discussed sometimes when Sir Francis Fleming was here, but it was developed after the arrival of Sir Frederic Cardew.

8307. Then it has been a matter of discussion in your newspaper all that time?—Yes.

8308. Would you tell me in a general way what was the attitude that you took up towards the Protectorate scheme?—When the idea of a Protectorate was suggested we supported it, and approved of the scheme. But when the Ordinance was introduced there were clauses which were discussed by the Chamber of Commerce and several other associations, and we ascertained what their opinions were, and we expressed our opinions, as well as received communications on the subject. That was when it was under discussion.

8308*a*. Then when the Ordinance had passed and become an accepted fact what was your attitude?—We were powerless; we did nothing more.

8309. And as to the working of it?—Such points or objections as were brought prominently before us were discussed in the paper.

8310. I do not think you had much relating to the Ordinance during the early period of the year, January and February?—No; except perhaps publishing the reports of the Council.

8311. The scheme of taxing the Protectorate came into effect in January 1898?—Yes.

8312. What I understand is that there was nothing that attracted your notice as a journalist during the period previous to 1898?—There was a discussion in Council, and we dealt with it then. In the various stages of the Ordinance, as the various points were raised, if we thought them sufficiently prominent, we dealt with them.

8313. Then on what principle did you deal with those points?—It depended on the points and objections which were brought to us.

8314. Can you give me a general view of the principle upon which you discussed them?—I cannot very well remember now what we said. As I said before, we agreed with the view of the Protectorate and supported it. We criticised such portions of the Ordinance as we thought were objectionable or unworkable.

8315. Can you state what those portions were?—Not immediately.

8316. Then I understand it was on the principle of supporting the Ordinance so far as practicable, and expressing your criticisms on those points which you thought were not likely to work advantageously?—Quite so.

8317. The first notice that I have seen relating to the difficulties that occurred in carrying out the Ordinance was an article headed 'Hut Tax, Protectorate' in your issue of 19th Feb. 1898, which appears to have been written by an eye-witness?—That is a letter from a correspondent who was up there at the time, and happened to be on the spot.

8318. You make reference to the death of a chief under detention in the Bandajuma district, what circumstance was that?—We believed it to be accurate and published it. We have no actual knowledge of the facts.

8319. Then immediately following that letter is another referring to the proceedings at Port Lokko? What were the circumstances?—This letter was sent to us by a man who was on the spot, he came to us to complain of what had happened, and said he would support it by a letter. This is the letter.

8320. Did you know him?—I have an idea that I remember who the writer was.

8321. At the time did you know his position and standing?—If I am right, when I saw him at the time, I knew his position at Port Lokko.

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Mr. MAY.

8322. Was he a man who would make rash or ill-considered statements or not?—I considered that he was a man who was likely to be accurate.

8323. Have you any standing notice in your paper that limits your responsibility with regard to your correspondents' opinions?—It has not appeared lately from want of space It is always an understood thing in journalism.

8324. But as to the facts stated by correspondents?—We have their names sent to us.

8325. What is the object of having their names?—That in the event of their communication proving inaccurate we can apply to them for further information.

8326. Then you do not consider it is part of your duty as a journalist to sift the facts stated by your correspondents before publishing them?—Not necessarily so. So long as we feel sure that the person who sends the letter is trustworthy and reliable.

8327. In your issue of 12th March 1898, on page 5, column 1, there is an article headed 'Alarm of Invasion by the King of Kwaia'?—This was an article which I wrote from information I received of what transpired at Kwaia in the Waterloo district.

8328. There was a fear of an attack at Waterloo?—Yes.

8329. Was that not investigated and found to be without foundation?—I have never heard so.

8330. There is mentioned a case of a man who was shot at and wounded, did this man recover?—I understood he was brought to the colonial hospital and died.

8331. Then on 2nd April 1898, you have an article 'Crisis in Sierra Leone,' No. 1?—I remember this article very well.

8332. With what object was that article written?—Things had assumed such a position that the feeling was very strong in the country, and the article was written to bring to light what really had been taking place.

8333. Was it a sort of summary of what had occurred?—Yes.

8334. Gathered, I suppose, from what you had learned from a great many different sources?—I believe so. I did not write it myself.

8335. In your judgment would you say it was a correct summary of events at that time?—I believed it at that time to be correct.

8336. Then on the 9th April you had another article of the same title, No. 2, and also No. 3 on 16th April?—Both of these were from the same correspondent.

8337. Was he a person on whose accuracy and good faith you could rely?—Very much so.

8338. Look at this article No. 2, can you tell me why in the beginning of this article the Christian world is particularly appealed to?—No.

8339. Then you give the same general account of these three articles?—Yes.

8340. You considered them to represent what?—What actually happened and the feeling at the time.

8341. Did you consider that these articles, or any of them, tended to induce people to break or disobey the law?—Not in the least.

8342. Then in an article headed 'Our interior trouble,' on page 4 of 16th April, reference is again made to the man who was shot at Madonkia, is that the same case that was previously referred to?—Yes.

8343. At the time this article was written you verified the alleged shooting of the man by the Frontier Police?—It was well known in Freetown. I did not take any special measures to verify it. It was generally believed.

8344. Then on 23rd April there is another article of the same title, No. 4?—I say the same of this as I said of the three previous ones.

8345. That is, that it was a comment on the facts as you believed them to exist?—Yes.

8346. Then on 7th May 1898 you give an account of the outbreak in Sherbro?—Yes.

8347. What do you say about that article?—It was written by ourselves reporting the

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actual facts which we received when it occurred. We ascertained the accuracy of the facts and wrote the article. Mr. MAY.

8348. On the 21st May there was an article headed 'Origin of the Sherbro massacre,' from our special correspondent?—This was sent us by a special correspondent.

8349. Was that correspondent one that you knew?—Yes.

8350. In what estimation did you hold him?—As a very reliable man, who would not put down anything without finding out if it were true.

8351. Then on 4th June there is a letter from Bishop Ingham, and also one from Rev. J. T. F. Halligay?—These letters are reproductions.

8352. Bishop Ingham was Bishop of the diocese?—For about thirteen years; he left July 1896.

8353. Was there in Freetown a strong public opinion respecting the hut tax before it began to be enforced?—Yes, very strong; first, against the rate charged when the first Ordinance was passed, and second, as to the unsatisfactory nature of the reduction of the rate charged in the second Ordinance.

8354. Was there an actual difference in the rate charged in the second Ordinance, was it not rather that the Governor agreed to make certain modifications?—I think at first it was so much a room. [This method was proposed, but not finally adopted; there was a rate of 10s. a year for houses of four or more rooms, and 5s. for three rooms or fewer in both Ordinances, but the Governor made modifications.]

8355. You say there was a general opinion that even these modifications were unsatisfactory?—Yes, and we went to the length of suggesting what might be done.

8356. Can you say if there were other points which were deemed unsatisfactory by the public?—I think in respect to the powers given to District Commissioners.

8357. Do you remember what it was that was thought about these powers?—It was thought at the time that the powers were almost unlimited, and were more than the Governor or the Chief Justice had.

8358. But then did people in the colony of Sierra Leone feel that they were themselves in any way affected by these provisions?—No; except that it might be prejudicial to the trade of the colony, and that it would be a hardship on people who had only just been brought under the influence of the British Government.

8359. You were aware that it has been said that the press has directly encouraged the natives not to pay the hut tax?—I am aware of that.

8360. What do you say as to that?—I took steps to contradict that statement, and defied any one to point out instances where the press encouraged such a thing.

8361. Was that by a publication in your journal?—Directly in the London *Times*, and indirectly through my editorials.

8362. This (produced) is your disclaimer published in the London *Times*, and reproduced in your journal here?—Yes, and we have written several articles in which we have called the attention of those who have made such statements to prove them.

8363. Have you had any response to those articles?—None whatever, that I have seen.

8364. You said that you had some subscribers in the Protectorate, what class of people are they?—Government officials, clerks, and I believe the paper is circulated amongst some of the traders through their friends in town.

8365. Have you any traders in the Protectorate who are direct subscribers?—I am not very sure.

8366. Do you consider that anything that you have written in its nature tended to fan discontent amongst the people?—I do not think so; on the contrary, we have endeavoured, as far as it was in our power, to assist the Government, and have refrained from publishing any article which might influence the public against the Government. We have not published one tenth of the articles we received at the time, because we thought it would do no good. We have done everything in our power to assist the Government in this matter.

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17*th November* 1898.

Captain WARREN.

CAPTAIN WARREN.

8367. My name is Harold Galway Warren. I am an Assistant-Inspector in the Frontier Police. I have been in the force nearly fifteen months.

8368. Were you on duty in the Ronietta district in January this year?—Yes; Dr. Hood was acting District Commissioner.

8369. Do you remember going with police to arrest some Chiefs?—Yes; one time I went to arrest Bai Kompah, Pa Nembana, and another time to arrest R. B. C. Caulker.

8370. When did you start when you went to arrest Pa Nembana?—About 15th January, I think. I had about twenty police.

8371. Do you remember meeting Chief Smart?—Yes; he went with me. We went first in search of Pa Nembana.

8372. Had you instructions regarding him?—Yes; I was told to try and get them both to Kwalu, not as prisoners, if possible, but if I could not do that I was to arrest them.

8373. You were to bring Pa Nembana anyhow?—Yes.

8374. You found Pa Nembana?—Yes; I think it was at Rotumba.

8375. What did you do with him?—I made him prisoner and he was handcuffed.

8376. Then next day you went in search of Bai Kompah?—Yes; we went to his own town on the river. Romange.

8377. When you got there you did not see him at once?—I was told he was in the town He had written to me in the meantime to say I had no right to arrest Pa Nembana. I was told that he would come down and see me.

8378. Were you not told that he was at Robaga?—I cannot say. I sent for him to come to see me; but they never brought him.

8379. You remained in the house where you were?—I remained in the town.

8380. Then you found out something?—That he was in the house where I was standing at that time. I told off a lance coporal and I think two men to search the house for him. They came out and told me he was in bed, and would not get up to see me. I think they said he was ill. Then I went in myself and brought him out. I told Bai Kompah that I wanted to take him to Kwalu. He said he was not in the Kwalu district but in the Colony. I told him if he would not come quietly I should have to use force. He said he would sooner have his head cut off. I told two men to take him out.

8381. What means were used?—I pulled him out of bed. He was a big, old man. He resisted.

8382. Did you get him out yourself?—I and two or three men. He struggled a good deal till we got him out of the bed, and then when once out he came all right.

8383. The house had a verandah and rooms on the right and left?—Yes; he was in one of the side rooms.

8384. Did he complain of being hurt at that time?—After a bit he said I kicked him.

8385. Did he ask you why you kicked him?—No; he simply told his people I had kicked him when he got outside, and pointed to my boots. That was when I got him outside.

8386. Did you kick him?—No; not with my boots. He was hanging on to the door, and I gave him a shove with my knee. My boot never touched him.

8387. Did he seem very much excited when you brought him out?—Yes.

8388. Then I understand he objected very much to go to Kwalu?—Yes; I was not quite sure myself whether he was in the Colony or the Protectorate, so I thought the best way would be to get him to go quietly to Freetown. I left him in charge of two police, and took Pa Nembana to Kwalu. I do not think Bai Kompah started before I left.

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19*th November* 1898.

SERGEANT PALMER.

(By Mr. Wilbraham, acting Attorney General.)

8389. My name is Emmanuel Palmer. I am a sergeant-major in the Frontier Police.

8390. How long have you been in the force?—Eight years; I was transferred from the civil police.

8391. Were you in the Protectorate last February?—Yes. I was stationed at Kwalu.

8392. Did you go to a meeting of Chiefs with Captain Moore in February?—Yes; there was a big meeting at Bembelo.

8393. Can you speak Mendi?—Yes.

8394. What happened?—I noticed the day we met several Sierra Leone traders assembled there too. There was an interval at about 2 P.M., and I saw a man with two or three Chiefs speaking to them in Sherbro, saying that they must not pay the hut tax, and that if Captain Moore made any arrest, they must not allow the man he arrested to be taken away. Only one Sierra Leonean was speaking, the others were standing by a doorway. I ran back behind a house and called one of sub-Inspector Johnson's little boys, who was not in uniform, and told him he must go and listen to what the Sierra Leonean was saying. He said he heard just the same that I had heard. I then went and reported to sub-Inspector Johnson and arrested the man, and brought him before Captain Moore.

8395. What were the names of the Chiefs who were told not to pay the tax?—I forget. I think they belonged Nancy Tucker's district.

8396. At Yonni Pana did you see any Sierra Leoneans?—I went there on duty in March. I saw one Sierra Leonean there.

8397. What happened there?—Fulla Mansa pointed out a man for me to take prisoner to Kwalu. He was a trader, by name Renner.

8398. Did you see Renner do or say anything?—No.

8399. Did you hear a general complaint by native Chiefs?—Yes; that the Sierra Leone people told them not to pay this hut tax. That was a matter of general complaint. They were talking amongst themselves.

8400. Besides that case at Bembelo, did you yourself hear any Sierra Leoneans advising Chiefs not to pay the hut tax?—No.

(*By* H.M. COMMISSIONER.)

8401. You said you arrested the first man at Bembelo; what was his name?—Williams; the other was Renner.

8402. Were both these men afterwards tried at Kwalu?—Yes.

8403. Who was the white officer who was with you on the first occasion?—Captain Moore.

8404. Which Chief's country was it in?—I do not know.

8405. When were you made a sergeant-major?—1895.

8406. Were you not in trouble about a year before that?—No; in no trouble.

8407. Was there not a complaint made against you for insulting and backbiting a certain Chief?—No.

8408. Try and recollect?—Yes; there was.

8409. Were you not severely reprimanded for insulting and backbiting this Chief?—No.

8410. Were you not ordered to apologise, and did not the Governor say that if you behaved in a like manner again, it would be a serious question whether you should be dismissed the force?—Yes; Captain Sharpe said it to me.

8411. The offence was insulting and backbiting Chief Vongo of Mungora?—Yes.

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21*st November* 1898.

Sergeant COKER.

SERGEANT COKER.

(By Mr. Wilbraham, acting Attorney-General.)

8412. My name is Edward Richard Coker.

8413. Are you a sergeant in the Frontier Police?—Yes.

8414. Where were you stationed last December?—Sembehun.

8415. Do you remember a man called Macaulay?—Yes; S. B. Macaulay, a Sierra Leone trader.

8416. He made a certain statement to you?—Yes.

(Mr. Macaulay is now dead.)

8417. Were there general complaints made to you as to Sierra Leoneans by Chiefs in the Bagru district?—Yes; against Sierra Leone people.

(By H. M. COMMISSIONER.)

8418. Have you ever gone about with the District Commissioner through the country?—No.

8419. How long have you been stationed at Sembehun?—Since last November.

8420. Do you remember Dr. Hood coming in January or February?—He came in November.

8421. When was Nancy Tucker crowned?—When Captain Moore was there in January or February.

8422. Has not Dr. Hood been there whilst you have been stationed there?—Yes.

8423. Is not Nancy Tucker very fond of the Frontier Police?—Yes.

8424. She is very good to you?—Yes.

8425. You often get breakfast and dinner there?—No.

8426. Does she send your breakfast and dinner to your lodging?—Yes.

8427. You were stationed there till the rising began?—Yes.

8428. Did you not go about to collect the tax for Nancy Tucker?—Yes.

8429. Did the people run away into the bush when the police were coming?—No.

8430. Did not the police make a great many seizures?—No; if they did anything of that sort I should report to the officer commanding.

8431. Did you not see it done yourself?—No.

8432. Did you never go to collect tax yourself or in company with other policemen?—No.

8433. Do you remember once going to Madam Tembi Yeva to collect tax?—No.

8433. Did you not go with the District Commissioner?—No; I got orders from Captain Moore to send police to Manjama.

8435. What countryman are you?—Timini. I can speak Mendi.

25*th November* 1898.

Dr. BERKELEY.

DR. BERKELEY.

8436. My name is Augustus Frederick Millard Berkeley. I am L.R.C.P., Edinburgh, and F.C.S., Glasgow. I entered service at Sierra Leone in May 1897, as Assistant Colonial Surgeon. I was attached to the railway till March 1898. On 8th March 1898, I was appointed Surgeon assisting the troops, with the ordinary duties of an Army Surgeon. I treated about a hundred cases of casualties among the officers and men both of the Imperial and Colonial troops; they were mostly of Imperial troops. Those I treated had received wounds in the course of the military operations, and there were one or two cases of fever. They were nearly all small wounds caused by small pieces of slugs of great penetrative power. There were about twenty fatal cases. I saw no wounds from rifle bullets. I treated one old woman who had got shot in the attack on Port Lokko: she died. The attack there was directed against the barracks, and she was just beside the main compound. Among the

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Dr. BERKELEY.

defenders of the barracks there were no serious wounds. I was with the troops in the Karene district till the end of April. Immediately after the rising broke out in the Bandajuma district one company was withdrawn to go down there; but the W. I. troops were not withdrawn from the Karene district then. I went with Colonel Cunningham's expedition as surgeon, and was afterwards appointed District Surgeon, with orders to assist the troops. In the Sherbro expedition I treated about fifty casualties, chiefly among the Frontier Police; the wounds were caused by smaller pieces of iron than in the Karene district. In one case there were seven small pieces. There were about fifteen fatal cases; all Frontier Police except two army cases. There was only one fatal case among the friendlies. I arrived at Bandajuma at the end of May, about three weeks after the attack was made on it. I was appointed acting District Commissioner on 4th July, when Captain Carr left, in conjunction with my other duties as District Surgeon and Officer assisting the troops. The war-boys in the Mendi country came into the open. I never saw a war-boy in the open in the whole of the Timini expedition. The bush is much the same in both countries. In the Mendi country they used to fire a few shots from the bush and try to protect themselves with pieces of galvanised iron. They used to run away if a shot was fired at them. Going up the river they fired about six cannon at us. The wounds were inflicted from the big cannons; there were only a few from the bush firing. In the march to Panguma four men were mortally wounded. All the wounds were inflicted by firing at the troops on the river or from the bush, none in the open. They never came near enough in the open to fire at us. Their resistance so far as open fighting went was very small. I was present at the attack on Mafwe. About midnight a gun was fired across the camp; the sentry replied by firing his gun; then one or two volleys were fired from the camp at the enemy, but they did not reply. In the morning we found that they were occupying some of the outhouses. So a charge was made led by Major Morgan, the natives ran away, and one or two guns were fired: there were one or two slight casualties among our men. This was about 20th May. After we went up to Bandajuma we sent a body of men to attack a small town, and one of them was killed. I went with the first company Colonel Cunningham sent up to Bandajuma under Lieutenant Safford about 28th May. There was no opposition on the march. Next day there were signs of mutiny among the Frontier Police, and we marched back again to Mafwe, a party of ten, leaving a large number of soldiers at Bandajuma. Colonel Cunningham sentenced Sergeant Nicol to three months' imprisonment with hard labour and reduction to a private. This action had a great effect on the rest of the men. About sixty out of the seventy Frontier Police fell out, and refused to remain in the camp if the soldiers were not allowed to stay. After Sergeant Nicol was sentenced the other fifty-nine resumed their duties, and the soldiers were allowed to stay. The Frontier Police marched to Panguma under Captain Eames. I went with them. We twice met with resistance on the way. First, two days after leaving Bandajuma. We did not see any war-boys. We heard they were assembled in force at a certain town, but found none of them there. We then heard that they were about one half mile away, and Captain Eames sent ten Frontiers to disperse them. We had about sixty police with us. At Doija was the second place; I was in the rear-guard and heard shots, and when I came up I found three of our men on the ground: one died immediately. These were shot from the bush. I understood that there was some palaver before they fired, and the natives said they would not allow us to pass. We turned back next day, because the carriers refused to go on. That was the last fighting I saw. I remained at Bandajuma until I left recently on vacation leave, when Captain Carr returned and resumed his duties on 17th November. After the fighting was over many charges were brought against the people with regard to the murders of Sierra Leonians and missionaries. Many of these cases I investigated myself without any charge being preferred. The people came voluntarily and gave information, chiefly constables' wives and native traders. One Chief in particular, Thomas Bongo, sent me information that he had gathered. I used to find out a town in which people had been murdered, and go to the Chief and ask him to give some account of them.

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Dr. BERKELEY. Very often the Chief would find the boys who committed the murders, and they would say who had given them orders to do it. The person who gave the order was proceeded against. Nearly all of those sentenced at Bandajuma were people who had given such orders. The convictions took place on the evidence of eyewitnesses. The war-boys were not allowed to give evidence against their Chief. Up to this time the people were very much frightened and disturbed. There is some settling down now, especially round Bandajuma barracks themselves. A large number of them has gone over to Liberia and is afraid to come back. I think nearly every man in the district took part in the rising. There were two or three friendly Chiefs, and even their followers took part in the plundering. As regards the people of the district and the police, there is a certain amount of ill-feeling on both sides. Complaints were made, chiefly of police plundering while on duty. The complaints were made at the time. The people had no reluctance in making their complaints. The cases I investigated were generally well founded; every one that came to my notice was. The police who were accused mostly pleaded guilty, and offered no extenuation. They seemed to take it as a matter of course, and that they had a right to do so. The accused policemen were nearly all Timinis; all the force there is composed of Timinis except about twelve men. With regard to Sierra Leone traders in the district, the Governor of Cape Mount made a complaint to the Governor of Sierra Leone, which was forwarded to me to investigate. I went down, and was in that district for three weeks. Lamin Lahi was accused of using a 90 lb. bushel instead of a 60 lb. bushel for collecting the tax; another charge made against him by Joe Metzger was that he had read extracts from the Freetown press to Chiefs, to the effect that the Timini war had been very successful. A third charge was that at a meeting held by Chiefs in that neighbourhood he had advised them to give him money to bring influence to bear on the Government. The Chiefs about there made this charge. I heard of it first from the Governor of Liberia. Lamin Lahi has not been confronted with these Chiefs, as he has been out of the district. He was also charged with ordering a large quantity of arms and ammunition from England after the rising began. It seems that a parcel of arms was on board a ship at Teneriffe addressed to him; but this could be only landed through the customs. Bessikai is connected with Lamin Lahi in these charges. There was a large amount of powder at the factories at the time the war fell. The Chiefs tell me they plundered it from the factories. When the war began the traders still remained in the towns, and made no immediate attempt to run away. They do not seem to have apprehended any danger for themselves until they were actually plundered. The outbreak was very sudden, and spread very rapidly; but people within thirty miles of Bandajuma would have had time to come in after the attack on Gambia. The produce is now being brought in for payment of the tax; about seventy tons of kernels have been brought.

29th October 1898.

THE KISSY ROAD TRADERS' ASSOCIATION.

THE KISSY ROAD TRADERS' ASSOCIATION. **Messrs. H. J. PEARCE, *President*, J. W. WHITFIELD, J. G. WRIGHT, W. M. GLOUSTER, J. F. COKER, T. W. PARIS, S. O. LARDNER, F. W. DOVE, THOS. J. ROLLINGS, *Hon. Sec.***

8437. I have asked you to come to give you the opportunity of stating any views you may have formed, both in regard to the rising, and also as concerns the future welfare of the Colony.—We should suggest that an annual estimate should be submitted to the Chamber of Commerce. We believe that the revenue of the Colony would be found quite sufficient to meet the expenditure. If it does not meet it, the Chamber of Commerce are the proper people to advise the Government; but we are against leaving this entirely in the hands of the Government.

We have heard that the new West African regiment were sent to the Karene district, and they are destroying the rice there.

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8438. Is your opinion against the direct taxation of the people of the Hinterland altogether?—Yes; they have only been taken under the Protectorate for two years. They are not civilised, and some of the people are very poor. If the people had been under the Protectorate for ten or twenty years, they might be better able to meet it.

8439. When you say they are very poor, do you mean they are poor in the means of living? I hear there is very little money, and the trade is almost entirely one of barter?—Yes; that is so. Some of these Lokkos and South Lokkos have no produce. The result of their cultivation is only just enough for them to live upon.

8440. But if they cultivated larger tracts they would have produce to sell?—Yes.

8441. The opening up of the Protectorate would no doubt increase the prosperity of Freetown, although the profits of the individual traders might not be increased?—Yes; it would increase trade, and by this the revenue would be increased.

8442. That is, if the expenditure did not increase, the revenue would be sufficient. Suppose the estimated product of the hut tax were withdrawn, would there not be a great deficit?—Yes.

8443. How would this deficit be met?—We think that if expenditure were decreased and trade properly developed, there would be quite enough to meet the expenditure.

8444. What suggestions do you make with regard to reduction of expenditure?—Reduction of the Government staff, reduction of the Frontier Police, with all its equipments. The Protectorate should be left more in the hands of the Chiefs.

There are several officers which are unnecessary—the Assistant Auditor and the Inspector of Police. It is unnecessary to have a Superintendent, an Inspector and a Sub-Inspector. In the Department of Public Works, we contend there is great waste of public funds, and no proper management. There are three qualified engineers, where one or two would be ample.

8445. Does the railway come under the Public Works Department?—No.

The Treasury Department should be combined with the Colonial Secretariat. They used to be in one Department. We think that whereas the Savings Bank has been removed from the Treasury and put in the Post Office, there is not the same necessity for so large a staff. We also consider the Assistant Postmaster unnecessary.

Then in the Protectorate there are District Commissioners, Inspectors, Assistant Inspectors, and Sub-Inspectors—nearly £10,000 for the payment of these officials.

8446. There are the District Commissioners and their staffs, and the Frontier Police?—Sometimes these men act in a double capacity.

8447. As a rule there is a District Commissioner and an Inspector at each station?—Generally; and sometimes a Sub-Inspector.

8448. So long as you have the police force you cannot have it under-officered?—We hold that the force is unnecessary. If it were necessary to keep a District Commissioner and an Inspector, you would not want an Assistant Inspector. About the railway question, we know that hereafter we shall have to pay the interest on the loan and a sinking fund. There is no management. The outlay has far exceeded what it should have for the work done. The public will be liable to pay the interest.

8449. The expense of the railway is defrayed by a loan from the Home Government; how is the expenditure supervised?—There is no control; the chief engineer simply draws a cheque, and it is paid.

8450. How would you control it? I suppose it is under the control of the Government and I presume the accounts are audited?—I think the engineer is only responsible to the Government. There are a great number of the workmen employed who might be had for one-third of the wages. Government probably would say they are necessary. As we natives will be called upon to pay the interest and sinking fund, it would not be out of place to suggest that one or two of us should be invited to join the Government, and see how things are really being carried on.

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THE KISSY ROAD TRADERS' ASSOCIATION.

8451. How would you practically apply that?—For one of the surveyors or directors of works to have a voice. I do not think that the accounts go through the auditors at all.

8452. As to what you were saying about the number of men employed; that must be under the control of the head engineer; the only thing would be to change him if he is too extravagant. Then all the arrangement for executing this railway has been a matter of agreement between the Colonial Government and the Home Government?—Yes; they simply had to vote. They have a majority.

8453. But still the minority could express their views?—They did not. The Governor said, 'We want some more money,' and they just voted.

8454. Did any of the unofficial members propose that it should be put into the hands of private contractors?—The matter was not discussed here.

8455. There is no doubt about the benefit that the railway will confer on the Colony?—No; but we are only afraid of getting into debt.

You asked about direct taxation; we think it was untimely and oppressive, and that the people should have been educated up to it. At the same time, taking the country all round, we think the tax is more than some people can pay. We think that if the Government could stop the Ordinance being applied to the exempted districts, it would be very advisable. Those on the rivers can very well afford to pay; but some in the interior are very poor, and quite unable to pay.

As regards the manner of collecting the tax, it has been collected in a very iniquitous and oppresive way.

In the matter of the Protectorate, we would recommend that the Protectorate should be properly divided. You find in the present division that great patches of Mendi run into Timini, and so on. These people have no sympathy with each other. It is almost impossible for a Timini to travel in Mendi land. The whole tribal feeling still exists.

8456. You mean that the present division is not coterminous with the tribal divisions, and should be rearranged so that the boundaries of the districts should coincide with the tribal boundaries?—Yes.

The Chiefs have no power now. We would suggest that if it were possible big Paramount Chiefs should be created with a British resident, who should take the place of Supervisor or Court of Appeal. The District Commissioner now has almost absolute power. We think the Chiefs themselves would prefer it.

8456*a*. That is a matter that requires considering: whether it is possible to select Chiefs who could govern by virtue of their old tribal influence. The Chief who is put up by Government has very little power over the people; but if you take a Chief who has a right to be Chief according to native custom, he has control over the people. Is it possible to point out a certain limited number of big Chiefs who are in that position?—Quite possible. The bulk of the Chiefs in the interior are very loyal; but they have no longer control over their boys.

8457. Why have they so completely lost their power?—The Government have told the people that if any one has a grievance they have just to go to the District Commissioner and the Chief will be beaten.

8458. But you must consider that matters are not entire; would it be possible to reinstate the Chiefs?—Yes; if there was a Resident to back up the Chief.

8459. It has been said that in the recent disturbances the object of the Chiefs was to get rid of the English Government; how far do you think they have been actuated by that spirit?—Not at all; there is no truth in it. Even Bai Bureh when he was sent for by former Governors was willing to come.

8460. How far are these Paramount Chiefs capable of carrying on the government by themselves without the help of a British Resident? and how far is a Resident an advantage? Might he not become a channel for ill-founded complaints?—That is true. The Chiefs of themselves could not govern the country without the presence of a British Resident. Sometimes District Commissioners allow themselves to be swayed. That could easily be put a stop to

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if the Resident's power was limited; the District Commissioner's power is unlimited. Under the present system the Chief has no right to come to Freetown except with the permission of the District Commissioner, and even if he does come here he may be sent back to the District Commissioner.

8461. Then in discussing the question of Residents, it is very material to discover experienced men; it might be difficult to get such men?—You must not have a military man, or there will be no peace.

8462. Keeping in view what you said just now that a Chief could not come to Freetown, that is not at all a necessary part of the scheme; there is nothing in the nature of things that you should not have a Court of Appeal in Freetown?—We contend there is no need for District Commissioners in the interior.

8463. Then you think that Chiefs supported by a Resident would be quite sufficient to deal with all legal matters?—The Protectorate Ordinance does not work well at all. Look at the Bullom shore, the Old Colony proper; the men who have been used to come to Freetown now have to go to Karene, which is much further off. Take the cases of Ring and Thorpe and another man; these men were taken from the Colony proper and tried in the Protectorate. A Timini man was taken from the Protectorate and tried in Freetown; no man is safe, he can be removed by the Governor's fiat. These Sierra Leone men who should have been heard in Freetown were compelled to go up to Kwala.

8464. Is it supposed that a native of Freetown can be taken on the Governor's fiat and taken into the interior?—If a man is charged with an offence and he has a factory there.

8465. The ordinary rule of law is that an offence should be tried in the place where it was committed?—The case of Ring was not properly tried. He is now sleeping on a mud bed. In Freetown prisoners get a Sunday off. Ring has to work on Sundays. The allegations made by Bishops Ingram and Smith show that their sympathies run with the Governor, and they attack the public generally without giving any reason for the attack. We ask that he should substantiate his statements.

8466. What allegations has he made?—In *The Messenger*. There should be more unofficial members of the Council; there should be four or five as there used to be.

8467. How did the reduction come about?—The men died, and their places were never filled. There should be appeal in civil cases. On the Gold Coast and Lagos the plaintiff or defendant have a right to appeal against a judge's decision. Here there is no appeal no matter how great the interest concerned.

8468. I understand the Supreme Court consists of only one judge; how would you constitute the Court?—I should suggest that the judges from the Gold Coast and Lagos should join to form a Court.

We find that assessors should take the place of jurors; we would ask you to weigh the matter. There was some ordinance made in May or June: since then it has been made worse.

In the Judicial Department we consider the appointment of a Solicitor-General to be unnecessary; the post was created with a view to qualifying the ordinances. The original proposal was that some native lawyer should take this duty.

If any young barrister is sent out it follows as a matter of course that if a man is sick he has to take the place of Deputy Judge. We would ask that more care should be taken in the appointment of Judicial Officials. We think that the legal affairs are in a very bad state.

8469. As regards the Frontier Police; we would recommend, if possible, that this force should be disbanded or at any rate reduced. When it was first formed it was got up mainly to keep out raids from the interior. If this force is insufficient to cope with a small disturbance such as has just taken place, what good would they be to keep out a raid? If it is necessary to keep them at all, let them be kept within reasonable bounds. They are really the cause of the present trouble. For a long time they have been a nuisance. Governor Fleming was for disbanding them.

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THE KISSY ROAD TRADERS' ASSOCIATION.

8470. From your knowledge of the Protectorate and people; in former days there was a great deal of petty war; how far do you think that spirit is now at an end or would be likely to revive?—I have no fear that such a thing would arise again. The people did not catch slaves for themselves, but to sell. Now they are unable to send slaves out of the country because of the customs; and some of those very people, Susus and Mandingoes, who sold slaves have now become traders.

8471. Do you think that if it were not for the pressure of external force it would revive?—I do not think it would; if the outlets were properly guarded. And if a Chief knew that he only held his place so long as he behaved properly he would not do anything of that sort.

As regards the Arms and Ammunition Ordinance, we believe if this had not been put in force so strictly there would not have been this massacre in Sherbro. Some extension should be made so that those who were travelling should be allowed to carry arms for their defence.

8472. Cannot a man carry arms with a licence?—He has to get the Governor's permission, and that sometimes takes six months.

8473. But if Sierra Leonians cannot get arms, how did the Mendis get them?—They only get the flint lock guns.

As regards the Perjury Ordinance; we would ask you to look at that Ordinance. If a Judge thinks a man is not speaking the truth he has the power to send him to prison.

8474. You have said nothing about the Customs tariffs?—It is excessive; but what can we do? If trade was properly developed, more than twice as much could be got at 5 per cent. The duty being prohibitive, less goods are imported.

An Ordinance was passed that the warehouse should be closed; if we have to build sheds to put our goods in and pay license for them it will affect the general public. A man may not want to have all his goods at once.

The Surplus of the Revenue is not spent on the country; we should like to see the surplus spent on public buildings and works.

MR. SCOBIE.

MR. SCOBIE.

8475. My name is John Scobie. I am a Civil Engineer, and at present am in charge of the Sierra Leone Government Railway. This was begun about November 1895, and about thirty miles are now completed; we expect to be at Songo Town next month. The number of men employed averages 1200; they are all natives of the country, with the exception of one or two West Indians. Of these 83 per cent. are unskilled; the remainder consisting of fitters, masons, carpenters, and supervisors, etc. We have native foremen, about one to fifteen men. As a rule, the men stay on pretty well, though some go as carriers. I cannot say to what tribes they belong; I think they are pretty well mixed. I do not think there is a preponderance of Sierra Leonians. The pay of the skilled labour averages 2s. 6d. per diem; the ordinary labourer, 9d. per diem. We have always been able to get plenty of labour; but I should mention that on 4th May last, owing to the native rising, all the men engaged on the work between Waterloo and Songo Town ran away; and work could not be resumed till 17th June, as all available men were being employed by the Military authorities as carriers at 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per day and rations. Subsequently, owing to various expeditions going up country and requiring carriers, we had a strike on the works on 8th August for an increase of 3d. per day; this lasted a week or ten days, when work was restarted at the old figure of 9d. per day.

I do not know how far the railway will be taken; they talk of extending it to Senahu. We could practically complete it as far as Songo Town by the end of this year. It would take another two years to reach Rotofunk; we are making surveys for that now.

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The quantity of work done by these native labourers as compared with English is small; the labour is comparatively dear. It naturally requires more supervision than English labour. The supervision is a material item in the cost. The native foremen get from 1s. 6d. to 2s.; there are three white foremen over them. The men hold on to the work pretty closely; about the planting season some of them generally go away for a little to look after their farms. We notice there are not so many asking for work at that time. Sometimes we have had as many as 200 men coming for employment on a Monday morning. Mr. SCOBIE.

The railway is being carried on under the control of the Consulting Engineer for the Crown Agents. The Sierra Leone Government has no control at present; they audit all the accounts locally, and we draw money from them, but they do not interfere with the construction. The local Civil Engineer has nothing to do with it. In reference to the relative values of Mendi, Timini, and Sierra Leone races as workmen, I have asked the opinion of three or four of my District Engineers, who have had charge of several hundreds of these men for periods of twelve months or more, and they are unanimous in stating that the Mendi is the best man, and after him the Timini. This refers to unskilled labour. The Timini they consider the more intelligent; the Mendi the more docile, and not requiring so much supervision.

17th November 1898.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GORE, Colonial Secretary.

Lieut.-Col. GORE.

8476. My name is James Cassamaijor Gore; I am Colonial Secretary of Sierra Leone, with a dormant commission to administer the Government under certain circumstances.

8477. How long have you held your present office?—I was acting Colonial Secretary 1st June 1895, and have practically held the appointment since that date.

8478. Have you held other appointments in the Colony?—Acting Police Magistrate, Acting Treasurer, Auditor General of the West African Settlements from February 1882 to May 1887, Acting Inspector General for a short period, and Administrator for one month, last August.

8479. Generally what are the matters dealt with in your department?—Everything connected with the service generally. The only people who address the Governor direct are the Chief-Justice and the Officer commanding troops.

8480. I presume that all these documents which you have supplied me with are authentic records of the business of the Colony?—Yes.

8481. What are the ordinary duties of Assistant Colonial Secretary?—For some time I had a native Assistant Secretary, who was more a chief clerk than anything else. For the last three years I have had European assistants. The Assistant Secretary keeps the confidential papers; and if I am away, he signs for Colonial Secretary.

8482. I think the rule as to leave of absence gives fifteen months' resident service and six months' leave?—Yes.

8483. What is the arrangement of doing the duties of your department when the head is away on leave?—On the two occasions when I have been away Mr. Elliott (Collector of Customs) has acted. The Assistant Secretary was fresh to the work.

8484. Then if the Assistant Secretary was thoroughly conversant with the work, would he take charge?—I think so. He has been a native formerly, and the question has hardly arisen generally.

8485. Has any material addition been made to the work of your department since you have been acquainted with it?—Since 1889 I should think the work of the office has been more than doubled.

8486. Have the arrangements about the Protectorate added greatly to the work?—Yes; considerably.

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Lieut.-Col. GORE.

8487. I believe that the Colonial Secretariat was formerly combined with the Treasury; why were they separated?—They found it did not work properly; at that time I think they had four European assistants divided between the two. One of these assistants was practically always acting as Treasurer.

8488. The Savings Bank was formerly combined with the Treasury?—Yes; it is now at the Post Office.

8489. The removal of this would hardly open a way to a reamalgamation of the Colonial Secretariat with the Treasury?—I think not, owing to the increase of work in the Colonial Secretary's department.

8490. How are cash matters with the District Commissioners managed?—The Treasurer sends up money under escort from time to time for the payment of the Frontier Police and District Commissioner's staff; vouchers being completed are then sent down to the Treasury; but we hope on 1st January to make the District Commissioners sub-accountants to the Treasury.

8491. Is the Native Affairs department an advisory department to any extent, or purely ministerial?—The Secretary for Native Affairs is consulted on certain points. I have very little to do with native affairs. I simply submit the papers. Matters concerned with native affairs are referred to Mr. Parkes.

8492. The department for Native Affairs is not very well defined?—He has to write letters to native Chiefs, and sees them before the Governor sees them, and looks after the boarding and lodging of them when they are in town.

8493. What are the ordinary duties of the Assistant Director of Public Works?—I think he takes the outdoor work, generally supervising, and attends to official duties, writes letters, and so on. He has more of the outdoor work.

8494. Then he usually takes the place of head of the department when the head is absent?—Yes.

8495. When the Assistant is absent who does his duties?—The next man I supposed, who is called the Superintendent of Works.

8496. In the Treasury what are the duties of Assistant Treasurer?—I can hardly say. They are very seldom there together. He takes the head in the absence of the head. The present Treasurer will have been away a year next month.

8497. Will you produce the evidence asked for on your summons?[1]—Witness produced—(1) Of the publication of the Queen's order in Council, 24th August 1895; made known by *Special Gazette*, No. 506, dated 31st August 1896.

8498. Is the Sierra Leone *Royal Gazette* published under any Ordinance?—I do not think so. It has been in existence for the last fifty years.

8499. (2) Proclamation of the Queen assuming a Protectorate over the territories adjacent to Sierra Leone. That was made known by a Proclamation, No. 18, 31st August 1896, published in the form of a Proclamation.

8500. How was it made public?—It was distributed by the District Commissioner, and posted up in the town, and published in the *Royal Gazette*.

8501. (3) Protectorate Ordinance 1897—by Proclamation, No. 19, dated 23rd November 1897—exhibited in the same way, and sent to the District Commissioner.

8502. (4) Order of Governor in Council dividing the Protectorate into districts, and Proclamation.

8503. Assuming that it is necessary to provide some additional revenue, do you consider that the duties on spirits could be raised to any extent?—I am afraid not; owing to the French duties. They would be imported through the French territory into our Protectorate; and would necessitate an increased Customs staff to guard against it.

[1] *Subpœna duces tecum* in following terms; to bring with you and produce at the time and place aforesaid the evidence of the publication of the Queen's order in Council, 24th August 1895; of the proclamation of the Queen's assuming a Protectorate over the territories adjacent to Sierra Leone, 31st August 1896; of the Protectorate Delimitation Ordinance; of the order of the Governor in Council dividing the Protectorate into Districts; of the Protectorate Ordinance 1897.

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8504. Could the duty on tobacco be increased?—I should hardly like to say. I think tobacco is about the only thing that the duty might be raised on.

8505. On salt?—We increased the duty only a short time ago.

8506. On guns or gunpowder, or both?—I could not answer that question authoritatively.

8507. Are there any articles on which you consider the duties could be increased?—I am afraid not. I think we have almost got to our limit. It would mean increasing the Customs staff to prevent smuggling. They have an enormous trade at Conakry just now.

8508. What is the cause of that?—The French tax people so heavily if they pass our borders, and do all they can to divert the trade to themselves.

8509. What effect has the abolition of allowance for underproof spirit?—I think it has improved the quality. The spirit is better than it was before.

8510. Do you think that a small export duty on certain articles would be practicable; on palm nuts, kola, gum, or rubber, or such things?—I was discussing that the other day, and I gathered that anything of that sort would be strongly opposed. The natives would get less money for their produce. The French have export duties.

8511. But that would be a method by which the natives would be taxed indirectly?—I rather doubt whether it would produce enough. The Protectorate expenditure has increased by £3313 for this next year—Public Works and Survey Department, £1000, for building barracks, and so on. We are increasing the commission on the hut tax to 5 per cent. £13,272 is the estimate for the Protectorate expenditure for next year; it was £9959 last year. This does not include the Frontier Police, for which the total estimate for next year is £23,821, including allowances. We want to do a lot in public buildings. I suggest a loan for necessary public buildings, say £100,000. Then there is £4670 for Customs offices. We want a new Queen's shed, £3400; and a new prison, £38,000. We are now paying £500 per annum for officers' quarters. The Frontier Police is a great drain on us and the Protectorate.

8512. Is there any form of direct taxation which you would consider advisable in the Colony?—A house tax is forestalled by the Municipality. That should have been put on before the hut tax. You cannot put on an income tax. People are certain to object to direct taxation. The merchants would object to an export duty, I fancy, although they would not lose by it, as they would lower their prices.

8513. Prices might get so low that people might not care to bring produce?—I am afraid of that. I hear there is produce lying on the ground now for want of people to pick it up, which is probably owing to the present unsettled state of the country.

8514. Have you heard of people going over to the Liberian side?—I heard from Mr. Turner's report that he thought that a certain number of people were going over the Liberian boundary. I have not heard of people going over to French territory.

8515. Suppose some arrangement were made with the Municipality by paying them a fixed sum, do you think that a house tax, or house and land tax, in the Colony would be advisable?—I think they would probably like that arrangement, because it would take the onus of collection from their own shoulders. I do not think they would get the full benefit of any tax. They are mostly men of straw. I think, unless you did away with the Municipality altogether, it would be better to let them collect the tax themselves.

8516. How do you think that they do their work?—Very unsatisfactorily. The late Mayor has told me that the Town Clerk is very inefficient. The whole thing is done in a slipshod way.

8517. Is their work more expensively done than the Public Works Department could do it?—Take their management of the water supply. Yesterday I heard that the water would be turned off from the barracks. There was some defect in the pipes, which they were told about on 15th October, and finally men from the Public Works will have to put the matter

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Lieut.-Col. GORE. right. I do not think our Public Works Department is as efficient as it might be. We do not keep any permanent staff of workmen, but hire as we want them.

8518. Have the Municipality any engineers?—They have some one they call the City Surveyor. I do not know what they will do with the £50,000, if they manage to borrow it. They are incapable of spending it properly.

8519. I am afraid if there were a house and land tax, and the payment were made to the Municipality, there would be very little profit for the Colony?—I am afraid so. They have had the waterworks in hand for a long time. I think it would be madness to leave works of this sort in their hands.

8520. Suppose there were a house and land tax on the rest of the Colony otherwise than Freetown?—I think if they have to pay a hut tax in the Protectorate, the villages around should be put on an equal footing. Songo Town will become an important place as the present terminus of the railway. I think any tax should be put on the town first, and the villages ought to follow, and then they should have better lighting, etc.

8521. Is there material for forming village councils?—I think not. Only lately we had a big palaver at Waterloo over church matters, and probably they would quarrel in the same way over public matters. I think we expect too much from them.

8522. Is there any extent of land in the Colony that is under productive cultivation, which would be a fair ground for a tax?—Sir Samuel Lewis has the biggest amount of that sort of land, and he says it has not paid him a penny. Our own plantation has not paid yet. It is a botanic station. We are spending £745 on it next year. We get out seed, and the idea was to get apprentices and instruct them, but they do not present themselves. They prefer to get work as clerks.

8523. Then that is not expected to become remunerative?—No; but in time it will bring in something. We expect to get about £25 next year by the sale of plants. We used to make publications as to the best way of tapping rubber-trees, and so on, but I do not think anybody paid any attention to them. They prefer their old methods.

8524. Do you think that licences on trade in the Protectorate have operated as a hindrance to trade?—I do not think so. We estimate about £250 by spirit licences, and about £900 by store licences. I have not heard of any objections to them.

8525. Would a graduated scale of trade licences be advisable?—I do not know how that would work.

8526. You think these duties in the Protectorate are not too heavy on the small traders?—I have not heard any complaints about them. The only thing they complain of is the hut tax.

8527. Does that apply to Sierra Leone people as well as natives?—I have not heard Sierra Leone people complain of it as a hardship. I think if it had been half the amount at first it might have been collected more easily. The District Commissioner Ronietta estimates £25,000 from Ronietta alone for next year. The number of houses in Bandajuma is about three times that in Ronietta, which would give £75,000. It would have produced a large item even if it were only half the sum. I think the mistake was rather in the amount of the hut tax.

8528. Suppose matters had been entire, and the question of taxing the Hinterland were only to begin now, is there any other method you would consider preferable to a hut tax?—I do not think I should have been inclined to proceed so rapidly in the way of appointing officers, and so on; but, having done so, you must find the money to pay them. I believe the French have a poll tax.

8529. You would have been rather disposed to leave it in the hands of the Chiefs to collect?—Yes; and I should have been inclined to have left them a little longer to see the results of civilisation. They are not enlightened enough yet to understand it. It might have been better to wait a little. We are taking all their power away from them now.

8530. If you take all the power from the Chiefs, does not that entail a more expensive

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form of Government?—Yes. I do not know, if you took the whole place over as a Colony, whether you could do so in a modified form. Lieut.-Col. GORE.

8531. Laying aside the troubles which have taken place, do you consider that the tax is in its nature well adapted to the situation and circumstances of these people?—I do not think they were given long enough to understand it. I do not think they grasped it.

8532. There seemed to be an idea that it implied a putting away of their rights of property?—They seemed to think that we were taking their land away from them altogether. All the Chief understands is that he has all his power taken away from him and has to pay so much money, and he does not see what advantage he gets from it.

8533. Is it a fact that there is an unusual influx of strangers into Freetown now?—I have not noticed it. I was away when the trouble occurred. There is always a big floating population during the dry season, due to trade. We used to send a lot of them away to the Congo, but that has been stopped. They can go now, but there are restrictions. They have to go before a magistrate and deposit money, and so on.

8534. How is the office of Chief-Justice filled when he is away?—The Attorney-General acts in his place. On one occasion, when Mr. Smyly was away too, Mr. Clark, the Police Magistrate, acted.

8535. The Solicitor-General is a sort of assistant to the Attorney-General?—Yes; he takes his place in his absence.

8536. I suppose these Customs stations in the islands, such as Isles de Los, are all of more or less importance?—Yes; they have revenue cutters too. Our Customs revenue has been fairly satisfactory this year.

8537. Are there any Government establishments on these islands except the Customs?—There are usually a few civil police. The Customs expenditure is £9375.

8538. Is there anything you would like to add?—It seems to me, that, if we are going to keep up the Protectorate and Frontier Police, if we do away with the hut tax, we must get something in the place of it. Our needs are growing. I think it would be advisable to get a loan and build our Prison, Customs Houses, and so on, and not include them in the estimates.

8539. At present there is no debt except for the railway?—No; we paid off our last £25,000, which was at six per cent. I asked the Crown Agents what was to be done about the loan of £300,000, and they told me to provide interest at three and a half per cent., which I have done. We sold out £42,000 stock, which we have paid to the Crown Agents on account of the railway.

8540. Has the Colony any other reserve?—The sinking fund for the Colonial Steamer, and we invest the Savings Bank money.

His Excellency Sir F. CARDEW, K.C.M.G., Governor of Sierra Leone. Sir F. CARDEW

16th November 1898.

8541. Can you give me any information respecting the disturbance or war in Kwaia in 1887?—The information which I have is from Blue Books; I cannot speak from my own knowledge. I gather that this was a slave-raiding war. It began by a raid on Ronietta in January 1887 by Bangan of the Yonnis. I find that the Yonnis attacked a town belonging to Chief Caulker in February 1887. On both occasions they killed people and took slaves. Mr. Revington, acting Inspector-General of the Police, reported that the war was being carried on with considerable success by the Mendis against the Yonnis. He appears to have been sent up to Condoh, who was a Mendi Chief, with a view of making peace between the Yonnis and Mendis. He reported in April that the Mendis agreed to abstain from warring any further with the Yonnis. This appears to have had no result. On May 23 the Yonnis attacked Tungia, one of Madam Yoko's towns. The

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Sir F. CARDEW.

war seems to have been carried on from that time up to October, when Senahu, another of Madam Yoko's towns, was attacked. Governor Hay was then Administrator in the absence of Sir S. Rowe, and he recommended that he should proceed against the Yonnis with 100 men of the West Indian Regiment. This was in October. The Colonial Office consulted the War Office, and the latter decided that Sir F. de Winton should be sent out to conduct the operations (telegram, 15th October 1887). Sir F. de Winton arrived, and with the forces at hand he proceeded against the Yonnis on 21st November. Robari was captured with the loss of several West Indians wounded. On 25th November Ronietta was taken without any casualities. On 21st December Sir F. de Winton reported the conclusion of the war and devastation of the country by the friendlies.

8542. How was the dispute finally settled?—I cannot say from my own recollection. A number of Chiefs were fined and imprisoned I believe. The peace was brought about and a detachment of the West Indian Regiment was stationed at Robari up to 1890.

8543. Was Bangan the same man as the late Fulla Mansa?—I think he must have been the same. He was killed in the recent disturbances and the present Fulla Mansa succeeded him. Fulla Mansa is only a title.

8544. Can you inform me as an historical fact whether the English at any time did any conspicuous act of deliverance against outside enemies of the inhabitants of the Hinterland of Sierra Leone such as was done on the Gold Coast in 1873-74; not of equal magnitude but of like or analogous character?—In 1858 H.M.S. *Pluto*, *Ardent*, and *Spitfire* went up the Skarcies river and reinstated the Timinis who had been driven away from their territory by the Susus. There were 600 seamen and marines. There were no casualties. This was followed up in 1859 by H.M.S. *Vesuvius*, *Trident*, and *Pluto* which completed the work. The Susus have their abode on the north side which is now French territory. Bai Bureh on this occasion came first to the front. He was then known as Kabba Lai. He was always an enemy of the Susus. He fought for the Timinis in 1873-76 and devastated the Susu country. Another instance when there was a great deliverance was the Sofa expedition in 1893. The Sofas under Samadu had made war from 1885 in what was then our sphere of influence. During the same period they were also at war with the French. In 1889 or 1890 the Sofas had held posts in the Biriwa Limba country, the pretext being that they wanted to secure the trade route. They also raided portions of the Koranko country. In 1893 they were much pressed by the French troops, and I think it was in March that year that they were driven out of Heremakono by the French, the result of the defeat being that the Sofa forces were broken up to a certain extent. The main body went down the other side of the Niger and a detachment under Chief Porokeri went down through the Koranko country and the Kuniki country. By the end of 1893 they had completed the devastation of the Koranko country, a portion of the Kuniki country, and the whole of the Konnoh country. Owing to reports sent down by Captain Lendy, Inspector-General of the Frontier Police of the depredations committed by the Sofas, it was decided by the Secretary of State to send an expedition against the Sofas. By the official despatch it appears that the object of the expedition was that it was incumbent on H.M. Government to put an end to the depredations of the Sofas, both an account of the danger they caused to our relations with France, and in view, of the obligations of the repression of slave trade as one of the signatories of the Brussels act. The expedition started about December, under Captain Ellis of the West India Regiment, and after the incident at Waima, where the column met a detachment of the French, the Sofas were defeated at Kayinma: this practically completed the campaign, and the troops returned. By this campaign the whole of the Kuniki, and Konnoh country was delivered from incursions by the Sofas.

8545. There has been no incursion since?—No; the Sofas were practically extinguished on that occasion.

8546. Previous to the French agreement of delimitation, I suppose the British sphere

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of influence had no precise limits?—There was a boundary laid down, and a neutral zone: that was an agreement with the French at that time. The French laid claim to the territory up to the Mahela creek, to the Benna country, and the Talla country, and that the boundary should follow the course of the watershed of the Niger rather than that of the river itself which was our contention. The result of the conference was that we yielded the Benna country, the northern portion of the Talla country, and Kukunia. and agreed to the boundary following the watershed of the Niger. Sir F. CARDEW.

8547. Did that give us any territory which the French had held?—Practically none. The only bit was between the Mahela creek, and the present boundary.

8548. Can you say what was the system of patrolling put in operation when the policy of the Frontier road was inaugurated by Sir James Hay in 1890?—It is published in section 10 of the standing orders of December 1890. As far as I can gather, the zone, under the control of the Police, was limited to the Frontier road, and a little space on both sides. There were these posts, and they patrolled between. These were instructions not to interfere with the customs of the natives. The Frontier Police in 1890 was for the first time disconnected with the Civil Police, and its establishment fixed at 250 privates. In 1893 there were four European officers, and 284 non-commissioned officers and men. By pressure of circumstances, and the taking of more territory under control in 1895, the force was increased to seven European officers, and 555 non-commissioned officers and men. In 1896 I recommended an increase of European officers and there was a decrease of fifty men, the force then standing at eleven European officers, and 505 non-commissioned officers and men. In 1897 there were twelve European officers, and 563 non-commissioned officers and men. In 1898 there were twelve European officers, and 568 non-commissioned officers and men. Now, owing to the disturbances, there are seventeen European officers, and 600 non-commissioned officers and men. The object of the augmentation of officers was because I have felt it was imperative to have more supervision over the men. When I arrived in 1894 there were only two European officers, and I felt it was very necessary to have a larger proportion of officers to men, in view of checking the misconduct of the men to the natives.

8549. Was there a marked abatement of tribal disturbances after that policy was adopted?—I should say very marked. It appears that as far as the police supervision extended, the country was quite quiet in 1890. I think we may attribute that to the police. The sphere of influence outside the control of the police was by no means quiet. When I came out and organised the Frontier Police, into five Companies in 1894, and divided the Hinterland into an equal number of districts, there was not only an abatement of tribal wars in that zone under the supervision of the police, but it has had a marked effect on the exports and imports. There is no doubt an increase of exports would arise from people leaving off war, and taking to peaceful occupations.

8550. Will you please give me whatever information you can as to your journeys into the Hinterland in 1894-5-6?—I felt when I came out that unless I became cognisant of the sphere of political influence myself, and saw what was going on, I should not be able so efficaciously to manage matters. So I decided on making tours. I started a fortnight after I got out here on the 27th March, and the tour lasted till 17th May 1894, during which time I traversed between 600 and 700 miles. My second tour was from 30th January 1895 to 5th April—about 598 miles. My third was from 29th January to the 5th April 1896—675 miles. I estimate I have been in these tours, and other journeys, about 2000 miles by land in the Protectorate. I should like to give you an idea of the state of the country as I first found it. When I first went in 1894 the whole country was disturbed; there was a number of slave-raiding wars going on, and slave-trading was very rife. There were the disturbances across the Mano river, known as the Tehwa disturbances, in which our territory was used as a base of operations for the contending parties. Also between the Golas and Mendis across the Morro river, either that year or just before Kailunda had raided to Sana Konno, and taken the Paramount Chief prisoner, and completely devast-

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Sir F. CARDEW. ated the country. When I arrived at Panguma, Nyagua was about to make a raid on the Sanda Konnos, all his towns were fenced, all the men were armed, and, a sure sign, all the women were absent. The whole Konnoh country had just been devastated by the Sofas, and the eastern portion which had been left by the Sofas by Bundu, a Mendi Chief. There was hostility between the people of the Koranko and Kuniki countries, and there was a war being carried on in the Sanda Lokko country, where two war-chiefs called Fumbo and Susa had been engaged in slave-raiding since 1892. Also I found that where there was no war slave-traffic was being actively carried on. I myself came across three small caravans of slaves at different places, viz.—at Mongheri, Jarra and Kintaballia. These slaves I released. Some natives with whom I had conversation had actually never left their town from fear of being caught as slaves, if found outside.

8551. What force had you with you then?—Thirty-nine police. Two I dismissed, seven fell out, and I sent ten with Captain Moore, when he left me at Gondema to proceed to Falaba: so I had twenty myself.

8552. Had you any meetings with the Chiefs?—Yes; I made a point of getting them together and speaking to them wherever I went. The subject I spoke on, was almost solely the suppression of slavery. I informed them that in future the Government would not allow any more traffic in slaves. That the police had orders to disperse and disarm all gatherings of war boys, and to prevent any purchases of slaves or their transit across our sphere of influence: this I told to every Chief that I met. Hitherto there had been a circular (10th August 1893), in force restricting slavery, but I found that it was rather an incentive to slave-trade than otherwise, as it limited the restriction to certain districts, the result of which was that the slave-traffic went on the more actively in those districts in which there was no restrictions. On my return to Freetown I cancelled that circular, and made the instructions to apply to the whole sphere of influence, which I divided into five police districts with a company of Frontier Police in each; posts were established at those points where slave-trading was going on, and the roads thoroughly patrolled between.' The slave-trade was principally carried on by the Susus and Fullas who used to come down from Futa Jallong to Freetown. There they would exchange their cattle for Manchester goods, and guns, and powder, and proceed up country, generally going to the town of some Chief who was engaged in slave-raiding around. They would exchange these goods for slaves and return with their slaves to Futa Jallong where they exchanged them for cattle, and then they began the round again. On my first tour I confined myself to the abolition of the slave-trade.

8553. How did that prohibition appear to be received?—The natives always appeared to acquiesce: except Nyagua, Chief of Panguma, who was very truculent, and said he would have to think about it. A few days after he said he had seen his people, and that they had agreed. I think he sent me that information by Mr. Parkes. The natives always appear to acquiesce in what one says, but it does not do to take them, as a matter of course, at their word. On my 1895 tour, I went further and told them that the Government would suppress bartering, pawning and pledging, and selling of slaves. In the meetings I held I allowed them to talk of their grievances, and the principal one was the abolition of slave-trading. They complained that their boys no longer worked for them, as, for instance, in building their houses and tilling their farms, that they ran away to Freetown, and that when they returned they were no longer obedient.

8554. That touched upon domestic slavery?—Yes.

8555. Had there been any measures before that time which touched on domestic slavery?—No: except that it has always been announced that every slave who sought freedom under the British flag could obtain it, and the Government has hitherto made special provision for the subsistence of rescued or runaway slaves. I had meetings of Chiefs throughout this tour, and afterwards in the Sulima and Imperri districts. The burden of their complaints was about not being allowed to buy slaves, and I used to reply that the Government were bound under the Brussels Act to suppress slavery. They

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complained also of the treatment received by them from the Police. I said I was very anxious to punish Police if there was just cause for complaint against them. Sir F. CARDEW.

8556. Were there specific complaints against the Police at that time?—Yes. The complaints were general, as a rule, at these meetings, but any specific complaints would always be inquired into when brought to my notice. They were most prevalent when, as at first, there were fewer officers, and the Police, therefore, under less supervision. I pointed out further that these Chiefs themselves often bribed the Police to be on their side, as in the case of palavers with another Chief. I told them that while I would punish the Police for any offences they committed, they themselves were often the offenders in putting temptation in the way of the Police by bribing them.

8557. The Police were ready to interfere?—Yes; but this was unknown to the officers commanding them. Another complaint was the abducting of their women by the Police. At first sight it looks serious, but it is not so serious if you know their conjugal relations. The woman is simply regarded by the native as a chattel, a means of gratifying lust. It was rather that these women courted the policemen. He is smart-looking, well-dressed, and has money, and her condition of life with him is much lighter than with the Chief. She has merely to look after his house and do the cooking, whereas with the Chief there is manual labour, such as hoeing in the fields, etc. There is always a certain number of women who attach themselves to the Police wherever they are. It is not forcible abduction. I have seen it put in the papers that great indignity is done to the Chiefs by taking their women away from them, but the enormity is not so great as it appears when one knows the native customs. In my third tour in 1896, not only did I speak on these subjects, but I had also decided then to bring the Protectorate under administration, and to impose the hut tax. I had already sketched out the provisions of the Ordinance, and on this tour explained them fully to them, whenever I got Chiefs together. At Rokon, the majority of those very Chiefs who came down here last year to petition against the house tax were present, and, subsequent to my tour, meetings of the Chiefs, which I held at Shengay and in the Imperri, were principally taken up with explaining to them my views on the future administration of the Protectorate.

8558. Do you recollect what expressions the Chiefs used on these occasions?—They said nothing in opposition. They never did apparently. There was not a dissentient voice; but those who know the native do not expect a ready response. They take a long time to consider over a matter, and in the end will not always tell one their real views.

8559. At Shengay, Neale Caulker was the leading man?—Yes. I had a private talk with Neale Caulker as to whether his territory should come into the Protectorate or remain in the Colony.

8560. Was Neale Caulker's territory part of the Colony?—Yes.

8561. There is a part where the limits are practically unknown?—Yes; there were no maps when the treaties were drawn up, and a great ignorance of the geographical bearings of countries or districts with relation to one another.

8562. I suppose the cause of the Sofa incursion was simply a predatory raid?—Yes; it was under Samadu for the purpose of taking slaves for trading.

8563. On what principle was the present division of the Hinterland made?—The first principle was that it should be divided as equally as possible into five divisions. In dividing them my view was to make them about the same size, and as regards their boundaries they were laid down so as to interfere as little as possible with the territories under Paramount Chiefs. These boundaries have been already published, and with one exception they have not been objected to: no one has reported on their inconvenience. One Chief had some of his towns in the Panguma district while his headquarters town was in the Bandajuma district. That will be rectified by bringing the boundary to enclose all his towns.

8564. Does it not happen that members of one tribe have to pass through the country

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Sir F. CARDEW. of another tribe in order to reach the District Commissioner?—Practically there is very little crossing of one country by another tribe. I have not heard of any difficulties arising out of it. Tribal jealousy is not so acute here as in South Africa. For the most part in the Karene district those on the south side are Timinis, while those on the north are Limbas. Practically the district centre is approachable by people through their own tribal country. There is not the same cohesion amongst the tribes as there is in South Africa.

8565. But as a matter of fact they do have to go out of their own country?—There is hardly any instance. Mendis going to Kwalu would be in their own country, Timinis would not. It does not entail any practical inconvenience.

8566. Previous to the Protectorate Ordinance being put into operation, the Secretary for Native Affairs was, I believe, the intermediary in communications between the Governor and the Chiefs—that is not now the case I believe: what is the position the Department for Native Affairs now occupies?—The Secretary for Native affairs was a very important person at the time when we had no knowledge of the Hinterland. It was very desirable then to have a Secretary for Native affairs to collect this information and become cognisant of what was going on. At that time the Chiefs came down to Freetown whenever they had anything to complain of, and they did this through Mr. Parkes whom they called their 'father.' Now the Native Affairs Department has dwindled in importance. Communications now are made much more through the District Commissioner, who is assisted by an interpreter. I regard him as being better able to become cognisant of what is going on in the Protectorate than an official here. The instructions are that no Chief as a rule will be received by the Governor unless he has first obtained a letter from the District Commissioner.

8567. Can you say whether the Chiefs regard the District Commissioner with the same confidence with which they regarded the Secretary for Native Affairs?—With more.

8568. It would depend a good deal on the District Commissioner?—Yes. As an instance of how much more reliable their information is: there was Captain Lendy up the country reporting that the Sofas were raiding. Sir Francis Fleming was rather inclined to doubt the information, and referred to the Secretary of Native Affairs who said that no intelligence had reached him, but it proved that Captain Lendy was right.

8569. Upon what view of the right of imposing taxes were the taxation clauses of the Protectorate Ordinance enacted?—I have explained my views in my despatches. Briefly stated—on the principle that every subject is bound to contribute his or her quota to the expenses of the Government. I assume that the Paramount power has the right to impose tax.

8570. Which is the Paramount power?—The Government of the Queen.

8571. You look upon the people of the tribes as being British subjects?—I regard them as such. Some hold the view that it is all *ultra vires*; my view is that are Government of the Colony is the Government of the Protectorate, and that we are justified in levying taxes.

8572. You are aware that there is a very considerable proportion of the imported goods carried into the Protectorate, and that the people thus contribute indirectly to the Revenue?—But not sufficiently. The people in the Colony contribute more in proportion, as they have to pay for licences which are not imposed in the Protectorate.

8573. Have you formed any estimate of the population?—I put them at abou 1,000,000: taking the number of houses: that is for the whole: it may be more.

8574. What was the reason for making the distinction natives and not-natives?—You are aware that there are three different courts, and the jurisdiction of these courts is distinct.

The court of the native Chiefs is the same as existed before the Protectorate was proclaimed, with the exception that its jurisdiction is now limited to minor offences and

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confined to natives. It was necessary to define a native as it was most undesirable that any person not a native such as an European or Sierra Leonian, should be subject to the jurisdiction of a tribunal composed of persons quite uncivilised. Sir F. CARDEW.

Another reason for drawing a distinction, and this was in the interest of the native, was because it was considered proper that he should be allowed to trade without restriction and not be subject to the trade licence. This concession was, however, afterwards modified as bearing too heavily on the Sierra Leone trader.

Then the court of the District Commissioner and native Chiefs also tries natives only; but the court of the District Commissioner tries both natives and persons not natives.

The question of determining whether a person is a native or not-native has never cropped up. If the question arose I presume the court would decide the case.

8575. Were not the relations between the Chiefs and the Government dislocated by the recent disturbances?—During the disturbances communications were interrupted. Now the taxes are being collected, and things are going on just as before. Some of the Chiefs have been imprisoned.

8576. Did you anticipate opposition to the hut tax?—My idea was that there might be passive resistance; that the natives might try and evade its payment, but not actively resist its imposition.

8577. In 1897 you did not anticipate anything like armed resistance?—I was prepared for anything that might happen.

8578. With reference to your letter 9th June 1894 (p. 12, para. 22), you stated that you considered that the imposition of the hut tax would not be opposed by the Chiefs, what class of persons gave you that advice?—I cannot remember at the moment. I suppose it must have been Mr. Parkes. On my journeys I caused the houses to be counted; that was all with a view to it. I spoke to Mr. Parkes again and again on the matter.

I find in reference to my despatch to which you refer I wrote that "as far as I am advised the imposition of the house tax would not be opposed by the Chiefs." During my tour in 1894, I caused the houses in the places we stayed at to be counted with a view to future taxation, and I discussed the matter incidentally with the officers who accompanied me, amongst whom were Mr. Alldridge and Mr. Parkes, and as far as I remember they concurred in the policy.

8579. Mr. Parkes was rather in favour of a poll tax I believe?—Yes; but I did not like a poll tax.

8580. What was your first intimation of any difficulty in Bandajuma?—The official report has been mislaid and cannot be traced. Captain Carr reported to me unofficially on 10th January: "To-day week, 3rd inst., I held a large meeting of influential Chiefs of "Bumpe, Tikonko, Bongay, Tihun, Mattru, Luba country, and many other minor towns. "I gave them a long harangue, and talked quietly and softly to them. They all pleaded "extreme poverty and want of boys which is of course absurd. I told them all right but "they must try and do something, however little, just to let you see that they were willing, "and gave them until to-day to bring in what they could. To-day they all assembled in "court (this was at Mafwe), and repeated the same thing: any wavering or further time "would have been fatal, so I arrested the four principal Chiefs, Berri of Bonge, Thomas 'Bongo of Luba country, Baha representing Bumpe territory and Chief of this town, and "Chief Betsygays representative. They held several meetings during last week, where I "had spies, and they all agreed not to pay or attempt to pay for their own country. To-"day at the meeting there were between 4000 and 5000 men. After arresting the Chiefs "I dispersed the crowd and assembled them in an open space outside the town. I stayed "with them about an hour taking things very quietly, walking amongst them, etc.: the "slightest wavering or half-heartedness would have acted like a spark, although of course "I was fully prepared, but I am glad of a bloodless result. At the same time I am, I

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Sir F. CARDEW. "regret to say, not one inch nearer the collecting of the tax, and I am writing officially to "ask how I am to deal with the Chiefs."

That report was the cause of this memorandum of Mr. Hudson's. That was as far as Mafwe was concerned. At the same time Captain Carr sent me a report from Dr. Arnold (5th January), in which he described that he was mobbed by a number of armed people at Bar and appeared to have been in danger of his life, and had to run back to Bandajuma. [Original report handed in]. I thought it was very serious and immediately telegraphed to the Secretary of State to be allowed to post a company at Bandajuma. I obtained permission but as things seemed to quiet down I did not act on it. So quiet and so little suspected was this outbreak that in a subsequent letter, 11th April, after talking about what amount he will get in, Captain Carr says, "You may rest perfectly assured, sir, and "make your mind easy that there will be no bother or fighting in this district, trouble of "course there is, and there may be a little hitch and friction here and there. This is "only to be expected in the first year."

8581. How long were these Chiefs detained in prison at Bandajuma?—I think they were all sent back on promise of paying the hut tax. I cannot say for certain from memory. I never heard from Captain Carr again till 25th May. After he left Mafwe he was going all over the country collecting the house tax. No report except the one mentioned above went astray.

8582. Has it ever been ascertained what was the precise combination of Chiefs who began the rising in the Mendi country?—As to the precise combination, the conspiracy seems to have emanated from Bai Sherbro of Yonni. He was the leader in what was called the 'one-word' Porro for stopping trade, which was put in force last year by the Sherbro Chiefs.

8583. I may take it the precise combination has never been traced?—There are strong suspicions and various opinions. The District Commissioner, Panguma, reports that Chief Nyagua was very much in it. Then those Chiefs that came to see me from Bumpe. Bai Sherbro of Yonni was with them. They were all in the conspiracy.

8584. Do you remember Bai Kompah of Kwaia coming to you in January 1898, and the circumstances?—Bai Kompah, as far as I can remember, came to me and made a complaint of being personally ill-used. I suspended the warrant against him.

8585. Was Pa Nembana sentenced to be flogged?—I am pretty well certain he was not.

8586. With regard to Captain Moore's expedition, was there any information or evidence outside Captain Moore's report?—Not that I am aware of. I should always act on a report of a District Commissioner. If the District Commissioner makes a report I would act on it. I think the Governor should leave the charge of the district to the District Commissioner, and hold him responsible.

8587. As regards the influence of Sierra Leone people and papers?—I think the influence of the Sierra Leone people is very marked. I am speaking now from my own knowledge in certain things. For instance, I think they have gained a certain amount of unpopularity in the district by their obtrusive and overbearing ways. The natives see them come there and monopolise the trade, and build themselves good houses, and exercise a superiority over the natives, and interfere in their palavers, sometimes with a very high hand. When I was at Mafwe in 1896 the Chief there complained that Sierra Leonians had taken his land without paying any rent, on account of which he felt a grievance. Again, when at Rotofunk, the Chief there complained that Sierra Leonians could not pay rent for their houses. From reports that have reached me, and my own knowledge, the influence of the Sierra Leonians has not been for good, and a good deal of animosity that has been shown to them is due to it. I attribute these disturbances to the bad advice which the natives have received from the Sierra Leonians from time to time. You must have seen the cases in the returns.

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8588. I have seen one or two.—I think there are six[1] at least. There is the evidence of a man called Parkes in the case of Ring. There is the testimony of the District Commissioners themselves, in which they say Sierra Leonians have incited the natives, and they have seen them. There is the attitude of the traders in Port Lokko. Sir F. CARDEW.

[Here followed a question, the Jury Amendment Question.]

I should like to emphasise my point about the Sierra Leonians. It is a fair inference to draw from their previous opposition to the tax when it was imposed on them that they would be opposed to it. Ever since Sir Pope Hennessy came and swept away the house and land tax, they have resisted every attempt to reimpose it, and successfully.

8589. What attempts have been made?—That of Sir S. Rowe in 1885, when he proposed the resolution that, owing to the financial condition of the Colony, it was in such a state that it was important that steps should be taken to meet the annually recurring deficits by imposing additional taxation. There was a great demonstration against that and the Secretary of State, in view, I suppose, of the opposition, suggested that a Municipal Council should be formed, so that the people might tax themselves. The Governor who succeeded Sir S. Rowe, used to confer with the leading people of the town on the subject, but these efforts proved abortive. In 1895 the Municipal Council Ordinance was passed. I came out in 1894, and the bill was attempted to be put in operation, but had to be amended owing to certain defects. In 1896 it came into operation, and from then till now there has been no attempt at levying any rates. A resolution was recently passed by the Municipal Council to levy rates next February.

8590. I frequently met with this as a part of the Government order: 'Government says we must not talk woman palaver any more.' It has been a question whether Government made this order?—The Government never made that order.

8591. At the time you sent up the first Company of the West Indian Regiment to the Kassi country, had you any information except reports from Major Tarbet and Captain Sharpe?—None that I know of.

8592. Had you any information at that time as to the strength of Bai Bureh?—No.

8593. Bai Bureh has made more than one attempt at pacification?—He has asked me to stop fighting: if that may be called an attempt; he has never offered to surrender himself.

8594. He sent a letter through Mr. Elba?—I replied to the effect that he must surrender unconditionally, but I think I guaranteed his life.

8595. Have you formed any estimate of the loss of life in the Karene country?—No: but I think it is small. I do not think it could have been large. I doubt whether there are 200 killed from the nature of the fighting. The insurgents fought into small numbers behind concealed stockades and were generally invisible.

8596. Have you formed any such estimate as regards the Mendi country?—I should think the Mendis must have had considerable losses: they came out in the open. The Timinis have never done that.

8597. Did they not attack Port Lokko?—Yes; but the attack does not appear to have been a serious one.

8598. Was Port Lokko garrisoned at that time by West Indian troops?—Yes; it was held by a Company at least.

8599. Do you think the Municipal Council does its work fairly well?—No; they have neither experience nor necessary organisation to administer the affairs of a town of this size. At the present moment they are very nearly insolvent, and have passed a resolution to raise a loan of £50,000. I do not think they have a Works department capable of spending it properly.

8600. Do you think the work would be better done by a Government department?—Much better.

[1] Since giving this answer I find, on inspecting the returns, that there are three cases recorded in them besides the case of Ring.—F. C.

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Sir F. CARDEW.

8601. Would it be more or less expensive?—Less, I think. The Council have already spent nearly up to their estimate for the market house they are now building, and which is only about half-finished. As regards the rates. They have market dues, one-third of which is not collected: and they have a very defective system of issuing licences under which many appear to escape the tax.

8602. The taxation of the Colony must necessarily follow on the rates of the city? —As to our financial position I do not see how the Government of the Colony can be carried on, either without direct taxation or help from Imperial sources.

8603. You consider that that the tariff rates have gone as high as they can go?— Yes; ten per cent. *ad valorem* is as high as on the Gold Coast, and there they have a much longer exempted list.

8604. What do you think of a small duty on exports?—I think it would crush the industries of the Protectorate, and check its development.

31*st December* 1898.

Further evidence by Sir F. CARDEW with reference to questions in his examination.

8605. Did you in any degree in 1897 anticipate opposition to the hut tax?—I have already stated that I thought the opposition would be more passive than active, and to further explain my views I wish to put in the following extract from a despatch I wrote to the Secretary of State, on the 8th December 1897 on this subject:—'I do not apprehend that the Chiefs will continue to forcibly resist the collection of the tax, for they lack cohesion and powers of organisation, and there are too many jealousies between them for concerted action, but there may be isolated acts on the part of some Chiefs and their followers of forcible resistance to the tax, which might spread to other tribes if not promptly suppressed by the police, and for this reason it is most necessary to have a sufficient force of police at hand.'

8606. Do you remember certain Chiefs coming to Freetown about December 1897 to ask you about the hut tax—Momo Kaikai, Bai Sherbro of Yonni, Bimba Kelley of Mebanta, the Sokong of Imperri, and Chiefs of Jong, Tikonko, Jerehun and Bum River? What took place with them?—I remember certain visits being paid to me. Apart from the Timini Chiefs, whom I met here on my arrival in November last, and who are not included in those you name, a party of Chiefs or their representatives visited me in February 1897, from the following districts—Imperri, Sherbro, Krim, Bendu, Jong, Timdle, Bargru, Small Bum, Big Bum and Bumpe. The principal Chiefs present were Bai Sherbro of Yonni, the Sokong of Imperri and Francis Fawoondo. I saw them on the 10th of February. They asked—

(1) For the abolition of the house-tax.—I may mention here that the tax was not imposed on the natives of the Imperri and Sherbro districts—

(2) Exemption of natives having shops from licence, and

(3) Permission to pawn or pledge slaves.

I refused each request, giving my reasons for doing so fully.

Another party of Chiefs consisting of Gberri of Bongeh, Sandi of Tikonko, a representative of Queen Betsy Gaye, and others, visited me on the 24th February 1897. They complained against the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance about some of which they appeared to have very mistaken notions, such as, that their farms and canoes would be taxed. They also stated that they were too poor to pay now that their working population, meaning their slaves, had left their homes for employment at the Congo and elsewhere. I informed them in reply that no taxes were levied on canoes and farms, but that the house tax would have to be paid, as Government must provide funds for the expenses of the administration of the Protectorate.

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I saw Banna Lewis, *i.e.* Bai Sherboro of Yonni, and other Sherbro Chiefs, at. Bonthe, about the 16th December 1897, and the Sokong and other Imperri Chiefs a day or two afterwards at Bambaia in the Imperri district. I carefully explained to them their position with regard to the Protectorate; I informed them that as they belonged to the Colony they were exempted from the house-tax, but that also for the same reason they had no jurisdiction as Chiefs, except in the case of any portion of their territories lying within the Protectorate, in which case they could exercise jurisdiction over their people in the Protectorate. Sir F. CARDEW,

I saw Momo Kai Kai, Francis Fawundo, Sandi of Tikonko, Baha of Mafweh, besides Wonor of Gerihun and other messengers, I think early in January this year, and at two different meetings—Momo Kai Kai not being present at the first. They all declared their inability to pay. I endeavoured to show them the reasonableness of their contributing their quota to the expenses of the Government. At a subsequent interview with Momo Kai Kai and Sandi, after my reasoning with them and pointing out to them the serious consequences that would devolve on them if they remained recalcitrant, they promised to be loyal and do their best to collect the house-tax. Momo Kai Kai loyally fulfilled his promise, but Sandi got involved in the disturbances, I think because pressure was brought against him by other Chiefs; however, he seems to have done his best to save some victims, and did actually do so in the case of several, and it is reported to me that he is now paying his house tax.

8607. Bai Kompah of Kwaia, did he come to you in January 1898, and what were the circumstances?—He came to Freetown in January, evidently for the purpose of evading arrest; he laid a complaint against an officer of the Frontier Police of ill-treatment, which complaint I have no doubt you enquired fully into. A warrant was out for his arrest during the time he was in Freetown, but I stayed its execution in the hope that I might be able to persuade him to return to his district and carry out loyally his duties as Chief. For some time he excused himself from coming to see me on the ground of sickness, but at last he came on the 2nd February. After explaining to him the necessity the Government were under to impose a house-tax on the inhabitants of the Protectorate for the purpose of defraying the expenses connected with the administration of their country, I informed him that if he promised to loyally assist the Government in collecting the tax, I would not have him arrested. I gave him till noon the next day to consider, and before the expiration of that time he had written to the Secretary for Native Affairs a letter to the effect that he would do his best to collect the house tax. I requested the Secretary for Native Affairs to inform him that I accepted his promise, and to direct him to return as soon as possible to his district and report himself to the Acting District Commissioner at Kwalu. Bai Kompah left Freetown on the 9th February, and, as it appears from reports, neither attempted to collect the house tax or report himself to the Acting District Commissioner. On the contrary, he appears on his return to have raised an insurrection in his country, and to have offered an armed resistance to the Frontier Police. The circumstances attending this insurrection, which required two expeditions of Frontier Police under Captain Moore and Captain Fairtlough, D.S.O., respectively, to suppress, have been fully reported by me to the Scretary of State. M.P.C. $\frac{6}{1898}$, which I believe you have seen, records all the circumstances connected with the visit of Bai Kompah to Freetown.

8608. Sentence of flogging on Pa Nembana?—Pa Nembana was neither flogged nor sentenced to be flogged. I find, on referring to the Minute Paper on his case, that in the report in the Monthly Judicial Return it appears that he was sentenced to thirty-six lashes, but this was a clerical error; as far as I know he was not so sentenced.[1]

[1] Note by the Commissioner. The sentence appears on a certified copy of the *Original Record*, not Minute paper, sent to me. Captain Moore stated in his evidence that he awarded the sentence of flogging, and regretted that the Governor did not allow him to carry it out.

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Sir F. CARDEW.

8609. The nature and object of Captain Moore's expedition into Kwaia, which began on the 1st March 1898?—The object was to suppress an insurrection in the Kwaia, where Bai Kompah had gathered a large armed force, and had established himself in a fortified position at Maketti. The force of Frontier Police employed, numbered forty men, and Captain Moore's report of the expedition, which I duly forwarded to the Secretary of State, shows that he met with determined resistance, and was repeatedly attacked throughout his operations.

8610. Was Kwaia then disaffected?—Very much so.

8611. Captain Fairtlough made an expedition into Kwaia, beginning 5th, and ending 28th April. I would be glad of information. Was there evidence of disaffection apart from the circumstances narrated in Captain Fairtlough's report?—At this time I knew that the whole country was disaffected from Karene on the North to the Bumpe on the South, and on the 27th the Mendi insurrection broke out, which involved the Pangoma and the Bandajuma districts, and the Mendi portions of the Ronietta district. I am of opinion that the circumstances stated by Captain Fairtlough amply justified the action taken by him.

8612. Influence of Sierra Leone Newspapers?—As I believe you have examined the Editors of the two local journals, I will not particularise the passages in these papers which I consider to be offensive to the Government and subversive of its authority. But, inasmuch as they threw contempt on and vilified the Governor, as they showed a marked sympathy for the insurgents and eulogised the rebel Chief Bai Bureh and held him up to admiration as a hero, their tendency has been to incite the natives of the Protectorate not to pay the house tax, and to encourage them in their resistance to the forces of the Government.

8613. The passages in question, if taken by themselves and compared with similar effusions in the lower class journals in European countries, probably do not exceed them in invective and personalities, and it is the common lot of Governments, and persons in authority, to be roundly abused in the Press, whether justly or unjustly; but at home and elsewhere, where the people are educated and discriminating, incitements to resistance of authority, sympathy with insurgents, invectives, and false statements in the papers are quickly discounted and taken at their proper value. But here there is only a half-civilised and but little educated public who are quite unable to discriminate, and, moreover, have a racial bias, which is very natural, as against the Government. The natives of the Protectorate, I believe, have a great reverence for authority, especially of that of their Chiefs, whose rule, until the Protectorate came under our jurisdiction, was despotic in the extreme; to hear, therefore, the authority of the Government spoken of with derision and contempt, cannot but have a most mischievous effect, and lead to actions subversive of that authority on the part of the natives.

8614. It is an undoubted fact that the Sierra Leone papers had a wide circulation in the Protectorate, and that their contents were interpreted to large numbers of natives through educated natives and Sierra Leonians. Each Chief of any importance usually kept an educated native as clerk, who interpreted the papers to him. As an instance of the wide circulation of the Sierra Leone Press, I have before me a report from Dr. Berkeley, late Acting District Commissioner of the Bandajuma District, in which he says, 'on the eastern side of the Sulima river a very large trader was in the habit of reading the Freetown papers aloud, and a Chief of that district told me that he had heard extracts read telling of Bai Bureh's success in the Timini country. The mob throughout that large portion of the district adopted the cry of the Timini war, telling the Chiefs that the Timini war had come and they must join.' It is sometimes asserted that in a country where there are no roads to speak of, no railways, telegraphs, or other means of rapid communication, there cannot be much inter-communication as between the Colony and the Protectorate. This is a fallacy. A very large number of aborigines either live in or frequent Freetown, and the news of anything happening in that city is rapidly dis-

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seminated in the Protectorate. There was constant communication going on between the Timini's in Freetown, and Bai Bureh and the other insurgents in the Karene District, so it may fairly be assumed that the sympathy and encouragement of the press reached the latter. Sir F. CARDEW.

8615. We have to hold here one of the most important coaling stations in the British Empire, and we have at our backs a Protectorate with about a million of inhabitants, mostly savages, to control; and in the peninsula of Sierra Leone we have a people, the majority of whom are only half educated and civilised, but who are the possessors of all the rights, liberties, and privileges of the most enlightened community. With such elements to deal with, a declared policy with reference to the Protectorate, such as the house tax, is much hampered when opposed in the unscrupulous manner it has been by the local press and by Sierra Leonians generally and traders in particular.

8616. Another mischievous result of the local press is that the false statements to which it gives utterance obtain currency in the press at home, and such men as Mr. H. R. Fox Bourne, the Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, are misled by them, and through him, possibly, the large body of highly influential people who are supporters of that Society. Amongst other fallacies in his article in the *Fortnightly Review*, is the assertion that many hundreds of natives have died from starvation in the Karene district. This information appears to have been culled from one or other of the Freetown papers which he freely quotes. I wish here to give this statement the most unqualified denial. In war, people necessarily suffer privations at times from want of food, but from all the numerous reports I have received, and all the inquiries I have made, I do not believe that a single native either in Karene district or in any other part of the Protectorate has died from starvation. Mr. Fox Bourne was informed some time ago that he was in error on this point, but he has not thought proper either to withdraw, modify, or substantiate his statement.

8617. With regard to the action of merchants and traders of Sierra Leone, I consider that they have, to say the least of it, been reckless in the manner in which they have disposed of powder to the natives of the Protectorate. Several traders have been convicted for selling powder to the insurgents during the disturbances. In May last the Police Magistrate reported officially, "that gunpowder is being sold in Freetown by merchants to aborigines who are taking the same up country under the present crisis," and it transpired in two cases before the Police Court that the white agent of an English firm had sold 100 lbs. of gunpowder at the height of the disturbances to some aborigines knowing them to be such, and that a clerk of another English firm allowed a native from up country, whom he knew to be an aborigine, to take away from a store belonging to that firm, 50 lbs. of powder which he sold to him in February last, notwithstanding that there was at that time a proclamation out prohibiting the importation of gunpowder into the Protectorate.

During the disturbances at Bonthe it was discovered that the principal firms there were in possession of gunpowder and warlike material. Three of these firms, Europeans, had large quantities of gunpowder stored in their warehouses in contravention of "The Firearms, Ammunition, and Gunpowder Ordinance, 1898," which provides for only 100 lbs. being kept in each store.

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APPENDIX II.

(DOCUMENTARY.)

I.

AGREEMENT between Great Britain and France, fixing the boundary between the British and French Possessions to the North and East of Sierra Leone.

Signed at PARIS, *January* 21, 1895.

The Special Commissioners nominated by the Governments of Great Britain and France, in accordance with Art. v. of the Agreement of August 10, 1889, having failed to trace a line of demarcation between the territories of the two Powers to the north and east of Sierra Leone, in conformity with the general provisions of Article II. of the said Agreement, of its Annex I. and of its Annex II. (Sierra Leone), and with the indications of the Agreement of June 26, 1891, the undersigned plenipotentiaries charged, in execution of the declarations exchanged at London on August 5, 1890, between Her Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic, to proceed to delimit the respective spheres of interest of the two countries south and west of the Middle and Upper Niger, have agreed to fix the line of demarcation between the above-mentioned territories on the following conditions:—

ARTICLE I.

The boundary starts from a point on the Atlantic coast, north-west of the village of Kiragba, where a circle of 500 metres radius, described from the centre of the village, cuts high-water mark. From this point it proceeds in a north-easterly direction, parallel to the road leading from Kiragba to Robenia (Roubani), which passes by or near the English villages of Fungala, Robant, Mengeti, Mandimo, Momotimenia, and Kongobutia, at an even distance of 500 metres from the centre of the track, as far as a point half-way between the village of Kongobutia (English) and the village of Digipali (French). From this point it turns to the south-east, and, cutting the road at right angles, reaches a point 500 metres on the south-eastern side, and proceeds parallel to the road, an even distance of 500 metres, measured as before from the centre of the track, till it reaches a point to the south of the village of Digipali, whence it is drawn directly to the watershed formed by a ridge which, commencing south of the destroyed village of Passimodia, distinctly marks the line of separation between the basin of the Mellakori (Mellacorée) River, and that of the Great Skarcies or Kolenté River.

The frontier follows this watershed line, leaving to Great Britain the villages of Bogolo (N'Bogoli), Musaliya, Lukoiya (Malagma), Mufuri (Maforé), Tarnenai (Tanéné), Modina (Madina), Oblenia, Oboto, Balimir, Massini, and Gambiadi, and to France, the villages of Robenia (Roubani), N'Tunga (N'Tugon), Daragli (Daragoué), Kunia, Tombaiya, Heremakuno (Erimakono), Fransiga (Fonsiga), and Maodea, as far as the point nearest to

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the source of the Little Mola River; from this point it follows a straight line to the above-mentioned source, follows the course of the Little Mola to its junction with the Mola, and then the *thalweg* of the Mola to its junction with the Great Skarcies or Kolenté.

From this point the frontier follows the right bank of the Great Skarcies (Kolenté) as far as a point situated 500 metres south of the spot where the road leading from Wulia (Ouelia) to Wossu (Ouossou), *viâ* Lucenia, touches the right bank. From this point it crosses the river and follows a line drawn to the north of the above-mentioned road at an even distance of 500 metres, measured from the centre of the track, until it meets a straight line connecting the two points mentioned below, namely:—

1. A point on the Kora, 500 metres above the bend of the river, which is situated about 2500 metres north of the village of Lucenia, or about 5 kilom. up the Kora River, measured along the bank, from its point of junction with the Great Skarcies (Kolenté).

2. A gap in the north-western face of the chain of hills lying in the eastern part of Talla, situated about 2 English miles (3200 metres) south of the village of Duyunia (Donia).

From this point of intersection it follows the above-mentioned line eastward to the centre of the above-mentioned gap, from whence it is drawn straight to a point on the River Kita, situated above and at a distance of 1500 metres, as the crow flies, from the centre of the village of Lakhata. It then follows the *thalweg* of the Kita River as far as the confluence of that stream with the Lolo.

From this point of junction it coincides with a line drawn straight to a point on the Little Skarcies or Kaba River, 4 English miles (6400 metres) south of the tenth parallel of north latitude; and it then follows the *thalweg* of the Little Skarcies as far as the said parallel, which then forms the boundary as far as its intersection with the watershed (*ligne de partage des eaux*), separating the basin of the Niger, on the one hand, from the basins of the Little Skarcies and other rivers falling westward to the Atlantic Ocean on the other hand.

Finally, the frontier follows the aforesaid watershed south-eastward, leaving Kalieri to Great Britain and Heremakuna (Erimakono) to France, until its intersection with the parallel of latitude passing through Tembikunda (Tembikounda), that is to say, the source of the Tembiko or Niger.

ARTICLE II.

The boundary defined in this Agreement is marked on the map which is annexed hereto.

ARTICLE III.

This Agreement is regarded by the two Governments as completing and interpreting Article II. of the Agreement of 10th August 1889, Annex 1 of the said Agreement, Annex 2 of the said Agreement (heading Sierra Leone), and the Agreement of 26th June 1891.

Done at Paris the 21st January 1895.

(L.S.) E. C. H. PHIPPS.
„ J. A. CROWE.
„ GEORGES BENOIT.
„ J. HAUSSMANN.

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II.

RETURN showing Paramount Chiefs of Districts and their Sub-Chiefs, with the Names of the Towns over which they exercise Jurisdiction.

MAFOKI DISTRICT.

Sometimes called the Port Lokko District.

Paramount Chief—BAI FOKI.

Towns directly under control of or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.	Towns directly under control of or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.
MABANKITA (BAI FOKI'S residence).		*Ro Barpolon . .	
		,, Konta . . .	Sarka Binari
		,, Lungay . .	Bokari Fala
Romasanusi . .	Suri Ranka	,, Kumrabai . .	Pa Yamba
Ro Makasi . .	Marabaram	,, Mamboi . .	Sakanu
,, Mumuri . .	Bokari Banna	,, Mafuray . .	Bubu Kelleh
,, Moronko . .	Lamina Kara	,, Bureh . . .	Bai Muranka
,, Tana . . .	Farenka	*,, Konta (ii) . .	
,, Uale . . .	Santiggi Kamara	*,, Kupri . . .	
,, Noroki . .		,, Kambisa . .	Bokari Bung
,, Mabankra . .	Besseko	,, Babara . .	Dowda

* No Sub-Chiefs.

Principal Chief under Bai Foki—THE ALIKARLI OF PORT LOKKO.

Towns under control of the Alikarli or Headmen.	Names of Santiggis or Headmen.	Towns under control of the Alikarli or Headmen.	Names of Santiggis or Headman.
PORT LOKKO (Residence of the ALIKARLI).	Bai Salmansa Bokari Bamp Alimami Kanu Kura Bamp Bokari Seli Ansumana Bali Usumanu Kamara		Santigi Damalai Santigi Moroba Pa Komrabai *N.B.*—All of these reside in Port Lokko or its vicinity, but can be sent on duty at any time by the Alikarli.

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List of Villages belonging to the Alikarli of Port Lokko, but under Bai Foki's jurisdiction.

Masarama	Ro Masaisaimoye	Ro Mamunu
Ro Bunklay	„ Mapoli	„ Bunkuru
„ Futa	„ Mathcu	„ Tower
„ Biss, Headman Bai Bundu	„ Mabaimara	„ Mobocakry
„ Maburu	„ Mycanu	„ Madicor
„ Fuămara	„ Mabassi	„ Madura
„ Taintdocum	„ Masāwuro	„ Lompa
„ Maiafuray	„ Bella	„ Taiama
„ Bunklay	„ Fandu	„ Fangi
„ Pamwome	„ Mamboi	„ Kontha
„ Mashetleh	„ Mabembera	„ Bomballi
„ Thong	„ Mobomso	„ Hongla
„ Gbără	Rosaint	„ Paitifu
„ Mafuray	Ro Bisslol	„ Mabambay
„ Makumbor	„ Maballa	„ Tick
„ Bongloh	„ Gbara	„ Masanocor
„ Yaima	„ Furawa	„ Makabba
„ Masinneh	„ Mabatti	„ Kaiba
„ Matongue	Rofoko	„ Coroboli
„ Polong	Ro Mobontlol	„ Makory
„ Dary	„ Mobatt	„ Kasankor
„ Wunkfung	„ Madouda	„ Karanbay
„ Burlang	„ Kumrabai	„ Matimpeh
„ Kambia	„ Marsimor	„ Tuke
„ MaQuira	„ Makelleh	„ Mayane
„ Kittu	„ Bompe	„ Masubba
„ Yabba	„ Baralol	„ Maryafareh
„ Marunia	„ Motonkoh	„ Masubureh
„ Makkera	Rofu	„ Maryebba
„ Billa	Ro Masebbeh	„ Bompe Ka. Sa. Subba
„ Masimansalol	„ Sanking	„ Makanthy
„ Mabembeh		

N.B.—All of these towns are under Headmen.

KAFFU BULLOM DISTRICT.

Paramount Chief—Bai Sherbro.

Towns directly under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.	Towns directly under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.
YONGRO (Residence of Bai Sherbro).		Mintaya . .	Under Headmen
		Mahera . .	
		Tintata . .	
		Kamasundu . .	
Robanneh . . .	Under Headmen	Lungeh or Madina .	Alimami Hanna Modu
Kambia . . .		Katenkeh . . .	
Kamem . . .		Urnca . . .	
Mondor . . .			

N.B.—There are a number of other small towns all under the direct control of Bai Sherbro.

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LOKO MASAMA OR NORTH BULLOM.

Paramount Chief—BAI SAMA.

Towns under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.	Towns under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.
PAITAFU (Residence of BAI SAMA).		Paytayfu . . .	
		Maiking . . .	
		Barloh . . .	Alimami Amara
Kumraba . . .	Thompson	Papelle . . .	
Madina . . .	Massa Adam	*Banec Island . .	
Rosinoi . . .		*Bob's ,, . .	
Mafori . . .		*Tasso ,, . .	

* Under Government.

N.B.—There are many other towns in Bai Sama's jurisdiction, of which we have at present not got an official list.

MAMBOLO (BULLOM).

Paramount Chief—BAI SHERBRO.

Towns under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.	Towns under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.
MAMBOLO (Residence of BAI SHERBRO).		Bali	Under Headmen
		Bakelimri . . .	
		Rochain . . .	
		Robiss . . .	
Tombo . . .	Under Headman	Karayma . . .	

N.B.—There are some other small towns under Bai Sherbro, but no Sub-Chiefs, *only* Headmen.

SAMU (BULLOM).

Paramount Chief—BAI SHERBRO.

Towns under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.	Towns under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.
SURUBULUMIA. (Residence of BAI SHERBRO).		Bogolo . . .	Under Headmen
		Bupuye . . .	
		Bubuya . . .	
		Tayiri . . .	
Portelo . . .	Santigi Korbali	Lusenia . . .	
Pamelap . . .	Under Headmen	Bogolo . . .	
Mahela . . .		Mondimo . . .	
Moribarga . . .		Robenia . . .	
Senia		Kobriai . . .	
Mendia . . .			

N.B.—There are several other towns in this District

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MAGBEMA OR GREAT SKARCIES.

Paramount Chief—BAI FARIMA.

Towns under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.	Towns under control or under Sub-Chiefs.	Names of Sub-Chiefs.
KANIA (Residence of BAI FARIMA)		Mazama . . .	
		Katempi . . .	
		Makania . . .	
Kambia . . .	Alikarli Koya Bubu	Bendu . . .	

N.B.—There are several other towns under Headmen in Bai Farima's jurisdiction.

BANDAJUMA DISTRICT.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL PARAMOUNT AND SUB-CHIEFS.

Name.	Position.	Native District or Town.
Momo Kiki . . .	Paramount Chief . .	Bandajuma and other towns Kittam
{Momo / Momodu} Jah . . .	Paramount Chief . .	{Pujehun (gumbu) and other towns / Kittam}
Berri	Chief	Bongeh
Henry Tucker . . .	Chief	Gubaru
Narroh	Paramount Chieftainess .	Bandasuma
John Robbin . . .	Paramount Chief . .	Mano
Morana	Chief	Juring
Francis Fahwundu . .	Chief	Manoh
Sandi		
Mackavori	Paramount Chief . .	Tikontko
Betsy Gay	Paramount Chieftainess .	Jong
Chief Otakua . . .	Paramount Chief . .	Bo
Chief Kagobai . . .	Paramount Chief . .	Dambara
Chief Seppe . . .	Chief	Bompeh-Mendi
Chief Fakondo . . .	Paramount Chief . .	Baoma
Chief Sandy Mana . .	Chief	Sozo
Amara Sumana . . .	Chief	Gigbama
Batteh Kaka . . .	Chief	Juru
Vandi Sowa . . .	Chief	Yandahu
Mammy Jumga . . .	Chieftainess . . .	Fiama
Wono	Chief	Jerihun
Mendi Massa . . .	Chief	Mafwe
Magow	Paramount Chief . .	Lubu
Jangu Paror . . .	Paramount Chief . .	Soro

PANGUMA DISTRICT.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL PARAMOUNT AND SUB-CHIEFS.

Name.	Position.	Native District or Town.
Niagwa	Paramount Chief . .	Panguma
Burum	Paramount Chief . .	Koranko
Fa Bundeh	Paramount Chief . .	Kilahun
Chief Suluku . . .	Paramount Chief . .	Kiyima (Kono)
Kaba Seh	Paramount Chief . .	Gohn

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RONIETTA DISTRICT.

List of Principal Paramount and Sub-Chiefs.

Name.	Position.	Native District or Town.
Bai Komp	Paramount Chief	Kolifa
Massa	Chief	Kolifa
Sura Kamara	Chief	Kwaia
Bai Yoso	Paramount Chief	Mayoro
Bai Geart	Paramount Chief	Konta Bambali
Bai Kafari	Paramount Chief	Jani
R. C. B. Caulker	Ex-Chief	Bompe
Bai Kompa	Paramount Chief	Kwaia
Alimami Sena Bundu	Chief	Forodugu
Chief T. N. Caulker	Paramount Chief	Shengeh
Madam Yoko	Paramount Chieftainess	Senahu
Pa Kani	Paramount Chief	Ribbi
Yepeteh	Sub-Chief	Jama
Nancy Tucker	Paramount Chieftainess	Bagru
Sey Lolu	Chief	Maseylolu, Bagru
Santigi Kanu	Chief	Ribbi
Fori Vong	Chief	Taiama
Lahai Boma	Chief	
Torowa	Chief	Mongheri
Pa Naray	Chief	Matotoka
Barma Bum	Chief	Makali
Baimba Kelleh	Chief	Mabomba
Fulah Momsah	Chief	Yonni
Bai Sherbro	Paramount Chief	Yonni
Kong Tam Caulker	Chief	Kassiporo
Songra	Chief	Biema

KOINADUGU DISTRICT.

List of Principal Paramount and Sub-Chiefs.

Name.	Position.	Native District or Town.
Alimami Suluku	Paramount Chief	Biriwa Limba
Bambafara	Paramount Chief	Kru (Koranko)
Fasine	Paramount Chief	Falaba
Alimami Suman	Paramount Chief	Warra Warra Limba
Dusu Suri	Paramount Chief	Musaiya
Yima Fodi	Paramount Chief	Sunkunia
Yanabu Modu	Chief	Sinkunia
Balansama Isa	Paramount Chief	Bendugu
Fina Balla	Paramount Chief	Tibabidugu
Fanjola	Paramount Chief	Krubondo

III.

Sir Francis de Winton to Governor, West Africa, recommending new organisation of Police Force.

LOCAL SPECIAL SERVICE
21

Sierra Leone, 5 *January* 1888.

Sir,—I have the honour to submit for your consideration the accompanying memo with four enclosures, containing certain suggestions having reference to the Police Force

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at Freetown; the establishment of a proper Constabulary; expense of ditto; and a Map showing a proposal by which, in future, the English frontier could be guarded.

From the knowledge I have gained in the recent expedition against the Yonni tribe, as to the manners and customs of the natives, their tribal wars, and the existence of a regular slave trade, the outcome of these wars, different to the ordinary domestic slavery which extends over the whole of Central Africa, I am convinced that the occupation of certain advanced posts beyond the border line is the only means of securing peace and tranquillity along the Frontier.

Such a policy will not only establish more friendly relations between the Colony and the neighbouring tribes, but it will encourage trade, and so promote their mutual prosperity. I have lately seen, in the interior, large tracts left uncultivated, and villages deserted, the result of these tribal wars.

There is another reason, a reason which I have no doubt has often occurred to your Excellency, that, in the event of invasion from the interior, the Colony would occupy a far stronger position than in the present unsettled state of many of the neighbouring tribes on the border.

I had also an opportunity of studying the Police Force while on duty on the Frontier, and I found excellent material for a useful body of men, but there was also a great want of discipline—easily accounted for by the fact of the paucity of white officers among them. This want of discipline naturally prevents the good material from being properly utilised.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

F. DE WINTON,
Col. on Special Service.

III (a).

MEMORANDUM, Sir F. de Winton, on the Constabulary of Sierra Leone.

1. The Constabulary of Sierra Leone are a fine body of men, and with an improved organisation could be usefully employed on the Frontier of the Colony.

2. Their presence at certain positions would promote peace and tranquillity, thus fostering trade, and by an ordinary intelligence system everything that goes on in the neighbourhood should be known to them. Thus when a Chief is buying war, it would not be difficult to prevent and stop it.

3. As the result, these tribal wars could be gradually but surely repressed, and the prosperity of the Colony would be promoted.

4. No time could be more opportune than at present. The punishment inflicted on the Yonni tribe has shown the natives, all along the coast, the power of England, and they would gladly accept any arrangement, lest the same fate befall them.

There is no occupation of territory in this scheme. No Chief is deprived of his lands and the general conditions of the country remain undisturbed.

To carry out the proposal, however, would necessitate certain modifications in the present formation of the police. Under present regulations, these men act as police when at Freetown, and are called Constabulary when employed on the Frontier. They have no barracks, and in consequence have not much discipline, and they are chiefly recruited from the inhabitants of Freetown. There are a few Timinis and Mendis among them.

In my opinion, the Police and Constabulary should be kept distinct. The former should carry out the duties of police at Freetown, and be under the Magistrate. The latter should be placed under an Inspector-General, should live in barracks, and be instructed as soldiers.

Songho Town would form a good depôt for this purpose, and being removed from the evil influences of Freetown, and living in barracks, they would soon attain to a fair amount of discipline.

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This Constabulary should be under an Inspector-General, with four Inspectors and four Sub-Inspectors under him.

At the Gold Coast they have NINETEEN white officials, at Sierra Leone they have TWO.

To cover the Frontier, including the Sherbro district, 250 men would be sufficient. Table No. 1 with map shows proposed distribution. This of course can be modified to suit local necessities.

Table No. 2 shows expenses of such a force, exclusive of food and clothing.

Table No. 3 shows expenses of present force, exclusive of food and clothing. The difference between these two amounts is £2251.

The Freetown Police should be paid out of local taxes.

In recruiting for the Constabulary, 30 per cent. should be engaged from the friendly native tribes. The Mendis are capital material.

F. DE WINTON, *Col.*

5.1.88.

IV.

SUPERINTENDENT, DEPARTMENT FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS to COLONIAL SECRETARY as to Discipline and Reduction of Frontier Police.

1. Recent reports from the Chiefs and people of certain places, as to the conduct of members of the Frontier Police stationed therein, compel me with reluctance to submit for His Excellency's consideration the important question whether the interests of the Government are being studied or its influence increased by the presence in many stations of indiscreet and semi-civilised members of the native community, far away from Headquarters, amongst an ignorant people, without the careful and constant supervision of proper officers.

2. My reason for bringing forward this question at the present time is that during the past few months no less than four serious charges have been brought against sub-officers of important stations of insulting the Chiefs, in one case handcuffing one, and keeping him in custody for a considerable period, flogging their people, and in other ways taking advantage of them. I forward the Minute papers having reference to each case, and you will observe, sir, that, unfortunately for the good name of the force, in every instance the charges were against sub-officers in charge of stations, and the offences were proved, and the offenders punished by the Inspector-General. When it is remembered that these are but a few of the many reports, both verbal and written, which reach here, and that they are from stations not very distant from Headquarters, it is not unreasonable to apprehend that the unreported cases which may have occurred at distant stations would far outnumber those occurring, as it were, at the very door of the Orderly Room. Mr. Alldridge, with whom I had a conversation on this subject on Tuesday, assured me that he had cause to send several such complaints to Headquarters, and that there has not been a time when he has visited the interior when he has not been overburdened with them. Mr. Garrett whilst here also mentioned the same evil.

Corporal Cole, Shengeh.
Corporal Coulson, Port Lokkoh.
Corporal Clarke, Rokelle.
Corporal Morrison, Robarri.

3. The main cause of this much-to-be-regretted state of things is, I am inclined to think, the absence of Officers on the spot or near at hand capable of maintaining that strict discipline and supervision necessary to make the force useful and respected, and to whom immediate complaints could be made and redress obtained, and if this difficulty could be overcome the force might some time in the near future arrive at that state of perfection which Sir James Hay expected of it at its establishment. Up to the present time, however, unfortunately, the greater number of the European officers who have been sent out have not been able to keep their healths and have had to return home, I believe, invalided. I venture therefore most respectfully to submit the following scheme for his Excellency's consideration, as a tentative measure to mitigate the evil referred to.

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4. Having already, in M.P. $\frac{4602}{1892}$, suggested the establishment of a Protectorate, the appointment of Political Agents, and the reduction of the Frontier Police, I would venture now to suggest that instead of keeping a large number of Police scattered as at present near and far without adequate supervision, that detachments of 30 or 50 men be stationed at certain centres under responsible officers, who should use them for patrolling in the district under his charge, and such other duties as the officer administering the Government might be pleased from time to time to direct. I would further suggest that as a large body of disciplined troops are stationed here, and they have, in the only engagement which the Frontier Force has undertaken, been obliged to go to their assistance, that the services of these (if there is no military objections thereto) should be used for patrolling in the Hinterland during the dry season, so that they would be able to obtain information as to the country around in which they may at any time have to take action, and permit the natives to see some of the disciplined troops of the Sovereign to whom they owe allegiance.

5. I need hardly point out that as British jurisdiction extends so the duties of the Frontier Police will necessarily be lessened, as there will be more civil than quasi-military duties to perform, and in case of any punitive expeditions it is to be presumed that after the experience of Tambi it would be a military one, which, as matters were arranged for Tambi, I believe has proved less expensive in regard to transport than that of the Frontier Police. Of course if it were deemed necessary by the officer commanding the troops, some of the force might accompany such an expedition to gain experience in action.

6. I trust that in making these suggestions it will not be thought that I am in any way decrying the services of the Frontier Police. It is, comparatively speaking, a newly organised force, formed of heterogeneous elements, and must necessarily have time to grow and become what it ought to be, and I have always looked upon its development with anxious regard, and whenever the necessity has arisen I have advocated its continued existence; but when instances occur such as I have been forced to refer to in this communication, so likely to reflect discredit, not only on them as a body of men, but also on the Government whose uniform they wear, I reluctantly feel that it is my duty, even in their interests as a force, as well as in that of the Government, to venture to offer some suggestions, not for their total disbandment, but for the adoption of such steps as may, in my humble opinion, serve to mitigate the evil, and in time improve the force.

J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
Supt. Dept. Native Affairs.

DEPT. FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, 28*th July* 1893.

IV (a).

N. A. $\frac{397}{1892}$

COMPLAINT against CORPORAL COLE.

2nd Dec. 1892.

CHIEF T. N. CAULKER reports arrest and handcuffing of a man by Lance-corporal Cole, in consequence of a canoe having been alleged to be stolen. Chief Caulker, within whose jurisdiction the matter was, ordered the canoe to be drawn up on river-bank until owner should appear. Lance-corporal Cole tried to prevent this, and, failing, ran for his rifle, and, as alleged, was in the act of shooting at the men engaged with the canoe when he was forcibly prevented. After a full investigation the Inspector-General of Police recommended that Cole should revert to the rank of Private, remarking that he had been very hasty and shown want of tact, and the recommendation was given effect to.

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IV (b).

Complaint against Corporal Clarke and Private Mormor.

N. A. 239/1893

Bey Suba complains that Corporal Clarke and Private Mormor captured his son and two women, that Clarke put them in irons and took from them various property.

The complainant was remitted to the Inspector-General of Police for inquiry. The accused denied putting the people in irons and stealing their property, but not apparently having seized them. The Chief did not seem to have given evidence in support of his charge, and he was informed that the evidence did not seem to be sufficient to sustain it.

IV (c).

N. A. 382/1892

Complaint against Corporal Coulson.

The complaint against Corporal Coulson is one of a somewhat complicated nature. He was accused of having flogged several people in connection with a scuffle between a supposed runaway slave and a man claiming to be his owner. Several of these people with their friends came to the Police barracks to complain, and there was a tumult. Coulson was seen kneeling with a loaded rifle, about to fire on the crowd, when another policeman with assistance prevented him from firing, and took the rifle from him. After much investigation the Inspector-General punished Coulson by reducing him to a Lance-corporal for 'aiming a rifle at a crowd of natives, thereby endangering their lives.'

IV (d).

3004/1893

Complaint against Corporal Morrison.

A complaint was made against Corporal Morrison that in connection with a slavery question he fell upon and cruelly beat one Yambah Sosah. The case was referred to the Inspector-General for investigation, who held the charge proved, and punished Corporal Morrison by fines and reduction to the ranks.

V.

List of Convictions of Frontier Police for Offences against Natives of Protectorate, February 1894-March 1898.

Date of Offence.	Place of Offence.	Name.	Nature of Offence.	Punishment.
July 1894	Bumban	John B. Macdonald	Ill-treating native at Mabama	21 days' imprisonment, H. L.
Do.	Do.	Edward Parkins	Flogging and putting in irons one Ibrahima Keffarty	28 days' imprisonment, H.L., and dismissed the Force
Feb. & Mar. 1894	Magbaya	Jacob G. Browne	Flogging and ill-treating and otherwise torturing native of Magbaya	84 Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Matelli Lusainee	Do. do.	56 Do. do.
Do.	Do.	George Williams	Do. do.	42 Do. do.
July 20, 1894	Magbas	Bokdri Limba	(1) Ill-treating Chief Pasusu of Magbas; (2) Destroying 10s. worth of Chief's property	120 hours' imprisonment, H. L., and 14 days' C.B.

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Date of Offence.	Place of Offence.	Name.	Nature of Offence.	Punishment.
Dec. 1894	Freetown to Falaba	Sylvanus J. Coker	(1) Aiding and abetting the plundering of natives by the Frontier Police; (2) Receiving one gold ring, one ivory, quantity of fowls, knowing the same to have been plundered.	To be reduced to the ranks, to forfeit all former service towards gratuity and pension
Dec. 14, 1894	When on the march	Lamphia	Plundering fowls, etc., from a village when on the march from Freetown to Falaba	Fined 5s. and 7 days' C. B.
Do.	Do.	Joshua Morgan	Do. do.	Fined 2s. 6d.
Do.	Do.	Francis Rolling	Do. do.	Do.
Do.	Do.	Mormoh Sankoh	Do. do.	Do.
Do.	Do.	Allie Mackah	Do. do.	Do.
Do.	Do.	Joshua Mannah	Plundering one native gown	Do.
Dec. 1894	Do.	Gilbert Jones	Plundering from a village near Rotata quantity of English cloth, one piece at 3s. 10½d.; (2) Plundering one, 3s. 10½d., from a native on the march	Deprived acting rank, fined 5s. and 7 days' C. B.
Do.	Do.	Mormoh Turay	Plundering quantity of calabash, fowls, etc., from the natives from Freetown to Falaba	Fined 5s. and 7 days' C. B.
Do.	Do.	Foeday Kambia	Do. do.	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Francis Rolling	Do. do.	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Mormoh Kamarah	Do. do.	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Kolleh	Do. do.	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Fogbawah	Plundering one gold and one ivory from the natives on the march from Freetown to Falaba	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Bokari Limbah	Plundering quantity of rubber, etc., from the natives from Freetown to Falaba	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Sorie Sankoh	Do. do.	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Justus Morgan	Plundering quantity of calabash, etc., from the natives on the march from Freetown to Falaba	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Foeday Kamara	Do. do.	Do. do.
Do.	Do.	Joshua Mannah	Plundering quantity of rubber, fowls, etc., from the natives on the march from Freetown to Falaba	Deprived of acting rank, fined 5s. and 7 days' C. B.
Do.	Do.	Thomas Savage	Receiving two pieces cloth, knowing same to have been plundered, on the march from Freetown to Falaba	Fined 5s.
Do.	Do.	Francis Pratt	Plundering from a village one piece cloth, one country shirt, and fowls, on the march	Fined 5s. and 7 days' C. B.
Sept. 9, 1895	Falaba	Jonathan Leigh	(1) Ill-treating the natives; (2) robbing the natives; (3) unlawfully having a native woman	56 days' imprisonment, H. L., and dismissed the Force
July 9, 1895	Do.	Joshua Mannah	Flogging a native woman with his waist-belt	Dismissed the Force
Mar. 4, 1895	Kintaballia	Sidikie	Plundering the natives	168 hours' imprisonment, H. L.
Feb. 11, 1895	Falaba	Daniel G. Williams	Ill-treating natives when on patrol duty	Do. do.

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Date of Offence.	Place of Offence.	Name.	Nature of Offence.	Punishment.
April & June 1895	Falaba	Thos. V. Cogan	(1) Violence to the Chief and others, obtaining native girl by threats; (2) Obtaining sheep and other things by threats	84 days' imprisonment, H. L., and dismissed the Force
Sept. 28, 1895	Panguma	David Robinson	Ill-treating a native	168 hours' imprisonment, H. L.
Oct. 1, 1895	Do.	Murray Lahai	Plundering the natives of fowls, etc.; ill-treating native women	56 days' imprisonment, H. L., and dismissed the Force
Apr. 3, 1895	Do.	Henry Stewart	(1) Ill-treating a native; (2) Receiving bribe	Fined 5s. and 14 days' C. B.
Do.	Do.	Damoh Sorie	Do. do.	Do. do.
Aug. 17, 1895	Do.	Silvanus Cole	Ill-treating a native woman	72 hours' imprisonment, H. L.
Apr. 4, 1895	Gorahun	Sanusee Humpah	Ill-treating a native when on the march	96 do. do.
May 16, 1895	Panguma	Kamanda King	Ill-treating and plundering the natives at Mallong	56 days' imprisonment, H. L., and dismissed the Force
Oct. 1, 1895	Rokon	John A. Renner	Unlawfully beating and wounding a native boy	Dismissed the Force
June 17, 1895	Matenefore	Charles B. Cole	Flogging a native	One month's imprisonment, H.L.
Oct. 21, 1895	Bandasuma	Thomas Wise	Plundering and ill-treating natives when sent on duty	28 days' imprisonment, H. L., and dismissed the Force
Sept. 6, 1896	Garinga	Brama II.	Stealing from a native	168 hours' imprisonment, H. L.
Nov. 29, 1896	Bandasuma	Kanray	Seizing a native	96 do. do.
Mar. 13, 1897	Kwalu	Benjamin Williams	Brutally ill-treating a native woman	Fined 7s. 6d., forfeited 1 G. C. B., and deprived L. stripe
May 11, 1897	Do.	Do.	Receiving bribe; illegally arrested a native and put him in handcuff	
June 27, 1897	Do.	Harry Williams	Assaulting a native at Tungea	Fined 5s. and 14 days' C. B.
Dec. 25, 1897	Do.	Jacob Johnson	Flogging a native woman	168 hours' imprisonment, H. L.
July 20, 1897	Bandajuma	Santigi Moore I.	Ill-treating a native	168 hours' imprisonment, H. L., and 14 days' C.B.
Aug. 10, 1897	Do.	Fatomah	Stealing from a native	48 hours' imprisonment, H. L.
Sep. 10, 1897	Do.	Theophilus Job	Assaulting and ill-treating a native woman	14 days' imprisonment, H. L.
Nov. 10, 1897	Panguma	Admiral Nelson	(1) Ill-treating a native; (2) plundering natives	168 hours' imprisonment, H. L.
Nov. 18, 1897	Do.	Horatio D. Cole	Plundering the natives	Do. do.
Dec. 20, 1897	Do.	Horatio D. Thomas	Flogging a native woman	Do. do.
Jan. 31, 1898	Do.	Horatio D. Cole	Ill-treating a native	Fined 10s.
Feb. 9, 1898	Do.	Sankoh Lokkoh	Ill-treating a native woman	168 hours' imprisonment, H. L.
Jan. 19, 1898	Do.	Saidoo Lokkoh	Do. do.	Fined 5s.
Feb. 22, 1898	Do.	Kanray Charlie	Ill-treating a native man	Do.
Do.	Do.	Lammah Farlah	Do. do.	Do.
Feb. 28, 1898	Kwalu	Sebbeh Wellington	Ill-treating a native	Do.
Mar. 26, 1898	Do.	Mormo Turay	Plundering a native	Fined 10s.
Feb. 9, 1898	Karina	Bindee	Ill-treating a native	Fined 5s.

CECIL TROUGHTON, *Actg. I.G.*

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VI.

MINUTE, 26th September 1896, Sir F. CARDEW instructing SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS to explain Protectorate Ordinance to Natives.

416/1896 FROM THE GOVERNOR.
LOCAL.
No. 521. *Dated 26th September* 1896.

HONBLE. COLONIAL SECRETARY,

Herewith copy of the Protectorate Ordinance 1896, and a copy of my address to the Legislative Council therein.

Please forward to Secretary Native Affairs, with a request that the provisions of Ordinance may be explained to the natives of the interior.

The enclosures can be kept by the S. N. A.

F. C.

VII.

CIRCULAR LETTER, 21st October 1896, from NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, explaining Protectorate Ordinance.

Native Affairs, No. 459. EXPLANATION OF THE PROTECTORATE ORDINANCE, 1896.

To CHIEFS IN THE PROTECTORATE,

MY GOOD FRIEND,—I am directed by His Excellency the Governor to write and inform you that a law has been passed under which your country now becomes a part of the Protectorate.

By this Ordinance, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, you will see that three Courts are established viz.: (*a*) the Chiefs', (*b*) the Court of the District Commissioners and the Chiefs, (*c*) the Court of the District Commissioners alone.

As His Excellency explained when travelling through the country last year, all debt and other small palaver will be in the Chiefs' Court, but big palavers, like murder, slave palavers, man-eating, leopard, and alligator palavers, shall be tried by the District Commissioner and the Chiefs, and witch and slave palavers, buying and selling slaves, and cases arising out of fights between different sections of your tribes, will be tried by the District Commissioner alone.

You must, however, understand that no Chief will be allowed in his Court to order anybody to be killed, or cut, or wounded, and if any attempts to do this, the Governor will give him a big palaver. The Chiefs will be entitled to the fines and fees imposed in their Courts.

Women must not be sentenced to be whipped.

In cases where there is a palaver with 'Country people,' and persons who are not 'Country people,' as to debt, the District Commissioner will judge the palaver, and if the palaver is more than £25, and either of the parties who have the palaver are not satisfied with the way he 'cuts' it, they may appeal to the Supreme Court of the Colony: the person appealing giving security for expenses. No Lawyers will be allowed to plead in any of the Courts, excepting in cases involving the punishment of death, unless by leave of the District Commissioner.

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Slave Dealing.

As His Excellency has often told you all, buying and selling of persons as slaves is unlawful, and every slave and other persons brought or induced to come within the limits of the Protectorate in order that he should be dealt with or traded in, sold, bartered, purchased, transferred, taken or received as a slave, or placed in servitude or transferred as a pledge or security for debt, shall be free.

Persons who are now in servitude may redeem themselves by paying such sum as may be fixed by the Governor as redemption-money. At present this sum, in the case of adults, should not exceed four pounds, and in cases of children, two pounds. When any person so redeems himself or herself, any children that they may have after shall be free.

Any person guilty of slave-dealing, pawning, bartering, etc., shall be liable to go to gaol, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding seven years; and any one who does these things, either by advice or otherwise, shall be liable to the same punishment as the person who commits the offence.

Lands.

In regard to lands the following provisions have been made:—

a. Any grant of land made by any 'countryman' to persons not 'countrymen' for the collection of Rubber, Palm Kernels, Kola-nuts, or other produce, must be approved by the Governor before the end of one year.

The Queen holds to herself the right of Mining for and disposing of all gold, precious stones, and minerals found in the Protectorate; and the Governor in Council has the power to confer the necessary powers for working mines and minerals, etc.

The Governor has also the right to give chiefs waste lands for the use of their tribes, and to fix or alter the boundaries of such lands.

He has also the right to take whatever land may be wanted for use by the Government, and if such land is occupied or cultivated, then such amount as the Governor and Council may think fit has to be paid for compensation.

The Governor has also the power to allow any person or persons he may think fit to occupy waste lands.

Customs Duty will be charged on all goods brought into the Protectorate on which duty has not already been paid to the Government, and the Government will appoint by notice published in the *Gazette* customs ports.

From the 1st January 1898 every Chief will have to pay to the District Commissioner, or person appointed by him, on every house, excepting houses owned or occupied by a person not a native or in the service of the Government.

For each house of 4 or more rooms, 10s. per annum. For each house with 3 or any less number of rooms, 5s. per annum. This tax has to be paid in money if possible, and a receipt will be given for it.

All shops will have to be licensed and pay two pounds per annum, or 25s. for the half-year.

From 1st January 1897 nobody is to sell spirits in any building or the open air, excepting they have a licence, for which they must pay £2 per annum, or 25s. for the half-year.

Nobody excepting a 'countryman' is to give spirits to a 'countryman,' or the person will be liable to a fine not exceeding £20, or to imprisonment, with or without the option of a fine, for a term not exceeding two calendar months.

Nobody, even if he holds a spirit licence, is to sell spirits to be drunk on the premises, or he will be liable to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds.

Any Chief who shall be required by the Governor, either directly or by a deputy or messenger, to do or refrain from doing any public act or acts, and who defies or neglects

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such order, shall be guilty of an offence, and any one who resists or obstructs officers in the performance of their duties shall also be guilty of an offence.

Any person who does not pay his tax shall be guilty of an offence, and shall be liable to pay three times the amount of tax or duty which he ought to have paid.

The Governor, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, may depose any Chief who is unfit for his position, and appoint a fit and proper person to be Chief in his place.

Whenever the District Commissioner thinks it is necessary for the peace and security of the country, he may, subject to the approval of the Governor, order the deportation of such person from his district.

This is the law in force now, and as soon as the District Commissioner arrived in your district you will have to be guided thereby.

Please explain this carefully to all your people.—I am, etc.

(Sgd.) M. SANUSI,
pro *Acting Sec. for Native Affairs.*

DEPARTMENT, NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, 21*st October* 1896.

True Copy.
N. S. A.

VIII.

LETTER, 19th September 1896, from BEY SAMA, BEY SHERBRO, and ALMAMI HANNAH MODU, to SIR F. CARDEW, protesting against having to go to Karene instead of Freetown.

N.A.
491
1896

TRANSLATION of a letter written in Arabic from Bey Sama, Bey Sherbro, and Almami Hannah Modu, through Alpha Sanusi, Government Arabic Writer to His Excellency the Governor :—

Received 19*th September* 1896.

IN the name of the Most Merciful God :

This letter is from Bey Sama, Bey Sherbro, and Almami Hanna Modu, son of Almami Dallar Modo, with our respects to our good friend, namely Alpha Sanusi of Sierra Leone; we are praying for you for good and good ending. At present our position to us at Sierra Leone is great.

Our object is in obedience to you, and through you this letter should reach His Excellency the Governor, and to explain our business to the Governor. Should you see any wrong in our word or mistake, please to correct it and make it good to the Governor, because you know of them more than we; and more also, our grandfathers and our fathers were under the shadow of the Governor of Sierra Leone. We never offend them at all; whenever we were called by them we always answer them at once, and we are always pleased and satisfied with their decision, and our minds hold fast on that.

And now at this time a fresh news has brought to us, which was never been in agreement in our lives, and the news is this, that the officers of the Governor that are at Karina have sent messengers to Ronteh and caught some men and took them to Karina. This is a new departure, as hitherto we were certain that all our matters should be at Sierra Leone. All our affairs should be settled at Sierra Leone. We do not wish to travel to Karena, because we are old. We know that whoever with us does anything wrong, or made any mistake, the matter is to be settled in Sierra Leone. We do not wish to take our palaver to the Limbah Country.

We ask you, O Alpha Sanusi! to speak on our behalf to the Governor, for the Bullom land is the nearest part to the Governor where his hands reach quickly. We have no power but by the Governor, nor cunning but by the Governor, so we hope that the Governor

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would be pleased to look and pity on us, so as not to take or not to send our matter and our palaver to another place; and as you, Alpha Sanusi, are in Mr. Parkes' place, for this reason we ask you for God's sake to talk to the Governor in our behalf or in our affairs, and to relieve us from travelling to the Limbah Country. We are, etc.

Translated by Government Arabic Writer.

DEPARTMENT FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, 19*th September* 1896.

IX.

LETTER, 26th October 1896, from BEY SIMRA to ACTING SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS, asking for further explanation about Protectorate Ordinance.

N.A.
582/1896

ROBISS MASIMRA, 26*th October* 1896.

To ACTING SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

SIR,—I have the honour most respectfully to approach you with these few lines concerning the Ordinance to promote peace, order, and good government in the territories adjacent to the Colony of Sierra Leone.

Ten weeks ago we saw this Ordinance brought to effect by the arrival of the District Commissioner at Ronietta.

May I beg to ask whether our power over the country is brought to a limit? Because by this we are afraid that all our working men or slaves will be accessible to free themselves to the District Commissioners, palavers would not be settled by us again, our wives will be going away from us, and, worse of all, in 1898 tax must be paid on every house from 5s. to 10s. as the case may be, which will bring down a heavy burden on us. When we consider our poor state in which we live, the main roads being closed from which we use to obtain gold, rubber, ivory, cattle, etc. etc., I wonder what means will we acquire to pay this heavy taxes.

I beg therefore that His Excellency the Governor may kindly do me the favor and furnish me with a little explanation on this matter. Because we are too poor in our country—there are some people who could not earn one piece of cloth for a whole year: we really wonder how we 'll be able to get this money.

Thus far we would kindly beg the Governor to pitty our condition by enlightening this pending burden.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

BEY SIMRA.

X.

LETTER, 20th October 1896, from CHIEFS AT MORFUAY to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS, expressing inability to pay the Hut Tax.

N.A.
563/1896

BOMPE MENDE, 20*th October* 1896.

J. C. E. PARKES, Esq.,
Department Native Affairs.

OUR GOOD FRIEND,—We, the undersigned Chiefs and Headmen, do hereby crave most respectfully to make our petition to Her Majesty the Governor, for which we trust this will be worthily noticed.

We have received and carefully perused the notice sent to us.

For which the purport of this petition is because we find that we are poor people into this part of our country.

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We therefore humbly crave to state that we shall not be able to abide to the new instructions, such as the paying of Land Tax and House Tax, and also the reducing of our wives; but we shall ever keep strictly to any other instructions that we shall further have from Her Majesty the Goverment.

For finding also that we have promised solemly to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to keep peace to ourselves and not to destroy lives and property: We had since then abided strictly to these oaths, and it was suggested that should in case any infraction should occur of the promises by Chiefs or Headman shall be considered to be the enemy of the Queen's Goverment. And since then all instructions from Her Majesty's representative or the Queen's Govorment had been strictly governing by, and we have been from time to time keeping all the roads clean and bridges properly keept, for the interest of the Govorment and the interest of the Sierra Leonans about here.

We therefore begging Her most Majesty the Govoment not to deal with us hardly or strongly, as we are too poor to suffer just now. Should in case we are to abide by these instructions as afore stated. May Her Majesty the Goverment have pity on us as we are poor heathen and poor all over in our country.

We are awaiting to hear (or receive a competent reply to our satisfaction) from Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.—From your Good Friends, while we beg to remain with due deference, yours faithfullly,

their
CHIEF × GRABROH OF BOMPEH MENDI,
SUB CHIEF × SEPPEH „ „
„ × BANDABRAH „ „
SPEAKER × GBONGOH, TANINAHU,
CHIEF × CANRAY NANCY,

Principal men of Morfuay.

XI.

LETTER, 14th December 1897, from Chiefs in Mafwe District to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS—inability to pay Hut Tax.

N.A.
423
1897

J. C. E. PARKES, Esq.,
S.D.N.A.

MAFWEH, 14*th December* 1897.

OUR GOOD FRIEND,—We have the honour most respectfully to write you, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, that we hereby send Byoe, the son of the late Chief Canray Nancy, as our representative, who will explain to you in details all what we wish to say. The most principle is the house tax, which we are told will commence January 1898. We are not in any way opposing the Ordinance, but we are really poor and not in the position of paying, therefore we humbly pray that His Excellency will pity our case in this respect.—We are, your good Friends,

CHIEF GOOROOGBROH his mark (Bompeh Mende).
„ BAHA „ (Mafweh).
„ SEPPEH „ (Yengehmah).
„ CAHBINEH „ (Gpehgeh).
„ MENDI MASRA „ (Mafweh).
„ CARANCAY „ (Boomah).
„ KIE MANGAH „ (Morcobah).
„ JONGRE „ (Walihoon).
„ BOANGOR „ (Tahinenehu).

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XII.

LETTER, 19th November 1896, from BAI KOMPAH to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS: request to take complaints, etc., to Freetown instead of to Ronietta (Kwalu).

N.A.
592
1896

ROMANGAY, *November* 19, 1896.

J. C. ERNEST PARKES, Esq., J.P.,
Secretary for Native Affairs,
Free Town, Sierra Leone.

MY GOOD FRIEND,—I have the honour to state, for the information of His Excellency the Governor, that having received an invitation from the District Commissioner of Roneitta to meet him at Ro Bari for enquiry into my complaint against Bey Sherbro of Yonnie for having taken from and made chiefs for part of my country, I shall in consequence be absent from this part of the country for about two or three weeks from the 23rd or thereabout. I have left Chief Dick Wolah of Romangay to receive all communication and instructions from the Government and forward same to me, and also to act for me in cases of emergency.

I take advantage of the present opportunity to make the following request of His Excellency. In a letter received from your Department of the 16th October '96, His Excellency was pleased to inform me that a District Commissioner has been appointed at Roneitta to whom we have to take our complaints direct instead of to the Government.

As the oldest native friend of the Government, I venture to indulge the idea that I enjoy above other native chiefs special privilege from the Government. Hence the liberty of which I now avail myself. The distance from this part of the country to Roneitto is great, some sixty mile. And particularly in the rains it would be no little trouble and inconvenience for old men and women to travel this distance. May I therefore most respectfully request of His Excellency the privilege that the people living in that portion of lower Quiah, known as ceded Quiah, and in the country immediately around it as far as Mabaifu, one of my seats in the Sierra Leone River, be permitted to take their complaints and appeals to Free Town. Iearnestly crave this favour from His Excellency, and I trust, in his usual compassion, he will grant it me for the sake of the aged and helpless people.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your good friend, BEY COMPAH, × his mark.

XIII.

LETTER, 3rd November 1896, from MADAM YOKO to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS, as to Protectorate Ordinance.

N.A.
574
1896

MANJAHU, *3rd November* 1896.

SIR,—It moves me the pleasure of drawing you this few lines to inform you that I received the Ordinance that was sent to me by the instruction of His Excellency the Governor, which I have read and explain carefully to my people.

Sir, there is no power of ourselves to raise any objection on what the Government propose, or think fit for the welfare of our country. Respecting the nature of the Ordinance we cannot say anything against it as we are subject under the Government. But if any of the Ordinance be too strong for us. I think if we inform him of the same, he will be gracious to us, by lesson the strength a bit, as we are country people. In fact, I was thinking that all my energies respecting my seeking the welfare of the country will terminate war, not knowing that the result will be an Ordinance which will be beneficial to us hereafter, Sir, I am very much please to here the Ordinance read and explained to the hereing of all people, many of the chiefs are here presently, But most of them are not yet come. Please tender our warmest thanks for the knowledge we received from the

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Government. And as this being a new Ordinance which we are not accustom with we shall make a trial of it, for we do not know what it is like yet. But if we find any that be two strong for us, I think if we ask His Excellency that an amendment should be made for us, as we are country people, he will be gracious to us and ans. our request, as we are protectorate under the Government.

With hopes this will meet[s] the Governor[s] approval,—I have the honour to be your good friend,

her
MADAM × YOKO.
mark

XIV.

LETTER, 17th December 1896, from TIMINI CHIEFS to CAPTAIN SHARPE, petitioning against Protectorate Ordinance.

MY GOOD FRIEND CAPTAIN SHARPE,

1. We received one letter here from Governor sent to tell us that the Queen now takes the whole of the Timini country. The palavers are all left now to Queen's part, so we read the letter and we know the law that he the Governor puts on us new, viz., not to *barter* any slaves again, nor to buy again, nor to put pledge again, so who ever do that if Government find you guilty of that with the slaves, they will catch you and put you for 7 years Gaol.

2. So that again who get his own country and if the place is empty and there is no one to work, the Governor will take the place and give to another people to work farms there. This we come to you, Captain, to beg the Governor, do make him don't do that to us. Because we did not make war in our country.

3. Again to say we must pay for our houses, we are not able to pay for our own houses, because we have no power and no strength to do so, so that please tell the Governor we beg him to be sorry for us, and to consider the old agreement he made with our Fathers.

Suppose when your headman tells you to take up a heavy load, if you are not able to take it, you can only tell him by true words: 'Master, I am not able to carry all this at once, I am *two* weak.' Suppose you omit to tell him at the time itself that you are not able to carry the load, then when you tell him afterwards, he will ask you, 'Why did you not tell me at the same time that you are not able to do this?' This is why we tell you, Master, we are not able to pay for our house. Beg to Governor to leave us as we have been day before, because the law tells us that we must not take our load to go up country again, unless we pay duty.

4. Now the whole of the domestics we got before all stuborn and refuse to work for us. Now as we have no power to force them to work do, we beg you, Captain Sharpe, to tell Governor that we are not able to observe the new laws and to pay house taxes. Remember we all have been friends with the Queen for a long time. Also we beg the Governor must leave our woman palavers to ourselves because we are poor people, and because we do not get any power beyond our farm-work.

5. So, Captain, please beg the Governor to make him feel sorry for us, and beg him not to take any chief's waste land and give to any man or stranger. This we beg him, for we are bush people and we are poor people, and again if Governor say we must pay for all this, we do not get slaves to work for us, and we cannot trade as the road is closed,—that we must pay £2 for year that is too hard on us. And again the Governor write we to say if any body kill person or snake bites person and die, and all the witch palaver so the Chief must not talk the palaver alone, except the Captain present, the Chief and the Captain talk the palaver,—concerning all this we send to beg the Capt to tell the Governor not to pull the power to judge these matters out of our hands but to leave all these matters to our-

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selves both all the big palavers and all the small ones we beg may be left to ourselves, any matter are not able to settle then we will go take it to the Captain. Do, we all pray God by the Governor to allow this for us and not be so hard on us.

We are your good friend,

ALIKALI MORRIBAH, Port Lokko.
BEY FOKI, Mafokki.
BEY FARIMA, of Saffrako.
BEY KANARIE, Tinkotupa.
BEY SHAKKA, Dibia District.
BEY BUREH, Kassi District.

Translated by ALPHA FODAY UNISA, Arabic writer to the Alikali of Port Lokko.

True Copy.
(Sd.) S. F. NICOL.
17.12.96.

XV

LETTER, 18th December 1896, from CHIEFS OF SULIMA, and GALLINAS, to Sir S. LEWIS, C.M.G., asking him to put their petition against the Protectorate Ordinance before Governor of Sierra Leone.

GALLINASS SULIMAH DISTRICT,
JURING, 18*th December* 1896.

Sir SAMUEL LEWIS, K.C.M.G.,
Barrister-at-Law, Free Town Sierra, Leone.

We the undersigned Chief of the Gallinas, viz., Gbema Country Soro, Perry, Mar Gball and Upper and Lower Kittam and the other head-men whose names you will see in this letter, beg most respectfully to inform you that the ordinance sent to the late Chief Abdullah of Juring, by His Excellency the Governor of Sierra Leone that it may be carefully read to us in the protectorate country. We now endeavour you to write to His Excellency for us, as we consider the laws are too strong for a Native man to go under. We never were inform of such ordinance before or previous till we see it all on a surden, it give such a terrible cry and noise over the Country. All our people are now removing to the Tawoh Country in the Liberian Jurrisdiction. We, the Chiefs, beg cordially that you should put this before His Excellency, you must know that the country was suffering from war for many years back, and the whole of us and people are made poor by the war, His Excellency knows better when he travel last in the country he saw many towns not yet built. He gave us law to clean the roads and not to seize ourselves, and not to fight or make any war or to kill wilfully; we agree to all that laws, but now we see ourselves in bondage, we are not free, we know that our country did not take by conquest only we gave the queen to protect it, we find now that she took it from us, but not only protection. If we know that such will be the case, we might not agree to sign treaty with His Excellency Governor Havelock, we ask him all these things, he deny that such will not take place. We know that H. M. Queen Victoria is a merciful queen, she will not take another man country by force, thats why we agree. Oh! Sir, the nation crys for mercy, instead of country built it is now broking, all are removing, you can see in this country some people so poor, they can not even get one country cloth to cover, but they can build small dirty houses to stop inn, and where to get money to pay tax for house, some people get only ten shillings to live upon, and how he will manage to get £2, Two pounds to pay licince to sell this ten shillings merchandise.

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What we do wrong against H. M. The Queen, to set such laws upon us, we therefore beg you to help us, *Do, Do, Do.* the nation crys.

. . . . . .

The letter was signed with the names of the following Chiefs:—

		His Mark
(Sgd)	KIER MASSAQUOI, Juring,	×
,,	SANUSEE GBOW, Corancoh.	×
,,	BAH BIE, Coigeh,	×
,,	KIER WONEY, Manoh,	×
,,	KIER ZOBO, Tossoh,	×
,,	BAH KEREMASSAR, Woimah,	×
,,	ZOKER, Firoh,	×
,,	ZO BUMBOE, Goh,	×
,,	KEMO KIE, Marimah,	×
,,	KENGO MANEE,	×
,,	GBURAH, Ghuanu,	×
,,	SIE TUAH, Tuassu,	×
,,	SIE DUMONEH, Gimmee,	×
,,	DARBONNOH GHAR MAR,	×
,,	SAMMAH GBAIRAY, Ghisewuro	×
,,	SENJOH, Bandasumah,	×
,,	KIE MASSAQUI, Gaindama Momo Fofe Gbaker, 1st Bar Fu, 2nd Jasindey, 3rd Ghango, 4th Sarba,	×
,,	DARYEMMAR, Je Jarmah,	×
,,	KEMMO, Manoh,	×
,,	JARKAIMA, Sammah,	×
,,	DARBENNEY, Suarwo,	×
,,	BONDOE, Bowo,	×
,,	JOYER, Matembgemar,	×
,,	MAR LAH, Jaihomar,	×
,,	WAR KENNAH, Wher Tehegbi,	×
,,	KEMO KIE, Bomme,	×
,,	MAR HAR YAM, Jarwey,	×
,,	FARRAY, Gbotoru,	×
,,	GBU KUMU, Mesemah Town,	×
,,	GBANGER, Tossoh,	×
,,	MESSEDEY, Yonney,	×

		His Mark
(Sgd)	MOMO KIEKIE,	×
,,	MOMO JAH, Pujehu,	×
,,	MOMO GORTOE,	×
,,	1st JENKIN MASSAQUOI, (Late Chief Abdullahs Brothers.)	×
,,	2nd SALLOO MASSAQUOI, (Late Chief Abdullahs Brothers.)	×
,,	3rd KARBENNEH ,, (Late Chief Abdullahs Brothers.)	×
,,	4th MOMO GOMBLAR ,, (Late Chief Abdullahs Brothers.)	×
,,	SEY GOVAH, Jaro	×
,,	BARKOYE, Yazwoye,	×
,,	SAMBAR BOMMU,	×
,,	KARBUNDCH PAI RAI HARBAH,	×
,,	DASWONEYWHER Ghejeh,	×
,,	KIE BAMBU Fonney Keo,	×
,,	DEDEBAR, Sembehu,	×
,,	DARKONNA, Coygbomar,	×
,,	SOWAH, Bandajumah,	×
,,	BOYMAH JAH, Massaquoi Ghaindama,	×
,,	MOMO, Massaquoi,	×
,,	MOMO, Maryeffer,	×
,,	LASSANAH BORBOR,	×
,,	SARSEI COBIE, Speaker, Ghaindama	×
,,	HUBU, Sembehu,	×
,,	MOMO, Kargbarsah,	×
,,	MURRY GBAI,	×
,,	LAMIN, Massaquoi,	×
,,	JARYER, Johny Corrier,	×
,,	FARSONAH ROGERS,	×
,,	SIAFFER, Menah,	×
,,	FARKENNAH,	×
,,	MOMO DO,	×
,,	JEMMY, Zorucong,	×
,,	BIE, Bassey,	×

XVI.

LETTER, 28th June 1897, from TIMANI CHIEFS to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS, enclosing Petition against Protectorate Ordinance.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *June 28th*, 1897.

J. C. E. PARKES, Esq., J.P.,
Secretary for Native Affairs, Sierra Leone.

SIR,—We the undersigned Chiefs respectfully beg to forward you the enclosed Petition, and request you to submit the same to His Excellency the Administrator.

You understand our state better than any one, and you can explain our wishes better than we can put them on paper. We therefore beg of you to do us the honour of giving the Government all the necessary information with respect to our true wishes. That we

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love the Government and are loyal to the Queen you know, sir. This is our confidence in submitting the present Petition.—We have the honour to be, Sir, your good friends,

[Here are some Arabic signatures.]

BEY COBLO.
NEM GBANA.
DICK WOLA for BEY COMPAH.
BEY FARRMAR.
ALMANY BOMBORLI.
ALMANY LAHIE.
ALMANY BASSHIE.
ALMANY SATER LAHIE.
ALKARLI MORBAR.
BEY FORKEY.
ALNAMY CONNU.
ALMANY LUSSAINE.
ALMANY ANNAMORDOO.

XVII.

PETITION, TIMINI CHIEFS against Protectorate Ordinance.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *June* 28, 1897.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The undersigned Kings, Alimamis, Alkarlis, and other Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs, and Headmen of the towns and countries annexed to their names in the Hinterlands of the colony of Sierra Leone, beg leave most respectfully to approach your Excellency and at your feet lay this their humble Petition.

Your petitioners being aware from past experience that no change of any importance in the Government of Sierra Leone is ever undertaken without any instructions from our great and gracious friend the Queen of England or Her Governments, your petitioners therefore most humbly pray that your Excellency may be pleased to do them the honour of transmitting to them this Petition with any kind recommendation for their exercise of pity towards us poor and ignorant people which it may please your Excellency graciously to grant them. Your petitioners seize this most auspicious opportunity in which your Excellency has been pleased to do them the honour of deeming them fit to join in paying homage to Her Majesty the Queen on this Her Diamond Jubilee the Sixtieth Anniversary of Her Reign, and your petitioners venture to think there can be none more auspicious for submitting their wants, and for hoping to obtain favours from the Queen through your Excellency.

Your petitioners beg to premise by assuring your Excellency that proclamation of a protectorate over their country is in full union with their hearty desire ever to remain under the benign and just Government of England.

Your petitioners' country, in the course of its history, has passed under the Portuguese and French Government, and your petitioners have proved that there is no race of White people who do their best to deal with your petitioners with more pity, justice, and humanity than the English people, for which reason we love them.

The Yonnie Expedition introduced a new state of things into our country; the White man's power was made to be a little more felt: and your petitioners must here admit the untold benefits they have received therefrom. Peace and order maintained; and innumerable are the miseries, slavery, and untimely graves from which the country has been saved. In all, your petitioners were left to the full enjoyment of their country, their ancient laws, manners, and customs. Your petitioners have not, however, been a little alarmed and distressed by a few of the new laws promulgated in the country under the protectorate Government, as read and interpreted to us by a Mr. Renner, and others as Government messengers.

The substance of the laws in question is as follows:—

1. That the country is no more your petitioners', it is the Queen's; and that your

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petitioners have no more power over their lands and property; and that their Chiefs cannot do even so much as to settle matters respecting their common farms. All gold and silver found in the country to be the property of the Government.

2. Your petitioners are to pay for their houses from 5s. to 10s. a year.

3. Your petitioners are not to carry on any trade unless they pay to the Queen £2 a year.

4. No rum is to be sold in any part of the country unless your petitioners pay the £2 a year.

5. Native Chiefs may be deposed and deported at the Governor's pleasure.

6. The country is to be in charge of the District Commissioners, whose decision in all cases, and that by the English laws, is final, against which there is no appeal except by paying a large amount of money.

7. That there are three Courts in the country:—1. Native Court; 2. District Commissioners' and Native Courts; 3. District Commissioners' Court. In the two latter your petitioners are to be judged by English laws, both in civil and criminal cases: that any Chief hearing any case not belonging to his Court will be punished by fine, imprisonment, and flogging.

8. No slave-dealing of any kind to take place in the country.

9. All case of witchcraft to be tried by the Government.

These and many others were the laws interpreted to us by Mr. Renner, and others, but those which have thrown your petitioners into the greatest consternation are the following:

(*a*) That your petitioners are to have no more power over their country. They are not to hear any cases relating to their lands, farms, and the boundaries of their country; This your petitioners take to mean nothing short of total dispossession of their country; and knowing the humanity of the English people, your petitioners feel sure that this is a misrepresentation of the mind of the English Government on the subject, particularly as your petitioners are not aware that they have done anything to merit such great calamity from their friends and benefactors.

(*b*) That your petitioners are to pay for their houses and huts. The nature of their houses, built of mud and sticks, and thatched with grass and leaves, your Excellency, will show the true condition of your petitioners. The numberless deserted villages to be met with in the country tell of the present unsettled state of the country; your petitioners fear that taxing houses will certainly hinder the return of the poor people to their homes. Again, big as some of our towns are, the houses in them are, in most cases, owned by not more than half a dozen Chiefs and Headmen; having not to pay for their building materials, the Chiefs can afford to put up most of these huts for the accommodation of strangers and the poorer members of their families. Chiefs own the villages, and the huts therein are built for them by their retainers, the majority of whom can scarcely save enough to provide a suit of clothes for themselves, their children, and wives for the whole year; the burden of paying the tax must necessarily fall upon the Chiefs, and, failing to pay, the villages must fall to the ground; the moral consequence of a forced accommodation will be better imagined than described. Again, the name of tax recalls to the minds of your petitioners the dreadful days of Kwaia; when, for house tax, men and women were ruthlessly dragged from place to place, plundered, and some flogged almost to death by the tax-collectors. The dreadful disclosure of which moved Her Most Gracious Queen and Her Government to set up that lasting monument of English pity and benignity. They not only abolished the tax, but returned the country to its former owners. This has endeared your petitioners to England, stamped their confidence in the Government, and established their loyalty to their geart friend and benefactor the Queen for ever. The thought of the revival of those dreadful days is what has plunged your petitioners in the greatest alarm. They have not the means to pay these taxes, and therefore fall at your Excellency's feet and pray to be

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saved from so much dreaded misfortune. Your petitioners are not unmindful of the great expense the Government must have undergone, and is undergoing, to bring about and maintain the peace and order they are now enjoying in their country; and your petitioners will not grudge any contributions in their power to lighten the burden of the Government in any way. As part of these contributions towards the maintenance of this peace for which the Government is now expending thousands of pounds, your petitioners will guarantee for the present at least, with the aid of one European or other Government resident and a dozen policemen, to keep the peace in their country.

Your petitioners beg to assure your Excellency they have now seen and felt the power of the Government, there is not one amongst them who has now the most distant idea for war-making. Your petitioners repeat that one officer with a few police are sufficient to carry out the wishes of the Government in their country.

(*c*) That any Chief having any case not in his jurisdiction shall be punished by fine, imprisonment, and flogging. Your petitioners regard this a terrible punishment for a right they had enjoyed from their forefathers, and not for any wrong done to the Government or the community at large. The Government are possibly not aware that by our country laws and fashion, every Chief, Headmen of a town or family, is responsible for the conduct of his children and people under him; and as your petitioners feel confident that it is not the desire of the Government to abolish their cherished institutions, and fearing that in the midst of it they might fall into the bad grace of the Government, your petitioners respectfully beg your Excellency to save them from the serious disgrace and pending scourge of a fine, imprisonment, and flogging, by being allowed to continue their ancient privileges of settling all their cases, subject to an appeal to the District Commissioner. Your petitioners, moreover, pray that in their country they be judged by their native laws so long as they do not affect their loyalty to the Queen or Her Government.

(*d*) That your petitioners have to pay for some of the attempts of their children to follow the example of the English people in doing what is called lawful trading, that is, to buy and sell their merchandise instead of human beings, is something to them quite unexplainable. When the White people stopped the slave-trade in their country, to give your petitioners no cause of complaint for want of business, they introduced the timber trade. When that traffic failed, the growth and exportation of ground-nuts was encouraged; as soon as that crop began to show signs of decay. palm oil and kernels were introduced into the market. All these have fallen so low as to make scarcely worth any one's while to devote any serious attention to the trade; and since the Government has been doing so much for peace and order, the parents of commerce, your petitioners have been expecting to hear of some new lines of industry and commerce from the Government; instead of this, your petitioners have been surprised by a direct order not to do any more in merchandise trading; and there are some of the traders in their midst who would be pleased to clear at the end of his year's trade as much as 30s., one head of money in our country. Not all men are made for farming—some farmers and some traders. Your petitioners respectfully request that the freedom of trade accorded to the people trading in the Colony be granted to them as loyal friends and subjects of the Queen.

The Government may possibly have overlooked the fact that the greater part of the duty on dry goods and spirits indirectly falls upon your petitioners.

(*e*) What your petitioners complain of in the question of the spirit traffic is, the very bad and cheap sort that is brought into the country; thus any one owning a shilling takes to drink. In former years, the best of spirits in casks and earthenware jugs was imported into their country, and as such only very little of it could be drunk at a time. Your petitioners desire then that the Government act the father for them, and see that no spurious stuff be brought into the country; this will be the only way of bringing about the object desired by the Government. To stop drinking is a sheer impossibility, but to check its spread in the country is a very desirable object. In your petitioners' humble opinion, this can only be obtained by raising the quality of the spirits imported, which will consequently

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raise the price and confine it to the very few who would be able to afford it, and so keep it out of the reach of the many.

(*f*) As regards the question of Slavery, your petitioners beg to assure your Excellency that from so many years' experience they now know something of the mind of the English Government on the subject. To buy and sell slaves is now out of the question, and it would be useless to trouble the Government about it. All your petitioners desire is, that the few domestics left to them by their people, and who have become part and parcel of their family, should not be encouraged to leave them and come to Free Town. Your petitioners have not the means of keeping money in banks as the White people; a few of them, it is admitted, run away from ill-treatment, but the greater part of the runaways are those who are lazy and who refuse to work. Hundreds of them have found their way to Free Town: these your petitioners are aware have become subjects of the Queen.

Though your petitioners are most grateful to observe the great kindness on the part of the Government in not granting a wholesale exodus of these domestics, but has been pleased to order that they redeem themselves, which we deem no little consideration, still as notwithstanding this, scores are finding their way to Free Town monthly, and as there is now no way of replenishing their number, your petitioners apprehend a serious ruin to the country in the course of a few years. This moves your petitioners to request that the Government be pleased to take the subject under its serious consideration and grant such measures as will save your petitioners from this certain ruin. It is almost superfluous to state that the name of slaves in your petitioners' country is altogether an exaggerated form of the word servants. Indeed there is no such thing as slavery in your petitioners' country. Kings have descended from these domestics. They attend to the building of their houses, making their farms, making and repairing of roads, and act as carriers, etc. Your petitioners have no money to pay for these services; your petitioners beg to state that the status of a Chief is estimated by the number of his retainers—hence they vie with each other in increasing the number of their people. Your petitioners can safely state that these domestics form two-thirds of the population of their country. Hence their anxiety in the ultimate depopulation of the country, if this gradual drain is not kindly stopped by the Government. Your petitioners are willing to appear before any District Commissioners to answer any complaint of his domestic and to abide by their just decision.

(*g*) That it shall be left to the discretion of the District Commissioner to advise the deportation and banishment of persons from their homes without any charge or judgment, and the persons so named to be left without any place of appeal for redress or protection. Where human nature is so varied in its form, the liberty of every individual in the country is, under this arrangement, left to hang on a very slender thread. This is certainly a misrepresentation to your petitioners of English fashion.

(*h*) The very name of gaol in your petitioners' country is a very serious thing to them, where there is one the officers must be given work to do; and this is our fear. Hitherto the few bad men in the country were brought down to Free Town. Those from the Timinee country do not average, it is thought, more than half a dozen per annum. Your petitioners beg respectfully that the Government take this subject under its kind consideration. The above, Sir, are the points in the laws promulgated under the Protectorate Ordinance, which have thrown your petitioners into great anxiety, disturbed their peace of mind, and shaken their ancient confidence in the good government of England. In conclusion, your petitioners beg most respectfully to recapitulate the items of their prayer. In doing this, they beg to express their willingness to be under the benign protection of Her Gracious Majesty's Government, and ever to be, with all humility, loyal and faithful servants of the Queen.

Your petitioners most humbly pray—

1. That it may please Her Gracious Majesty and Her Government to grant them the full enjoyment of the country, their ancient manners and customs, except such as they may deem inconsistent with the laws of God.

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2. That it may please them to save your petitioners from the ruinous consequences of a tax in the present poor condition of the country. Your petitioners are willing in any way in their power to contribute towards the maintenance of the good peace their country now enjoys.

3. That it may please them to grant your petitioners free trade without licence or the like as is granted to traders in Sierra Leone. Under the licence your petitioners find themselves between two stones—the French have cut off the road to Falaba and the Futah country, and are doing everything in their power to draw your petitioners' trade over to their side, which they, your petitioners, do not want, and on the English side, where your petitioners expected every encouragement, they are confronted with a licence. Your petitioners are at a loss to know what they are to do. Your petitioners will here respectfully call the attention of the Government to the serious movements of the French, who have quite cut off every access to the trade of this interior.

Your petitioners pray for the assistance of the Government in this matter.

4. That whatever is done in the country, your petitioners pray that it may please Her Majesty and Her Government not to withdraw from them the ancient privilege of appealing to the Governor in all cases in which your petitioners may feel themselves aggrieved, without any legal processes, ceremony or expense. And that the deportation and banishment being the highest degree of punishment, next to death, that can be inflicted upon an individual of a community.

5. That it may please Her Majesty and Her Government to order that Kings, Alimamis, Alkarlis, Santigis, Principal Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs of district and towns, be exempted from the disgrace of flogging and from handcuffing where there is no resistance. Not a few of your petitioners are prepared rather to suffer death than to be subject to this public disgrace, sometimes for the most trivial cases, in the presence of their wives, servants, and children.

Again assuring your Excellency of your petitioners' loyalty for their great Queen and benefactor and their love for the English people, and trusting your Excellency will pardon them for trespassing so much upon your time by this their Petition, which they trust will meet your gracious acceptance.

Your petitioners in duty bound will ever pray.

We have, etc.

NEMGBANA, Kwaia.	ALKARLY, Port Lokkoh.
DICK WOLA for BEY COMPAH, Kwaia.	BEY COBLO, Marampar.
ALIMAMY SENEH BUNDU, Kwaia.	ALIMAMY SATER LAHIE, Ro Tinter.
BEY SUBA, Magbalay.	ALIMAMY ANNAMORDOO, Dalmorduyar.
ALKARLY KOZAR BUBU, Gambia.	BEY FARRMAR, Ro Tegbunkil.
KOMBOR for BEY SARMA, Lokkoh Masamar.	Etc. Etc.

HIS EXCELLENCY J. E. W. S. CAULFEILD,
Administrator of the West Africa Settlements, etc. etc. etc.

XVIII.

LETTER, 5th July 1897, from CHIEFS to SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, signifying their intention of waiting for the return of SIR F. CARDEW.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *July 5th*, 1897.

J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
Secretary for Native Affairs, Sierra Leone.

SIR,—We think it right to inform His Excellency the Administrator of our wish to wait here for the reply of the Government to our Petition, and therefore have the honour to ask you to submit our mind to him.

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What has moved us to this is the difficulty of meeting together as we now do. Should we disperse and return to our respective countries it would be almost impossible for us to meet again at the proper time.

Our heart and souls hang upon the issue of our Petition, and therefore are prepared to put up with any inconvenience to wait the gracious reply of the Government.—We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servants,

Their
× Bey Subah, Magbele.
× Nem Gbanna, Kwaia.
× Alimami Seneh Bundu, do.
× Alikarli, Port Lokko.
× Aikarli Koyah Bubu, Kambia.
marks.

XIX.

LETTER, 2nd August 1897, from Chiefs to Secretary for Native Affairs, stating their continued intention of waiting for the return of Sir F. Cardew.

Freetown, Sierra Leone, *August 2nd*, 1897.

J. C. Ernest Parkes, Esq., J.P.,
Secretary for Native Affairs, Sierra Leone.

Sir,—We, the undersigned Chiefs, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing us that His Excellency the Administrator has been pleased to do us the honour of forwarding our humble Petition to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies—And also conveying to us His Excellency's mind that he did not see any necessity for our waiting here for the reply to the Petition, which will take about two months to arrive. In reply we beg to thank His Excellency for his kindness in forwarding the Petition. We do not stay here to await the reply to the Petition from the least want of confidence in the Government to send us a copy of the reply respectively. But we beg to submit that the distance and situation of our respective countries are so very great and divergent that to hold a meeting on any particular day is very doubtful. And as we are very anxious to manifest our gratitude by being unanimous in returning our thanks to our Most Gracious Queen on the arrival of the reply, we have therefore decided to abide the pleasure of the Government whenever they may be pleased to send it. All we desire is His Excellency's protection during our stay here.—We have the honour to be, Sir, your good friends,

Bai Subah × Chief of Magbele.
Alikarlie Koyah Bubu × Chief of Kambia.
Comboh × Lokko Massamah.

XX.

LETTER, 15th September 1897, from Secretary Native Affairs, replying to Petition of Bai Kompah and other Chiefs sent in July.

Native Affairs,
No. 213.

This was sent in Arabic and English.

This letter is written by command of his Excellency the Administrator to Bai Kompa, Bai Suba and the other Chiefs who signed the Petition in the month of July against the hut tax and other provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance 1896, to inform them that their petition was forwarded to the Queen's Principal Officer who sees after all matters relating to the Colonies, and he has sent back to tell them that the proposed hut tax is necessary to improve the country and make it good, and that he has every hope that the

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way in which it is proposed to administer the Protectorate will be good for trade which will assist them all to pay the taxes.

As regards the native rights and customs, he desires that it should be explained to them that they take a wrong view of the changes made by the Ordinance, and he directs that it should be carefully explained to them that the Government will not assume the ownership of private lands. Peace be to those that follow the law and do right.

J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
Secretary Native Affairs.

DEPARTMENT NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, 15 *Sept.* 1897.

XXI.

LETTER, 18th September 1897, from BAI KOMPA—and others to SECRETARY NATIVE AFFAIRS—further Petition against the Protectorate Ordinance.

TRANSLATION of an Arabic Letter from Bai Kompa, Suba, Alikarlie of Port Lokkoh, etc., to J. C. E. Parkes, Esq., Sec. Native Affairs.

In the name of God. Praise be to God, who alone reigneth for ever.

This letter is from Bai Kompa, Suba, Alikarlie (Port Loko), Koya Bubu (Kambia), Bai Sama, Alimami Pa Sinne, Pa Nenbanna, and others, who have been invited to Freetown since June to take part in the Diamond Jubilee Celebration, to our good friend Mr. Parkes, for submission to His Excellency the Administrator, to inform you that we have seen your letter, and to solicit your assistance in informing His Excellency that we people in the Protectorate from East to West and from right to left (North to South), are rather too poor to be able to pay the hut tax imposed on us (by the Protectorate Ordinance), especially at this time that our trade routes have been closed.

We also pray that the right of settling matters in connection with our country be restored to us, so that whenever our subjects take complaints to you they may be referred to us.

We further pray that the substance to this our letter may be forwarded to the Queen, so that she may grant our prayer for the sake of God and the friendship which subsists between us and her gracious self.

Moreover, among the many things which greatly affect our mind and draw forth tears from our eyes is what relates to our domestics, upon whom we at present solely depend All of them are daily escaping to the Isles of Tasso and Kikonki, leaving us to do what we are unable and unaccustomed to, the carrying of loads and cleaning of roads. Please submit this point to His Excellency for favour of his kind consideration and action.

DEPT. NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, 18 *Sept.* 1897.

XXII.

PETITION of CHIEFS, 15th October 1897, to the LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF SIERRA LEONE, against the Protectorate Ordinance.

FREE TOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *October* 15, 1897.

To THE HONOURABLE BOARD OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE, etc. etc. etc.

GENTLEMEN,—The humble memorial of the undersigned Kings, Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs, and other Headmen of the Countries adjacent to this Colony, and now said to be and known as a Protectorate thereof, most humbly and respectfully sheweth—

That your Memorialists have inherited from their fathers to live in all loyalty and attachment to that great and good Queen of England and her children, and in deep regard

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and dread for her Government both in England and in this Colony. That your Memorialists have entertained these sentiments of love and esteem not from and natural fear of the white man, but from a thorough conviction, derived from a series of acts of generosity, humanity, and fair play towards them, by which they have known that amongst all the white races of people, there is none so good as the English Nation.

That sometimes last year, however, your Memorialists were not a little set into a state of alarm and apprehension by messengers sent by the Government of Sierra Leone to read and explain to your Memorialists a certain paper said to contain sundry new laws and regulations which the Government intended to bring into their country, most of which your Memorialists did not understand nor believe, being so unlike the spirit of the English people, with whom they have had to deal now over one hundred and ten years. Your Memorialists according to their country fashion thought it best therefore, in order not to appear to be attempting to oppose the wishes of the Government for no cause, to wait and see by facts what the Government actually meant by these new laws.

That your Memorialists were not a little disappointed to see their trade stopped, houses and canoes being searched by policemen, because it is said some of them did not pay what is called trade licence. To see their Kings and Chiefs prohibited from hearing and deciding their country palavers, gaols built in their country, and their Chiefs and people locked up in, and sent to, them for various terms. Their people publicly flogged, some for the most trivial cases. All these things made your Memorialists to believe in the possibility of the worst of all news, namely, that the Government intends to make them to pay for their huts or sleeping-places, and the fear moved your Memorialists to submit a petition to the Queen's Minister in England through His Excellency the Administer. But your Memorialists only received a reply to say that the Right Honourable the Secretary of State directs that your Memorialists were to be informed that the proposed Hut Tax is necessary to improve the country and make it good, and that he hoped that the way in which it is proposed to administer the Protectorate will be good for trade, which will assist them all to pay the taxes. As regards the native rights and customs, they, your Memorialists, take a wrong view of the changes made by the Ordinance, and he, the Secretary of State, directs that it should be explained to your Memorialists that the Government will not assume the ownership of private lands.

That your Memorialists, seeing nothing before them as the result of the above decision but total ruin to themselves and their country generally, and as there is no other way open to them but to supplicate the Government over and over till they could be pleased to condescend to see with them, the misery some of the new laws, especially the house tax, will bring upon their country, especially in its present condition and under the virtual rule of the Police. Some of them run away from their country, who hate them and are ready to take advantage of your Memorialists at any moment. Your Memorialists therefore most humbly and respectfully beg leave to approach your Honourable Board and submit this application for relief and deliverance from the dreadful scourge that is impending over them.

Your Memorialists beg to submit that of the many laws the Government have imposed upon their country the following are those which your Memorialists humbly deem as approaching to injustice and to some degree of oppression: 1st, The laws depriving your Memorialists of the control over their country and people; 2nd, That by which Chiefs can be dethroned, themselves and their people made banishable from their country, and liable to be flogged, fined, and imprisoned at the discretion and pleasure of the District Commissioner, and this without a simple chance of appeal or protection anywhere; 3rd, The laws by which Chiefs cannot settle their own palavers: summonses for debt of any value are taken to the District Commissioner's Court, and very often to Policemen, and decided by them; 4th, That by which on the most frivolous complaint—mostly from the worst characters of their subjects, and frequently for the most ordinary petty quarrel—and who have only to manage by any means to buy the good graces of some policeman or other, or the interpreters of the District Commissioners, and they, the complainants, may rest assured of having their wishes gratified, of seeing the Chiefs dragged from the houses without an hour's notice, to

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travel two or three days under heavy rain across swamps, to swim over swollen streams, locked up and imprisoned without any chance of protection.

The revenue of the Chiefs is from fine and forfeitures. All of this now go to the District Commissioner's Court and Policemen.

In the case of boundaries between two countries your Memorialists would be too glad of the mediation of the Government, but nothing has conduced more to destroy the power of the Chiefs over their subjects than the loss of power to settle the simple temporary rice farm marks despute between their domestics.

As regards the Secretary of State's reply, your Memorialists respectfully beg to state that they do not submit what might be, but what is now taking place in the country.

The new laws also forbid your Memorialists to trade in merchandise. This is what your Memorialists understand the law to mean by the fact of their being required to pay before doing so. They beg to submit that this law is very much unlike the English people of the past one hundred years, who taught, helped, and encouraged your Memorialists by all in their power to some lawful trade in merchandise. Under the depressing condition of things in the country, when they have no control over their domestics, who are ready to run away under the least pressure to work, and having no means to hire labourers, it is as much as your Memorialists can do to cultivate their rice farms for existence. The roads to the interior are all completely closed against them. Indeed your Memorialists are now altogether in a great predicament, and do not know where to turn under the circumstances.

Your Memorialists venture to submit that members of your Honourable Board who have had the least experience of this country will understand them when they say that in the present state of the country they will not be able to pay the house tax intended to be levied upon them, and that it will bring much misery upon their people. The houses in the country appear to be many, but they are actually owned by a very few persons, upon whom the charge of the tax will fall very heavily, and who will, from inability to pay, be obliged to abandon their houses to ruin. Your Memorialists are quite mindful of the good Government has done and is still doing in bringing about and maintaining peace amongst them. But at so short a notice they are quite unprepared for the charges and changes involved in the Protectorate Ordinance. Your Memorialists having now tasted the benefits of peace, they would therefore respectfully submit and request that they be tried in the management of their country, through which the Government might possibly be relieved from the enormous expense which is said to be annually expended upon their country.

Your Memorialists moreover humbly pray to be granted the enjoyment of the ancient privilege, accorded them from the first day the English landed on their shores, of appealing for protection direct to His Excellency the Governor and Administrator through the Colonial Secretary or the officer now known as the Secretary for Native Affairs.

Your Memorialists for the above reasons most respectfully beg to approach your Honourable Board and humbly submit their earnest prayer that they may be mercifully relieved from the burdens and disadvantages already, and about to be, imposed upon them, and from which they are now suffering: And in duty bound your Memorialists will ever pray.

Their marks.

× Nem Gbanna, Magbamy Kwaia.
× Dick Wola for Bey Comper, Kwaia.
× Almami Seneh Bundu, Forodugu, Kwaia.
× Bey Subah, Magbelay.
× Bey Kobolo, Marampah.
× Alikarli, Port Lokkoh.
× Bey Fokkie, do.
× Bey Sarmar, Lokkoh Masamma.
× Bey Adam, do. do.
× Alimamy Anna Mordu, Longay.
× Bey Bureh, Kasseh.
× Bey Inka, Mangay.

Their marks.

× Alikarli Bubu, Gambia.
× Bey Farimah, Magbema.
× Bey Bantah, Ro Buyan.
× Bey Farimah, Safrokoh.
× Bey Kura Hari, Chaing Ka Topa Bay.
× Bey Sherbro, Mambolo.
× Bey Polong, Mangay.
× Bey Fonti, Mendi.
× Santigi Salay, Port Lokkoh.
× Bai Salmansah, do.
× Almami Bashie, Magbaley.
× Sumanah Barlay, Port Lokkoh.

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XXIII.

TEXT OF AN ADDRESS given by the GOVERNOR to certain Chiefs of the Karene District at Freetown, on the 15th November 1897.

I am glad to have this opportunity of speaking to you on the question of the house-tax, and when I have explained the circumstances which have rendered it necessary I trust you will see the reasonableness of it.

The cost of the administration of the Protectorate and of the Police Force, which is required to maintain peace and order therein, is, in round numbers, £30,000. Now it is impossible that the Revenue of the Colony can meet this amount, and the Government therefore have decided that the inhabitants of the Protectorate must contribute towards the expense, especially as they are directly benefited by the Government that has been set up.

Among the benefits you receive are the blessings of an assured peace, which mean protection against invasion from outside, and the cessation of inter-tribal wars and slave-raiding within. Less than four years ago disturbances were rife in many parts of the Protectorate, and men, women, and children were being captured and marched off in gangs to the various slave-markets; through these raidings wide areas of territory were laid waste and depopulated, and in such a state was the country that, in many parts, men dared not quit their villages and towns to follow their ordinary avocations, lest they should be kidnapped and sold into slavery. There was no security of tenure as regards land, and men refrained from cultivating it, either owing to the rapacity of their Chiefs or the frequent ravages of war; they might not reap what they had sown. I have often heard natives say, What is the use of our planting when we can never have the certainty of reaping?

Mark what a different state of things prevails now. Peace reigns within the Protectorate. There is security of life and property. The people can go about their daily avocations, cultivating their lands without fear of slave-raiders. The rights of the Chiefs and people to their private lands is secured to them, for the Government does not desire to claim ownership of it. So except for those public purposes, which are for the common good, no land will be alienated from them by the Government, and in those cases where Chiefs have sold their rights over it in Concessions, the interests of the natives will, as far as possible, be protected.

And the authority of the Chiefs is now maintained and supported, not by war, raidings, and brute force, at the cost of the lives or liberty of their people, but by the power of the Government, and so long as they remain loyal and law-abiding, and govern righteously and justly, they need not fear that that support will be withdrawn or that their authority will be allowed to be subverted, either by the conspiracies of their own people or the combinations of rival Chiefs. I want all Chiefs to understand that the Government wishes to rule the country through them, and that it is therefore to their interest to support the Government, and I feel sure if the Chiefs will loyally assist to this end that it will tend to the material welfare of their people as well as of themselves.

For the benefits of police protection and of a settled Government, and as a contribution towards its expenses, you will be required to pay a small house-tax. This tax is not onerous, and, I feel sure, it is quite within your means to pay it. It is not an exceptional tax. There is hardly a community or people in the whole world who do not similarly contribute to the expenses of their Government. The people of the Gambia are similarly taxed, a house-tax has been established by Ordinance in the Colonies of the Gold Coast and Lagos, and I am informed that in the recently conquered territory of Benin a hut-tax is now being collected.

The French impose a poll-tax of three francs on the inhabitants of the Soudan; the natives of British Central Africa pay a hut-tax, which has recently been raised to

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10s.; those of Zululand pay 14s. a hut, and elsewhere in South Africa so much as £1 per hut is paid.

You see therefore that you are not required to pay an excessive tax. You have only to pay at the rate of 5s. a house of three rooms and under, and 10s. for one of four rooms and over; but in order to make the payment press as lightly as possible, for the first year at least only 5s. a hut will be exacted for the larger class of huts—that is, you will pay 5s. a hut irrespective of size; and further, when coin is not procurable for payment, produce will be accepted in its place, at the rate of one bushel of husked rice or one bushel of palm kernels for each hut. Other kinds of produce or stock will also be accepted in payment, but at the price current at the nearest available market.

To still further lighten the burden of taxation, for the first year at least, I shall authorise the following exemptions:—

(1) Temporary huts or groups of huts used for farming purposes.

(2) Those temporary buildings or huts which are usually constructed as a preliminary to permanent occupation by natives when they settle on new territory, or re-occupy districts which have been abandoned in the past.

(3) Towns or villages, each of which consist of less than twenty houses, provided in this case that any person, not a native, who may own or occupy a house in such town or village is not exempted.

The taxes will be collected through the Chiefs, with the exception of those cases in which the owners or occupiers of houses are persons not native, and for the trouble of collecting it the Chiefs will be allowed a commission at the rate of 3d. a hut. The Chiefs will not be held liable for persons not natives who may be residing in their respective towns and villages; the District Commissioners will collect the tax due from such directly from them.

I want you to fully understand that this tax has been imposed only because it is an actual necessity for the proper administration of your country. The Government has no other source from which it can obtain the necessary funds, and England now lies under a moral obligation to set up a Government over you.

In former days, when the civilised Powers had not taken possession of the interior, your country could be left alone to its inter-tribal wars and slave-raiding, and no one was much concerned so long as the trade came down to the ports on the Coast, but now you have civilised neighbours; the French are on one side, and the Liberians on the other, and if England were not to throw her protection over your country and establish peace and order within it, which can only be done by firm government, it would be occupied by some other Power which might not deal so considerately with you as the English do.

I hope you will understand therefore that this tax is a real necessity, and I trust that you will loyally assist in collecting it.

You will find that it will be to your great benefit hereafter. It will tend to the civilisation of your people by placing education within their reach, and by providing funds for improving roads and constructing railways, it will open up your country and enable you to send its products more cheaply to the markets, and thus increase the wealth and prosperity of your people.

You must alter your habits of life: instead of slaves breed cattle, and plant more rice.

Now I will turn to the petition which you desire should be presented to the Legislative Council, and which I have here, and will answer the points raised by you in it, and I think you will find that you have been labouring under a misunderstanding with regard to them, and I fear the Ordinance has been greatly misrepresented to you.

I will deal with the complaints in your petition *seriatim* (in their order):—

1. Gaols have been built.

Offenders must be punished. It is more humane to imprison than mutilate, as is the case under your laws.

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2. People publicly flogged for the most trivial cases.

Not so; no flogging allowed except on the authority of the Governor, who is always most careful to see that only notorious criminals are so punished, but you natives also use the lash yourselves.

3. Chiefs liable to be flogged.

You quite misunderstand. Punishments are directed not against classes of persons, but classes of offenders.

By law flogging in England is a punishment for garrotting, and any one, though he were a Duke or a Lord, is liable to it; but Dukes or Lords don't commit such offences, and I don't think it is likely that your Chiefs could commit low criminal offences for which flogging is awarded, and no Governor in his senses would desire to subvert by flogging the authority of the very Chiefs to whom he looks to assist him in the government of the country. He would rather magnify their position than lessen it.

4. Country under the virtual rule of the police.

Every act of oppression on part of police severely punished if brought to notice of the authorities; but it is you people that so often spoil them by bribes, etc., and withholding information that would cause their punishment. Some of you even try to make use of them for your own purpose. Though police will be punished when they commit acts of oppression, remember they wear the Queen's uniform, and their authority must be respected.

5. The Ordinance deprives Chiefs of control of their country and people.

Of absolute control, certainly, because only the Queen can govern; but your jurisdiction, all civil and lesser criminal cases retained, and that without appeal. Each paramount Chief will be able to settle land disputes within his own district.

6. Chiefs can be deposed and banished at the discretion and pleasure of the District Commissioner without appeal.

No Chief can be deposed except with the approval of the Secretary of State (Protectorate Ordinance 1897, Section lxxiii.), and no person can be deported or banished without the sanction of the Governor (Section lxxvii.).

7. Chiefs can be imprisoned and fined.

Chiefs, if they offend against the laws, are imprisoned or fined as well as any other person, but this is not exceptional; in no country is any person, no matter what his rank, exempted from punishment if he breaks the law.

8. Chiefs cannot settle their own palavers.

You have been quite misinformed. They can settle all civil cases between natives, and the lesser criminal ones. There is no appeal against the decision of the Chiefs, and no limit to the amount in dispute.

9. The Revenue the Chiefs obtained from fines and forfeitures now goes to the District Commissioners.

Quite wrong.

10. Chief unable to settle land questions.

This complaint has foundation, but the law will be altered so as to give paramount Chiefs jurisdiction to settle all land disputes arising within their respective territories. The District Commissioner will only decide land disputes between two or more paramount Chiefs, when there is danger of a breach of the peace, when he will intervene in any case.

11. The Ordinance prohibits natives from trading.

This is not so; but if a trader sits down for more than four months in any one place he must pay a store licence, but if he likes to move on to another place, provided it is beyond a radius of twenty miles from the former place, he can trade for another four months. So, if he keeps moving every four months, he can trade all the year round without paying any licence.

12. Chiefs request to be left to try the management of their country.

The Government cannot leave your country to itself. If it were to do so—say, to withdraw the Police and the District Commissioners—slave-raiding and inter-tribal wars

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would commence again, in a short time there would be such anarchy and confusion, and our neighbours would so suffer from the disturbances that they would step in and occupy and control your country themselves.

If you think the same state of affairs which prevailed only four years ago, when there was slave-raiding going on everywhere, and only a handful of police in the country, could obtain now, you are very much mistaken. No civilised Power would permit it for a day, and if the English didn't govern you some other country soon would.

13. Chiefs request the ancient privilege of appealing direct to the Governor through the Colonial Secretary.

The ears of the Governor will be always open to your complaints, but you must not go behind the District Commissioner, who is the head of your District. It is his duty to forward any complaint you may make to the Governor, so long as they are not factious or frivolous.

XXIV.

LETTER, 9th November 1897, from CHIEFS to SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, on arrival of SIR F. CARDEW.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *November 9th*, 1897.

J. C. ERNEST PARKES, Esq., J.P.,
Secretary for Native Affairs, Sierra Leone.

SIR,—We the undermentioned Kings and Chiefs beg leave most respectfully to request you to submit our united welcome to His Excellency the Governor, Sir F. Cardew, K.C.M.G., on his safe return from England.

We are very pleased to hear that Her Majesty, our great friend and Queen, has been pleased to honour him with a greater title than that which he enjoyed before he left here in April last. And we trust that he may be continued in good health to do the good work Her Majesty has sent him to do for us and our country.

We request you kind to inform His Excellency that we have been waiting for his arrival here these five months to lay before him our humble prayer, and requests respecting the present state of our Country. We do it so knowing him to be our father and friend. And that he will give a merciful ear to us.—We have the honour to be, Sir, your good friends.

Their marks

× BEY FOKKI, Mafokki Country.
× BEY SURAH, Marampah.
× ALIMUMA SINEH BUNDI, Kwaia.
× ALIKARLIE, Port Lokko.
× ALIKARLIE KOYAH BUBU, Kambia.

XXV.

LETTER, 15th November 1897, from various CHIEFS to SIR F. CARDEW—further representation against the Protectorate Ordinance.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *November 15th*, 1897.

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR FREDERICK CARDEW, K.C.M.G.,
Governor in Chief, West African Settlements, etc.

OUR GOOD FRIEND,—We the undersigned Kings and Chiefs, and other head men of the Countries annexed to our names, and situated in that portion of Territory known as the

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Protectorate of this Colony, beg leave most respectfully to approach Your Excellency, and in the first place to repeat our welcome for your safe return to our shores, and our prayer, that your health may be continued for the great work your Excellency has before you in our country. And in the next place to submit our hearty and grateful thanks for the kind intimation we have received through the Secretary for Native Affairs of the merciful consideration you have been pleased to give to our humble prayer, and request respecting the working of certain portions of the new laws proclaimed in our Country, and which has caused us considerable perplexity and trouble.

We are thankful to learn that Your Excellency has been pleased to acceed to us the full liberty, to judge and settle our own country palavers as far as they are not repugnant to the wishes of the Government. We are informed that we could do this, except in case of murder, witchcraft, and land boundary. But now all cases big or small, civil or criminal, are taken to, and are heard by the District Commissioner, and indeed more frequently, they are taken to the Inspectors of Police, the Common Police and Interpreters. The most painful part is, that the worst characters of our subjects who are rebelliously disposed, and to evade our Courts hide themselves under complaints against us to the District Commissioner, not in the form of any appeal against any judgement of ours, which we would not have minded, but on the most frivolous charges. They have only to obtain the good graces of the Police or Interpreters, and they are sure to have their wishes gratified of seeing the kings or chiefs handcuffed, and dragged from their homes under rain, sun, through swamps, and otherwise roughly treated, and detained at the Police Station. In former years, cases of complaints are referred to the Chiefs, for their hearing or report, and the result reported to the Government. This was most satisfactory to the Chiefs, and worked well in the Country. The liberty our children now have of going to Karene, Kuello, etc., and making any charge they please against the Chiefs, who are apprehended without enquiry, has quite deprived us of all control over them.

We do not object to an appeal to the White Man or District Commissioner against any decision of ours, this would tend to the good of the Country. All we pray for here is, that the Kings and Chiefs, and Santigies, should be exempted from hand-cuffing, flogging, being compelled to carry loads and other rough usage, especially for these imaginary charges. A king or chief who should without disturb the peace of the Country, and so bring himself under the martial law of the Government, would have himself to thank for any treatment he may receive from Government Officers. Our revenue as crowned Chiefs of the Country, come from the fines and forfeitures of our Courts. It is hard, sir, to see all go to the Interpreters and Policemen (very little going to even the District Commissioners), some of them becoming rich therefrom. We feel in justice bound to state that we have no fault whatever, to find with the District Commissioners. They are perfect strangers in the Country, they do not know our manners, and customs, nor speak or understand our language. They are simply guided in their judgment by what is submitted or represented to them.

We also ask leave to express our thanks for the hopes of being able to settle the internal land marks of our Country, especially the simple case of farm boundaries, between our subject and domestics. We should always be pleased to have the advice and influence of the Government in matter of boundaries between two countries.

As regards the question of the hut tax, we cannot but feel very thankful to Your Excellency for the consideration you have given to our prayer on the subject. We hear that Your Excellency is kindly disposed to exempt all villages of under 80 hut from, and comprehend only under the tax only towns and villages of 80 huts and upward. We admit this is no small consideration. We are quite alive to the fact, that the Government are imposing these taxes, to meet to some extent the great expense they are undergoing for the maintenance of peace in our Country. And as reasonable men, even according to our Country fashion, we know that we ought to do something to encourage, and thank the Government for the great work they are doing for us. But we venture humbly to submit, that not only the threats of the Police, that under the hut-tax the Government will take the Country from

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us, and then they will do with us the like. Our own true fear is that paying for our huts, naturally means no right to our Country. Again many as our huts may appear to be, they are owned by a comparatively few persons upon whom the tax will fall very heavily, and not being able to pay, they will certainly fall into the bad graces of the Government. And thus we awfully dread, and the consequence will be that the hut which cost nothing, and erected more for the accomodation of strangers, must be left to fall. For these reasons, we therefore fall at Your Excellency's feet, and beg you most humbly and earnestly to finish the great kindness you are most clearly disposed to do for us, by relieving us from the hut tax altogether. We are prepared to do to the best of our ability to meet the Government, and show our gratitude for all it has, and is doing for us.

We beg to assure Your Excellency, that our loyalty to, and attachment for the great Queen of England, and the English people is unshaken, and under their protection we know we are under safe and kind hands, and we beg that the ancient, and generous, and humane friendship, that has existed between them and us may ever continue.

We humbly beg Your Excellency to relieve us from the trade license. We take it to mean a prohibition from dealing in merchandise. A very few of us not more than three or four in a whole country are able to open shops. There is another class of our people, when the roads to the interior were open to us, intinerated between Freetown, and the interior bringing down the Produce of the latter country, which they exchanged for goods taken from Freetown. This is now all stopped. Another class of our people simply bring their little rice, Cassada, wood and sticks, and sell to buy few articles from Freetown, which they take back and barter for other articles in the country for domestic use. This they are not now able to do. The effect of the trade license upon the trade of our country, we are sure the Merchants in Freetown can better testify to than we can. There are some though willing, are unable to travel from town to town to avoid the license. The English people have taught us the advantages of trading in Merchandise, and they have done everything in their power to encourage us in it. Under the circumstances what are we to do, and where are we to turn? Whilst on this subject we cannot refrain from stating that we hear that the Government are introducing into the Colony useful plants which will eventually become articles of trade in the part of the coast such as coffee, cocoa, jute, etc. We beg that the Government assist to get seeds of them to enable us to get new means of industry in our country, other than rice, palm nut, kola, etc.

We dread the law whereby kings are dethroned, and replaced, and people banished from their homes without judgment but at the District Commissioner's pleasure. We repeat these gentlemen are very little to blame, having to be guided by the Police and Interpreters who in most cases act from personal feeling. In former times we had the privilege of appealing direct to the Governor through the Secretary for Native Affairs. We do not understand the English law, and therefore pray to be delivered from our present difficulty and allowed ancient privilege of approaching Your Excellency for any redress we may require for advantages taken of us.

We would take advantage of this opportunity to respectfully submit, and urge for Your Excellency's kind and serious attention, the total blockade under which we are now labouring. The French people have totally cut off our trade with the interior, and turned everything to the French Protectorate. This has very much impoverished our country, have stopped everything in the shape of good trade, with the interior as far as the Futah Country. And we are sure this must be felt by the mercantile houses in Freetown. We therefore earnest beseech Your Excellency to see into this matter for us.

In conclusion we respectfully beg to submit, that to show that we have made our prayers, and supplications not for any desire to oppose the Government wishes in any way but from sheer necessity from the hard treatment we have received from the hands of the Police in particular since the introduction of the new laws in January last. We beg to annex a list of cases that have transpired in our country, but which we trust will move Your Excellency to consider our case with a merciful and generous heart. Begging you for

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the liberty we take in thus addressing Your Excellency, we have the honour to be, Sir Frederic, Your Excellency humble and good friends,

BEY SUBAH, Magbele.
BEY FOKKI, Mafokki.
ALIMAMI SENEH BUNDU, Kwaia.
DEPUTY ALIKARLI BOKARI BAMP, Port Lokkoh.
ALIKARLI KOYAH BUBU, Kambia.
SANTIGI DERISA, CAPUR KU GBAINTI, COMBOH, } Lokkoh Masamah.
BAI SALMANSAH, SANTIGI KARRIE, } Port Lokkoh.
SANTIGI KARNU, Marampah.
SANTIGI BUYAH, Lokkoh Masamah.
ENKOCHIE, Lokkoh Masamah.
ALMAMI BASHIE, Magbele.
SANTIGI SORIE, Marampah.
SANTIGI SORIE, Kambia.
SANTIGI BUNDU, Kambia.
ALMAMI COLLEH, Robat Kambia.
SEMAH, Kambia.
SORIE BALAFERA, Kambia.
KINDO YELLA, Kambia.
SANTIGI FODAY, Sammoo.
SEDDU GBANKAY, Kambia.
MORMODU GBAY, Kambia.
KAPUR TALLAY, Masimerah.
BOKARI SIMERAH, Kambia.

XXVI.

LETTER, 20th November 1897, SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS to BAI SUBA and others, in reply to their letter of 15th November.

Native Affairs
No. 247.

DEPARTMENT NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, 20*th November* 1897.

BAI SUBA AND OTHERS.

MY GOOD FRIENDS,—In reply to your letter of the 15th instant, addressed to His Excellency the Governor, in which you pray for certain remissions in regard to the Protectorate Ordinance, I am directed by his Excellency to inform you that the whole of this subject has been so thoroughly discussed at the last interview which he had the pleasure of having with you, that His Excellency can not in any way alter the decision he arrived at at the time.

His Excellency, however, desires me to inform you that the District Commissioners will be made fully acquainted with his decision in the points raised by you at that interview, and that they will be directed to see that there is no interference with your jurisdiction as laid down in Section 5 of the Ordinance and also that the Police do not oppress your people.

His Excellency desires me to add that the Government desire to assist you all in introducing new industries into your country, and with this view he hopes to be able to give grants at the commencement of the ensuing rainy season of plants and seeds of coffee, cocoa and other economic trees to such chiefs as really desire to try the experiment of cultivating them.

In order that all of you who are in Freetown at present may see how such plants are cultivated, His Excellency desires me to arrange on some early date, convienent with you for you to visit the Botanic Station, where the curator will explain to you the various processes of cultivation, and also the best method of encouraging the growth of such valuable plants as the Rubber and Cola Trees.

I am directed, however, to call your attention to an error which occurs in your letter, now under acknowledgment, where the number of huts in villages exempted from taxation is put at *eighty* instead of *twenty*. His Excellency's words to you were that all towns or villages having less than *twenty* huts will be exempted.

I trust that you will understand this perfectly now, and hope you will be able to give that loyal obedience to His Excellency's orders which he expects of you. Wishing you well.—I am your good friend,

(Sd.) J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
Secretary Native Affairs.

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XXVII.

LETTER, 10th November 1897, from MADAM YOKO to SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, asking for assistance in collecting Hut Tax.

N. A.
in 375
1897 Urgent.

KWALU, 10/11/97.

MY GOOD FRIEND,—With regard to the subject of the hut tax, saying that each chief are responsible to collect the amount and give it to the District Commissioner, I fear it will be a bad job for us if no assistance render to us. Because it is a thing that we are not accustom with, and also not all our people seems to agree for the taxation, but they know not what to do, also the people are totally against me for saying that it is I who sanction with the Government, so that these laws will have to take effect in them, also I am very sick at present. I am unable just now to act myself in any strong business, also I am a woman, and the people are using threating words against me with regards to the hut tax, for which I send to inform you of the last Bearera Bassie, with hopes it may please the Government that provision be made to assist, so that the burden may not be entirely upon us, because we are not accustom to such duty before. This part of my jurisdiction is large and extensive, and more, also there are many towns, miles off, which will take time to get them down, so if some assistance be given to assist us in collecting I shall be very glad, as I do not like to grieve the Government feelings. If this don't be, I fear great failure would be the result, as a countryman does not afraid of his fellow partner a countryman, but if they see the Government officials they will be the more dread, and make their payment when required to do so at any time. With hopes that will meet your approval.—
Your good friend,

her
MADAM YOKO. ×
mark.

XXVIII.

LETTER, 2nd January 1898. BAI KOMPAH to SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS, representing that he has no money to pay Hut Tax

N.A.
34
1898

C. J. E. PARKES, J.P.,
Secretary for Native Affairs,
Freetown, Sierra Leone.

QUIAH RO-MANGAY, *2nd January* 1898.

MY GOOD FRIEND,—I have the honour most respectfully to write for the information of His Excellency the Administrator through you that, with reference to the paying of the house tax which the Government asked us to pay, we poor and helpless people we have no money to pay tax. As we have arranged with the white people when they came to stop in our country, the amount of money they promised to pay to us yearly this money we have not fully received. The white people have also promised to pay to us at the anchoring of any steamer, vessel, or ship, the sum of £2, 10s., and also to pay 6d. a ton at the discharging of any vessel, but all this we have not received to date. Still hoping, however, that some day God will move their good hearts to give it to us; this we were expecting, and not the tax we know nothing about. Our country is poor; where shall we have this money to pay. Our servants, wives, and children all run away and come down to Freetown to find this palm nut, and crush them will take a very long time to do so. For all those reasons we beg the Governor to pity us, we beg the Governor not to forget us as being their oldest friends.—With kind regards, I am, your good friend,

BAI KOMPAH.

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XXIX.

CIRCULAR LETTER, 31st December 1898 (sic), DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, Ronietta, to Chiefs asking payment of Hut Tax.

CIRCULAR LETTER.
No. 5.

KWALU, 31*st December* 1898.

To BAI KOMPA, Chief of Kwaia.

MY GOOD FRIEND,—On the receipt of this letter you will be good enough to bring personally, or send by duly accredited messengers, the amount of the house tax you have collected, and for which you are responsible, for the town or towns over which you are Chief.

The time has now arrived for this to be done, and it should be done quickly and with good grace.

A just government and peace in the land are the greatest benefits that the people can have, and it is for this that they are paying by subscribing to the house tax.

I shall not fail to report to His Excellency Sir Frederic Cardew those Chiefs that respond punctually to this letter with their share of the house tax, and I may add that for this year clean rice, cattle, and other produce will be taken, where there is a scarcity of money, and those Chiefs that pay in full will have returned to them for every house three pence in coin, even if they pay their tax in goods or cattle.—I am, your good friend,

(Sgd.) THOMAS HOOD,
Acting District Commissioner.

Same as above to Each and Every Chief of the Ronietta District.

Certified True Copy,
H. DE L. FERGUSON,
Acting District Commissioner, Ronietta District.

21.9.98

XXX.

MINUTE, 10th January 1898. H. E. SIR F. CARDEW to COLONIAL SECRETARY, instructions with regard to Hut Tax—exemption of towns under twenty houses.

N.A.
34
1898

COLONIAL SECRETARY.

The Acting District Commissioner will reply to this effect that it is necessary that the Chiefs and their people should pay a tax for the good government and development of of their country; that the tax when compared to what is paid by other people is a very light one, and the Government in order to make it still more light have given Chiefs the option of paying it either in coin or in produce, and the rate of produce is also made low but this consideration is only for this year; that I have also exempted from tax this year all towns under twenty houses, and that I can make no more concessions, and I expect every Chief to pay the taxes due from him.

The Secretary Native Affairs will inform Bai Kompa that my reply will be communicated to him through the Acting D. C., and that in future he must always communicate through him.

(Sgd.) F. C.

10.1.98

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XXXI.

REPORT, 10th January 1898, from Dr. Hood, Acting District Commissioner at Ronietta, indisposition to pay Hut Tax —disturbed state of district.

Confid. 9/98
Confidential 1/1898

From The Acting District Commissioner, Ronietta District *to* The Secretary for Native Affairs, Freetown.

1. Sir,—I regret to have to report, that there is a disposition on the part of the majority of the Chiefs in this District to make no effort to pay the hut tax.

2. The principal Timini Chiefs:—Bai Simera of Masimera, Bai Kru of Mabang, Bai Shrebro of Yonni, Kapru Massim the representative of Bai Yosso of Mayosso, have met at Masimera with their Sub-Chiefs and decided to pay no tax at all.

3. The Bagru and Mabanta districts are in a very disturbed state, and in the Morcassi area close to the Bagru last week a Frontier was seized, tied, beaten and thrown into a river—on arrival here the man was in a shocking state. I have not been able to go into the case yet, but I have been informed that an old political prisoner Mormoh Dowah, rendered so much assistance in this matter that the Frontier probably owes his life to Mormoh Dowah.

4. The Timdle, Bompeh and Ribbi areas are quiet at present, but have done nothing as yet towards payment.

5. The Sub-Chiefs of the Kwaia district are, I believe, more or less prepared to pay something, and one Chief, Charles Smart of Mahera, has paid in full for his town, but since then Pa Nembana and Bai Kompa, co-chiefs of Kawai, have been intimidating him to such an extent that he affirms he is not safe, and I have sent both for Pa Nembana and Bai Kompa, in order to make peace if possible between them all, and advise them accordingly.

6. The Mendis under Madam Yoko have subscribed about sixty pounds, but I rather think the bulk of this amount has been paid by Madam Yoko as instalments for her favourite Sub-Chiefs, to make the officials think an effort is being made by her people. The majority of her Sub-Chiefs are not loyal to her, and pay little attention to her orders until my assistance has been rendered.

7. If only the Paramount Chiefs could be made to give the necessary orders to their respective Sub-Chiefs, a great effort would be made by the people to pay the tax.

8. I don't think it would be wise, considering the present strength of the Frontier force in this District, to bring the Paramount Chiefs to Kwalu and keep them under open arrest, until they deem fit to give the proper instructions to their Sub-Chiefs, as it would entail the collection of a large crowd of people here, and would no doubt lead to a breach of the peace.

9. I am sending this report for the information of His Excellency, and to obtain further instructions as to what steps His Excellency would wish to be taken further in this matter.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) T. Hood,
Acting District-Commissioner.

Kwalu, 10*th January* 1898.

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XXXII.

MINUTE, 15th January 1898, Sir F. Cardew to Colonial Secretary. Instructions to Captain Moore to proceed to Kwalu with reinforcement.

N.A. 3 1898 — Colonial Secretary. — Confid. 8 98

1. I think it is necessary, on this report, to increase the number of officers and Frontier Police in the Ronietta district.

2. Captain Moore will proceed on Tuesday next in the Colonial steamer *Countess of Derby, via.* Waterloo, with such a reinforcement as the Inspector General can supply, to Kwalu, and being the senior officer, on arrival there he will take over the duties of District Commissioner from Dr. Hood. He will take all necessary steps for enforcing law and order in the district and the due payment of the house tax, giving reasonable time when he observes a disposition to pay, but he should make a severe example of those who incite or intimidate others not to pay, as in the case cited in para. 5 of Dr. Hood's report, the offenders named should be severely punished; it may be expedient, at first, to sentence such to periods of imprisonment not exceeding three months, so as to prevent the delay that would be occasioned should the offender desire to appeal, but I leave this to Captain Moore's discretion. Such examples should be made of the most influential Chiefs should they offend, and I think that it is desirable in all these cases for the prisoners to be sent to Freetown gaol for imprisonment.

3. With reference to para. 3, no time should be lost to bring the offenders to justice, and the Frontier Police must be protected.

4. In cases where the Paramount Chiefs are unable to make their authority felt, the house tax must be exacted from the Sub-Chiefs and Headmen of towns and villages.

5. With reference to my Minute of to-day's date on the subject of the prohibition of the carriage of arms by natives, I consider, owing to the state of unrest in the Ronietta district, that that prohibition should be extended to all natives in that district. Captain Moore will therefore issue instructions to the police to disarm any native that may be met with arms, and confiscate his weapons.

Please inform Dr. Hood of my intention to send Captain Moore to Kwalu with a reinforcement of police, and that, as the latter is the senior officer, he will take over from him the duties of District Commissioner.

F. C.
Governor.

15.1.98.

XXXIII.

EXTRACT from Unofficial Report to Sir F. Cardew, 10th January 1898, of Commissioner Carr, as to Meeting of Chiefs at Mafwe.

'To-day week, 3rd instant, I held a large meeting of influential chiefs of Bumpe Tikonho, Bengay, Tihun, Mattru, Luba country, and many minor towns. I gave them a long harangue, and talked quietly and softly to them. They all pleaded extreme poverty and want of boys, which is of course absurd. I told them, all right, but they must try and do something, however little, just to let you see that they were willing, and gave them until to-day to bring in what they could. To-day they all assembled in Court (this was at Mafwe) and repeated the same thing: any wavering or further time would have been fatal, so I arrested the four principal Chiefs, Berri of Bongi, Thomas Bongo of Luba country, Baha, representing Bumpe territory and chief of this town, and Chief Betsygay's representative. They held several meetings during last week, where I had spies, and they all agreed not to pay or attempt to pay for their own country. To-day at the meeting

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there were between 4000 and 5000 men. After arresting the Chiefs I dispersed the crowd, and assembled them in an open space outside the town. I stayed with them about an hour, taking things very quietly, walking amongst them, etc., the slightest wavering or half-heartedness would have acted like a spark, although of course I was fully prepared, but I am glad of a bloodless result. At the same time I am, I regret to say, not one inch nearer the collecting of the tax, and I am writing officially to ask how I am to deal with the chiefs.'

XXXIV.

EXTRACT from RECORD BOOK DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS' COURT, Ronietta.

CASE No. 8 OF 21.1.98.

REGINA *v.* PA NEMBANNA.

Charge.

1. Intimidating Chief Charles Smart, in that he unlawfully conspired with other Chiefs to prevent Chief Smart in paying his lawful dues—'The House Tax,' and using his influence with other Chiefs to do the same.

2. Not obeying the order of the Acting District Commissioner contained in a letter of 31st December 1898.

Plea—Guilty.

Chief Smart on oath states:—I was in Freetown three months ago, and there Pa Nembanna showed me a letter which he had received from the District Commissioner at Kwalu, and he asked me to read and explain it to him. I did so, and it was about the Hut Tax. He then told me he was not going to pay, and that if I receive any such letter I should acquaint him.

When I arrived back at Mahera I received my own letter. I then sent to inform him who came to Mahera and told me not to pay, and if I did pay the Chiefs will kill me.

Pa Nembanna agreed to the statement made by Chief Smart, but said he was sent by Bai Kompa, his Paramount Chief.

Sentence.

1. Deprived of Staff as Chief.
2. 12 Calendar months' H. L. and 36 lashes.

Certified true copy, E. H. D. F., *D.-C.*

XXXV.

EXTRACT from Opinion-book of ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

Immediate. Arrest of 4 Chiefs who refuse to pay the hut tax. The D. C., Bandajuma District, awaits instructions.

Hon. Acting Attorney-General referred to you accordingly. His Excellency is anxious that your opinion should be given early, in order that this may be sent away to-day, *via* Sherbro.

C. J. GORE, C.S.

18.1.98.

HON. COL. SEC.

The D. C., Bandajumah, has power to try the 4 Chiefs whom he has arrested under the Protectorate Ordce. No. 11 of 1897 (not 1896 as he suggests), Sec. 67, under which

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the Chief who either defies, or neglects promptly to obey the D. C.'s order, to do a public act, *e.g.* collect the hut tax from his people.

Under Section 68, where any person resists or conspires with others to overawe by force or show thereof any Public Officer in the exercise of his duty.

Under Sec. 69 any person who wilfully obstructs or hinders any Public Officer in the exercise of his authority shall be guilty of an offence.

Furthermore, under Secs. 48 and 49, the D. C. has power to seize all the goods and chattels of these arrested, and any other Chiefs who are refusing or neglecting to pay the hut tax, and sell the same by Public Auction. Provided that in the case of a stipend Chief, the tax is first levied on the stipend. I think it most important that the D. C.'s should make it perfectly clear to any disaffected Chiefs of their districts, that in case of their resisting any officer of the Govt. by force, and a single Frontier being killed, the Chief, and any others concerned, will be guilty of murder, the legal penalty of which is hanging.

With reference to H. E.'s minute, the agreement not to pay or attempt to pay hut tax is an offence under Sec. 68 of the Ordce. I am inclined to advise that a severe sentence, *e.g.* 12 months' imprisonment, should be passed on the 4 Chiefs, the D. C. giving them, however, to understand that in case of things going on quietly and orderly in their countries and the general good behaviour of their peoples, he will, say after 3 months, recommend to the favourable consideration of H. E. the Governor their being released from prison on entering into recognisances for their future obedience of all lawful orders.

(Sd.) ARTHUR HUDSON,
Actg. Attorney-Genl.

18.1.98.

The following are the clauses of the Protectorate Ordinance cited in the Opinion :—

Disaffected Chiefs. LXVII. Any Chief who shall be ordered by the Governor, either directly or by a deputy or messenger, to do or refrain from doing any public act or acts, and shall either defy or neglect promptly to obey such order, shall be guilty of an offence.

Resistance to lawful authority. LXVIII. Any person who resists or with others conspires to resist the execution of any process of law, or to overawe, by force or show thereof, any public officer in the exercise of his duty, shall be guilty of an offence.

Obstructing Public Officer. LXIX. Any person who wilfully obstructs or hinders any public officer in the exercise of his authority, or refuses to aid in apprehending and securing offenders when lawfully called upon so to do, shall be guilty of an offence.

XXXVI.

MINUTE, 21st January 1898, SIR F. CARDEW to COLONIAL SECRETARY. Asks for further report as to Bandajuma District with view to sending troops.

Confidential. 18/1898 *From* HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR *to* COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Please inform the District Commissioner, Bandajuma, that in view of the serious opposition that has been manifested in his district to the collection of house tax, I have considered it advisable to telegraph for authority from the Secretary of State to send a company from the troops in garrison to be stationed for a few months at Bandajuma; but before acting on this authority, I should like to have a further report from him on the state of his district, and to know his opinion as to whether the force should be sent, *i.e.* whether he considers he is in a position to maintain order, and carry out the collection of the house tax without its support. F. C.

21.1.98.

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XXXVII.

MINUTE, 29th January 1898, COMMISSIONER CARR, Bandajuma, to COLONIAL SECRETARY. Advises sending half Company West Indian Regiment.

THE HONBLE. COLONIAL SECRETARY.

The district is inclined to be in a more settled condition, I think, although I expect a little trouble in some parts still.

In answer to His Excellency's queries, I think it would be advisable to send half a company of the West Indian Regiment to garrison this place, so that I may be able to utilise all the Frontiers I have here, to carry out the collection of the house tax, and maintain good order.

C. E. CARR,
D. C.

BANDAJUMA, 29.1.98.

XXXVIII.

LETTER, 5th January 1898, DR. ARNOLD to MR. CARR.

DODO, *5th January* 1898.

DEAR MR. CARR,—I wish to inform you as briefly as possible of the following circumstances.

I left Gorahun in the morning of the 3rd inst., having had great trouble in obtaining carriers, and consequently making a late start. The Chief of this town seemed unwilling to render me any assistance in obtaining men. Reached Gbah about sunset; several carriers and one hammock-boy deserted on the way.

Remained at Gbah Tuesday the 4th. Put as shortly as possible, what happened at Gbah was this:—The town early in the morning became full of an armed crowd of natives, fresh bands continually coming in, headed by their Chiefs, until several hundred at least must have arrived. I could at first obtain no information from the corporal as to the meaning of it all, although from the fact that every man in the town, old or young, was armed, and from the sinister scowls they gave me, it was evident that mischief was intended. None of my escort could interpret even moderately well. After a palaver among themselves the Chief and their followers assembled outside my house, and a very excited and angry mob they were. Every moment of some two hours' time an attack on myself and the Frontier Police seemed imminent—the slightest untoward incident or kindling spark would, I am sure, have caused our instant massacre, for the Frontiers were all unarmed—a fortunate thing, I think. We were surrounded by hundreds of men, most of them armed with antique guns, swords, and spears, some with clubs. I held the Chiefs in converse as best I could with such indifferent interpreters, but I am inclined to think it was largely due to the influence of a man named Mousa of Filo, who arrived in the midst of the scene, and whose authority seemed to weigh with other Chiefs, that mischief was averted. I promised the Chiefs that I would report their grievances to you, and that you would at a future date come and settle the palaver, and eventually the men were disbanded—as I have said before, I think through Mousa's of Filo intervention. I gathered that their grievances were:—

1st. That my servant, one George Farmer, had the previous day seriously injured a native of a neighbouring town, by beating him with a stick. (This was, I think, a complete fabrication.)

2nd. That the Frontier Police compelled the natives, *nolens volens*, and with violence, to carry the white man's loads.

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3rd. And, I think this is undoubtedly the real reason of the whole thing, that the people refused to pay the house tax, and were, they said, determined to fight rather than do so.

Please excuse this disconnected scrawl, but I am writing in haste, sans table, sans light. One of my escort, whom I had despatched to Bandasuma, has returned, and tells me he was thrashed by the natives on the way, I don't think he is much the worse for it apparently.

The ringleader, or at least the man who called the people to arms, appeared to be Bokhari Kongi, Chief of Ghaziru, aided and abetted by Stafa, Chief of Tuasu, and Tambawah, Chief of Bahawah.

For quite two hours, I should think, it seemed every minute as if we were about to be cut to pieces.

Have given your message to a number of Chiefs, but a good many of the latter were away from their towns when I passed through it. The message seems to have acted as a firebrand.

I have been obliged to leave William Beckley behind at Konkon, as an injured toe prevented him from walking.

Shall be glad to give you full particulars of the Gbah affairs if they interest you when we meet.

I think I shall proceed to-morrow to Bandasuma instead to Jongoba, as planned by you; there are several reasons why I should do this.—Yours sincerely,

G. T. ARNOLD.

XXXIX.

REPORT, 12th February 1898, COMMISSIONER SHARPE, Karene District. Difficulties in Collecting Hut Tax—Arrest of Chiefs.

Confid. 23/1898

CONFIDENTIAL No. 67.

From THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, Karene District *to* THE HONBLE. COLONIAL SECRETARY, Freetown.

DIFFICULTIES IN COLLECTING HUT TAX, ETC.

SIR,—I have the honour to report for the information of His Excellency the Governor, some of the difficulties I have met with in starting to collect the House Tax, with suggestions I would submit for His Excellency's consideration.

Port Lokko being one of the strongest and wealthiest centres of my district, I settled to commence collecting the Hut Tax from this place, and accordingly left Karina with Sub-Inspector Crowther and ten Frontiers last Friday, the 4th inst., arriving there the following day.

Since then, continued threats and rumours of attacks have been received, chiefly from Bai Bureh. As soon as he heard that myself, with Sub-Inspector Crowther and ten Frontiers, were leaving Karina, he imagined we were going to arrest him, and at once collected war-boys and threatened to attack us.

On the same day I received the report from the Secretary Native Affairs, to investigate rumour of report that Bai Bureh was collecting arms, etc., from the French—a rumour reached Karina that night about midnight, that Bai Bureh had heard that we were coming to arrest him, and was, in consequence, coming in to Karina, *that* night, to attack Brimah Sanda, and that he was determined to resist any assistance the garrison at Karina gave to Brimah Sanda.

I did not believe this, but the next morning I sent out spies to watch Bai Bureh, to

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report on what he was doing, what arms and ammunition he had, how many breech-loaders, and whether he was in communication with the French, etc. I left Karina that day, and on the way to Port Lokko met two missionaries who had come to warn me "that there was a plot against my life, and that Bai Bureh was going to shoot me should I attempt to arrest him." The same day a letter was sent to meet Sub-Inspector Crowther at Kabantama, in the same strain (copy attached). We halted at Romani for the night, and throughout the night messengers were coming and going from Bai Bureh, watching our movements.

On arriving at Port Lokko the next day (5th), I saw all the Sierra Leonians, and called upon them to pay their tax. They seemed willing but afraid, as the Chief and natives had said that the first to pay the House Tax would be murdered. They were willing to pay through their landlords or direct to me, if the Chief would undertake that they should not be molested. This he refused to do, and was detained in custody, and warned that he would be given till Monday for his final answer. The Sierra Leonians were also told to attend again on Monday morning, and be prepared to pay.

On the following night, Sunday, about midnight, a report reached us that many people were coming into the town, on hearing that the Chief was a prisoner, with the intention of rescuing him. Finding that there was more or less truth in the report, I placed outposts round our quarters, where the Chief was, and brought down all the ammunition from the barracks in the town. The town was very disturbed all night, and of course we had to remain up, on the alert.

On Monday 7th we found that one of the Sub-Chiefs, Santiggi Kearah, had summoned all Bai Bureh's people to come and rescue Chief Bokari Bamp. I then summoned all the Sub-Chiefs and Headmen, and after allowing them to consult with the Chief, they were called upon to give their answers as to whether they would undertake not to molest the traders for paying their taxes. After a good deal of coaxing they were at last persuaded to give a very half-hearted consent, though it was evident that not much faith could be put in their word. But the traders were now thoroughly frightened of the natives, and refused point blank to pay their tax, either to me or through their landlords. I had a private interview with the Chief the same afternoon, and persuaded him that he was running a great risk, and would be arrested if he did not guarantee that those who paid tax would not be arrested (molested?)

On Tuesday 8th all the traders were brought up and charged before me with refusing to pay their tax. They used every means in theirpower to annoy me and hinder me. Several of the men pretended they could only speak "Aku," knowing I had no interpreter for that language. The women simply jeered at me, as each was brought up for judgment. They were detained while their goods were being distrained on, but it was found that they had removed all their valuables, and as each bundle of worthless rubbish was brought in from their houses it was greeted with jeers by all the female traders. All were fined, with the option of imprisonment. One trader sent up to his house for money to pay the fine, but his messenger was stopped by one of the Headmen who took the money from him and threatened to kill the man if he paid the fine. As matters were now getting serious I summoned the Chief but he failed to come.

On Wednesday 9th the Chief came down with all his Sub-Chiefs and about 1000 followers. I then told them my patience was well-nigh exhausted, and I called upon them for an immediate answer to these two questions:—

(1) In the event of the Sierra Leonians paying their tax, would he undertake to instruct all his people not to molest them?

(2) Would he start at once to collect the tax from the natives?

To both of these questions he answered, No! I then arrested the Chief and four of the ringleaders, as follows:—

Bokari Bamp, acting Chief, too weak to rule his people properly, or to assist the Government against opposition, and easily led astray by bad advice from his Santiggis of

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whom he is thoroughly frightened. Would be a loyal Chief if he dared, when not subject to Bai Bureh's influence and that of his Santiggis.

(12 months' imprisonment. Hard labour.)

Bai Salamansa, a *very* dangerous man, with many followers, who boasts that he can defy the Government and resist the law, and who has threatened that the first one who pays shall be murdered. It was he who prevented a trader from paying his fine and threatened to burn his house. (15 months' imprisonment. Hard labour.)

Santiggi Kearah, an equally dangerous man. In league with Bai Bureh to resist the tax by force, and a man with many followers. It was he who brought in Bai Bureh's people to rescue the Chief from custody. (15 months' imprisonment. Hard labour).

Ausumani Bali, a powerful and dangerous man, an open enemy of the Government who is determined to resist the tax. It was he who rescued Bai Foki when he was arrested, and attacked the police. (12 months imprisonment. Hard labour.)

Alpha Saidoo, a dangerous man, whom I have previously had to summon to Karene, and caution. It was he who sent a message to the Sanda people, that they were to take no notice of Brimah Sanda's election by the Government, as he would himself come and 'pull' a chief. (12 months imprisonment. Hard labour.)

As the tide had reached high water half-an-hour since, and as I knew the risk there would be in keeping these prisoners till the next tide, about midnight (with over 2000 people outside, in the town, watching the turn of events) I decided the safest way was to send them to Freetown Gaol at once, which I did, under escort. Hence the reason why no report accompanied them, as time would not permit.

This 'cleared the air' considerably, as the Sierra Leonians then volunteered not only to pay the tax at once, but expressed their regret for having defied the law. Being their first offence, they were let off with fines, which were paid at once (amounting to about £70) and their distrained goods were then restored to them.

On Thursday 10*th* I sent for the head men of the town and gave them a long interview, telling them to take warning from the events of the last two days. I elected Sorie Bonkay as acting chief until either Bokari Bamp's release, or until a new chief had been elected—subject to approval. He was then instructed to start collecting the tax at once, and the Santiggis and others told to support him. This he is very pluckily doing, in spite of threats of murder, attack, and arson. Considering the very difficult position he is placed in, he has proved himself very firm and loyal.

During the middle of the night, he came to me in a very excited state, saying that a messenger had just arrived to say that Bai Bureh was coming in that night to attack him for collecting the hut tax. I again took every precaution by placing outposts all round, and remained up all night. I also gave him a small guard, which he begged for, and who, during the night caught three men coming in with arms secreted, which were seized. I think they were sent in by Bai Bureh, as a sort of advanced guard, though I cannot tell for certain. Throughout the night the people of Port Lokko took fright, and removed in canoes, and by road, to the neigbouring fakkais with all their property, fearing Bai Bureh would come in and attack the town and burn it.

On Friday 11*th* the acting chief still continued perseveringly to collect the hut tax from the few people who remained, and he has now sent round to all those who have removed, that if they do not return within twenty-four hours they will be fined. I am of opinion that the fear of an attack by Bai Bureh has more influence with them than the fear of a fine, and I feel certain the town and Lokko country will not settle down until Bai Bureh's influence is removed. As the Sierra Leonians and natives who have paid the tax have been threatened with attack, murder, etc. I feel it would not be right to return to Karina until they have nothing more to fear. They have proved their loyalty under very trying circumstances, and I have accordingly promised them my protection by remaining here until there is no further cause for fear. Meanwhile some of the spies I sent to Bai Bureh's country have come in. They report that Bai Bureh fears and expects arrest,

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which he will probably resist, though my only fear is he will evade arrest, as he did before, by hiding. Accordingly I have sent to summon him to collect his tax at once and be prepared to pay me when I visit him shortly. I feel certain he will refuse, perhaps defiantly, and I shall then take steps to effect his immediate capture. Until this is done there will be no peace in the country, and the tax will never be collected with success. But when once it is done, Port Lokko will pay up *en masse*, and the other large towns of Mange, Cambia, Kukuna, Mabile, etc. will follow its example.

The effect of the fines on the Sierra Leoneans here has already reached other large towns, and I hear the Sierra Leoneans there will not resist. I hear also that the natives of other towns are all in awe of Bia Bureh, and when he pays, or is removed, they will pay without any difficulty. Though my sentences on the acting Chief and four Headmen sent down appear severe at first sight, it was absolutely necessary, as an example to others, and will lighten my difficulties considerably. But I intend to ask His Excellency to release Bokari Bamp as soon as the country is quiet, and the tax is collected. At the same time I shall submit to His Excellency how very desirable it is, for future peace, that, of the other four arrested, two at least be deported, and not allowed to return, viz. Bai Salamansa and Santiggi Keareh. I would add also how very desirable it is that I do not return to Karina until peace is restored, and Port Lokko has paid the whole tax. If once I do this, the news will spread that I have had to acknowledge that I have failed to collect the tax, and other Chiefs who are inclined to resist, such as Bai Foki, Pa Kobblo, etc., will cause endless trouble. A clean start means easy success.

The above report—perhaps needlessly lengthy and too full of details—I have written, as the shortest means of giving His Excellency a clear idea of the state of things. I have no fear of eventual success, but I am very anxious to be allowed to give my attention only to this matter, until I have made a fair start, in spite of Treasury returns being delayed for a week or two this month. To sum up, I would ask His Excellency's approval to:—

(*a*) Sentences passed on five prisoners sent down.

(*b*) Bokari Bamp to be restored as acting Chief, so soon as the tax is paid, and order restored.

(*c*) Bai Salamansa and Santiggi Keareh not to be allowed to return, as *most* dangerous to good order.

(*d*) Sorie Bonkay's appointment as acting Chief for the present to be confirmed.

(*e*) My remaining here till Port Lokko has paid the tax and order is restored, though this may mean a slight delay in rendering monthly returns and vouchers, etc.

(*f*) The loan of about twenty Frontiers (not recruits) to effect Bai Bureh's arrest. The Customs, French Frontier, Licence, and out-station duties make it impossible to bring in men from out-stations, at which there are about sixty men. I am told that some of the men now with me had only been joined two weeks when they were sent up. Consequently they can have done no musketry. There must be at least twenty left at Karina (for staff and guard duties, etc., and this would only leave about fifteen men for arrest purposes. Bai Bureh can only be arrested by several parties approaching from different flanks, or he will be sure to escape. I would therefore ask for twenty good men at least, at once, so as not to risk failure.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Sd.) W. S. SHARPE, *D.C.*

PORT LOKKO,
12/2/98

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XL.

RETURN showing the number and nature of Criminal Cases tried in the District Commissioner's Court in the KARENE DISTRICT during the month of February 1898.

Date of hearing.	No. of Case.	Where heard.	Nature and date of Offence.	Name of Prisoner.	Plea.	Names of Witnesses.	Finding.	Sentence.	Remarks.
1898									
2nd Feb.	2	Karina	(1) Being in possession of stolen property and unable to account for same satisfactorily.	Folah, . . .	Not Guilty	Amara	Not Guilty	Discharged	
				Pte. Bokari Serri, .	Not Guilty	L.C.Thomas Sawyerr	Guilty } 1st and 2nd charges	7 days' Impt. H.L. and costs 3s. 6d., or 3 days' Impt. H.L.	Costs paid
				Rukoh, . . .	Not Guilty	J. M. Yaskey	Guilty } 1st and 2nd charges	14 days' Imprisonment H.L.	
				Yehnebah, . .	Not Guilty	Yehnebah	Guilty of 2nd charge	7 days' Imprisonment H.L.	
			(2) Perjury. (October 1897.)			Rukoh Pte. Bokari Serri			
5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th Feb.	3	Port Lokko	(1) Refusing to pay the House Tax when lawfully called upon to do so.	Edward Bickersteth,	Guilty	Sub-Inspr. Crowther	Guilty	Released } on paying tax	
				James C. Schlenker,	Guilty	Sergt. P. S. Wilson	Guilty	Released	
				J. T. Cowan, Senior,	Guilty		Guilty	Released	
				J. T. Cowan, Junior,	Guilty		Guilty	Released	
				Rebecca Cookson, .	Guilty		Guilty	Released	
				John A. Fox, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Released	
				Samuel Johnson, .	Guilty		Guilty	Released	
				John Wilson, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Released	
			(2) Fraudulently evading payment of House Tax.	John Weeks, . .	Guilty	Do. do.	Guilty } 1st and 2nd charges	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				David Speck, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Jebrilla, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Jacob Cole, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
			(3) Contempt of Court. (5th February 1898.)	Kassimo Williams, .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Joseph Jones, .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Edward Fox, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				John Oliver, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Thomas C. Wilson,	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				C. J. Warburton, .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				W. B. Cole, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Charles Hebron, .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Sarah Davies, .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Ann Thompson, .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				A. J. Taylor (Mrs.),	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Isaiah Pratt, . .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £2 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Phoebe White, .	Guilty		Guilty	Fined £1 or 14 days' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid

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				Catherine Bonkay, .	Guilty		Guilty	1st and 2nd charges	Fined £1 or 14 days' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Lucy Pratt, . .	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £1 or 14 days' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				John A. Taylor (Mrs.)	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £1 or 14 days' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Nancy Cole, . .	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £1 or 14 days' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Amelia Cole, . .	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £1 or 14 days' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Annie Taylor, .	Guilty		Guilty		Fined 5s. or 7 days' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Hannah Taylor, .	Guilty		Guilty		Fined 5s. or 7 days' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Zibairn B. Saidu, .	Guilty		Guilty	of the three charges	Fined £5 or 6 months' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				H. W. Jarrett, .	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £5 or 6 months' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				William Savage, .	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £5 or 6 months' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Zacchaeus Williams,	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £5 or 6 months' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Alpha Lewalli, .	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £5 or 6 months' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
				Zacchaeus Wilhelm,	Guilty		Guilty		Fined £5 or 6 months' Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
5th, 7th, 8th, 9th February	4	Port Lokko	(1) Inciting others by threats to defy the law—Offence under sec. 67, Pro. Ord. (2) Refusing to collect the House-Tax due—Offence under sec. 68, Pro. Ord. (3) Over-aweing by force a Public Officer in the exercise of his duty—sec. 68, Pro. Ord. (5th February 1898.)	Acting-Chief Bokari Bamp, .	Guilty	Sub-Inspr. Crowther	Guilty		12 months' Impt. H.L., Freetown Gaol	
				Bai Salamansa, .	Guilty	Sergt. P. S. Wilson	Guilty		15 months' Impt. H.L., Freetown Gaol	
				Santiggi Kearah, .	Guilty	L. C. Lamina Turay	Guilty		15 months' Impt. H.L, Freetown Gaol	
				Alpha Saidu, . .	Guilty		Guilty		12 months' Impt. H.L., Freetown Gaol	
				Ausamana Bali, .	Guilty		Guilty		12 months' Impt. H.L., Freetown Gaol	
8th Feb.	5	Port Lokko	Resisting the execution of process of law—sec. 68, Pro. Ord. (8th February 1898.)	Rose Oliver, . .	Not Guilty	L. C. Bindee Sergt. P. S. Wilson Archibald Campbell	Guilty		Fined £1 or one month's Impt. H.L.	Fine paid
10th Feb.	6	Port Lokko	Arson. (27th January 1898.)	Kolleh, . . .	Not Guilty	David Speck	Guilty		3 months' Imprisonment H.L.	
				Santiggi, . .	Guilty	A. J. Taylor	Guilty		14 days' Imprisonment H.L.	

I certify that the above is a true and correct statement of all Criminal Cases tried in the District Commissioner's Court of this District during the above month.

(Sd.) W. S. SHARPE, *Capt.*,
District Commissioner.

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XLI.

WARRANT for the Imprisonment with Hard Labour of Chief Bokari Bamp.

Karene Dist. and Settlement of Sierra Leone, (to wit.)

To the Frontier Police of Freetown in the said Settlement, and to the Keeper of the Common Gaol at Freetown in and for the said Settlement.

WHEREAS Acting Chief Bokari Bamp was this day duly convicted before me, Wilfred Stanley Sharpe, Esquire, Her Majesty's Dist. Commissioner in and for the said District, of Resisting and conspiring with others to resist a Public Officer, to wit the District Commissioner, in the lawful exercise of his duty, contrary to the form of the Ordinance in such case made and provided, and was by me adjudged to be imprisoned for the said offence in the said Common Gaol for the space of Twelve Months' Imprisonment with hard labour, according to the form of the said Ordinance;

These are to command you, the said Frontier Police, to carry the said Acting Chief Bokari Bamp to the said Common Gaol, and him to deliver to the said Keeper thereof, together with this Warrant. And I do hereby command you the said Keeper to receive the said Acting Chief Bokari Bamp into your custody in the said Common Gaol, and him there safely keep for the space of Twelve Months' Imprisonment with hard labour, and, for so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

Given under my Hand and Seal this 9th day of February in the year of our Lord 1898.

(Sd.) W. S. SHARPE, *Capt.*,
Dist. Commissioner.

L. S.

I hereby order that the said Actg. Chief Bokari Bamp be imprisoned in the Freetown Gaol, under Ordce. No. 11, Sect. LXXIV. of 1897.

(Sd.) F. CARDEW,
Governor.

XLII.

MINUTE, 15th February 1898, Sir F. Cardew—Instructions for Major Tarbet and Twenty Men to proceed to Port Lokko to arrest Bai Bureh.

Confidential

$\frac{23}{1898}$

A.C.S.

I consider Capt. Sharpe has acted with great decision and promptitude under very dicffiult circumstances, and I approve of the action taken by him and of his recommendations.

The I. G., with whom I have conferred, will proceed to-morrow in the C.S. *Countess*

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with 20 men to Port Lokko, at such hour as the Capt. Compton may suggest, having respect to the state of the tide.

On disembarking Major Tarbet and his party, the *Countess* will return to Freetown and thence proceed to Bonthe with the officers for Bandajuma and Panguma districts, as already directed by me.

Major Tarbet will, with the assistance of Capt. Sharpe and his Police, proceed, on landing at Port Lokko, to effect the arrest of Bai Bureh, whom, should he be convicted by the D. C. of the charges preferred against him, he will bring with him to Freetown for committal to gaol. The party accompanying Major Tarbet from here will also return with him. Should Bai Bureh evade arrest and become fugitive, Major Tarbet and his party need not remain, but before returning to Freetown he should effectually disperse and disarm that Chief's war-boys and adherents, and I authorise the D. C. to offer a reward not exceeding £20 for his apprehension in case of his evading arrest.

(Sd.) F. C.

15.2.98.

XLIII (a).

CORRESPONDENCE relating to Imprisoned Chiefs from Karene District.

Confidential
Native Affairs.
No 5.

From THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS *to* THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

I have the honour most respectfully to submit, that as there is now a considerable force at Port Lokko, it would do much to allay the apprehension of the people, which undoubtedly has lately been not inconsiderably increased by idle stories from this place, if the Chiefs of the Karene district, who are now in Freetown gaol, could be sent up to remain in the district until it pleases his Excellency to release them, as if (as it is reported) the taxes have been paid for their district, and the District Commissioner sees no objection. I doubt not that his Excellency will release them in due course.

At present it is generally rumoured that one is dead through ill-treatment, and another has broken his leg on the treadmill. Such reports naturally fan the flames of discontent, and it is difficult to get their people to believe that things are otherwise excepting they see with their own eyes.

J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
Secretary for Native Affairs.

DEPARTMENT FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, 11*th March* 1898.

XLIII (b).

Confidential
Native Affairs.
No. 8.

From THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS *to* THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

I have the honour most respectfully to submit that I have been informed that the Chiefs, who are at present in prison here for not paying the Hut Tax, are sentenced to hard labour and put to breaking stones. As it has not been usual hitherto for Chiefs who have been imprisoned under Ordinance as political prisoners, for the greater offence of creating war, to be so treated, may I ask His Excellency's consideration of their case. I venture to do so, and respectfully suggest that same clemency may be exercised, as I believe their people have already paid.

J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
Secretary for Native Affairs.

DEPARTMENT FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, 15*th March* 1898.

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XLIII (c).

Confidential
Native Affairs.
No. 26.

DEPARTMENT FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, *3rd June* 1898.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—I have the honour to submit, in connection with the subject of the payment of the Hut Tax, by the subjects of the imprisoned Port Lokko Chiefs, and Santiggis, which was referred to in the course of conversation yesterday morning, that as far as I can gather, the taxes on all Port Lokko towns of over twenty huts have been paid.

2. From the attached estimate of the rateable value of each of the chiefdoms in the Karene district, made by the Acting District Commissioner on the 8th November 1897, I observe that Lower Lokko or Port Lokko, under Alikarli Moribah, now deceased, whom these Chiefs represent, is assessed at £190. If, as I have been given to understand, the inhabitants have paid about £180, the annual contribution has almost been met, but I have no data to prove whether my information is correct. Such would, I doubt not, be in the possession of the Treasury department or the District Commissioner Karene.

3. There are persons in town whom I believe would have no objection to guarantee the payment of whatever may be found to be due, if your Excellency is inclined to exercise your prerogative of clemency in their regard.—Your most obedient servant,

J. E. ERNEST PARKES,
Secretary for Native Affairs.

XLIV.

REPORT, 19th February 1898, COMMISSIONER SHARPE, Karene —Disturbed state of District — Attempt to arrest BAI BUREH.

Confid.
23
98

From THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, Karina District,

Confidential
1
98

To THE HON. COLONIAL SECRETARY, Freetown.

Disturbed state of LOKKO, KASSI, and neighbouring countries in above district.

SIR,—I have the honour to report on the above as follows:

The escort of Frontiers under command of the Inspector-General, and accompanied by myself and staff, left Port Lokko on Thursday, 17th inst., remaining for that night at Malal.

Spies and scouts had been sent out to try and discover Bai Bureh's whereabouts, and the number of armed people assembling, etc., but we could not tell for certain whether Bai Bureh was at Mahera (where we heard he had gone on that evening after visiting Romani), at Rogballang, or elsewhere. Under the I. G.'s direction, I had sent to Karina to order Sergt. Nicol, with all available men there, to proceed early on Friday morning to Kabantama, there to await further orders, as we had decided to make that place our base. We left Malal early on Friday morning, deciding to send all our carriers (60) loads, pay escort (with over £200 collected by me) and staff on to Kabantama, while we would proceed to Romani with them, and from there strike off direct to Mahera, where we expected Bai Bureh was, and where most resistance would probably be expected. On reaching Romani, we found that place blockaded, every house and door fastened, and the bush all around swarming with armed parties. We called a halt there, and believing Bai Bureh to be there, we endeavoured to communicate, but failed. Our every movement was watched by armed parties all round. I myself endeavoured to communicate with some of the people, and went round the town, where I tried to get the people to come and talk to me. I succeeded in getting one man to come up, but as I was immediately surrounded by armed people, and

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had only 1 corpl. and 2 messengers with me, I had to rejoin the column. We brought the man back by force, amid much excitement all round, intending to try and get him to give us some news of Bai Bureh's position, but the attitude of the people had now become so threatening that it was decided to push on to our base, Kabantama, with our carriers and loads, as they completely hampered our movements. Meanwhile, during the halt, the Frontiers and carriers had been continually stoned, and armed parties had been approaching the town by every road, and the Inspector-General (who had, himself, with S. I. Crowther and the interpreter, left the column, and endeavoured to communicate with the natives, but had failed) decided to push on with our carriers and cash.

After proceeding about a mile, being very much delayed by the carriers and loads, we found we were gradually being surrounded on all sides, front, rear, and flanks, and as those in the rear were very numerous and beginning to press close on us, they were fired upon and dispersed. Most of the Timini carriers, who were in front, with Karina loads (Mr Crowther's, the clerk's and interpreter's, the office loads, and my own), as soon as they heard the firing in the rear, and on being attacked by the war-boys who were in front, threw down their loads and ran off. Others were attacked by war-boys and their loads siezed, as the escort had been engaged in dispersing those on the flanks and rear. Before this was done, *our fire was returned*, and some of our carriers with their loads were captured and carried off. I regret to say that I lost my travelling bag, with linen, and my revolver and rifle *ammunition* only, which I always kept at my side, and the tin map case was also siezed, a *very* severe loss, as all the Government maps, maps of every route I had travelled over since 1894, with French maps, and maps lent me for copying, by various missions, were all lost.

Mr. Crowther lost two loads, with his ammunition, and the clerk one, containing money and linen. These were siezed and carried off, and some of the carriers are still missing. On reaching Kabantama, where we halted and intended to remain for the night, we were joined by Dr. Maxwell, and the party from Karina, who reported that they saw armed people collecting, and that on the road between the river Mabole and Kabantama resistance would probably be met with. Although the march hitherto had been a very trying one, as the police had to carry the loads as well as some of the empty hammocks, whose carriers had deserted, and we had all been unable to rest in our hammocks, it was absolutely necessary to push on to Karina, and by now we knew the whole country between there and Romani was in rising, and it was not safe to leave Karina unguarded. The Chief Santiggi at Kabantama, although under Bai Bureh's sway, appeared anxious to take no part in the rising. His town was not deserted, and he did his best to find us a few carriers. On reaching Massoangballa, the head of the column was fired upon, and while the column was crossing the river, the rear-guard was attacked and fired upon from Mabanta. The party reached Karina in the evening, and while the natives on this side were taking the ferry canoes back, up the river, they were fired upon by people from Mabanta.

I fear there will now be a general rising round Bai Bureh, as I am informed that several other neighbouring Chiefs have sent him their warriors, although not actually with him, and I consider it necessary that sufficient force should be employed not only to break up and disarm the natives, but to capture Bai Bureh and the ringleaders, dead or alive. Until this has been done the political work of this district must be suspended. To take the offensive with the force now here, twenty men at least would have to be left in Karina, and another 15 would be required, at least, as baggage escort with the ammunation, etc. This would leave only about 30 men who could actually be employed actively, and would make it impossible to take the usual precautions of a support, with advanced and rear guards.

I ought not to omit that a messenger (D. C.) that I sent on to Kabantama from Malal was met and forced back, and had to make his way through the bush. The road from here to Port Lokko is completely blocked, and no messengers or natives are allowed to pass, so that my returns and cash will not be sent off as yet, while there is any risk. I should not be surprised if Port Lokko were attacked for having begun to pay the tax, and the Paramount Chief here has asked for police protection, and slept in the barracks last night.—I am, etc.,

(Sd.) W. S. SHARPE, *D.C.*

KARINA
19:2:98.

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XLV.

REPORT, 19th February 1898. MAJOR TARBET, Inspector-General, Frontier Police. Attempt to arrest BAI BUREH.

Confid. 23/98 CONFIDENTIAL. KARINA, 19*th Feb.* 1898.

HON. COLONIAL SECRETARY,

I have the honour to report that I arrived at Port Lokko on the 16th inst., and found Captain Sharpe, D. C. there.

I interviewed Chief Suribunki regarding the whereabouts of Bey Bureh, and learnt that he was at Mahera, about two hours north of Romeni. He also informed me that spies sent into the Kassi country had reported that Bey Bureh had collected a number of war-boys, and was going to resist any attempt at being arrested.

On the 17th inst., having obtained, with some trouble, a guide who knew the Kassi country, I proceeded with Captain Sharpe, D. C., and Capt. Hastings and 46 frontiers to Romalal on the road to Karina, and halted for the night. The following morning at 6 A.M. we started on, having decided that I, with Captain Sharpe, D. C., and Capt. Hastings and the Frontiers should pass *via* Romeni to Mahera and Roballang, Bey Bureh's chief residence; the D. C.'s clerk and his Head Quarter baggage, which took a good number of carriers, together with our baggage, going straight through to Kabantama, which place would be our base.

On arriving at Romeni, I found that the houses were deserted, but that the bush all round was full of war-boys. After a few minutes' halt, during which a square was formed, I saw it was impossible to allow the baggage to proceed on to Kabantama with only an escort of a few men. The bush was full of armed war-boys, and stones were being thrown. I learned there that Bai Bureh was in the neighbourhood.

We then proceeded on together until some distance from the town, when Bey Bureh's war-boys commenced following and closing round our flanks. As affairs looked serious, the Frontiers were ordered to fire one volley. They answered by firing on us, but retreated as we gave them a few more. We then proceeded on, but many of Captain Sharpe's carriers and hammockmen had left their loads and run off, the Frontiers having to carry what was left behind.

At Kabantama we halted, but I learned that the road between that place and the river near Karina was also full of war-boys. Leaving Kabantama about 12 noon, we were fired on by war-boys at Masumbala, and halted and dispersed them with volleys. On crossing the river, the rear-guard was also fired on, and it was necessary to stop there, and drive a party of war-boys away with volleys.

The party arrived at Karina at 5 P.M. last night, after having had a long and tiring march.

Kabantama was the only place which was not deserted, and the Chief there is not taking any part in the rising. The rest of the Kassi country is in a state of revolt, the whole of the people being in the bush, and at present the road from here to Port Lokko . . . for messengers or small parties. The force here is seventy-three strong, but the majority are recruits, and very few of them have done much bush work.

I do not consider, from the state of the Kassi country, that at present a sufficiently strong party could be sent from here, as an attack on Karina is not improbable.

It would be necessary to leave twenty men in Karina, and allowing fifteen to twenty for necessary baggage and ammunition guard, thirty men only would be left for actual work.

Patrols have been sent out to-day in different directions, a strong one having been sent down the Kabantama road.

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Port Lokko also might be visited by Bey Bureh's war-boys, as he is incensed with that place for paying the hut tax.

Under these circumstances, I do not consider that the strength of the Frontiers in this district will at present permit of effectually putting down the general rising which has taken place.

Chief Brimah Sauda has informed me that the Great Scarcies Chiefs have sent numbers of war-boys to assist Bey Bureh, who is determined to resist any attack, and has already turned back Government messengers sent him by Captain Sharpe previous to my arrival.

I do not think that the state of the Kassi country could be rectified except with a demonstration of some force, as Bey Bureh is heading the general rising on account of the tax.

I have conferred fully with Captain Sharpe D. C., and he agrees fully in this opinion.

(Sd.) A. F. TARBET, *Major*,
I. G.

19.2.98.

XLVI.

MINUTE, by SIR F. CARDEW, approving MAJOR TARBET'S action, 3rd March 1898.

ACTING COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Please acknowledge receipt of Major Tarbet's report when opportunity occurs, and say that I approve of the action taken by him to disperse the insurgents, and which appeared to have been completely successful as far as it went.

3.3.98. F. C.

XLVII (a).

MINUTE, DISTRICT COMMISSIONER KARENE, as to killing of MORMOR BANGURA.

N.A. 181 1898

From DISTRICT COMMISSIONER KARENE,
to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

It is only fair to state that before any hostilities broke out at Port Lokko Bai Bangurah's brother, a friendly native of Port Lokko, was practically murdered *in cold blood* by the Frontiers there for refusing to give up his sword.

XLVII (b).

REPORT, 19th July 1898. CAPTAIN SHARPE—Manslaughter of MORMOR BANGURA by Police.

REPORT ON COURT CASE. No. 9.

M. P. $\frac{2698}{98}$ & $\frac{1371}{98}$

The prisoner was stationed on duty at Port Lokko. An order had been given that all natives were to be disarmed. The deceased was a friendly native who had been employed by the Mission. He was armed with a sword. The Frontier Police were unable to distinguish between hostile and friendly natives, and were carrying out their duty in attempting to arrest the deceased, who was seen in the vicinity of the barracks. When the deceased was first seized by a Frontier, he threatened to strike the police with his sword. Seeing this, the prisoner ran out to assist the arrest, and as the deceased was

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threatening to attack them, he came up behind him, and struck him at the back of his neck with the butt of his carbine. The boy was then arrested, and shortly afterwards, in about half an hour, died from the effects of the blow. The prisoner pleaded it was an accident, as he had no intention of killing the boy. Against the prisoner it is clear he used undue violence in effecting the boy's arrest, and caused his death, which greatly incensed the people, and probably was the cause of the subsequent attack on Port Lokko, and perhaps for much of the subsequent fighting, whereby many lives were lost. For the prisoner it must be borne in mind that the state of the country was very disturbed, and that various rumours had reached them that they were going to be attacked. Also that had the deceased not resisted his arrest, and had he not threatened to attack the police with his sword, his presence near the barracks could have been explained, and he would probably have never been struck.

W. S. SHARPE, *Captain.*
Dist. Comr.

KARENE, 19.7.98.

XLVIII.

MINUTE, SIR F. CARDEW to COLONIAL SECRETARY as to movement of Troops.

Confidential $\frac{23}{98}$.

ACTING COLONIAL SECRETARY.

1. In pursuance of the decision of the Executive Council arrived at to-day, I have requested the officer commanding troops to hold one company 1st W. I. Regiment in readiness to embark to-morrow evening at such hour as he may appoint in the C.S. *Countess of Derby*, and to proceed the next day to Robat: there disembark and march via Kambia to Karene where it will be stationed as a support to the Frontier Police.

2. You will be so good as to render all necessary assistance to the military authorities for the embarkation and arrange for two large boats to be towed by the *Countess*.

3. Please inform the District Commissioner that on the arrival of the troops at Karene he will place the barracks there at their disposal, and further instructions that the troops are sent in order to leave the Frontier Police free to suppress the rising in the Kassi district and effect the arrest of Bai Bureh, but he is authorised, in case the police should receive a reverse, to call upon the O.C. Troops to render assistance, on which that officer will assume the direction of the operations including the command of the Police, but while the military operations are being carried out, the D. C. will be careful to maintain the civil jurisdiction in his own hands and ensure that any offenders when captured are dealt with in accordance with law.

4. The Secretary for Native Affairs will detail an Interpreter to accompany the troops, and the two Frontier Policemen who brought Cap. Sharpe's report will return with the troops.

5. The D.C. should use every effort to effect the arrest of Bai Bureh, offering a reward of £20 for his apprehension if he considers it necessary, and as soon as his arrest has been accomplished and his war-boys dispersed the troops will be withdrawn and Major Tarbet's men as well if they can be spared.

F. C.

22.2.98.

XLIX.

TRANSLATION of a letter written in ARABIC from the MUSLIMS in SIERRA LEONE to the QUEEN'S COMMISSIONER.

RECEIVED *3rd October* 1898.

Praise be to God alone: praise and peace be on the head of all mankind.

After the above praises—This letter is from the Assembly of the Muslims in Sierra Leone, to the Chief that was sent by the Queen to see about the country (meaning here the

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Commissioner). May peace be on him with his family. After this, that Bai Bureh sent Alimami Mormor to us in order to beg you, that he did not wish any enmity between him and the English Government, for he is a friend to the Queen and her Government. Her Government will never trouble any one excepting one who troubles it. She is just between her children. But they first commenced to fight with him and killing his people, but he has got no power to fight with them, and he appeals to God, to the Queen, and to her Commissioner that they should stop fighting him and his people, and make the country good and peaceful and stop the war. This is also our mind and we ask you the same according to what Bai Bureh said. We hope this will be granted with peace.

18th day of Jomada Lawal 1315
correspond with the 3rd October 1898.
Translated by
A. SANUSI.
Goverment Arabic Writer.

DEPT. FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,
SIERRA LEONE, *3rd October* 1898.

L.

REPLY of SIR DAVID CHALMERS to letter from the MUSLIMS in SIERRA LEONE of 3rd October 1898.

Praise be to God alone: peace be on the head of all mankind.

This letter is from Sir David Patrick Chalmers, the Queen's Commissioner to the Assembly of the Muslims in Sierra Leone. May peace be on them and all their families.

After this; with respect to the message that Bai Bureh has sent by Alimimi Mormor that Bai Bureh did not wish any enmity between him and the English Government, and that they should stop fighting him and his people, Sir David Patrick Chalmers is of one mind with Bai Bureh and the Assembly of the Muslems in desiring to see a peaceful ending of all these disturbances, but as the Queen has not authorised him to take any steps in the matter of making peace he is not able to do or promise anything of himself; but he hopes that the wish of the Muslems and Bai Bureh may be granted;

In peace 7th day of October 1898 (22nd day of Jomada Lawal 1315).

LI.

LETTER, SIR DAVID CHALMERS to SIR F. CARDEW. MESSAGE from BAI BUREH.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, *4th October* 1898.

SIR,—I have to-day received a communication from the Muslems of Sierra Leone purporting to convey a message, which I believe to be genuine, from Bai Bureh, expressive of his very earnest desire for pacification. I presume that a communication of similar nature has also reached Your Excellency.

I propose to reply to the effect that whilst sympathising with Bai Bureh's desire to see a peaceful termination of these disturbances, my powers do not enable me to take any steps towards that end.

I wish to add in case you should consider that I could in any degree assist in bringing about a result which I feel sure Your Excellency has very much at heart, I would most freely render whatever service might be in my power.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Sd.) D. P. CHALMERS.

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR FREDERIC CARDEW, K.C.M.G.
Governor of Sierra Leone.

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LII.

LETTER, Sir F. Cardew to Sir David Chalmers as to Bai Bureh's Surrender.

Local.
No. 712.

Government House, Freetown,
Sierra Leone, *5th October* 1898.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, informing me that you had received a communication from the Muslems of Sierra Leone purporting to convey a message from Bai Bureh expressive of his very earnest desire for peace. I have as yet received no communication of a similar nature from them, though I was made aware that you were about to be approached by them on this matter.

2. I appreciate very highly, and beg to thank you most sincerely for your very kind offer to assist in bringing about a pacification; but as Bai Bureh has defied the lawful authority of, and levied war against, the Government, in consequence of which many valuable lives of officers and men of Her Majesty's troops and the Frontier Police have been sacrificed, and as it appears from the latest reports that even now, whilst he is sending messages expressive of his very earnest desire for peace, war-boys are collecting in his territory, and that only recently our patrols have been fired on again and again by them, I regret to say my only terms are that he must surrender unconditionally either to the officer commanding the troops in the field or to the District Commissioner at Karene.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

Sir David P. Chalmers,
Her Majesty's Commissioner, Sierra Leone.

F. Cardew,
Governor.

LIII.

LETTER, Sir F. Cardew to Sir David Chalmers. Message to Bai Bureh.

Local.
No. 781.

Government House, Freetown,
Sierra Leone, *3rd November* 1898.

Sir,—Having observed in the monthly return of special messengers for August, rendered by the Secretary for Native Affairs, that you appear to have sent a letter by one of the messengers to Bai Bureh; if such is the case, as that Chief is in arms against Her Majesty's Troops, I shall feel much obliged if you will be so good as to furnish me with a copy of the letter you have addressed to him.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

Sir D. P. Chalmers,
H. M. Commissioner, Freetown.

F. Cardew,
Governor.

LIV.

LETTER, Sir David Chalmers to Sir F. Cardew in answer to No. LIII.

Freetown, Sierra Leone,
4th November 1898.

Sir,—I delayed answering your letter No. 781, local, 3rd November 1898, until I had made some enquiry, as I felt satisfied there was some error, no such letter as Your Excellency mentions having been sent by me.

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2. It seems not improbable, however, that Your Excellency may be referring to the answer I made to a letter from the Muslems of Sierra Leone which as well as my proposed reply I communicated to you on 4th October. A copy of this answer was forwarded by Mr. Parkes to Bai Bureh at the same time as your Excellency sent a letter with a message from me, advising that he should listen with a good ear to the proposal which the Governor makes to him. Copy of my answer to the Muslems is inclosed.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR FREDERICK CARDEW, K.C.M.G.,
Governor of Sierra Leone.

D. P. CHALMERS.

LV.

LETTER, SIR F. CARDEW to SIR DAVID CHALMERS replying to No. LIV.

Local.
No. 783.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, FREETOWN,
SIERRA LEONE, *4th November* 1898.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date, and to thank you for your kindness in transmitting therewith a copy of your answer to the Muslems of Sierra Leone with respect to the message from Bai Bureh conveyed through them.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

SIR DAVID P. CHALMERS,
Her Majesty's Commissioner, Freetown.

F. CARDEW,
Governor.

LVI.

REPORT, 30 August, 1898, LT.-COL. MARSHALL, Commanding Karene Expeditionary Force—Operations in Timini Country.

GARRISON OFFICE, 30 *August* 1898,
SIERRA LEONE.

From O. C. KARENE EXPN. *to* O. C. T. W. C. A.

I have, etc., to forward the following report on the operations of the Karene Expn. Force:—

1. From the commencement the spirit of resistance to recognised authority was being gradually formed throughout the Colony, the failure to collect the recently imposed hut tax, and the attempt to arrest the disaffected leaders, led in the first instance to passive resistance on the part of the ringleaders, and subsequently to a state of open rebellion.

2. Bai Bureh, the instigator and prime mover of the rebellion, was Chief of the Kassi country. He enjoyed a great reputation as an experienced War Chief, in so much so that he was able to draw to himself, from other districts, a large number of war-boys, which very considerably added to the force he could dispose of under ordinary force. He had been an ally in the expedition to the Sambakke country in 1892, and knew something of the British method of fighting; his men were well armed, and undoubtedly possessed many rifles, and also seemed to have a good supply of ammunition.

3. On the 22nd Feby., H. E., the Governor of Sierra Leone, requested the O. C. Troops to hold a Coy. in readiness to proceed to Karene *via* Robat on the Great Scarcies River for the purpose of garrisoning Karene and releasing the Frontier Police there, who had orders to

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effect the arrest of Bai Bureh, also, if necessary, the Coy. was to support the Police in case of reverse.

4. A Coy. with a 7 pr. and a Maxim under Major Norris, D.S.O., embarked at Freetown on the 24th February, and disembarked at Robat on the 26th. Major Norris had some 500 carriers with him, 30 days' supply for the force, besides camp equipment and the kits of the men. Camp equipment was taken owing to a rumour in Freetown that Karene had been burnt. On landing at Robat, Major Norris discovered that he had an insufficient number of carriers for his loads, and therefore a considerable part of the stores had to be left at Robat. The column reached Karene unopposed on 28th February, but was followed by a number of war-boys; Karene at that time was practically besieged, the Frontier Police were opposed on all sides. Three wounded Frontiers were already in hospital.

5. On the 2nd March the D. C. resigned the control of the Karene District into the hands of Major Norris, and martial law was proclaimed.

6. On the 3rd March Major Norris marched his force to Port Lokko in order to open up communication with Freetown. The column was opposed throughout its march. Casualties, Captain Scott, R.A.M.C., 4 $\frac{\text{Privates}}{\text{1 W.I.R.}}$ and 5 carriers severely wounded, Captn. Faunce, 2 privates, 7 carriers slightly wounded. The enemy suffered severely, exposing themselves more in these attacks than at any subsequent time.

7. On the 4th March Major Norris, D.S.O., requisitioned by carrier pigeon for two additional companies, stating that Port Lokko was about to be attacked, and he had moved into Laager, covering the mission house.

8. The same evening $\frac{\text{1 Coy.}}{\text{1 W.I.R.}}$ under Major Stansfield embarked on board the colonial steamer *Countess of Derby* for Port Lokko, arriving there in the evening of 5th March.

9. Early on this date the Laager at Port Lokko was attacked, but by 8 o'clock A.M. the attack was repulsed, though the enemy continued sniping throughout the entire day. Again the enemy suffered for this boldness, one carrier only being wounded in the laager. The gun launch of H.M.S. *Alecto*, which was escorting Major Stansfield's party, shelled old Port Lokko from the creek.

10. Major Norris, finding that he was reinforced by only one Coy., sent an urgent message for a third Coy., the idea being that one Coy. should be stationed at Karene, one at Port Lokko, while a third acted as a flying column between the two stations.

11. On 6th March Karene was attacked, but the Frontier Police were enabled to repel the attack without loss.

12. On the 7th March the Coy. under Major Stansfield left Port Lokko for Karene, encamping for the night at Kagbaintama. It reached Karene on the 8th March unopposed, except that the enemy endeavoured to cause delay by firing the bush.

13. On the 9th Major Donovan, A.S.C., arrived at Port Lokko with 20 N.C.Os. and men $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$ and 215 carriers, a 7 pr. gun and supplies.

14. The D. C. escorted by 20 N.C.Os. and men 1/W. R. A. and 20 F. P. arrived at Port Lokko from Karene, and reported being opposed near Malal. Casualties, 3 F. P. and 2 carriers wounded. He had come to Port Lokko to act as political adviser to O. C. T. under instructions from H. E., the Governor.

15. About this time H. E. demurred to more than one Coy. being sent from Freetown, and in this opinion the O. C. T. concurred. One Coy., 1 W.I.Rg., under Major Burke, was sent. It was accompanied by 100 carriers. It disembarked at Port Lokko on 11th March.

16. On the 13th March this Coy. proceeded through the Kassi country to Karene as a flying column, where it arrived on the 16th March, having met with considerable opposition at Gbiton and Mahera. Casualties, 1 Pte. 1 W.I.R. killed, 2 Privates 1 W.I.R. mortally wounded, 1 Sgt., 1 Pte. 1 W.I.R., severely wounded, 5 N.C.Os. and men, 1 W.I.R. slightly wounded, also 2 F.P. wounded. The instructions given to Major Burke were that his Coy. and that of Major Stansfield were to act alternately as flying column around Karene; that Rogabold was to be destroyed, and the missionaries of Robbero given every assistance, also that Major Stansfield's column was to proceed to Robat to recover the stores left there, and

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that all towns up to and including Rowula, were to be destroyed, and a reward of £50 was offered for the apprehension of Bai Bureh.

17. On the 17th March there was a night-alarm at Karene, the enemy firing into the camp, 1 Pte. 1 W.I.R. was wounded.

18. In accordance with instructions above mentioned, Major Stansfield on the 18th March left Karene for Robat. The column was fired at at Sindugu, about 4½ miles out, and met with serious opposition at Mabolonto; casualties, Lieut. Yeld $\frac{1}{W.I.R.}$, mortally wounded, 5 N.C.O. and men, 1 W.I.R. and 2 carriers severely wounded. Owing to this number of casualties, which may be said to have occurred at the commencement of the march, and the probability of an increasing number of casualties as the march continued, Major Stansfield considered it advisable to return to Karene.

19. On the 19th March Colonel Bosworth and a $\frac{Coy.\ 1}{W.I.R.}$ with 312 carriers, embarked at Freetown for Port Lokko, landing there on the 20th on the same day that Major Stansfield with 50 N.C.Os. and men, 1 W.I.R. and 40 F. P. marched from Karene to Port Lokko. He was opposed at Matitin and Mamiliki; casualties, 1 Pte. 1 W.I.R., 4 Pts. F. P. wounded.

20. At this time about 600 carriers were accumulated at Karene, and Col. Bosworth decided to send an escort to bring them down, in order to make them available for the transport of supplies to the front. Thereupon, on the 22nd March, Capt. Carr-Smith, one Coy. W.I.R., and 40 F. P., marched from Port Lokko to Karene. The route taken was through Makompo and Kagbantama. There was no opposition till the column reached Matiti, where stockades were met with which were strongly defended. Two officers, Lieut. Lawrenson and Craig Brown, and 4 Pts., were severely wounded, 7 carriers were killed and 20 wounded, and some of the stores were lost. The column was obliged to bivouac near Maperri. The next day the march, unopposed, was continued to Karene.

21. On the 25th Capt. C. Smith, acting under previous orders, left Karene for his return march. 800 carriers accompanied the column. Strong resistance was again experienced at Mamiliki and Matiti. Capt. C. Smith, Lieut. M'Lean, and 2 Pts. W.I.R. were severely wounded, 1 Pte. mortally wounded, 3 N.C.Os. and men, 1 W.I.R., slightly wounded. All the combatant officers being wounded, the column returned to Karene.

22. On the same day Major Burke, with 50 N.C.Os. and men W.I.R., and 50 F.P., marched to attack Barmot, a town 10 miles N.E. of Karene. He drove the enemy out of their stockades, burnt his town, and returned to Karene without casualties.

23. The news of the reverse of Capt. C. Smith's column having reached Port Lokko on the 26th March from Freetown, where it had been received by carrier pigeon, Col. Bosworth decided to march to Karene and clear the road of all opposition. Therefore, on the 27th March, with 4 officers, 100 rank and file W.I.R., he marched from Port Lokko by the direct road to Karene. The column was fired on at Malal and Romani, and at Kagbantama serious opposition was met with, the enemy firing from the loopholed walls of the town. Several casualties occurred here, 1 Pte. W.I.R. being killed. Col. Bosworth was attacked by heat apoplexy after leaving Kagbantama, and handed over command of the column to Major Donovan, A.S.C. Colonel Bosworth succumbed to the attack at 6.30 P.M. At 7.30 P.M., when this column reached Matiti, it found its further progress barred by stockades on either side of the road. It was now dark, and there was great confusion among the carriers. Many more casualties were incurred as Captain M'Donald was mortally wounded. The column did not reach Karene till 12.30 A.M. on 28th March; total casualties, 35.

24. On the morning of the 27th, Major Burke, with a force of 50 N.C.Os. and men, 1 W.I.R., had patrolled the road as far as Maferri, destroying several stockades; casualties, 2 Ptes. W.I.R., and 3 carriers wounded.

25. On the 28th, Major Tarbet, with a force of F. P., patrolled the road to Matiti, and destroyed some partly built stockades; casualties, 1 F. P. wounded.

26. In compliance with order issued by Col. Bosworth, Major Bourke, D.S.O., arrived at Port Lokko on the 30th March with 2 Coy. W.I.R.

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27. An escort of 160 N.C.Os. and men, 1 W.I.R., under Major Donovan, A.S.C., escorting 12 wounded officers and men, and 800 carriers, marched from Karene on the 30th March, Major Burke with 50 N.C.Os. and men, 1 W.I.R., preceding it as far as Maferri. Five stockades were destroyed; casualties, Major Burke's column, Lt. Jones, and 1 Pte. $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$ severely wounded. Major Donovan's column then proceeded on its way. At Maniliki, opposition was encountered from 3 stockades, and Col. Johnstone received a dangerous wound, to which he succumbed two days later; one carrier also was wounded. The column bivouacked for the night at Magbantama. It arrived at Port Lokko at 9 P.M. on the 31st March, its march having been further delayed by stockades at Mabomrane, one carrier severely wounded. The column, encumbered as it was with such wounded, was compelled to cut a path for itself through the bush to avoid these stockades.

28. On the 30th, a party of F.P., under Major Tarbet, attacked the village of Robat about 2 miles from Karene, and drove the enemy out without loss.

29. I had arrived from the U.K. on the 25th March, having lately been promoted into the battalion. The notification of the death of Col. Bosworth arrived in Freetown on the 29th, and I held myself in readiness to go to the front at the first available opportunity, in the meantime obtaining as much information as possible from H. E., the Governor, respecting the situation of affairs, and the objects to be attained. I embarked for Port Lokko on the 1st April in H.M.S. *Alecto*, and arrived there the same evening.

30. The unanimous opinion of the senior officers of the battalion at Port Lokko was that the tornado season having already begun, it would be impossible to provision Karene for the rains, and that the garrison should be withdrawn without delay until after the rains.

31. It was evident that the course hitherto adopted, viz. that of sending columns up from Port Lokko to Karene, could not be continued indefinitely without involving the sacrifice of the life of every officer of the battalion and of those of a great number of N.C.Os. and men. In the last fortnight 8 officers were either dead or had been severely wounded. Moreover, it was impossible to suppose that Karene could ever be provisioned for the rains in this way. The delay caused in communicating between the posts gave the enemy ample time to complete new stockades, so that each force moving to the relief of Karene met with as much resistance as the force which had preceded it. The only possible way to provision Karene for the rains and at the same time to break the power of the rebel chiefs, now at its zenith, was to establish two intermediate posts, so as to divide the distance between Port Lokko and Karene with comparatively short marches, thereby rendering the convoy service more secure, and affording several bases for the flying column. This plan I decided to adopt. At this time Karene was provisioned for 15 days.

32. On the 2d April 2 Coys. under Major Bourke were sent to destroy the stockades at Mabkane, which had obstructed the march of Major Donovan on the night of the 31st March. This was effected with slight loss, 1 pte. W.I.R. being severely wounded, and 1 gunner, European, slightly wounded.

33. On the morning of the 3rd April, all the senior officers of the battalion being sick, Major Donovan, A.S.C., Captain Morley, $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$, station officer, and Captain Tyler, R.E., being the only officers available, left Port Lokko with 2 Coys. W.I.R. and a convoy of provisions to march to Romani, 13 miles distant, to establish an intermediate post at that place. This was effected with but trifling opposition. Major Donovan's orders were, having chosen a site and formed a laager, to return with Captain Morley, one Coy., W.I.R., and all the carriers to Port Lokko the following morning, when Captain Stevens, $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$, with his Company and a convoy would be sent to replace him. Captain Stevens had come off the sick-list that morning (4th). After this, escorts from both places met at Malal, that from Port Lokko handing over a convoy and receiving in exchange the carriers from Romani. This course was followed on the 5th and 6th April, when 18 days' supplies for 400 men and an equal number of carriers had been forwarded to Romani.

34. On the 7th April the Hd.-Qrs. and two Coys., 1 W.I.R., marched to Romani and encamped there for the night. On the 8th April two columns intended to act on parallel

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roads leading to Kagbantama, followed by a protected convoy 3 hours later, under Major Donovan, A.S.C., marched out of Romani. The column following the main road was under the command of the O.C.T., the other under Major Bourke, D.S.O. On the main road the enemy were dislodged from twelve strong stockades in groups of twos and threes without any casualty.

35. These stockades are composed of short logs ranging from 10 to 14 in. diamr., or sometimes even more. The logs are imbedded in the ground to a depth of 2′ to 3′, leaving a length of 6′ above ground, and are solidly bound together. In front of this large boulders of latterite stones are piled to a thickness of 3 to 4 feet. Funnels made of pieces of bamboo are pushed through to form a row of loop-holes near the ground, and others are placed at different heights above them. Inside, a trench of 4′ is dug, which gives absolute protection to those firing below. These stockades are placed in dense bush at from 7 to 10 yards from the pathway. It is absolutely impossible for European eyes to discern them by an outward sign; occasionally an exceptionally quick-sighted native will discover the locality of a stockade by some indication, such as a dead twig or some drooping leaves overhead. The places mostly chosen are the crossing of fords and rivers, thick gullies, a sharp turn in the road, the top or bottom of a hill, so long as it commands the path, and the densest bush in the vicinity of their towns. They are often built in groups, giving mutual support. The shells of the 7-pr. break to pieces on coming in contact with these boulders, but the moral effect of the gun is good. A sheltered line of retreat down some small slope leading to a pathway cut in rear enables the defenders to retreat in comparative safety; owing to the density of the bush it is impossible to rush them as it would take 5 to ten minutes to cut through the bush to the stockades, during which time the assailants would be under the direct fire of the enemy at very close range. Our only plan is to engage them in front while flanking parties cut their way into the bush. It was found necessary, whenever possible, to burn the woodwork, as otherwise the enemy came back, carried off the logs and rebuilt them in another spot.

36. The guide of Major Donovan's column not being able to find the parallel road, the column returned to the main road and followed that of the O.C.T. On approaching Rotifunk the enemy opened fire from bush near the village, and the troops replied by sectional volleys, which, together with the fire of the 7-pr. gun, soon scattered them. There were no casualties. The column arrived at Kagbantama at 2 p.m., the convoy having come into touch with it. Four more stockades were destroyed at Kagbantama, and a temporary laager was formed among the ruins of the town.

37. During this period the garrison of Karene was ignorant of what was taking place. It had, under Major Burke, ably seconded by Major Tarbet, F. P., patrolled daily the road as far as Maforki. On the 5th April it had two men wounded.

38. On the 9th April I left Kagbantama with a strong reconnoitring force, and took the road to Karene. The march was unopposed, and on nearing Matele came into touch with Major Burke's column. Both columns proceeded to the Mabunto stream; here I halted the majority of my column and accompanied Major Burke back to Karene, with a view to inspecting it and bring back the sick and wounded and all carriers; then having arranged with Major Burke regarding escort for convoys from Magbantama, I returned there about 6 p.m.

39. The next 2 or 3 days were occupied in an arrangement of a regular service of convoys to Karene, and having seen this in effective working order, I handed over to Major Kirk, R.A., the supervision of the lines of communication, in which capacity he acted as staff officer.

40. Owing to the paucity of Regimental Officers, I decided to take personal command of the flying column. At first I was only able to move from Kagbantama on alternate days, as nearly all carriers were employed in hurrying up provisions to Karene, consequently on the 11th and 13th I confined my attention to the immediate neighbourhood of Magbantama, moving through Katenta to Mabole and along paths parallel to the Karene main road.

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On the 11th serious opposition was met with at Rogambia on the Mabole, a town very difficult to approach owing to the densely wooded ravines which surround it. Returning to Kagbantama in the evening of the 11th, I learned that the convoy to Karene, which was under the command of Major Donovan, A.S.C., and Capt. Tyler, C.R.E., accompanying it, had met with serious opposition near Matele. Casualties, 1 Pte., 1 W. I. R. killed, 2 Pts. $\frac{1}{W I R}$ and 9 carriers wounded. Captain Tyler, C.R.E., slightly wounded. All his hammocks being full, Major Donovan returned to Kagbantama, and left with his convoy again at 3 p.m., and this time was unopposed. A messenger had apprised Major Burke's column of this reverse, and also that the convoy would march again in the afternoon.

41. On the 14th April Major Donovan, A.S.C., who had gone out to inspect the site of a new camp, was mortally wounded while attempting to carry his hammock-boy, who had been shot down, out of the enemies' fire.

42. On the same day Major Burk attacked Winti, a stockaded town about 8 miles N. of Karene; three casualties, slight wounds. On the 15th, reinforced from Kagbantama, 20 N. Cos. and men $\frac{1}{W I R}$ under Captain Tyler, C.R.E., Major Burke, according to orders from H^{d}quars., scoured the country contained in the Δe Mahanta, Rogambia, Maliti, and then with the reinforcement joined the H^{d}qrs. at Kagbantama. I had brought him down, as I required an experienced officer to command the flying column in case anything happened to myself. On the 15th April the flying column began to extend its radius of action.

43. And now commenced a period of the most stubborn fighting that has been experienced in W. A. From this date the fighting was continuous and the opposition constant. Stockades there were everywhere, 20 of these formidable structures being destroyed in one day. The flying column commenced its march at daybreak and rarely bivouacked before 5 p.m. ½ hour was allowed for breakfast whenever the attentions of the enemy did not interfere, and a halt of 1½ hours was made during the midday heat. These were the only halts. The remainder of the day was occupied in marching and fighting; it was no uncommon thing to have 4 or 5 stubborn fights during the day, while a day rarely passed without two or three. From the 16th of April to the end of May, the column halted for 6 days at one or other of the stations. This was necessary to enable me to regulate certain details and to answer correspondence.

44. It would be tedious to enumerate the details of all the different fights, but it is certain that no such continuity of opposition had at any previous time been experienced on this part of the coast. As soon as a considerable section of the Kassi country had been won and Bai Bureh driven back to his more secluded haunts, I directed the column to the Safroka country in order to release the missionaries from their perilous position at Rogberi.

45. These missionaries had been detained at Rogberi for some months past by the Chief of the Safroko country, Bai Farima, and were in daily fear of their lives. Had I attempted their rescue while Bai Bureh was still master of the situation it is certain that any advance of the column towards Rogberi would have been the signal for their massacre. Even now it was not safe to attempt their rescue from Karene, the nearest post, the road from which was heavily stockaded and barricaded. The column therefore left Port Lokko on the 23d April, reaching Kaob via Mokomp, where we halted for the night, and where I held a palaver of war-men and Chiefs, explaining what had been done in the Kassi country, that the news might be spread. On the 24th the column marched via Mgwth to Robarong, the undefended capital of Bai Farima. I sent on a messenger to announce my coming, and ordered Bai Farima to meet me; these, however, were too frightened to come into the town. I then sent another message to Bai Farima, ordering him to have the stockades destroyed and the barriers demolished on the road to Karene, by which I was about to march. The next day I set out for Karene; although the stockades had not been demolished a 6′ road had been cut through the barricade across the road, and there was no opposition.

46. At Rogberi three white missionaries (Messrs. Caldwell, Castle, and Helmsley), and nine coloured missionaries and missionary agents, were met and taken to Karene. A few days later both were sent down to Freetown. These missionaries assured me that had

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their rescue been attempted from any other direction, the probability was that they would have been murdered.

47. Arrived at Karene (26th April), I determined to punish the neighbouring Chiefs who had hemmed in the garrison at Karene.

The territory of Alimany Amarah, which lies E. by N. of Karene, was first visited, and the coy. opened up to the Kebule, a tributary of Mabole, and beyond which lies the friendly territory of Bai Yanki.

Next, the road the Kamolo through Minti and Rosorse was unblocked by a flying column under Captain Tyler, C.R.E. Then the Hd. Qr. column marched through the territory of Fodi Banka, which lies to the W. of Karene between the Mabole and Little Scarcies river, and afterwards through the territory of Alimani Lahai, lying still further to the west between the Great and Little Scarcies river.

48. The Mabole and Little Scarcies rivers, of from 100 to 150 yards in breadth, were forded (swollen by the rains so that the water was breast high) in the face of a hot fire from the enemy stockades on the off-bank.

49. The fighting in these territories was, if anything, more sudden than in the Kassi country. At Rosuit the column was received by a hot fire from several stockades, in which the enemy maintained their ground for some considerable time, in spite of flank attacks. They were, however, driven out with heavy loss and pursued into the country, their Chief, Fodi Manri, being killed outside the town. There were eight casualties in all, including one private W.I.R. killed, and one Frontier mortally wounded.

50. At Ronula, the chief town of Alimany Lahai, great opposition was experienced. Alimany Lahai commanded his forces in person, and the consequence was a very fierce fight. Here Capn. Harvey, F.P., was dangerously wounded. It was found necessary to shell and set fire to the town in rear of the enemy's position, before the enemy could be driven out. A large number of rifles were used by the enemy, but the bullets whistled harmlessly overhead. A native can seldom use a rifle at short range, for he thinks the higher the sights are put up, the more powerfully does the rifle shoot. At last the enemy were driven from their stockades and from the town with considerable loss, and as the country on the far side of the town was comparatively open, were pursued with greater loss for some considerable distance. A large quantity of powder and slugs were taken, and also Alimani Lahai's drum, which was abandoned in the bush when the pursuit became hot.

51. Kambia, in friendly territory, was reached on the 6th May, and on the 7th May the stores at Robat were recovered and sent to Port Lokko by water. On the 8th May the column operated to the N.NE. of Kambia, and communication with the Police posts of Samayia and Subuyia was established. On the 9th May the column started on its return to Karene, first operating in Alimani Lahai's territory, to the south of the mainroad. Strenous opposition was encountered throughout this and the next day, and at Sarcroy and Sumboyie some very serious fighting occurred, in which we had several casualties. The column returned to Karene at 7 P.M. on the 11th May.

52. The road to Kamolo, where there was a police station, communication with which had been cut off for some months, was now opened up by a column under Captain Tyler, C.R.E., who returned to Karene on the 11th May.

Moving from Karene on the 13th May, the column reached Magbantama without opposition. On arrival there, I learnt that firing had been heard in the direction of Romani, and shortly after the convoy from that place came in. I had been attacked near Kombabai, and Lt. Rickets $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$ was shot dead. This was about the last shot fired at any of the convoys.

53. The next day (14 May), the small section of the Kassi Country lying to the East (Magbantama-Port Lokko road, which hitherto had been left untouched owing to the erroneous information supplied by the Colonial authorities: Kagbantama-Karene road formed the E. boundary of the Kassi), was cleared of the enemy, and the column resting at Romani during the heat of the day, proceeded in W. and SW. direction to visit those towns near the mainroad which afforded shelter to the 'war-boys' who attacked the convoys. Every village was cleared, luckily without any casualties on our side, though the enemy were not

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driven out without some trouble. The column eventually finding its way to P. Lokko on the 15th May.

54. On arrival at P. Lokko, I found the town in a state of considerable excitement, the Falaba road having been closed to traffic by Bai Forki's war-boys, who had seized on caravans coming down, deprived the owners of their goods and made prisoners of the traders. Bai Forki was a strenuous supporter of Bai Bureh, his territory lying a few miles from Port Lokko across and to the South of the Falaba road. On the 16th, therefore, the column marched for his war capftal, Rofenka, destroying the walled and loop-holed towns of Rotowea aud Rotumbo on the way. At Rofenka we had several casualties, the enemy showing a bold front, but they suffered heavily. Moving northwards through Ramakka, where again we met with stubborn opposition and incurred further casualties, the column reached Romani on the 17th May.

55. My intention in moving N. from Rofenka was to visit the only part of the Kassi country which had hitherto escaped the attention of the flying column, and so complete the overthrow of Bai Bureh, whose power had now for some time been on the wane. On the 18th the column moved to Ragbantama, and the next day marched for Marcura, where B. Bureh with the remnants of his force was supposed to have retired to. Driven from here he would have no place to shelter himself in, and would be dependent on the charity of his allies.

56. Two and ½ days were occupied in clearing out without opposition Marenka and the towns in its vicinity. The column marched along the bank of the Little Scarcies, with the intention of visiting Rotowea, near which place, from information received from the Colonial authorities, B. Bureh's women-folk were supposed to be hiding. This information was incorrect. Passing through the friendly territory of Bai Inga, the column reached P. Lokko on the following day.

57. Captain Tyler, C.R.E., on the 22nd May marched with an escort to Kabonkon to protect the chief of Kamolo on his return journey. This chief had previously set out with an escort of F.P., but these hearing a gun go off in the distance, which they mistook for a signal gun, returned to Karene, declaring that the people of Rosorso intended to prevent the return of the chief to Kamolo. Captain Tyler, C.R.E., therefore marched his escort to Rosorso and Kabinkon. He found the people of Rosorso quite friendly.

58. On the 23rd May a second visit lasting 4 days was paid to Bai Forki's country, who was severely punished for his interference with the trade of the Falaba road. The column met with very determined resistance on this tour, and many casualties occurred. So hurried, however, was the retreat of the enemy from the towns of Romampa and Magbankitta, which they had obstinately defended as being two of their most important towns, that on being driven out they set fire to them in the hope that pursuit might be hindered thereby. The Falaba road was again opened to trade.

59. On the 27th I held a palaver of chiefs again at P. Lokko, who, though they were more or less implicated in the rising, were anxious to submit and place themselves under the protection of the Government.

60. The whole of the disaffected areas of the Karene district had now been overrun, and the power of the rebel chiefs utterly broken. Their prestige was gone, and most of them were fugitives, uncertain where to seek protection.

61. Information was now brought in of a rising in the Massimera country, which is in the Kwalu district, and is situated on the left bank of the Rokell river. The people had risen against the authority of the Government and had murdered the loyal chief of Rokon, also that the people of Northern Kwaia, in conjunction with some "war boys" on the right bank, had stopped the trade of the Rokell river.

62. Therefore on the 28th May, the column marched for Mabile, paying attention to some of Baiforri's towns which are met with on the way. The march of the column was opposed at these towns, but the enemy were dispersed without any casualties on our side. Halting at Mabile for the night, the column crossed the river the next day and took up temporary quarters in the town of Rokell.

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The towns of the rebel leaders were next destroyed, after which an effort was made to call in the chiefs responsible for the government of the country who had held aloof from the rebellion, though they had in no way endeavoured to arrest it. Great difficulty was experienced and much time spent in the endeavour, owing to the timidity of the chiefs. At last, after nearly 3 weeks' delay, the object was attained, and the pacification of the Massimera country ensured thereby.

63. In the meantime, on the 16th June my return to P. Lokko was necessitated in order to make arrangements, at the request of the American Consul, for the withdrawal of the American missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. Ball, from Kunso. On the 24th they arrived safely at P. Lokko under the escort provided for them, and proceeded the next evening to Freetown.

64. On the 26th I returned to Rokell and interviewed the chiefs of Massimera. The war boys who had interfered with the trade of Rokell were scattered, and that river once more opened to traffic, and all political prisoners sent to Kwalu *via* Ronietta.

65. The column finally returned to P. Lokko on the 5th of July, and re-embarked for Freetown on the 9th, landing there on the 10th.

66. Two officers and 50 N. C. O.'s and men, together with 60 F.P. and their officers, now form the garrison of Karene, which has been provisioned for 6 months from 1st June 1898. A strong company is located at P. Lokko, but the intermediate stations at Kagbantama and Romani have been given up.

67. The behaviour of the troops throughout the operations was admirable. Before the commencement of the movements of the flying column, the tornado season, which precedes the rains by about three weeks, was already well advanced, the men were constantly soaked to the skin on the marches, and as they had no change of clothes, were obliged to remain in their wet garments; nearly every night the bivouacs were deluged with rain; it was comparatively seldom that the troops were sufficiently fortunate to sleep in towns, for if the last town attacked during the day was not set on fire by shell fire of the attacking party, it was frequently burnt by the enemy on being driven out, so as to leave no shelter for the troops. These discomforts were not only borne uncomplainedly by the men, but even cheerfully.

68. The conduct of the troops under fire was excellent, although they knew the enemy was sheltered behind stockades which were proof against shell fire and very nearly so against rifle fire (for occasionally a bullet would find its way through the interstices or through the bamboo loopholes of the boulders), they nevertheless fearlessly faced the enemy's fire, sectional volleys being delivered with a steadiness that would have been creditable on parade.

69. This is more remarkable considering the number of young soldiers in the ranks. The Battn. landed from the W. Indies with a good number of recruits, having lately given 15 sergeants, 15 corporals, 6 drummers, and 150 privates, all picked men, to form the nucleus of the 3 Bn., and on arrival on the coast were called upon to furnish 1 sergt. and 114 R. and F. to the 2nd Battn. then on its way to Lagos, receiving in exchange a large number of recruits and men not considered fit for active service.

70. The small number of casualties, when compared with the intensity of the enemy's fire, is partly accounted for by the celerity with which the flying column came into action, and so disconcerted the pre-arranged plans of the enemy. The men of the column were sometimes changed, but the same officers remained, and as section after section came up, a word or two from an officer was sufficient to ensure the right impulse and direction being given to it.

71. It was found that 10 men were quite as many as one Command. was able to control in the dense bush, and consequently the column was divided into sections of 10.

72. A constant source of annoyance to the officers and extra fatigue to the men was the ignorance of the so-called guides. They were constantly leading the troops astray, and the maps supplied were too misleading to afford much assistance. The Police know the main roads, but are quite ignorant of the by-paths by which alone the enemy could be followed to his more remote retreats.

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73. The work of the A.S.C. was very arduous. The number of carriers, inadequate from the start, was soon reduced by over 100 casualties killed and wounded. The number of carriers sent down sick was enormous. Owing to the hurry in which they were engaged and sent to the front, there was no proper medical inspection, and men with all kinds of complaints rendering them unfit for transport were enlisted. Moreover, on the 1st May 180 carriers were withdrawn from the Sherbro district. Smallpox also broke out among the carriers. There were, too, very heavy daily desertions which required constant checking by the officers. Many carriers would go into the bush in the early morning and only return in the evening to claim their rations.

74. Many of the Native Headmen were quite incapable of managing their gangs, and some of the Native issuers were found to be untrustworthy and had to be dismissed. Great difficulty was experienced in replacing them, so much so that Kagbantamah was without an issuer the whole time. No European N.C.O's. were sent to the front, though knowing the difficulties to be encountered I had personally telegraphed for two at the end of March. When they did come out they were taken to Sherbro. Thus the work devolving on the officers was unduly heavy. The troops were notwithstanding well supplied throughout the campaign.

75. The packages, such as biscuits, beef, etc. were made up into 30lb. loads. This weight may be suitable for an expedition like the one to Ashanti in 1896, with its 16,000 and more carriers, but in an expedition like the present one, when carriers are reckoned by a few hundreds, it is impossible to allow of such waste of transport power.

76. Consequently two loads of 30lb. each had to be tied together, making one load of 60lb. This on flying columns was rather a trying one, not so much on account of its weight as of its unwieldiness. Everything depends on the compactness of the load—for instance the small bags of rice weighing 60 lbs. were eagerly sought after by the carriers, and boxes of S. G. ammunition weighing 80 lbs. were borne by one carrier throughout the expedition. The economical load and one which carriers bear without fatigue on a long march is 50 lbs. Light loads mean more carriers and more food to be carried for them.

77. In the early movements of the flying column, one blanket only was carried for each man ; later, when the rains became more persistent, a waterproof sheet was also carried. The men had no change of clothing. One carrier only was allowed to each officer including the O/C expedition.

78. A body of friendlies such as was supplied by Yonnis to the Sherbro expedition would have been of great assistance could they have been obtained. As none were forthcoming, a body of 50 carriers armed with cutlasses accompanied the flying column under the superintendence of the R.A. Their duties were to clear the road, which was constantly being blocked by the enemy, to widen the bush paths so as to allow of the hospital hammocks being brought along without undue jolting, and to destroy stockades. This latter work was extremely laborious.

The strain on the resources of the medical staff were extremely severe during the earlier part of the campaign, when medical officers were few and casualties numerous. The base at Port Lokko was at one time very nearly congested with the sick and wounded of the troops and carriers. On my arrival in Freetown, Major Flood, R.A.M.C., was Chief Medical Officer for the West Coast of Africa. On being informed of the congested state of the Hospital at Port Lokko he proceeded there to make the necessary arrangements for relieving it and bringing down as many as possible of the sick and wounded. And on my arrival there the arrangements made by Major Flood appeared to me to be perfectly satisfactory, and all subsequent arrangements for supplying the troops with medicine and hospital comforts from Freetown were all that could be desired.—I have, etc.

(Sd.) J. W. MARSHALL, *Col.*,
1 *W.I.R.*
C^G. KARENE EXPEDN. FORCE

9th August 1898.
SIERRA LEONE.

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Return of Casualties—among the Imperial Troops of the Karene Expeditionary Force.

Extract from Admission and Discharge Book.

	Wounded	*Died of wounds*
Officers	10	3
N.C.O's. and men European	2	1
N.C.O's. and men Black Troops	57	3
	69	7
Killed in Action		
Officers	1	
N.C.O's. and men Europeans	0	
N.C.O's. and men Black Troops	4	
	5	5
Died of Disease		
Officers	2	
N.C.O's. and men European	1	
N.C.O's. and men Black Troops	2	
	4	4
	Total deaths	16

Sierra Leone
31.7.98.

(Sd.) Major G. WILSON, R.A.M.C.
M/O *in charge* Karene
Expeditionary Force.

Summary of Casualties—Karene Expeditionary Force.

Admission to Hospital—Imperial Troops—			
Officers	13	(One Frontier Officer included)	
N.C.O's. and men European	2		
N.C.O's. and men Black Troops	63		
	—		78
Slight wounds not sufficiently grave to be admitted to hospital,			
Officers	6	(3 Frontier Officers included)	
N.C.O's and men	22		
	—		28
Casualties among N.C.O's. and men, Sierra Leone Frontier Police			
Died of wounds	1		
Severely wounded	8		
Slight wounds	25		
	—		34
		Total casualties among Troops and Police	140
Casualties among carriers as far as known			137
		Total Casualties	277

Sierra Leone
25.9.98.

J. W. MARSHALL, *Lt.-Colonel*,
lately Commissioner Karene Expeditionary Force.

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LVII.

LETTER, Major Norris, Commanding Troops in Port Lokko, to Sir F. Cardew, 12th March 1898.

Confidential $\frac{23}{98}$

Bai Inga held palaver this morning. Very satisfactory. Maps being incorrect, had to alter instructions to Major Buck. Copy herewith. Bai Inga complained that hut tax was too heavy and asked for a reduction. At Kambia the same complaint was made to me, and I am of opinion that in some cases it is undoubtedly oppressive, and will lead to abandonment or ruination of the large towns, most of the big huts there being built for the entertainment of guests. District Commissioner informed Bai Inga that he must look for no reduction. As this Chief was the first one to come in and show his loyalty, I informed him that I should ask you to confer on him some special mark of your favour, that I myself would take the first opportunity of visiting Menge. Before my departure, your Excellency impressed upon me the advisability of casting off carriers when no longer required, as you do yourself when making tours in the Colony. District Commissioner informs me that this system is fraught with the worst consequences. The discharged carriers on their way down ravish women, steal the root crops, and loot houses, the bad feeling caused thereby being most harmful to the country. The Corporal of Police in charge at Menge reports that Bai Sherbro Mambolo has assisted Bai Bureh with gunpowder and supplies. The same man who reported Melal to be entrenched and ambuscaded (which proved to be true), has reported that Bai Bureh has purchased two cases of rifles and one hundred cartridges per rifle from the French. Major Buck left 4 A.M. this morning.

(Sgd.) R. J. NORRIS,
Major Commanding Troops.

LVIII.

Confid. $\frac{41}{48}$

LETTER, Secretary Native Affairs, to Alimamy Bambo Lahai, Tonko Limba.

Confidential
Native Affairs
No 7.

Department for Native Affairs,
Sierra Leone, 14*th March* 1898.

My good friend,—The country as you know has been much disturbed lately by fighting said to be made by Bai Bureh and some of the other chiefs who do not wish to pay the hut tax. I hope you have nothing to do with this, and would strongly advise you to keep quite clear of it as His Excellency the Governor is determined to catch Bai Bureh at any price.

If he comes to take refuge in your country catch him and send him down here.

A reward of Fifty Pounds will be given to any one that will give such information that will lead to his apprehension.—I am, etc.,

(Sgd.) J. C. ERNEST PARKES,
Sec. for Native Affairs.

LIX.

Major Bourke to Officer Commanding Troops, Sierra Leone, 29th March 1898.

Confid. $\frac{23}{98}$

Reporting that the *Countess* and H.M.S. *Alecto* arrived at Maferri at 2.30 P.M. to-day, I at once proceeded to Port Lokko by boat, and arrived there at 5.30 P.M. Owing to the state of the tide, the troops and stores cannot arrive here until about 10.30 P.M. to-night. There are no carriers here, and it will be impossible to land the stores to-night, owing to

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the lateness of the hour and want of labour. I propose doing so to-morrow by fatigue-party and carriers, so as to enable the *Countess* and *Alecto* to return to Freetown as soon as possible. I do not think that under these circumstances, it will be possible to send out a company to-morrow to meet Major Donovan's column with any chance of their being of any assistance to him, as owing to the lack of carriers, and fatigue of the men, he will have passed the part of the road where he will meet resistance before they could co-operate with him; from what I can learn, unless the Company could get to Romaini before he did it would be of no use, and it would not be possible to start them early enough to do this under the circumstances. The men here at present cannot be used for anything except to garrison this place: they are nearly all suffering from fever and could not march or do any hard work: they are therefore not available for sending out as a flying column or any like duty. I am still more of opinion from what I have learnt here that Karene should be evacuated and that at as early a date as possible. The whole time of the expedition is spent in sending convoys of supplies up there, each time with the result that more and more men are killed and wounded: at the present moment there are about forty or fifty wounded there, which number will, of course, increase as long as we keep sending up supplies to that place. It is a most difficult and dangerous road, and the occupation of this place in my opinion has been the bane of these operations. It would be possible to occupy some place nearer here. I would suggest that a place within easy march, and one to which supplies could be taken without loss, should be selected. If matters go on as at present, the state of affairs at Karene will become most grave, and can only lead to disaster if the tactics which have prevailed up to the present be persisted in.

Out of the six companies in this district, not more than four are really available for duty, owing to the amount of casualties which have occurred in conveying supplies and communicating with Karene. Officer's and men's lives have been wasted in the most futile manner, in my opinion, in maintaining this station, with no result except that the enemy appears to be more vigorous and in greater numbers than ever. It will never be possible to take active measures against Bai Bureh with any chance of success as long as this station is occupied: whereas by occupying some place nearer Port Lokko it would be possible to inflict considerable damage on him. He seems to have a very large force of war-boys—quite 3000, and to have ample supplies of arms and ammunition. There are no reliable guides in this district to be obtained. The only roads that appear to be known are the road to Karene *via* Malal, Romaini, Matiti, and *via* Makomp to Kagbantama. The great losses have occurred between Kagbantama and Karene.

H. C. BOURKE, *Major*,
1*st W.I.R.*
Commanding Troops PORT LOKKO.

29.3.98.

LX.

REPORT from CAPTAIN MOORE, Kwalu, Ronietta District, to COL. SECRETARY.

12*th March* 1898.

SIR,—I have the honour to report that in consequence of the disturbed state of the Kwaia country, and the refusal of the Chief, Bai Kompa, to attend here, I deemed it expedient to despatch Dr. Hood as Deputy Commissioner, with an escort of one sergeant and ten men, to Kwaia on the 19th ult. They returned on the 26th ult., and reported that they had been unable to discover the whereabouts of the Chief, and that armed resistance to the authority of the Government was contemplated. Although no attack was made upon the party, large bodies of armed natives were observed moving up and down.

The day after Dr. Hood's return, I received the attached communication from Chief Smart of Mahera, by which it appeared that the natives were organising a determined resistance, and that Bai Kompa himself was in a fortified position at Maketti, described as an island in a creek running into the Rokelle river.

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I proceeded to the Kwaia country on the 1st inst. with Sub-Inspector Johnson and forty Frontiers. At Songo Town I was joined by Capt. Fairtlough on the 3rd inst., and sleeping the same night at Masenki, proceeded next day to Makompa *via* Rokonta and Robia. At Robia shots were exchanged between our rear-guard and a large body of natives, who followed us up to Rokonta, and whilst at breakfast in this latter town made a determined effort to rush our sentries. The natives here were dispersed with considerable loss, and we resumed our march to Makompa. Here we found the Headman with a few followers in the town, and after a little persuasion he expressed his willingness to lead us to Maketti and deliver up Bai Kompa. Whilst engaged launching the boat for this purpose the Headman suddenly disappeared, and as it was now late in the evening I decided to postpone the effort to reach Maketti till next morning. Large numbers of unarmed men began to flock into the town at dusk, and as I had reason to suspect that they had left their weapons close by in the bush, I considered it necessary to detain them till the morning. Nothing of importance occurred that night, but next morning as I was putting some of the baggage in a canoe for Maketti, the baggage which I had left behind in Makompa was suddenly attacked by an almost overwhelming mass of war-boys under the leadership of our friend the Headman. Hearing the firing, we immediately returned to the assistance of the baggage-guard and dispersed the war-boys, killing the Headman and numerous others. I then obtained information that Bai Kompa had retired to (Ro) Mangeh on the sea-shore near Clines Town, and at once marched there, meeting considerable opposition from detached parties of war-boys concealed in the bush, who fired repeatedly upon us, but were effectually disposed of by the Frontiers, who throughout behaved in a most spirited manner. Mangeh we found deserted by all except a Sierra Leone trader, who expressed his opinion that the Chief was still at Maketti. Next morning, the 6th, I proceeded by land to Maketti, *via* Kumrahai; continual attacks were made on our party *en route*, but no casualties occurred; considerable numbers of the natives were knocked over by rapid volleys from the Frontiers.

Reaching Maketti about 10 A.M. we found the town almost deserted, but the Headman, named Pa Weil, was taken in arms and offered considerable resistance. No news of Bai Kompa being obtainable, I returned to Robia, dispersing a large party of war-boys close to the town. I decided to sleep that night at Robia, as I hoped, by giving the natives an opportunity of attacking us, to bring matters to a decisive issue. An attack was made on our posts about 5.30 P.M., but was repulsed with loss. Shortly after midnight a determined attempt was made to rush the town, the natives attacking on three sides. Firing lasted about three-quarters of an hour, but the natives were finally driven back, leaving a large number on the field. We remained here until 8 A.M. on the 7th to see if they would renew the attack. There being no appearance of another attack we marched to Songo Town. On the way a few shots were fired, but nothing like resistance was offered. I considered it necessary to make an example of the towns named Robai and Makompa, which I ordered to be burned.

In conclusion, I cannot speak too highly of the good work of all. Although for four nights without sleep, and little or no food, there was no grumbling; always ready to volunteer for any emergency, and their great wish was to close with the enemy. I am more than satisfied with them.

In Cap. Fairtlough I had a tower of strength. He relieved me of much of my work, and made my duties very much lighter, night and day. He was alert; I cannot commend him too strongly.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

S. MOORE, *Cap.*
A.D.C., Ronietta District.

KWALU: 12.3.98.

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LXI.

LETTER, 26th Feb. 1898, from Chief Smart to the District Commissioner, Kwalu.

Confid. $\frac{47}{98}$

Mahera, *Feb. 26th*, 1898.

My good Friend,—News reached me here to-day to say that Bai Compa has collected a host of men-in-arms to defend him—in hearing that there has been placed some Policemen for his capture: and now there are now men-in-arms coming from all parts of Kwaia Land to defend their Chief from the hand of the Policemen that have been said to be placed in his territory for his detection. More also, there is a brother of Bai Burreh's with him, by name Mankainka (formerly a Santigi of the late Santigi Dabo of Mateneforay), who is now in the lock up by the said Bai Compa, who has promised to crown him as an Almamy in place of the late Santigi Dabo: with whom I was in dispute for the town of Mateneforay, in my district: the said Santigi Kainka sends war-men daily to his brother Bai Burreh of Casseh, who is now fighting against the English Government: and this man's son is a famous ringleader in Bai Burreh's army: his name is Keddie.

This is the latest news that I can intimate you with this time, assuring you that whatever more comes to me you will sure to hear.

Enclosed you will find a letter that I have sent you to see, and will be glad to hear and know your opinion or decision of it: judging from my last complaint to Dr. Hood on the 23rd inst. for the island of Magbanku in my district, and in the oversight of a woman called Macapre.—I am, your good friend, C. Smart.

P.S.—I thank you to send me the enclosed letter again.—C. Smart.

LXII.

MESSAGE from Captain Fairtlough, 8th March 1898.

Despatched from Songo Town, 8/3/98, 9.15 a.m.

8/3/98. Proceeded to Magati, *via* Robia, after Bai Kompa. 4/3/98. Rear-guard harassed by war-boys near Rokonta, followed to Robia and dispersed by Frontiers. Slept in Makompa, near Magati, whilst main body going in canoe to Magati, baggage attacked in Makompa, main body returned and dispersed natives, killing Chief of Makompa and several followers. 5/3/98, 6/3/98. Marched to Magati by land, fighting occurred nearly all the way, advance guard sufficient to disperse war-boys, reached Magati, Bai Kompa fled, headman taken in arms, slept in Robia, town attacked at midnight by natives, driven back with great loss. 7/3/98. Returned to Songo Tn. Small parties met *en route* and dispersed. No casualties on our side. Frontiers behaved very well. Numbers of natives killed, and Robia Makompa and 3 other villages burnt. All well. No troops required for Kwalu. Send back 10 men from B'juma Dist. and 4 cases rockets at once. Send pigeons back to Kwalu by good men; have one left. Starting for Kwalu to-day. Further *re* Bumban after arrival. Meeting of loyal Chiefs in Kwalu fixed for 10th to elect Paramount Chief for Kwaia.

Alarm in Songo Tn. last night—under arms all night—no foundation for reports country all quiet.—By order,

(Sd.) E. D'H. Fairtlough.

LXIII.

REPORT from Captain Fairtlough, Ronietta District, to Colonial Secretary, Sierra Leone, 28th April 1898.

No. 196. Confidential $\frac{47}{1898}$

Sir,—I have the honour to furnish report of the recent expedition in Kwaia for the information of His Excellency.

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2. In consequence of the disturbed condition of the Kwaia country and the attitude of Chief Bai Kompa and the Sub-Chiefs Suri Kamara and Almami Senna Bunda, who having obtained assistance from the insurgents in the Karena district, had completely blockaded the Rokelle river and proclaimed open war against the Government and all friendly Chiefs, I left Kwalu on the 5th inst. with Capt. Warren and 50 men, and proceeded to Ronietta to confer with Fula Mansa of Yonni, a friendly Chief who had been endeavouring to induce Bai Kompa to come into Kwalu to offer an explanation of his conduct.

Accompanied by Fula Mansa and Chief Smart of Mahera, I proceeded on the night of the 6th to Mafuluma in order to arrest Buyah, a son-in-law of Bai Kompa, who had been very active in molesting various natives who had remained loyal.

Arriving close to the town about 2 A.M. we found a big war-dance in progress, and whilst crossing the stream, which supplies the town with water, we were attacked, but soon dispersed the rebels with a loss of 6 killed and several wounded. Reinforced by the natives of Maseracouli close by, the insurgents made a determined attempt to regain possession of the town about 3.30 A.M., but were, however, driven off with a loss of 7 killed. None of the Frontiers were hurt, but 1 of Fula Mansa's friendlies was killed and 1 wounded.

3. After destroying Mafuluma and Maseracouli I moved towards Mayumera, meeting the war-boys gathered in force at Batipo, a village half-way. These were dispersed with a loss of several men, and we reached Mayumera only to find it deserted. The insurgents having, however, collected again, attacked the town several times during the afternoon,
4 and a night attack about 9 P.M. was repulsed mainly through Fula Mansa's boys, who, walking round through the bush, fell upon the rebels in the rear, killing the leader Pa Umri, and several followers. Several prisoners were taken, but as they were only common men were afterwards released. Hearing that the rebels had retired upon Fondo, I moved against this place on the 8th, meeting natives in ambush nearly all the way, At almost every town in the road groups of natives were posted, concealed in the bush, and fired upon us as we advanced, but as their feelings were naturally much upset by well-directed volleys from the Frontiers, their aim was very erratic, and none of our people were touched. We found the rebels collected in force at Fonde, but these were soon dispersed, the Chief, Pa Kuan, and 14 followers being killed and several wounded. During the afternoon a village close by was destroyed and a large war-party dispersed, 9 being killed, 1 friendly wounded. A night-attack by the rebels on Fonde was defeated with loss.

5. On the 9th I drove out the rebels from Rofuta, close to Fondo, and destroyed the village, but the friendlies, going too far into the bush in pursuit, lost 2 men killed.

6. After destroying Fondo I proceeded to Forodugu, destroying a big gathering at Marifa *en route*. Here a strong mud-fort and watch-tower had recently been constructed, but the fire from the loop-holes being silenced by volleys from our men, the rebels were quickly cleared out and scattered through the bush, pursued by the friendlies. Half-way to Forodugu I encountered and dispersed a large party in ambush close to Romabing which I destroyed. After driving out the rebels from Rolia, and burning the town, I reached Forodugu, dispersing a war-party in this town with a loss of 5 killed and many more wounded.

7. The rebels under Suri Kamara attacked us in Forodugu during the afternoon, but were repulsed and followed to Magbeni, lower down the river, Nyangba, a head warrior, and 25 men being killed. Suri Kamara and some 15 followers put off in a canoe for the Karena shore of the Rokelle, but a volley from our men killing 6 of the crew, the canoe was upset, and the Chief only escaped by swimming. Almami Senna Bunda had removed to the Karena side early in the day.

8. Next day, the 10th, I despatched 1 sergeant and 10 men with some friendlies round to Majackson, which lies about 5 miles west of Forodugu, and about 3 miles south of the Rokelle, myself proceeding down the river with 16 men to Masengbi,

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after leaving Captain Warren in charge at Forodugu with 20 men. The first party encountered considerable opposition on the way, meeting a large party in ambush near Majackson. This was dispersed with loss, and Majackson and Ropolom taken and destroyed. The rebels then retired on Masengbi with the first party in pursuit. Caught between two fires, the rebels were thoroughly broken up and disorganised, several boatsful being sunk by well-directed volleys from our men as they were making for the Karena shore. Some of the Court messengers, whom I had provided with arms for the occasion, put off in small canoes, and did good service by intercepting the fugitives. This proved to be the last stand made by the rebels, and no further opposition was met with in Kwaia, although the next day some of Suri Kamara's people fired on a boat conveying my letters to town, and it was necessary to destroy his town of Robump, on the Karena side of the Rokelle.

9. Bai Kompa appears to have fled to the Karena district in company with Almami Senna Bunda, but afterwards returned to Kwaia, as the Karena people were inclined to give him up. An attempt to arrest him at Bourreh, near Ro-tumbo, on the 19th, failed, information having reached him that I was on his track, and he moved from the village.

10. In order to have some responsible native to refer the natives to, I appointed Fula Mansa Acting Paramount Chief of Kwaia, and through his agency collected over £200 hut tax. The people who brought in the money stated that they had all gathered the money to pay the tax after Capt. Moore's recent expedition to Kwaia, but that Bai Kompa had refused to allow them to pay it.

11. Sub-Inspector Johnson is proceeding to Kwaia now to endeavour to effect the arrest of the Chiefs mentioned, to collect the remainder of the tax, and to establish a station at Mahera for the protection of the river.

12. I would strongly urge upon His Excellency the importance of confirming Fula Mansa in the position of Acting Paramount Chief of Kwaia, as with the single exception of Chief Smart of Mahera, who is not possessed of sufficient strength of character for the position, none of the Kwaia Chiefs have remained loyal, and it would be almost impossible to rule the Kwaia District otherwise than through him. His reputation as a warrior will be sufficient to establish his position, and coerce the disaffected natives into submission.

The country is at present quiet, and I will report further on this when I hear from Mr. Johnson.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient Servant,

(Sd.) E. D. H. FAIRTLOUGH, *D.C.*

KWALU: 28.4.98.

LXIV.

Dr. W. T. PROUT, Colonial Surgeon, to COLONIAL SECRETARY.

HON. COL. SEC.,

I visited chief Bai Kompah this morning. I found him lying on the floor in a heap of 'native medicine,' and apparently in a somewhat debilitated state. He complained of pain in the region of the sacrum, where he stated he had been kicked, but as this happened about a fortnight ago I could detect no sign of bruising. He also complained of pain in the pit of the stomach and in the joints. He appears to be the subject of chronic rheumatism. He appears to be in somewhat a weak state of health, but I do not consider his condition to be a serious one.

W. T. P.

22.1.98.

LXV.

LETTER, 3rd February 1898, BAI KOMPAH to SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

J. C. E. PARKES, J.P.,

SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE,
3rd February 1898.

MY GOOD FRIEND,—We, thy humble servants, Bey Compah, Chief of Quah and his

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Chiefs, considered your intimation of yesterday, beg to sure your Excellency that whatever may become of ourself and our country, we cannot admit Chief Smart false charge against, from his first day of his coronation, he gave it out that he was appointed by the Government as Commandant for the whole country, and he is only waiting for the house tax to take full charge of the country, this is his present move; knowing all his plans and secret movements I will therefore have nothing to do with him; we have scores of witnesses to prove that he is the very one who is telling us in the country language not to pay, that the Government have no right to impose taxes upon us, we should on no account pay anything, we do not refuse, Sir, to contribute to the Government, but the question of tax makes it dubious which we say means the taking away our country from us, we do not know what we have done to merit this; this is why you see something like fear throughout the country, and nothing more. We all fear and love the Government, and would not disobey them in any way, we have deliberately and faithfully made up our minds to collect ourselves to get the dews from the houses; as we cannot get them this moment to contribute this amount, I humbly and respectfully beg Your Excellency, as I connot resist the Government in any way, to do me the favour of taking my stipend due, as I cannot in a week or two to go round the country to collect the house tax as I did not wish to get myself to be bad graces of the Government. I and my people love the English Government, and we have been friends over this 100 years, and whenever His Excellency will find fit to be given me my stipend due, I will be very glad to receive by this you shall favourably oblige.—Your obedient Servant,

(Sd.) BEY COMPAH.

P.S.—To dragged me to Kwallo now Your Excellency know means nothing else to kill me.—Yours,

(Sd.) BEY COMPAH.

LXVI.

MINUTE by SIR F. CARDEW after meeting with BAI KOMPAH. 3rd February 1898.

M. P. $\frac{6}{1898}$

COLONIAL SECRETARY.

I saw Bai Kompa yesterday, and after explaining to him the necessity the Government were under to impose a house tax on the inhabitants of the Protectorate for the purpose of defraying the expenses connected with the administration of the country, I informed him that if he promised to loyally assist the Government in collecting the tax, I would not have him arrested. I gave him till noon to-day, and before the expiration of that time I received the accompanying letter, which he had addressed to the Secretary Native Affairs, giving his promise, which I have accepted.

Please request the Secretary Native Affairs to inform Bai Kompa that I have received his letter, and that I accept his promise. With regard to his offer to pay his stipend in part payment of the tax, Mr. Parkes will inform him that this must be left to the discretion of the Acting D. C. to accept or not as he thinks necessary. Bai Kompa should be directed to return as soon as possible to his district and report himself to the Acting D. C. at Kwalu, who will be informed of his promise to collect the house tax, and I have no doubt, that if he sees that Bai Kompa is loyally doing his best to collect it, he will give him time to do so. He should also be impressed that I cannot enter into the case of Chief Smart, but that the Acting D. C. may do so, if he thinks necessary, and that at any rate, I hear that Chief Smart has already paid a portion of the tax due from him. Please send a *copy* of this Minute, as well as a *copy* of Bai Kompa's letter, to the Acting D. C. for his information and assistance, and say

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that I hope, in view of that Chief's promise, he may be able to overlook the charge against [*sic*], provided, however, he is sincere in his endeavours to collect the tax.

F. C.

3.2.98.

Sec. Native Affairs reports that Bai Kompa promises to leave on 10th instant.

LXVII.

MINUTE, 9th February 1898, Sir F. Cardew to Colonial Secretary.

Secretary Native Affairs reports that Bai Kompa promises to leave on 10th instant. if he doesn't leave then, my Confidential Minute of this morning can be acted on.

F. C.

9.2.98.

LXVIII.

MINUTE from Sir F. Cardew to Colonial Secretary, 9th February 1898, as to arresting Bai Kompah.

Please request the Secretary Native Affairs to inform Bai Kompa that he must report himself to the Acting D. C. at Kwalu on his return to the Protectorate; and, further, he should inform him that unless he quits Freetown by noon on Friday next for the Protectorate, the warrant which is out for his apprehension will be put in force, and I shall feel obliged if you will take the necessary action to this effect in case Bai Kompa does not comply. In the case of his arrest he should be sent back by canoe. If he plead sickness the Col. Surgeon should report on him.

F. C.

9.2.98.

LXIX.

LETTER, 26 May 1898, Bai Kompah to Acting District Commissioner of Waterloo.

Quiah Land, Romanga, 26 *May* 1898.

E. Faulkner, Esquire,

Acting District Commissioner of Waterloo.

My good Friend,—I have the honour to submit you my information that in consequence of the war brought against the Government by the Mendi tribes, brings me now in a great fear for such a dreadful calamity, which was never been happens or seen into all this part of the coast, even from the establishment of the Colony of Sierra Leone. Whereby I do proclaimed and give sure warning unto all the mens of Quiah over all round my jurisdiction of Quiah, to beware themselves not to behave treacherously of preparing arms against the English Government, for they are ours, and we are theirs. There shall never be an enmity evermore between we and the English people, they teaching us to know the Gospel, and we have been saved from the hands of our enemies of the interior, through the power of Our Gracious Her Majesties Government. And I trusted that we the Quiahs desires not to gathered war against any country rather than the English people, we all are now one Bretheren, though we are now severely destroyed through for the hut tax, it cause of disobeying by our friends of the other countries, tolds us not to consent of paying the hut tax to the Government, and that if any of us do venture pay the hut tax they will turn against us with war and destroyed us bitterly being sure, as I am the first friend of the English people, brings me to great fear and hid myself in the bush whilst I am ill of pain decease. I believe now that so much of pounds was collected by Chief Fulamansa of Yonnie, who was been the Acting Collector in Quiah for the hut tax, and more also myself collect from my people down Quiah over 100 one

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hundred pounds, and some more carried up Kwalu and delivered to the District Commissioner Ronietta.

I have learnt that the Government desires to sent over Quiah a force that they have been told by the covetous people a great story that the people of Quiahs have already prepared war against the English people as the Mendies have now rebel and dealt treacherously against the Government, I now therefore declare my good friend that if any men small or great may be found, or catch amongs the enemy, replied that he is a Quiah man or derived from any part Destrict of Quiah, let him deserve punishment or suffered death. I shall be so very glad, sir, I humbly beg you to made my information to Freetown to the Secretary Native Affairs. With due regard remain your faithful friend,

BEY COMPA, *Chief of Quiah.*

LXX.

LETTER, 28 Sept. 1898, F. DAVISON to SIR DAVID CHALMERS.

SINNIE TOWN, GREAT BOOM RIVER, 28 *Septr.* 1898.

SIR,—In writing this I have in nowise reversed my opinion as set forth in a Memorial signed by myself and others to you, as the district in which I was established as a trader formed a part of the Sherbro District, and is therefore exempt from the hut tax.

I have, however, off and on resided for short periods in the Boom River before the Proclamation of the Protectorate and the passing of the Ordinance dealing with those districts, and have acted as Commissioner since October 1893 for the above-named River (the Commission being still in my hands). I can, therefore, safely state that the natives have had ample cause of complaint against the Frontier Police, these taking their wives and seizing their property, also extorting fines, all of which were appropriated to their own use. The natives then having no one to whom they could complain and obtain redress had to bear and grin. I must say the Chiefs and headmen were treated in like manner, and this state of things would have continued, I might say, forever had the unfortunate circumstance of the hut tax not cropped up, which served as the last straw to break the camel's back, and I do not believe the Chiefs and headmen could have obtained such a unanimous combination of all the different tribes, rising as one man, had the hut tax not been imposed.

Although the hut tax was being paid, seemingly with good-will, I believe it was merely a feint to deceive the authorities until they had matured their plans to overthrow the, to them, oppressive rule.

Considering the class of huts the natives in this part of the continent reside in, I think 5s. is exorbitant. One shilling would have been ample, until they learnt to live in better huts or houses.

I am of opinion the duty on salt, also matchets and tobacco, should be raised. The salt imported into the Colony is chiefly consumed by the inhabitants of the Protectorate, and they now pay only from 3s. to 4s. 6d. a cwt., whereas, when no duty was imposed, they paid from 4s. to 6s. for same quantity, and not so very long ago the matchets were sold to them at 7s. a dozen and one shilling; now they only pay from 4s. a dozen and sixpence each.

As to dealing with secret societies, all Porrohs should be prohibited. At same time, I must say, that had we not been forbidden to give the natives liquor to drink, I am firmly of opinion this intended outbreak would have got wind, and the authorities would have been apprised of it by some trader. Although I advocate the prohibition of Porrohs, I must say it will be very difficult to accomplish.—I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

F. H. DAVISON, J.P.

SIR DAVID PATRICK CHALMERS,
Special Commissioner,
FREETOWN, SA. LEONE.

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LXXI.

REPORT of FIELD OPERATIONS from SIERRA LEONE between 9th and 31st May 1898.

At the request of H. E. the Governor the following force left Sierra Leone on the 9th May to endeavour to relieve the Police Station at Kwalu: 9 May.

Captain Marescaux, Shrops L. I., Commanding.
25 West African Regt. (C. Co.), under Captain Marescaux.
25 S. L. Frontier Police under Lieut. Cave Brown Cave.

The reason for not sending a stronger force, was that the only carriers obtainable were 30 men lately engaged on the Gold Coast.

On arrival at Songo Town, 35 miles from Freetown, it was found that additional 10 to 13 May. carriers were there obtainable, and information having been received that the enemy were in force between the Ribbi river and Rotofunk, it was decided to send a stronger force.

Captain Marescaux's force was accordingly reinforced at Songo Town to:—

A.R.	Officers.	Men.
Europeans	1	15
Natives	—	19
Major Stuart, O.C.R.A., in Command. Armament, one 7 Pr. R.M.L. Gun.		
R.E.		
Natives	—	4
1st Batt. W.I.R. (Lieut. Butt.)	1	29
West African Regt. (Capt. Goodwyn, Devon Regt.)	4	121
Frontier Police	1	28
A.S.C. and Carriers	—	237

The officer commanding troops Sierra Leone accompanied this column, which on the morning of 13th May marched from Songo Town to the Ribbi river at Makwé, where the railway engineers under Mr. Bradford, Resident Engineer of the Sierra Leone Government railway had constructed a raft.

The river was tidal, and the tide not serving till the afternoon, it was late in the day before all had crossed. The column occupied the village of Mabang for the night.

Lieut. Allen North. Fus., with the R. E. Dct. and 40 West Africans, was left in charge 14 May. of Mabang to protect the crossing. The remainder of the column marched early for Foya.

When nearing Foya the advanced guard (C. Co. West African Regt. under Captain Marescaux) encountered the enemy, who occupied stockades flanking the road. The fire from the first of these killed one of his men, and wounded two others, also one camp-follower.

There were five stockades close together, but the remainder were turned without further loss, and all were pulled down and burned. The village of Foya was also destroyed, and the column resuming its march halted for the nigh at Mayamba.

Resuming its march the column reached Rotawa at noon (two villages separated by 15 May. a stream running in a deep hollow). Here the enemy was found, and the first village being occupied with but slight opposition, the column closed up, and it was occupied by the baggage and rear-guard.

The second village was defended by a stockade built across the road, and the fire from this severely wounded Lieut. Cave, whose police this day formed the advanced guard.

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After two rounds from the gun the stockade was rushed and captured by A Co. West African Regt. under Captain Goodwyn, and the second village was taken.

Both villages and the stockade were destroyed, and the column resuming its march reached Rotofunk—a large village with an American Mission Station. The latter had been sacked by Mendis on the 3rd inst., when the missionaries, one gentleman and four ladies, were all murdered.

The Chief of Rotofunk, Santigi Bundu, who accompanied the column, induced the inhabitants not to oppose the troops, but they left the village on our arrival.

16 to 20 May. In the last two days' skirmishing, the expenditure of ammunition had been considerable. It was decided, therefore, to bring up a fresh supply, and more troops to hold Rotofunk before advancing on Kwalu. The column accordingly halted until the 20th, when a detachment of the 2nd West India Regt. arrived from Freetown with supplies. In the meantime, the troops at Rotofunk collected supplies of rice from the neighbouring villages, and entrenched the post.

21 May. On 21st May the advance on Kwalu was resumed by the same force that had left Mabang, less the few killed and wounded, and 20 men of the West African Regt. who remained at Rotofunk; and halted for the night at Mayemba, bivouacking in a clearing for the night.

22 May. Next day it reached Kwalu, leaving a detachment of 20 West African Regt. under Lt. Green nearly midway between Rotofunk and Kwalu. Kawlu was threatened by a force of Mendi insurgents, estimated at 2000 strong, at Thiama, which on the May had attacked the post, and been repulsed by its garrison of 70 Frontier Police, assisted by friendly natives, mostly of the Yonni tribe. It was decided therefore to attack this town.

23 May. The following force marched on Thiama, moving by a road north of that shown on the map, and halted for the night about 10 miles from it, at a deserted village, name unknown:—

R.A.—3 European N.C.O.s, 19 Native Gunners with 7 pr. gun.
West African Regt.—2 Officers, 1 Europ. N.C.O., 38 R. & F.
Frontier Police.—2 Officers, 80 N.C.O.s and men with a rocket tube.
Allies.—500 Yonnis, 150 Mendis.

The allies were armed like the enemy, with swords and a very few guns.

24 May. Resuming its march, the column reached the river-bank north of Thiama at noon. After a few rounds from the guns and the rocket troughs, directed on a strongly stockaded village near the ford, the passage was forced by the native allies and some of the Frontier Police, fording the river under cover of artillery, rocket, and rifle fire. The river was about 200 yards wide, and just fordable. On nearing the far bank the enemy opposing the passage gave way (abandoning also the villages, 3 of which were stockaded) and fled, pursued by the allies. The rest of the force crossed and occupied for the night the principal village, the other four being burned.

Our loss was: Killed, 3 Yonnis; Wounded, 2 Frontier Police, 3 Yonnis. The West African Regiment, now but 38 strong, did not come into action, being kept back to protect the rear of the column from some of the enemy who had crossed to our side of the river.

In the evening the troops paraded and gave 3 cheers for Her Majesty the Queen.

25 May. The Yonni allies continued the pursuit of the enemy, who had retreated south, burning Senahu East, a stockaded town between Taiama and Mano, and several others. They were nowhere opposed. Tthe troops destroyed the stockades which were uninjured by the burning of the 5 villages of which Thiama is composed.

An American missionary and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. M'Grew, were murdered at Thiama on the 7th inst., on the return of the Mendis from their unsuccessful attack on Kwalu. No trace of their bodies could be found; it was said that they had been thrown into the river.

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On 26th May the column returned to Kwalu by the road shown on the map through Banguma and Makori. 26 May.

Leaving all the police, the gun and its ammunition, also a good supply of S. A. ammunition, at Kwalu, the column returned to Rotofunk, reaching that place on 28 May. 27 May.

This date closes Col. Woodgate expedition.

LXXII.

REPORT, 31st July 1898, Lt.-Col. Cunningham, Commanding Mendi Expedition: Operations in Mendi Country.

From Lt.-Col. Cunningham, D.S.O., commanding Mendi Expedition *to* Officer commanding Troops, Sierra Leone.

Freetown, Sierra Leone, 31 *July* 1893.

Sir,—The Mendi Expedition now having come to a conclusion, I have the honour to submit my final report, with enclosures as per margin, on the operations connected therewith.

2. In my instructions from H. E. the Governor of Sierra Leone, Sir F. Cardew, K.C.M.G., Appendix A, the primary objects of the expedition were thus alluded to:—'The area of disturbance appears to include the whole of that portion of the Bandajuma district between the Kittam and Jong rivers, and the Imperri district, and I consider that you should proceed with your force to Mafwe, which is practically the centre of the disturbed area, and an important trading station, from that point you would be within 32 miles of Bandajuma which is the seat of Goverment of the district and the headquarters of a company of Frontier Police. This station is at present only held by 10 Frontiers, but it is possible that Commissioner Carr and 40 Frontiers who were in Dama country a few days ago may now be marching on that place. In any case you should endeavour to communicate with it from Mafwe, and, if practicable, move to its relief if it is invested by the insurgents.'

3. On 2 May 1898 the force under my command, strength as per margin, left Sierra Leone in H.M.C.S. *Countess of Derby*, Captain J. N. Compton, R.N., for Bonthe Sherbro Island which was reached on the following day.

Corps.	Off.	N.C.O.'s and Men.
Staff,	1	0
1/W.I.R.,	1	49
3/W.I.R.,	3	109
A.S.C.,	0	1
A.M.S.,	2	0
	7	159

12 Headmen.
174 Carriers.

4. The troops were at once landed and necessary measures taken for the protection of the town by means of piquets, and patrols, thus enabling a detachment of bluejackets and marines, who had been landed from H.M.S. *Blonde* for this purpose, to be re-embarked. I found the town in a state of panic, the civil officials and mercantile community being apprehensive of a force of insurgents, computed at 3000 strong, crossing over from the mainland in canoes, and burning Bonthe. An examination into the situation convinced me that this fear was groundless, the expected invasion of the island being extremely improbable, if not impracticable whilst one of H. M. ships was present.

5. The difficulty of obtaining reliable information about the nature of the country and roads in the part of the Mendi land which was our destination proved very great. Merchants and others who had travelled along the roads had apparently only done so in hammocks and were unable to accurately describe the roads or distances between towns. The information afforded by the map of Sierra Leone—Provisional Issue—compiled in the Intelligence Div., W. O., 1895, was very meagre and in many cases inaccurate.

6. My instructions from the Governor—enclosure A—were to proceed up the Jong river, establish a base, and from there advance to Mafwe with a view of opening up communication with Bandajuma where the D. C., Capt. Carr, K.O.Y.L.I., and a small force of S. L. F. P. were invested by the insurgents.

7. After an attempt to use lighters which proved impracticable, ten boats were hired in Bonthe and loaded with stores on the 8th May, on the 9th May the A. G. of the Exped., strength as per margin, under Major C. B. Morgan $\frac{3}{W.I.R.}$ embarked in the boats, and at 8 P.M. started to occupy Mattru which place was to form the base for an

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Corps.	Offi.	N.C.O.'s and Men.
3 W.I.R.	3	108
2 W.I.R.	1	0
A.M.S.	1	0
S.L.F.P.	1	20
	6	128

140 Carriers.
1 District Surgeon.

advance into the Mendi country. Commander P. Hoskyns, R.N. and I.V.O. H.M.S. *Blonde* sent a steam cutter to assist by towing the Flotilla for the first three of its journey. In order to lessen the strain on the steam cutter the crews of the boats were told off into reliefs and instructed to row steadily the whole way. At 11 P.M. the cutter cast off and the boats proceeded under their oars. At 1.30 A.M. on 10 May they were attacked at Maturga and fired on the whole way to Pepo. It was found necessary to land three times to destroy the enemy's positions and to capture his guns. Pepo was reached at 11.30 A.M. and a camp formed, it being thought impossible for the boats to proceed higher up the river on account of the rocks. This was subsequently found to be a mistake, and the base was transferred to a favourable site at Mafure near Mattru. Our losses were 1 killed and 12 wounded—1 since dead.

10. Next day the boats were sent back to Bonthe in charge of thirty men $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$ being fired on at intervals from both banks of the river Jong. Notes were taken by Capt. A. F. Dawkins, Northumberland Fusiliers, of the places where the insurgents had mounted guns, with a view to capturing them on the journey up.

Corps.	Offrs.	N.C.O.'s and Men
Staff	1	0
1/W.I.R.	2	44
3/W.I.R.	0	30
1/W.A.R.	1	0
A.M.S.	1	0
S.L.F.P.	1	14
	6	88

180 Carriers.

11. On the 13th May the remainder of the Exped. under my command, strength as per margin, embarked in the boats, and rowed over to York Island. At 11 A.M. a start was effected from H.M.S. *Blonde* in tow of her steam cutters. Comr. Hoskyns, R.N., on board. The last four boats of the Flotilla were told off as a landing party and contained a larger proportion of soldiers than carriers. Fire was opened by the Insurgents at Maturgba a landing was effacted at Bowo, and a gun captured and spiked. The landing boats were received with a heavy fire at Yele, where a gun was taken and the town destroyed. Commander Hoskyns covered the landing with machine gun fire from his cutter. Pepo was reached in the dark at 8 P.M.

12. Before proceeding with an account of the advance by land, it may not be out of place to give some idea of the Insurgents' mode of fighting. The only means of advancing are along narrow roads bounded by thick bush. Occasionally the path widens a little and a clearing is reached in the centre of which stands a town. The Insurgents post their men armed with trade guns, in a clump of thick bush by the side of the road, having cut narrow tracks behind them, to retire by. As our column advanced, invariably the first notice of the enemy's presence was a discharge of guns at close quarters which almost invariably hit some of the leading files. It may be imagined under the circumstances how trying was the work of the advanced guard. Nevertheless the greatest keenness was always shown by all ranks of the W.I.R. to be detailed for this duty.

Corps.	Offrs.	N.C.O.'s and Men.
Staff	3	0
3 W.I.R.	3	96
A.M.S.	1	0
S.L.F.P.	2	32
	8	128

170 Carriers.

13. On the 15th of May the force under my command, strength as per margin, crossed the river Jong, and started from Pepo, at 9 A.M. The column was fired upon almost immediately after starting, when progress became slow owing to the F. P. who were at the head of the column, checking after one of the latter had been killed. Lieut. H. D. Russell, $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$ took a section of $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$ to the front, worked them along as advance-guard through the dense bush in excellent style. The enemy left numerous dead lying along the road, and in the adjacent bush. Our casualties in the action were two killed, and two wounded. The force camped at Luowa, the carriers being unable to go any further.

14. On the 16th May the column advanced at 6.30 A.M., Lt. H. E. M. Hutchison, $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$ commanding the A. G. All was quiet until ascending a difficult hill approaching Bonge, when the insurgents suddenly opened fire from a stockade hidden round a bend of the road. The stockade were at once taken by the A.G., two men of the $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$ being wounded. After leaving Bonge the march proved very trying, partly owing to the great heat which caused many men and carriers to fall out exhausted, and partly owing to the heavy rain which came on later. The column camped at Gendama.

15. We occupied Mafwe next day, the town was found to be in ruins, and most shocking sights met our eyes on all sides. Numbers of corpses were lying about in all directions, most of them charred, and showed evident signs of the inhuman treatment the unfortunate Ser. Leone traders had met with.

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16. Reconnoitring parties were sent out in all directions to disperse any parties of rebel war-boys, that might have collected in the neighbouring towns and villages.

17. On the 19th of May, at 1 A.M., the camp was attacked by a force from Bumpe, numbering about 1000 under Chief Berewa, who advanced several times to the attack in a determined manner, creeping up under shelter of some outlying houses, then firing a volley and charging. They were repulsed with heavy loss by steady volleys. At daybreak I directed Major Morgan $\frac{3}{W.I.R.}$ to advance to clear the enemy out which he did gallantly, leading a charge of part of his Co., and some Frontiers under Asst. Inspector G. H. Sangster, the latter, on Major Morgan being severly wounded continued the advance and drove the enemy back. The latter fled leaving over 130 dead, and a quantity of arms lying on the field. A number of our men received spear and sword wounds in the hand-to-hand fighting.

18. Simultaneous with the attack from the front, about 200 insurgents crossed the river Boom, and attacked the camp in rear, Lieut. N. E. Safford $\frac{3}{W.I.R.}$ and Lieut. H. D. Russell $\frac{1}{W.I.R.}$ quickly got together a few men, charged the enemy driving them into the river, and inflicting severe loss on them, over forty bodies being counted floating down stream.

19. On the 20th May, Lieut. Hutchinson arrived at Mafwe with a convoy from the base, he was attacked twice on the road three of his men being wounded, and found the road obstructed by barricades, felled trees, broken bridges, etc., which greatly delayed him.

20. A party reconnoitring down the Bumpe road took two stockades and found the road stockaded in the same way.

21. On the 21st I detached a force, strength as per margin, under Lieut. Safford $\frac{3}{W.I.R.}$ to proceed to Bandajuma. The crossing of the river Boom was effected in two rows, a raft having to be used.

Corps	Offrs.	Men.
3/W.I.R.	1	40
S.L.F.P.	1	11
	2	51

22. On 23rd May, a convoy arrived at Mafwe from the base. It was attacked on the road, but drove the enemy off, the only casualty being one man slightly wounded. 70 Carriers.

23. About this time, tornadoes accompd. by heavy rain became of daily occurrence, causing great discomfort to all ranks.

24. On the 25th May, Lieut. Safford $\frac{3}{W.I.R.}$ returned to Mafwe from Bandajuma, where he found all well, though the place was surrounded by rebels, and cut off from all communication with the outside world. Bandajuma was held by Capt. Carr, K.O.Y.L.I., D.C., one officer and 48 men of the F.P. A no. of S. L. traders and their families had taken refuge there, about 48 people in all. A friendly Chief, Momo Kaikai, and about 2000 of his followers also assisted in holding Bandajuma against the insurgents.

25. Lieut. Safford marched with his force, some frontiers and 300 friendlies, on the 24th May to attack Largo, where the rebels were assembling preparatory to advancing against Bandajuma. The attack was successful, the town destroyed, and a large hostile gathering dispersed with heavy loss. The casualties on our side were one man $\frac{3}{W.I.R.}$ killed, one man F.P. and a no. of friendlies wounded. It may be of interest to mention that Largo was the same town attacked by Sir J. Hay, the Governor of Sa. Leone in 1889, on account of the slave-raiding propensities of its Chief, Makaia, who for more than 9 years had kept his neighbours in a state of constant and abject terror. In one single raid he carried off more than 500 women and children. Of course this could not be permitted, and a force under Sir J. Hay was sent to punish him. After a weary march through fever-stricken jungles and miasmatic swamps, the little army surprised Makaia's stronghold early one morning, killed and captured most of the raiders, and released more than 1000 unhappy captives. Now, nearly ten years after, Makaia's stronghold has had once more to be reduced, and the same Chief is now a prisoner in Bandajuma Gaol. Lieut. Safford reported that at the request of the D.C. he had left 30 men $\frac{3}{W.I.R.}$ at Bandajuma as a stiffening to the police garrison.

26. On the 27th May, news having been received that the Bumpe people were collecting at Saw with the intention of attacking the camp at Mafwe, a force was detached to disperse them. This was easily effected with slight loss on our side.

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27. Meanwhile Capt. Dawkins N.F. has been engaged in clearing the neighbourhood of the base at Mafwe of insurgents. On 27 May, Tihung was destroyed, and a gun being captured, these operations had such good effect that Chiefs and headmen from the district round about Mafwe now began to come in and beg for peace.

28. On the 31st May, I visited Bandajuma, where all was quiet, starting back on the 2nd June, camping that night at Jimi, a post held by Lieut. Hutchison and twenty men $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$. The post had been attacked at 3 A.M. that morning by a force from Bumpe and Bendu which had crept up to within a few yards of the sentry before being discovered.

29. On returning to Mafwe on 3rd June, I found orders had arrived from O. C. T. Sa. Leone directing me to leave all F. P. at Bandajuma and hold the remr. of my force in readiness to proceed to Freetown on receipt of further orders. In accordancewith these directions I communicated with the D. C., Bandajuma, and issued the necessary orders for the withdrawal of the dets. $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R}}$ from that place and Jimi. At the same time I sent down all refugees to Bonthe and discharged a large no. of carriers. Every effort was made to get the Chiefs to come in, and small columns were sent out in every direction to pacify the country.

30. On 3 June, at Mafwe, I received instructions that a garrn. of the W.I.R. was to hold Bandajuma, whilst all available F. P. started to relieve Panguma, where the D. C. was surrounded by insurgents. I issued the necessary orders and arranged for supplies to be sent to Bandajuma.

31. On the 10th June a deputation of the Chiefs came in to ask for peace; they stated that their reason for not coming in sooner was the fear of being raided by the Bumpe people, that this fear was keeping many other Chiefs from making their submission, and that unless the power of the Bumpe Chiefs was broken, the pacification of the country must come to a standstill.

32. Accordingly, on the 11th June a force, strength as per margin, under Lieut. H. D. Russell, $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$, left for Bumpe, which was attacked at daybreak next morning and totally destroyed. The town had two lines of stockades completely surrounding it, and the insurgents made a determined resistance, losing very heavily in consequence. On our side the casualties were Lieut. Russell and three men severely wounded, and three men slightly wounded.

33. Meanwhile, after 9th June a column consisting of 1 officer and 45 F. P. with a no. of friendlies had left Bandajuma for Panguma. On 13 June this force returned to Bandajuma after having gone about 30 miles owing to the carriers supplied by the friendly Chief, Momo Kai Kai, absolutely refusing to proceed any further on account of the opposition encountered from the enemy, by which the column sustained a loss of 1 F. P. killed and 3 wounded, two since dead, and 1 friendly killed and 2 wounded.

Corps.	Offrs.	N.C.O.'s and Men.
3 W.I.R.	2	51
A.M.S.	1	0
S.L.F.P.	1	33
	4	84

110 Carriers.
150 Friendlies.

34. I decided to despatch a party of regular troops to effect the relief of Panguma.

35. On 21 June a column, strength as per margin, under Capt. J. E. S. Woodman, $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$, left Bandajuma, and marching through Tikonko, Gerihun, Koranko, reached Panguma on 27th June, where a force from Kwalu had arrived four days previously. No opposition was encountered, though the river Sehwa, which had to be crossed twice, proved a very serious obstacle.

36. As the D. C. stated that he could not hold Panguma without reinforcements Capt. Woodman left there the 33 F. P. he had brought with him, and handing over all available ammun., returned to Mafwe on 3rd July.

37. A general disposition on the part of the insurgents to submit now was evident, constant palavers of the Chiefs were held, and the terms of the Govrenment announced 'unconditional surrender and total disarmament of the population.' These terms were accepted by large numbers of Chiefs, arms were brought in, and many important arrests effected of Chiefs and others concerned in the rising and in the murders of Sa. Leone traders.

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38. The expedition was the means of rescuing over one hundred people. Sierra Leonian missionaries, traders, women and children, who had fallen into the hands of the insurgents after the destruction of Bumpe. The Rev. C. H. Goodman, of the United Methodist Free Church Mission at Tikonko, who had been in the hands of the rebels for two months, was brought into camp in a very exhausted condition. I deeply regret to say that all the African pastors connected with the mission were foully murdered.

39. I have no doubt of the pacification of the district—an object steadily kept in view—traversed by the expedition proceeding apace, and already there are signs of reviving trade. I am much indebted for the assistance given me by the D. C. Bonthe, Mr. Alldridge and Capt. Carr, D. C. Bandajuma. The latter of whom occupied a very perilous position for two months surrounded by insurgents, whom he kept at bay with a small force of police.

40. In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to place on record how greatly the energy and devotion to duty of all ranks had contributed to the success of the expedition. Not a single case of misconduct, not a single complaint from any of the inhabitants of the places we passed through, came before me.

41. I am sure, Sir, from my previous reports, you will have remarked how ably the officers carried out the various duties touched upon in the body of this despatch, in connection with their names. In addition to these, I wish to mention Surg.-Capt. Smith, A.M.S., for his devotion to the care of the sick and wounded under all circumstances.

42. I wish to draw your attention to Lieut. N. E. Safford, $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$, and H. D. Russell, $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$, as being two young officers of special promise, always eager for any duty, no matter how arduous.

43. I have much pleasure in recording the names of the following N.CO.s. and men as setting a good example of patient endurance in hardship and gallantry in action:—

No. 399, Corpl. Greanwdge, $\frac{1}{\text{W.I.R.}}$.
„ 223, Pte. Grant, $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$.
„ 508, „ Clarke, $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$.
„ 2308, „ Springer, $\frac{3}{\text{W.I.R.}}$.

I attach a sketch map by Lt. Hutchinson, showing the routes traversed by the Expedn.—I have, etc.

(Sd.) G. CUNNINGHAM,
Lt.-Col. Commdg. Mendi Expn.

RETURN OF CASUALTIES.

Killed—	Officers	none	
	N.CO.s. and men	4	
	Carriers, Friendlies	2	total 6
Wounded—	Officers, severely	2	
	slightly	1	total 3
	N.CO.s. and men, severely	6 (2 since dead)	
	not severely	6	
	slightly	14	total 26
	Carriers, severely	6 (1 since dead)	
	not severely	1	
	slightly	9	total 16
Drowned—	N.CO.s. and men	1	
	Friendlies	4	total 5
Died—	Officers	None	
	N.CO.s. and men	1	total 1
Missing—	N.CO.s. and men	1	total 1

Total Casualties 58

(Sd.) G. CUNNINGHAM, *Lt.-Col.*

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Para. 31A, *omitted by mistake from the body of the report.*

31A. I have omitted to mention that on the 5 June, Lieut. Safford 3/W.I.R. accompanied by the D. C. Capt. Carr with a force of 19 R. & F. 3/W.I.R., 10 F. P., and about 300 Friendlies, destroyed the important town of Bandazuma, where large No. of insurgents had been gathering with object of attacking the Chiefs who had remained loyal to the Government. Previous to attacking the town it was necessary to cross the river Moa, about 200 yards wide, with a swift current, on rafts, and by swimming—two friendlies being drowned in attempting the latter. The attack was completely successful and skilfully carried out.

(Sd.) G. CUNNINGHAM, *Lt.-Col.*

LXXIII.

MINUTE, 18th July 1898, SIR F. CARDEW: Questions sent to District Commissioners.

Conf. $\frac{102}{98}$

Local
Confidential.
No. 67.

From HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR *to*
THE ACTING COLONIAL SECRETARY.

In view of the inquiry to be made by Sir David P. Chalmers into the circumstances which led to the insurrection in the Protectorate, and generally into the state of affairs in the Colony and Protectorate, be so good as to request District Commissioners to report on the following points which will form the subject of the inquiry, and hold in readiness, in case of their being summoned to attend the inquiry, such witnesses as can be obtained, to throw light on the various points to be inquired into:—

1. The causes of the insurrection.
2. Whether the tax is peculiarly obnoxious to the manners and customs of the natives.
3. Whether the collection of the tax was carried out in a brutal and insulting way.
4. Whether the amount was unnecessarily high.
5. Whether the natives were incited or encouraged in any way by Sierra Leone traders and others to refuse to pay the tax. If so, give instances.
6. What has been the attitude generally of Sierra Leone traders towards the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance?
7. Whether there are any instances of powder and arms being sold to the insurgents by Sierra Leone traders.
8. Whether the Sierra Leone Press has any circulation in the Protectorate, and, if so, how the intelligence it contains is disseminated.
9. What explanation is there for the simultaneousness of the outbreak in the Mendi Districts?
10. How far is it attributable to 'Poro' laws and customs?
11. Obtain evidence, if possible, of the nature of Poro laws and customs.
12. Have the abolition of slavery and the desire for independence anything to do with the outbreak?
13. How can the savage murders of missionaries, who have done nothing but kindness to the natives, be explained?

F. C.
Governor.

18*th July* 1898.

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CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO NON-PRODUCTION OF CERTAIN WITNESSES.

LXXIV (a).

LETTER, 29th September 1898, SIR F. CARDEW, K.C.M.G., to H. M. COMMISSIONER.

LOCAL.
No. 694.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, FREETOWN,
SIERRA LEONE, 29*th September* 1898.

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit for your information a copy of a communication which I have received from the Deputy Judge, who is at present holding a sitting of the Supreme Court at Kwalu, with reference to a request made by your Secretary to the Acting District Commissioner of the Ronietta District to send to Freetown a number of prisoners now awaiting their trial at Kwalu for the purpose of giving evidence before yourself under Ordinance No. 21 of 1898.

2. Under the circumstances stated by the Deputy Judge, I venture to hope that you will not think it necessary to require the presence of these prisoners till after their trial and condemnation or otherwise, when they could be sent to you, unless any of them are condemned to death, in which case I feel sure you would not require them to appear before they suffered that last penalty.

3. I have to concur with the Deputy Judge in thinking that any intervention, even on behalf of the enquiry in which you are engaged, would seriously impede the administration of law and justice in the present instance, and I have no hesitation in stating that in my opinion such intervention would not only be misunderstood, but it would be most subversive of the authority of the Government, not only in the Protectorate but in the Colony as well.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

F. CARDEW,
Governor.

SIR D. P. CHALMERS,
H. M. Commissioner, Freetown.

LXXIV (b).

LETTER, 25th September 1898, THE DEPUTY JUDGE to SIR F. CARDEW, K.C.M.G

From the DEPUTY JUDGE
To HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR. KWALU.

I am informed by the Acting District Commissioner at Kwalu that he has received from the Secretary to the Commissioner now sitting at Freetown a request to send down a number of prisoners, now awaiting their trial at Kwalu, for the purpose of giving evidence before the Commissioner under Ordinance 21 of 1898.

The persons named include, amongst others—Forai Vong, convicted of murder on the 24th September by me; Ka Hagbai; Tembeh Yeva. All these persons have been, or are now in the course of being, committed for trial by me under and by virtue of my special appointment and orders. One is already convicted.

The Court is now actually sitting for the trial of these persons, amongst others, and I must protest against any interference with the authority and jurisdiction of the High Court, as it would seriously prejudice the administration of justice.

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I have informed the Acting District Commissioner that he must not permit any of the persons and prisoners committed for trial, or in the process of committal, or who have been actually convicted by me, to leave the gaol without a direct authority from yourself, as any interference with those prisoners would seriously impede the administration of law and justice, and would reduce my jurisdiction to a mere absurdity.

I know of no authority under English law which entitles any person, other than the Sovereign, a Colonial Governor, or the Secretary of State, to take any steps to remove the prisoners, detained in gaol for trial, without first obtaining a writ of Habeas Corpus.

I have informed the District Commissioner that I shall hold him responsible for the safe custody of all prisoners awaiting trial before me, and that he can only release them and send them to Freetown at his peril.

I shall be glad if you will bring this communication to the notice of the Commissioner.

I can recognise no interference with my jurisdiction except by your especial direction.—I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

(Sd.) G. H. BONNER,
Deputy Judge.

25th September 1898.

LXXIV (c).

LETTER, 29th September 1898, H. M. COMMISSIONER to SIR F. CARDEW, K.C.M.G.

FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE,
29 *September* 1898.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt this afternoon of your Excellency's letter, No. 694, dated 29th September 1898, covering copy of a letter from the Deputy Judge, dated at Kwalu, 25th September 1898, with reference to a request made by my Secretary to the Acting District Commissioner of Kwalu to send certain persons now at Kwalu to Freetown for examination under my Commission. The request was accompanied with formal warrants under Section 4 of Ordinance 21 of 1898.

2. The Deputy Judge has objected to the District Commissioner complying with my requisition, and has stated that the persons in question have been, or are in the course of being, committed for trial by him, under his special appointment and orders, and has given directions to the District Commissioner which have the effect of preventing my requisition from being complied with, unless with a direct authority from your Excellency.

3. I believe that I am within the powers conferred upon me by Her Majesty's Commission and by Ordinance 21 of 1898 in asking for the production of the persons I have asked to be sent here, but, as your Excellency is aware, I have no means of giving effect to these powers except through the co-operation of your Excellency and the officers of your Government, and there is no authority in the Colony other than your Excellency capable of determining whether the Deputy Judge is in a position to give directions which shall override these powers.

4. I may add that in point of fact I was not aware, when I directed the warrants to be issued for the witnesses now in question, that they were in the situation stated by the Deputy Judge, but the consideration that the event of trial may operate to make their testimony practically unattainable seems to me a reason for not postponing the endeavour to obtain it.

5. The only ground on which I could consider it expedient not to press compliance at present with my requisition would be that which your Excellency has seen grounds

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for stating, viz., that compliance would be most subversive of the authority of the Government, not only in the Protectorate, but in the Colony as well—a result I would sincerely deprecate.

6. With these observations I must leave the decision of this matter in your Excellency's hands.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

D. P. CHALMERS,
H.M. Commissioner.

HIS EXCELLENCY
SIR FREDERIC CARDEW, K.C.M.G.,
Governor of Sierra Leone.

LXXIV (d).

LETTER, 30th September 1898, SIR F. CARDEW, K.C.M.G., to H. M. COMMISSIONER.

LOCAL.
No. 698.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, FREETOWN,
SIERRA LEONE, 30 *September* 1898.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt this morning of your letter, dated 29th instant, in which you are good enough to say, after commenting on the action taken by the Deputy Judge in objecting to the Acting District Commissioner of the Ronietta District complying with your request to send certain prisoners to Freetown, that you will leave the decision of the matter in my hands, and I beg therefore to inform you that I do not feel it incumbent on me to intervene in the action taken by the Deputy Judge.

2. In coming to this decision I trust you will acquit me of the slightest inclination to limit in any way your powers or to restrict your enquiries, which I am most desirous should be as full as possible. I shall make it my duty to submit my decision, together with this correspondence, to the Secretary of State, in order that he may instruct me as to the course I should adopt in any future question which may arise of this nature.

3. I have stated in my letter of yesterday's date that, in my opinion, the intervention of Her Majesty's Commissioner in a situation such as that at Kwalu would be most gravely subversive of the authority of the Government, not only in the Protectorate, but in the Colony as well, and my reasons for coming to this conclusion are as follows:—The idea which seems to have been formed by the advent of Her Majesty's Commissioner in the minds of the people of this Colony, and the Chiefs and natives of the Protectorate, is that he is their Saviour and Deliverer from the oppression of an unjust and tyrannical Government. I need hardly say that the prevalence of such an idea, right or wrong, with peoples so ignorant and superstitious as those of the masses of this Colony and the Protectorate, is not one that can be lightly dealt with. The large crowd which I understand greeted your landing, the boisterous welcome, and the ejaculations of the people, I think sufficiently illustrate the excitable and emotional character of the Sierra Leonean, and I venture to assert that that of the natives in the Protectorate is equally pronounced; and I can imagine the sensation that will be created amongst them as it became known that Her Majesty's Commissioner had sent forth his *fiat* and summoned the prisoners at Kwalu, or the one-and-twenty or more at Bandajuma who are charged with murder, before him, and thus had come between them and justice as it were; or again if he were to visit these places, I can picture the crowd that would gather and follow him as he journeyed along, and the hopes that would be raised, not only in the minds of the prisoners but in those of the recalcitrant and rebel Chiefs, who would take heart; and how such demonstrations, unless sternly repressed by the troops, the strength of which would have to be doubled, would gather force, and so encourage the natives in their resistance to

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authority that it is not improbable that a recrudescence of the disturbances which have just been suppressed with so much bloodshed would be brought about.

4. But while I would deprecate intervention such as I have pictured, the abstaining from it need not, in my opinion, in any way restrict your enquiry. Of the offenders at Kwalu those who are released or condemned to imprisonment can appear before you; and I may mention that there are at the present moment a considerable number of prisoners at Bonthe awaiting trial, and, should you desire, the Colonial steamer, *Countess of Derby*, can be placed at your disposal to convey you there, where there is indeed a wide field for enquiry.

5. Within a short journey from Bonthe, viz. at Gambia, the Mendi outbreak commenced, and it is said the rising was conceived at Yonni, on the Sherbro Island, within a few miles of the seat of Government, and the mainland opposite has been the scene of some of the most brutal murders of the whole insurrection; further, as I have mentioned above, there are over one hundred and twenty prisoners at Bandajuma, of whom as many as you desire could be sent to Bonthe as long as the Supreme Court is not sitting at the former place for their trial.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

F. CARDEW,
Governor.

SIR D. P. CHALMERS,
H. M. Commissioner, Freetown.

LXXIV (e).

LETTER, 1st October 1898, H. M. COMMISSIONER to SIR F. CARDEW, K.C.M.G.

SIERRA LEONE, FREETOWN,
1*st October* 1898.

SIR,—Referring to your Excellency's letter, Local No. 698, dated 30th September 1898, and the previous correspondence on the subject of the Deputy Judge intervening to prevent witnesses from being sent to Freetown for examination under my commission, I am desirous of stating the facts more articulately than, on re-perusal of the correspondence, they appear to me to be therein expressed, from which possibly your Excellency may not thoroughly have understood the actual situation.

2. I sent a summons for Tembeh Yeva on 16th September; it was not then known that she was in prison at Kwalu, although from the information I had it appeared that she might be under some kind of detention there. The summons was sent to the care of the District Commissioner of Kwalu, with a request that he would send Tembeh Yeva to Freetown.

3. Some days after sending this summons I learned that Tembeh Yeva was a very old woman, only capable of travelling by hammock, and not without risk even in that way. Upon this information, and in the belief that the evidence Tembeh Yeva could give would be obtained from other witnesses, as to whom I had in the meantime been informed, I countermanded the summons for Tembeh Yeva. This countermand was despatched through the Secretary for Native Affairs on 22nd September, along with the warrants for the other witnesses, understood to be prisoners, but not to be on the point of being tried.

4. The prisoners asked for as witnesses were thus four in number and no more. Three are named by Mr. Bonner in his letter—Foray Vong, Ka Hagbai, Tembeh Yeva (countermanded). The fourth was Kebbe Gandah (two only really required, excluding Forai Vong on account of his sentence). These witnesses were sent for, not at random, but because their evidence was pertinent and essential in a particular matter which was being investigated, and I may point out that if the trial of any of them before Mr. Bonner

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had been temporarily postponed, the cause of the postponement would not have been in its nature, nor for any necessary reason that I am aware of, a matter of publicity. I am not thus in a position to perceive, although with every deference to your Excellency's views, that the ulterior consequences feared by your Excellency should have followed.

5. I should deprecate as much as your Excellency the sensational proceedings of a Commissioner which you describe.

6. May I request that your Excellency will permit this letter to form part of the correspondence which you are submitting to the Secretary of State?—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

D. P. CHALMERS,
H. M. Commissioner.

HIS EXCELLENCY
SIR FREDERIC CARDEW, K.C.M.G.,
Governor of Sierra Leone.

LXXV.

MEMORANDUM, KISSY ROAD TRADERS' ASSOCIATION.

1. *Revenue.*—This Association would point out that this Colony has made no material progress commercially for the past ten years, it being greatly handicapped by the repeated increase of *ad valorem* Duties from 5 to 7½ to 10 per cent., besides specific Duties, that prior to such increase Duties the revenue of the Colony was about *three-fourths* of that of 1897, the increase of one-fourth being brought about by these impositions on the same amount of trade as existed before, and has not been derived from any increase of the volume of trade; and it (the Association) is of opinion that the said Colony for the purposes of raising a revenue has been taxed to its utmost capacity. The Association begs leave to suggest that should the Government deem it necessary to legislate for further taxation with a view of increasing the revenue, that the opinion of the Local Chamber of Commerce be sought and obtained as to the best method of raising any such increased revenue.

2. *Expenditure.*—This Association would point out that within the last two years the expenditure of the Colony has been almost doubled through unnecessary outlay and lavish waste of public funds brought about by (*a*) The formation of the Frontier Police Force by Sir James Shaw Hay, K.C.M.G., and unnecessarily doubled and over-officered by Sir Frederic Cardew, K.C.M.G.; (*b*) Rents allowed to officials is ever on the increase, and now amount to about £700, annually, and not one-third of this is expended on such rents; (*c*) The travelling allowances of Governors and suite on tour: the heavy travelling and other allowances of District Commissioners' Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors when on inspection in their respective districts; (*d*) The creation of unnecessary offices and posts, such as *Assistant Auditor*, who, and the Auditor, are sometimes absent from the Colony for four months together. *Assistant Director of Public Works*, there being now three qualified Civil Engineers in the Department, whereas there was only one previous to the advent of Sir Frederic Cardew, since which the works of the Department have decreased and not increased, the City Council having taken a portion over. The work expected to be performed by both the Director and Assistant Director of Public Works has not been discovered, and the Association would take this opportunity of remarking that this Department is responsible for a fearful waste of Public Revenue, especially under the supervision of the Assistant Director, and its entire management is defective and a scandal to the Government.

Solicitor-General.—It is understood that this post was created with a view of codifying the local Ordinances, a work which had been arranged should be performed by local practitioners at about £400 to £500: it is therefore surprising to notice that since the creation of the said office, extending now to a period of over two years, it has nothing to show as its result.

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The post of European Cashier to the Treasury.—The appointment of a European to this post at almost double the salary (rents, allowances, passages, etc., taken into account) of the last holder, a native who had filled the post with honour to himself and country for many years and now retired, would call for a protest from this Association, but that it must be apparent to the Government that there is at present an urgent necessity of reducing the expenses in that Department, through the transfer of the Savings Bank to the Post Office, and a great portion of the cash transactions to the Bank of British West Africa. This Association is of opinion that the posts of Inspector of Police, Assistant Postmaster, and Assistant Collector of Customs are unnecessary, also District Commissioners; (*d*) Passages of European Staff; (*e*) Horse allowances. This Association would point out that whereas in the colonies of Lagos and the Gold Coast, every official in receipt of Horse allowance is bound to keep a horse or its equivalent, and be prepared to produce same for inspection whenever required; no such precaution is taken in this Colony. These and various other items of unwarrantable expenditure have aided to make the ever constant tinkering of the Revenue of the Colony inadequate to meet the expenditure. In view therefore of the unsatisfactory state of the revenue and expenditure of this Colony, this Association would recommend through H.M. Royal Commissioner to H.M. Secretary of State, that all future proposed estimates of revenue and expenditure inclusive of this year's, be supplied to the Local Chamber of Commerce for its opinion and recommendation thereon; this Association is, however, of opinion that the revenue, as at present obtained, would be found more than sufficient, if judiciously expended, to meet the demands of the Government without the imposition of the Hut Tax.

The Hut Tax.—This Association is of opinion that this tax, to which is mainly due the Rebellion in the Hinterland, is *oppressive and untimely*, and would pray that its operation be suspended from districts in which it has not yet been imposed. This Association has every reason to believe that the natives of the Hinterland have no antipathy to paying direct or indirect taxes, so long as they are made to understand the need there is of such imposition, and that it will be beneficial to them: in the matter of the Hut Tax this was not done, being arbitrarily put and demanded with no consideration of the feelings and opinions of the people. In many of the districts, in which the tax is being imposed, the people are absolutely poor and cannot afford to pay, their only commodities being ropes and mats.[1]

Insufficiency of unofficial Members of Council.—This Association would point out that there are only two unofficial Members of Council in this Colony at the present time; whereas there used to be four or five, the others being dead, and their places remaining unfilled.

It is with regret that this Association have to notice the utter helplessness of these two unofficial Members, who, however reasonable and just may be their arguments, and however eloquent their speeches and able their protests, setting forth their objections to bills which, in their opinion, were against the well-being of the Colony generally, have been accustomed to the reply 'who are for the Government,' and on this the official Members vote *en masse* against the unofficial Members, and so make Laws pernicious to the interest of the community. In this sad way have things been done for years, and petitions upon petitions, from the public, against Laws so enacted have been transmitted in the usual way, to no avail. This Association therefore asks that the Colony be properly represented in the Council, and that H.M. Government be pleased to grant the right of nomination, by Public votes, of members to the said Council, from the fact that representation goes with taxation.

Appeal in Civil Cases.—This Association would urge the opening of a Court of Appeal in this Colony, to be presided over by the Chief Justices of Gold Coast and Lagos, assisted by the Chief Justice of this Colony. The need of this Court is greatly felt by the

[1] NOTE BY THE COMMISSIONER.—This Association does not seem to have realised the fact that the Hinterland contributes indirectly very largely to the Custom's revenue.

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inhabitants at large, for at present tremendous interest are left at the mercy of one individual, who may be swayed one way or the other by circumstances over which he may have no control, but which may not be according to facts and law. In case, however, it is found impossible to get the co-operation of the Chief Justices of the Coast, this Association would ask that the Chief Magistrate of Gambia, with the Police Magistrate and Chief Justice of this Colony, should constitute a Court; but if it is a matter of option, the Chief Justices of the Coast would be preferable.

The Jury Amended Ordinance.—This Association respectfully requests that H.M. Royal Commissioner may be pleased to call for and peruse copies in triplicate of Protest, petitions, and minutes of Council, forwarded on the 15th July last, through this Government, for transmission to H.M. Secretary of State for the Colonies, praying against the confirmation of the said Ordinance, and also to the reply thereto from H.M. Government dated 5th inst., No. 1164 $\frac{3197}{1898}$.

Unsatisfactory state of our Judicial Department, brought about by the appointment of inexperienced Legal Officers.—This Association would submit that the system in vogue in this Colony of appointing newly fledged men from the Inns of Court, and others with absolutely no experience of practice whatever, to responsible posts in the Legal Department of this Colony, is both suicidal and unsatisfactory, and would therefore request that before any appointments are made for the offices of Legal Advisers of the Crown, and more particularly to the responsible position of Acting Judge, the opinion of the Bar Committee be obtained. The appointment also of Chief Justice of the Colony from Members of the Coast Bar, made, not from the legal attainments, but from long residence, has not given satisfaction.

The Frontier Force.—This Association is of opinion that there does not exist any necessity for keeping such a large force in the Protectorate, costing the Colony about £30,000 annually, and that the increase of trade, if any, brought about by such a force in the Hinterland, is not commensurate to the necessary expenses of its upkeep. It (the Association) also is of opinion that to this force is due the present unsettled state of the Protectorate, and that, inasmuch as it has been necessary, whenever there arises the necessity of undertaking expeditions to the interior, to requisition for men from the Army Department, the Frontiers being inadequate to meet the emergency even at its present strength, it would be advisable, as soon as the opportunity offers, *i.e.* as soon as ever peace is restored in the Hinterland, to at least reduce this force by a half, and if practicable place the other half under the direct control of the Army Department.

Arms and Ammunition Ordinance.—This Association would respectfully submit that had the Sierra Leone traders in the Protectorate been permitted to keep arms and ammunition as heretofore, there never would have been such awful massacres as have been reported in Mendiland. It would therefore urge on the Government the necessity of so amending this Ordinance, that by the giving of a bond or by taking out a yearly license, arms, etc., may be permitted to traders and known individuals who may have use of them.

The Perjury Ordinance.—The attention of H.M. Royal Commissioner is called to this Ordinance, which is as pernicious as it is illegal, introduced into this Colony on the ground only that it operates on the Gold Coast, from the fact that since its introduction only one person has suffered by it, and that to the minds of the public innocently, it must be clear that no necessity exists for such an Ordinance.

The Protectorate Ordinance.—This Association is of opinion that the Protectorate Ordinance is defective in every particular, save only that it brings within the control of H.M. Government a large sphere. The placing of districts, that have hitherto formed part of the Colony proper, under the jurisdiction of the Protectorate, is one of the many unstatesmanlike provisions of the said Ordinance; further, the shutting from the jurisdiction of the Court of this Colony all matters arising within the Protectorate, with a few exceptions under great difficulties, tends to defeat the end of justice, for it is a matter of fact that each individual within the Protectorate knows where to go to be heard; but the entire prohibition of all barristers from the Courts of the Protectorate, the penalties attendant on

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any attempt made by any Chief to leave his district without permission from the District Commissioner, even though the said Chief may desire to proceed to Freetown to complain against the said District Commissioner, the autocratic powers given to these District Commissioners, men of no experience, and having no sympathy with the people, tend to a dissatisfied and uneasy feeling.

To the autocratic powers of the District Commissioners are due the dissatisfaction of the Hinterland, fermented by the irresponsible and lawless Frontiers; and this Association would suggest that the post of District Commissioner, being a sinecure, be abolished, and that each and every litigant in the Protectorate be permitted full access into the Courts of the Colony. In the matter of administration of the Protectorate, this Association is of opinion that loyal Paramount Chiefs should be appointed by the Government under proper stipends: and that these Chiefs shall have sway over large spheres, managed by minor Chiefs, but that the hands of the Paramount Chiefs be supported by a few Frontiers or regulars as the case may be, with their officer or officers, who shall only have control of his men and see that the roads are kept open, and prevent raids if there are any, but shall not interfere with any Courts, native or English, that may be in such districts. In case, however, the necessity arises of opening a Court in such districts, the adoption of Sir Francis Flemming's proposal of dealing with the Protectorate would meet the case.

This Association would respectfully ask that the offences for which Messrs Ring, Roberts, and Thorpe were charged with, and which led to their arrest from places adjacent to Freetown, and in Freetown to Kwalu, together with the evidences taken at the Court of Kwalu, be inquired into, it being the opinion of this Association that these charges were made with a view of supporting allegations made without a shadow of truth. As the good repute of the whole community were at stake by their arrests, one would have supposed that the hearing would have been public, but for reasons best known to the Government, and by the fiat of his Excellency, these cases were relegated to the dark shadows of the Protectorate; whereas a crime of no interest, committed by a native in the Protectorate, was by fiat brought and adjudicated by a judge and jury. The redistribution of the Protectorate into districts, having in view the idiosyncrasies of the tribes affected, is absolutely necessary.

The Railway.—As the Colony must sooner or later be called upon to pay the interest and provide the sinking fund of the amounts now being expended on the Railway, this Association would point out that though it is of opinion that the construction of the rail-road, if it be permitted to reach the far interior, is bound to be beneficial to the Colony, yet it deplores the manner in which it is being managed (if such a word can be used to its present mode of supervision). The whole work would have been better and cheaper done if it had been given out as contract instead of being done by the Government; in that case, a chief resident engineer, appointed by the Government to supervise in the interest of the Colony and report on the works, would have met the case.

This Association would suggest that the Auditor, assisted by a Clerk from the Treasury (from which department the bulk money is drawn to meet the expenses), be nstructed, whenever the opportunity offers, from time to time to go specifically into the accounts of the railway, directing their attention particularly to the expenses; that the labourers and workmen be paid publicly; that each and every man fined be privileged to appeal to the Governor for the time being against such fines: and that he shall not be dismissed for so doing; that an Overseer be appointed who shall travel (at least once a week, time and date being leftto his discretion), and who shall have the power to collect and check the labourers and workmen, and be present, whenever he is so disposed, on pay days.

That the Government take steps at an early date to give this railway work out as contract.

The draft of this document has been duly submitted by Mr. Fred. W. Dove, and approved by the Members of Kissy Road Traders' Association.

Dated in Freetown this 8th day of October 1898.

FRED. W. DOVE.

For and on behalf of the Members of the Kissy Road Traders' Association.

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LXXVI.

LE GOUVERNEUR DE LA GUINÉE FRANÇAISE A M. LE CONSUL DE FRANCE À SIERRE LEONE.

CONAKRY *le* 12 *Octobre* 1898.

MONSIEUR LE CONSUL,—J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint, pour répondre à votre lettre du 5 Octobre courant, un exemplaire de l'arrêté du 28 Décembre 1897, établissant l'impôt de capitation dans la Guinée Française.

En raison de la difficulté que présentait, pour la première année, le recensement exact de la population, le recensement a été fait par case, chacune étant supposée représenter une famille de 5 personnes, soit 10 francs par case. Le recensement des cases a été fait par les Européens partout où cela a été possible. Dans le cas contraire, l'Administration s'en est rapportée aux déclarations des chefs indigènes eux-mêmes.

Ceux-ci ont été chargés du recouvrement de l'impôt, soit en espèces, soit en nature: dans ce dernier cas les produits de pays ont été pris au cours normal.

Ils reçoivent comme percepteurs de l'impôt une part qui varie suivant les provinces mais dont les bases ont été fixés par l'arrêté dont je vous adresse ci-joint une copie.

La perception de l'impôt s'est effectuée sans difficultè dans toute l'étendue de la Colonie et il est très peu de villages, réellement misérable qui n'aient pu aujourd'hui s'acquitter complètement et doivent être dégrevés de ce qu'ils ont encore à prayer. Agréez etc.,

(Signé) COUSTURIER.

LXXVII.

LOCAL ORDINANCE of French Guinea as to Poll Tax.

ARRÊTÉ LOCAL portant établissement de l'impôt personnel dans la Guinée Française.

LE GOUVERNEUR DE LA GUINÉE FRANÇAISE,
OFFICIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR,

Vu l'ordonnance organique du 7 septembre 1840;

Vu les décrets des 17 décembre 1891 et 10 mars 1893 portant organisation de la Guinée Française;

Vu le décret du 30 janvier 1867 sur les pouvoirs des Gouverneurs en matière de taxes et contributions;

Considérant qu'il est équitable que les indigènes supportent leur part des dépenses d'administration et d'intérêt général;

Le Conseil d'administration entendu,

ARRÊTÉ:

Article premier.—Est établi dans toute l'étendue de la Guinée Française, au profit du budget local de la colonie, un impôt personnel perçu sur chaque habitant indigène.

Art. 2.—Sont exemptés de l'impôt personnel:

1° les militaires de tout grade;

2° les agents de police;

3° les agents titulaires et auxiliaires des douanes;

4° les marins et laptots au service du Gouvernement.

Art. 3.—L'impôt sera perçu sur le taux de 2 francs par tête d'indigène. En attendant que l'occupation plus complète de la colonie permette le recensement exact des habitants, les chefs indigènes seront chargés d'effectuer cette opération sous le contrôle des administrateurs.

Art. 4.—L'impôt sera acquitté en argent. Dans le cas où les indigènes ne pourraient verser le montant de leurs contributions en espèces, ils seront autorisés à se libérer en nature avec des produits du pays désignés par l'administration.

Des décisions du Gouverneur fixeront le taux auquel seront estimés les produits perçus en représentation de l'impôt personnel.

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Art. 5.—L'impôt sera perçu par les chefs de villages et par les chefs de province sous la surveillance et avec le concours des administrateurs. Des arrêtés du Gouverneur fixeront le taux des remises qui seront accordées dans les différents cercles aux chefs indigènes chargés de la perception de l'impôt.

Art. 6.—Des arrêtés du Gouverneur fixeront chaque année, suivant le recensement, la répartition par cercle, de l'impôt qui devra être recouvré, ainsi que les dates auxquelles les perceptions devront être effectuées.

Art. 7.—Le Secrétaire Général de la colonie et les administrateurs dans les cercles sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent arrêté qui sera notifié et enregistré partout où besoin sera et inséré au *Bulletin Officiel* de la colonie.

Conakry, le 28 *décembre* 1897.
(Signé) N. BALLAY.

LXXVIII.

ARRÊTÉ LOCAL portant rétablissement de l'impôt des patentes dans la Guinée Française.

LE GOUVERNEUR DE LA GUINÉE FRANÇAISE,
OFFICIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR,

Vu l'ordonnance organique du 7 septembre 1840;

Vu le décret du 30 janvier 1867 sur les pouvoirs des Gouverneurs en matière de taxes et de contributions;

Vu le décret du 6 août 1881 réglementant les patentes dans la colonie du Sénégal et dépendances;

Le Conseil d'administration entendu,

ARRÊTÉ:

Article premier.—A dater du 1er janvier 1898 l'impôt des patentes est rétabli dans toute l'étendue de la Guinée Française.

Art. 2.—Un arrêté spécial rendra exécutoire chaque année le rôle de la contribution des patentes qui sera établi pour chacun des cercles de la colonie, savoir:

Conakry (ville);
Conakry (cercle);
Rio-Nunez;
Rio-Pongo;
Friagbé (cercle);
Mellacorée;
Faranah;
Fouta-Djallon.

Des rôles supplémentaires peuvent être établis au cours de l'exercice au fur et à mesure des constatations de l'administration.

Art. 3.—Les droits de patente sont payables par semestre.—Les contribuables pourront prendre connaissance des rôles pendant le délai d'un mois à dater du jour où il auront été arrêtés:

1° Dans les bureaux de l'administration locale à Conakry et dans ceux des administrateurs dans les cercles;

2° Dans les bureaux du Trésorier-Payeur à Conakry.

Pendant les deux mois qui suivront la publication des rôles, les contribuables qui auraient des réclamations à formuler devront les adresser à l'administration par les voies ordinaires.

Art. 4.—Le classement des patentes sera opéré chaque année, au chef-lieu, pendant le courant du mois de novembre, par une commission composée du Secrétaire Général de la Colonie, du Chef du Service des Douanes et d'un négociant notable désigné par le Gouverneur sur la proposition du Secrétaire Général. Exceptionnellement pour l'exercice 1898, cette commission se réunira dans la 1re quinzaine de janvier.

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LXXIX.

ARRÊTÉ fixant la part revenant aux Chefs indigènes dans la perception de l'impôt.

LE GOUVERNEUR DE LA GUINÉE FRANÇAISE,
OFFICIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR.

Vu l'ordonnance organique du 7 Septembre 1840;

Vu les Décrets du 17 Décembre 1891 et 10 Mars 1893, portant organisation de la Guinée Française;

Vu le Décret du 30 Janvier 1867 sur le pouvoir des Gouverneurs en matières de taxes et contribution;

Vu les arrêtés locaux du 23 Septembre et 26 Décembre 1897, établissant l'impôt de capitation dans l'étendue de la Guinée française et au Fouta-Djallon.

Le Conseil d'Administration entendu:

ARRÊTÉ:

Art. 1. Est fixé ainsi qu'il suit la répartition de l'impôt de capitation dans l'étendue de la Guinée Française et au Fouta-Djallon.

GUINÉE FRANÇAISE.

2 per cent. au Chef de Province centralisant le produit de l'impôt.
2 per cent. au Chef de village percevant directement le produit de l'impôt.
50 per cent. au Service Local de la Colonie.

FOUTA-DJALLON.

10 per cent. à l'Almamy du Fouta-Djallon.
10 per cent. au Chef de Province.
20 per cent. au Chef de village.
60 per cent. au budget local de la Colonie

Nous serons obligés d'adopter cette lease pour une grande partie des provinces de la Guinée.

Art. 2. La répartition est opéré d'après les recettes effectuées. La part revenant à chaque Chef percepteur lui est remise aussitôt qu'il a effectué le versement complet des contributions qui lui incombent.

Art. 3. La part attribuée aux Chefs indigènes sur le produit de l'impôt remplace les rentes et coutumes prévues par les traités intervenus entre eux et le gouvernement français, en même temps qu'elle représente ce qui leur revient dans les frais de perception de l'impôt.

Art. 4. Dans le cas où l'un des Chefs prévus comme percepteurs de l'impôt n'existerait pas, la part prévue comme devant lui être allouée reviendra de droit au Serviee Local.

Art. 5. Le Secrétaire-Général de la Colonie est chargé de l'exécution du présent arrêté qui sera enregistré et communiqué partout où besoin sera.

Conakry, le 8 *Mars* 1898.

(Signe.) BALLAY.

D. C. C.,
LE CHEF DU SECRÉTARIAT.

LXXX.

MR. PHILIP LEMBERG, Freetown, to SECRETARY, ROYAL COMMISSIONER, respecting circumstances relating to Poll Tax.

FREETOWN, 14*th September* 1898.

DEAR SIR,—The information I have on the subject of the hut tax in the neighbouring French territory, is as follows:—

In the first instance, the Governor of Conakry called the Chiefs together and informed them that he meant to impose on them a poll tax of two francs each inhabitant,

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to this they replied that they were not in a position to pay it. He then told them that they were to return to their towns and consider any other mode by which they could be taxed, and report to him. After a time, the Chiefs not returning, and in the meantime having been informed that a hut tax had been imposed in the Protectorate by the Sierra Leone Government, he sent again for the Chiefs, and when they had assembled, he asked whether they had anything to propose as an alternative mode of taxation; they not suggesting anything, he informed them that he would impose a hut tax of ten francs for each hut. The Chief of each town was to collect this and receive one-half of whatever he did collect. The Chiefs said that they would not be able to get much, but they were told to go and collect what they could. The tax was in no case severely pressed or oppressively collected, and as long as a Chief brought in anything, however trifling it might be, he was discharged and received one-half of whatever he brought in. The tax was entirely collected by the Chiefs and was looked upon as a kind of self-imposed burden.

The tax is collected *wherever French Officers are stationed.* It seems, however, that no tax was allowed to be collected in the Mellicouri River, as disturbances had then broken out in our Protectorate (this river being close to the place where fighting was going on, on account of hut tax), the Governor of Conakry, fearing presumably the same result as in our territory, gave orders not to collect anything until further orders.

Every Chief of a town who brought in 2s. had 1s. returned to him.

The hut tax was collected in kind, but next year, unless it is entirely repealed, will have to be paid in cash. Liberia has also endeavoured to impose a hut tax, but seemingly with similar success to ours; as fighting is going on there now on account of it.

The French authorities are waiting for results here, whether to repeal the hut tax or keep it on.

I shall be pleased at all times to furnish you with whatever information I may be possessed of.—I remain, Dear Sir, yours truly,

P. LEMBERG.

M. E. WINGFIELD, Esq.,
Sec. to H.M. Commission, Freetown.

LXXXI.

MINUTE of the BAR ASSOCIATION OF SIERRA LEONE on the Administration of Justice in the Colony of Sierra Leone and Protectorate.

Defects and suggested improvements for the administration of justice have often been the subjects of discussion, more particularly in relation to the Colony, but recent events have also again directed attention to the claims of the Protectorate.

The Bar Association of the Colony, guided by its own technical experience, and at the same time echoing the voice of the public, has decided to make, for the consideration of the authorities, the following recommendations, which it is of opinion are urgently required to ensure public confidence in the administration of Justice, and to increase its efficiency.

COURT OF APPEAL.

1. Of the whole of the British Colonies in West Africa, Sierra Leone is the only one in which there is no local Court of Appeal from the decision of a single Judge of the Supreme Court.

It is therefore recommended:—

(*a*) That there be in the Colony a Court of Appeal to deal with cases of Appeal not only from the Colony but also from the Protectorate.

(*b*) That the Court shall consist of the Chief Justice, Police Magistrate, the Attorney-General of the Colony, and the Chief Magistrate of the Gambia, who should be a qualified member of the English, Irish, or Scotch Bar.

(*c*) That the Attorney-General shall not sit on any cases in the said Court in which the Crown is a party.

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(*d*) That the Chief Magistrate of the Gambia may not sit when a Court composed of three other members are available to hear an Appeal.

(*e*) That any increased expenditure which may result through the Chief Magistrate of the Gambia being required to attend the Court of Appeal, may be met either by a contribution partly from the Gambia, which will enjoy the advantage of a Court of Appeal, consisting of more than one Judge, or by reducing the present expenditure in connection with the administration of justice in this Colony by the abolition of the office of Solicitor-General.

The Association respectfully recommends:—

Police Court.

2. That the Police Magistrate of Freetown shall always be a qualified member of the English, Scotch, or Irish Bar.

Officers of Supreme Court.

3. That in the appointment of Officers of the Supreme Court strict regard should be had to prevent the union of two or more inconsistent offices in the same person, for example, that the Master of the Court should not act as Sheriff or Under-Sheriff or as Curator of Intestates' Estates.

Consolidation of Ordinances.

4. That the work of consolidation of the Ordinances of the Colony for which the office of Solicitor-General was created, need not be abandoned in consequence of the abolition of that office, as that work which, notwithstanding his appointment, has not been proceeded with, may be conveniently performed by His Honour, the Chief Justice.

5. That the provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance, so far as they annul the pre-existing right of the public to resort to the Courts of the Colony for the assertion of rights and the redress of wrongs, and introduce the anomalous concession to the Executive of the power, at its own pleasure, of giving jurisdiction to the said Courts in such cases as it may elect, are inequitable and unfair, and allow scope for an improper interference by the Executive in the administration of justice.

Protectorate.

6. The Association is of opinion that the machinery for administering justice in the Protectorate is defective, in that it gives excessive powers to the District Commissioners over the life and liberty of the subject. It is therefore submitted that the Protectorate Ordinance requires amendment so as to provide:—

(*a*) That appeal to the Supreme Court be given in all cases in which a person may be convicted or imprisoned by the Court of the District Commissioner, or that of the District Commissioner and Native Chiefs.

(*b*) That the jurisdiction of the District Commissioner in capital cases be abolished.

(*c*) That in all criminal cases, and in all cases between the Government and a Native Chief, Counsel may be allowed to appear in any Court other than that of the Native Chiefs.

(*d*) That no officer of the Frontier Police be a District Commissioner in the exercise of the judicial functions created by the Protectorate Ordinance.

(*e*) That if a District Commissioner is to exercise judicial functions, the post shall as far as possible be not filled by any person unless he has a fair knowledge of law.

7. It is further submitted that an impartial and independent administration of justice, so necessary for ensuring the respect and goodwill of the natives in the Protectorate towards the Government, will be best promoted by limiting the power of the District Commissioner to administrative duties, and, at most, to such minor judicial cases as a Police Magistrate or a Justice of the Peace may deal with in the Colony. In that case, the appointment of one competent Barrister or Advocate as itinerant Judge, to be styled District Judge, whose duty should be to travel throughout the Protectorate and to

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hold a Court in every district at arranged times, for the hearing of all pending cases, will secure this end, and at the same time reduce the cost of the administration of the Protectorate; for it is presumed that the high rate of pay at present fixed for the five District Commissioners is based on the standard of qualification necessary for the efficient discharge of the serious judicial duties imposed upon them by the Protectorate Ordinance.

8. The acceptance of this recommendation will serve to add to and increase the strength of the Court of Appeal herein recommended.

Dated the 12th day of July 1898.

LXXXII.

LETTER and MEMORANDUM from the SIERRA LEONE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

THE CHAMBER, FREETOWN,
SIERRA LEONE, *9th September* 1898.

Local
No. 19.

SIR DAVID P. CHALMERS,
Her Majesty's Commissioner.

SIR,—We, the Committee of the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce, in accordance with the resolution of the Chamber, beg to forward to you the annexed Declarations, which have been adopted by the Chamber relative to the rising in the Protectorate, and the general affairs of the Colony and the Protectorate.—We have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servants,

THOS. S. BUCKLEY.
H. C. SAWYER.
J. TAYLOR.
O. VACHER.
W. H. HALL.
PERCY H. DAVY.
M. F. WOODS.
E. HENRY CUMMINGS.
ALEX. S. HEBRON.
THEO. C. BISHOP.
SAM. LEWIS.

SIERRA LEONE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

At meetings of the Committee of the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce, held in the months of June and July 1898, specially to consider the questions to which the recent rising in the Protectorate has given prominence, the following Declarations were unanimously agreed upon:—

Cause of the outbreak.

From inquiries made, it appears, without any doubt, that the main cause for the serious and deplorable outbreak in the Protectorate was the collection of the Hut Tax, to the imposition of which the natives took a rooted opposition.

Contributory causes.

To this there are to be added as contributory causes:—

(*a*) the arrest and imprisonment of Chiefs, and

(*b*) the ill-treatment of the natives, in certain quarters of the Protectorate, by the Frontier Police, who, in some cases, killed some of the natives, pulled and burned down their houses in the operations adopted to compel the payment of the tax.

It is stated that, in one case, a woman was burned to death in a house set on fire; and that, in these proceedings, one, at least, of the officers of the Frontier Police participated

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Retention of the tax.

The Committee is without any evidence to enable it to conclude whether or not, prior to the passing of the Protectorate Ordinance of 1896, the native Chiefs in the Protectorate (not being part of the Colony) agreed, or were even informed, that they and their people were to pay the Hut Tax. There is, however, evidence to the effect that many of them denied the making by them of such agreement.

Modification of the tax.

Assuming the existence of an agreement which would in any way justify the imposition of some kind of tax by the Government of Sierra Leone, it is considered that, unless the Chiefs are able to declare in what reasonable manner and form they will contribute to the revenue, it will be inexpedient now, and before the complete pacification of the country, to wholly abolish the tax; but that, in any event, it should be modified and reduced.

The ground for the retention of the tax in the modified form, under the condition herein stated, is that its immediate repeal would serve as an encouragement to the natives to oppose all objectionable laws by armed resistance and massacre.

Administration of Justice.

The provisions of the Protectorate Ordinance relating to the administration of justice are defective and require amendment; so that—

(*a*) the jurisdiction of the District Commissioner in capital cases shall be abolished;

(*b*) the natives may have the right of appeal from the court of the District Commissioner and the court of the District Commissioner and Native Chiefs;

(*c*) that the natives may employ Solicitor and Counsel in the court of the District Commissioner and Native Chiefs, at least, in all criminal or quasi-criminal cases; and

(*d*) that no officer of the Frontier Police shall be a judicial officer.

Annexation.

It is considered that the best measure for establishing permanent peace and order throughout the Protectorate will be the ultimate peaceful annexation to the Colony of the countries forming the Protectorate.

Expenditure.

The Committee views with apprehension the rise which has recently occurred in the public expenditure through the duplication of officers in several departments, and the additional emoluments made to officers in the form of rent and other allowances.

It is known that some officers receive from the Government, for rent, a far higher sum than they pay.

The total expenditure allowed for rent during the past four years is £620 per annum.

Nor does there appear to the Committee any good reason why the same length of actual residence and service, which obtains for Europeans in mercantile firms in the Colony, should not be applied to officers in the Government service before they obtain leave of absence.

The cases in which there is a duplication of officers are the following:—

1. Director of Public Works and Assistant Director of Public Works.
2. Attorney-General and Solicitor-General.
3. Colonial Treasurer and Assistant Colonial Treasurer.
4. Local Auditor and Assistant Local Auditor.
5. Superintendent of Civil Police and Inspector of Civil Police.
6. District Commissioner Sherbro, and Assistant District Commissioner (Impereh).

With reference to the office of Assistant Treasurer, the creation of which was probably due to the annexing of the Savings Bank to the Treasury Department, it is a matter of common knowledge that the time of the Assistant Treasurer was, to a very large extent, taken up, out of his office, for the performance of magisterial duties or the work of District Commissioner at Sherbro.

There would be less justification for the retention of the office now that the Savings Bank has been disconnected from the Treasury, and a part of the work of the Treasury is now performed at the Bank of British West Africa.

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Court of Appeal. In the general administration of justice there is a lack of an appeal from the decision of the single judge of the Supreme Court. This is felt to be an evil which calls for remedy.

Legislative Council. The interest of the community, so far as it may be represented by unofficial members in the Legislative Council, requires the number of such members to be increased.

LXXXIII.

ANSWERS to QUERIES addressed to the SIERRA LEONE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, 17th November 1898.

QUEST. 1. Assuming that it is indispensably necessary to provide some additional revenue for the service of the Government,

(*a*) Would it be expedient in your opinion to endeavour to do so by increasing the duties on all or any of the following articles?—spirits, tobacco (distinguishing common and manufactured), salt, guns, gunpowder.

(*b*) If so, what duties would you propose to impose?

ANS. 1. The Committee does not admit the assumption that additional revenue is at present necessary, and cannot see its way to offer suggestions as to the mode of raising additional revenue until the necessity for so doing is apparent.

(*a*) From a comparison of the different rates of import duties levied here with those of French Guinea on the articles enumerated, it is clear that the Sierra Leone duties are high enough, and that it would be unwise to further increase them, as the following table will show:—

ARTICLES.	RATES OF DUTIES.		REMARKS.
	French Guinea.	Sierra Leone.	
SPIRITS, . .	1s. 3½d. per proof gallon	3s. per proof and liquid gallon below proof	
TOBACCO, . .	40 cents per kilog.	4d. per lb. 2s. ,,	Unmanufactured. Manufactured.
SALT, . . .	10 francs per 1000 kilog.	8s. per ton	
GUNS, . .	Free	2s. 6d., 4s., and 20s.	Flint, Cap, and Breech-loading.
GUNPOWDER, .	Free	6s. per 100 lbs.	Plus 3s. Compulsory Magazine rent.

These figures will also clearly prove that the merchants in Sierra Leone trading in these articles are already placed under disadvantages on account of the facilities for smuggling.

QUEST. 2. Would you recommend increasing the duties on any other articles?

ANS. 2. Certainly not at present. But the Committee thinks that the Customs Tariff calls for revision in regard to the Specified Duties. As a case in point, on Hardware, duty is charged at the rate of £3 per ton whether the import is in rough iron or machinery. It thinks this could be revised so as to not only remove the inequality at present existing, but would probably lead to gradual increase of revenue under this head.

QUEST. 3. Has the abolition of the allowance for under "proof" strength of spirits operated advantageously or otherwise on the trade in spirits, and if disadvantageously, in what manner?

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ANS. 3. The following figures speak for themselves:—

{ EXTRACT—*Sierra Leone Royal Gazette.* } CUSTOMS REVENUE ON TRADE SPIRITS.

ARTICLES.	1892 @ 2s. per proof gallon.		1893 @ 3s. per proof gallon.		1894 @ 3s. per proof gallon.		1895 @ 3s. per proof gallon.		1896 @ 3s. per proof and liquid gallon.		1897 @ 3s. per proof and liquid gallon.	
	Quantity imported.	Amount of duty paid.	Quantity imported.	Amount of duty paid.	Quantity imported.	Amount of duty paid.	Quantity imported.	Amount of duty paid.	Quantity imported.	Amount of duty paid.	Quantity imported.	Amount of duty paid.
	gals.	£	gals.	£	gals.	£	gals.	£	gals.	£	gals.	£
RUM, . .	154,579	15,458	132,465	17,581	138,779	20,816	143,154	21,473	70,304	10,546	82,299	12,872
GENEVA,	47,838	4,783	45,023	6,086	56,734	8,509	69,472	10,420	37,351	5,602	43,698	6,558
Total,	202,417	20,241	177,488	23,667	195,513	29,325	212,626	31,893	107,655	16,148	125,997	19,430

It will be seen from the above that whereas after the increase of duty from 2s. to 3s. per proof gallon the trade had been well maintained, and showed a natural increase in consumption with corresponding increase in revenue.

The figures for 1896 and 1897 show a serious falling off both in consumption and revenue.

The Committee has reason to believe that rum of proof strength is imported and manipulated by dealers. In fact, demijohns of rum are sold in Freetown for less than the duty on the contents would amount to if imported in that form. The danger of injurious manipulation is, in its opinion, great, and in the interest of the Colonial revenue, the duty ought to be restored to 3s. per proof gallon.

QUEST. 4. Can you suggest any method of encouraging the importation of spirits of superior quality to those now usually imported on trade spirits, to the extent at least of some appreciable portion of the imports?

ANS. 4. It is as futile to attempt to compel by legislation the consumption of spirits of superior quality by the people of this Colony as it is to compel those of Great Britain to be teetotal by Act of Parliament. A preference for a better quality of spirits will only come by natural causes, and these causes are at present in operation. Every facility is being offered by the dealers generally to encourage this preference.

QUEST. 5. What is your opinion as to imposing a small export duty on palm-kernels and palm-oil, benniseed, kola-nuts, rubber, gum-copal, or any of these articles?

If your opinion is favourable, what duties would you recommend?

ANS. 5. Export duties were found in practice to be a cause of serious delays and losses to merchants and shipping, and were abolished some years ago—the 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on imports being imposed in their stead.

The Committee certainly is opposed to the re-imposition of the export duties.

QUEST. 6. Can you suggest any form of direct taxation which would be advisable in the Colony of Sierra Leone, having regard to the ability of the people to pay the tax, and to the nature of the methods reasonably available in cases of default?

ANS. 6. The Committee can suggest no form of direct taxation other than one of a municipal nature.

The tax should be raised and expended by municipal authorities of the towns or villages or groups liable thereto, and where competent local authorities cannot be formed the Colonial Government, by its officers, should collect the tax and apply the same as the

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local authorities, if formed, would be required to do, subject to a deduction of reasonable expenses of management by the Government.

Payment of the tax in case of default should be enforced by execution on goods and chattels of persons liable.

QUEST. 7. Would a House Tax, or House and Land Tax, in the Colony, including Freetown, be advisable; if so, would an *ad valorem* basis, or some other basis, be preferable?

ANS. 7. Subject to its answer to Query No. 6, the Committee is of opinion that, making due allowance for cases of paupers, a tax on houses and lands other than farm-lands, fixed on an *ad valorem* basis on the annual value, would be preferable.

QUEST. 8. As such a tax would probably prevent the Municipality of Freetown from making a rate on houses and lands, would the proceeds of the tax drawn from Freetown fall to be paid over to the Municipality, or would a composition in lieu, paid from Colonial revenue, be advisable?

ANS. 8. The previous answer will show that it is inadvisable to interfere with the municipality of Freetown in raising its revenue by means of rates on houses and lands in the city and in the expenditure of such revenue.

QUEST. 9. Would the proceeds of such a tax, drawn from places outside of Freetown within the Colony, be beneficially expended in improving the condition of these outlying places, or the roads leading to them?

ANS. 9. The Committee would here refer to its answer to Query No. 6, and, subject to it, say Yes in answer to this one.

QUEST. 10. If the proceeds of such tax could be beneficially expended in the manner suggested, would it be practicable to do so through the medium of local authorities drawn from the resident inhabitants, or would Government officials be necessary?

ANS. 10. In Freetown it is quite practicable, as now, through the medium of the City Council, to expend the monies raised.

In important centres, such as Kissy, Waterloo, and Sherbro Island, the Committee apprehends no serious difficulty in the formation of local boards to manage, subject to Government supervision, the collection and expenditure of the monies raised in their own localities. As stated in answer to Query No. 6, where such local boards are not feasible the collection and expenditure of the rates should be undertaken by the Colonial Government.

QUEST. 11. Is there such an extent of cultivated and productive land in the Colony as would render a land tax feasible?

ANS. 11. No.

QUEST. 12. Does any alteration occur to you as advisable with regard to the license duties charged in the Colony or in the Protectorate?

Would a graduated scale in the Protectorate be advisable?

ANS. 12. The Committee thinks the trade licenses established by Sub-Section 1 of the 118th Section of the Freetown Municipal Ordinance 1893 should be abolished. In this opinion it is fortified by the decision recently arrived at by the City Council of Freetown.

The Committee thinks also that all trade licenses, except those for the sale of ammunition and spirits, should be abolished in the Protectorate. The facilities for evading the payment of what is known as Trade license in the Protectorate are so numerous that Traders regularly established in towns, and who pay the licenses, labour under serious disadvantages, and feel the license to be a grievance.

Subject to the foregoing statement, the Committee says a graduated scale is not advisable.

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QUEST. 13. Would it be expedient to pay either a fixed or variable yearly sum to the Municipality of Freetown as composition for the license duties now received by the Municipality, all license duties being in future paid to the Colonial Government?

ANS. 13. The Committee thinks it would be inexpedient to do so.

QUEST. 14. Do you consider that the Municipality of Freetown works satisfactorily; is any alteration with regard to its statutory constitution, powers, or duties advisable?

ANS. 14. The Committee is of opinion that, under existing circumstances, the Freetown Municipality is working fairly satisfactorily.

As to whether any alteration with regard to its statutory constitutions, powers, or duties is advisable, the Committee thinks such inquiry would be best addressed to the City Council.

QUEST. 15. Is the work done by the Municipality as efficient as if done by a Government Department?

ANS. 15. Yes.

QUEST. 16. Is it more or less economically done than if done by a Government Department?

ANS. 16. The accounts of the Government Public Works Department are not open to public inspection, and therefore the Committee cannot express a definite opinion.

QUEST. 17. Are the license duties chargeable in the Protectorate suitable as regards small traders?

ANS. 17. Subject to its answer to Query No. 12, the licenses, the retention of which the Committee suggests, are quite suitable.

QUEST. 18. Are these duties likely to diminish the volume of trade passing into and out of the Protectorate, or to affect trade in any other way?

ANS. 18. The Committee does not think the volume of trade has diminished in consequence of the Trade licenses.

QUEST. 19. Assuming that it is indispensably necessary to draw revenue from the Hinterland by some direct method, is there any method you would consider more advisable than a Hut Tax?

ANS. 19. Without admitting the assumption, and having already opposed the imposition of the Hut Tax, the Committee is not at this moment prepared with a counter proposal to a Hut Tax.

QUEST. 20. There is, I believe, at present an abnormal influx into Freetown of persons belonging to the Hinterland who are without proper means of subsistence here, and whose withdrawal from their usual occupation as cultivators will unfavourably influence the produce and exports of the Hinterland in the next or subsequent seasons. Can you suggest any means by which such influx could be prevented, or its unfavourable effects neutralised?

ANS. 20. No doubt there has been an influx into Freetown of people from the Protectorate, possibly with a view to being employed either on the railway works, or as carriers on the expeditions to the interior. Notwithstanding the influx, however, the commercial community find a dearth of genuine labour to exist. In its opinion a large percentage of this influx consists of people who until recently were domestic slaves, and who have neither ambition nor inclination for employment in Freetown. It stands to reason that it is impossible for slaves to suddenly become fitted for a free life, and to this sudden freedom the influx is largely due.

The Committee does not see how a steady influx of people to Freetown from the Protectorate, under these circumstances, can very well be controlled, as there must of necessity be attraction, real or fancied, in Freetown to induce them to come. If, however,

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a practicable system of registration could be devised, it might be made the means of keeping the city more free from unemployed labour.

THOS. S. BUCKLEY, *President of the Chamber.*
NORMAN ROBERTS, *Secretary.*

THE CHAMBER, FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE,
19*th November* 1898.

LXXXIV.

QUERIES addressed to the Honble. W. J. P. ELLIOTT, Member of the Executive Council of Sierra Leone, and Collector of Customs.

1. How long have you held your present appointment?

2. Assuming that additional revenue is required for the service of the Government—

(*a*) Would it be expedient to endeavour to raise it by increasing the duties on all or any of the following articles, viz.: spirits, tobacco (distinguishing common and manufactured), salt, guns, and gunpowder.

(*b*) If so, what duties would you propose to impose?

(*c*) What would be the revenue you would expect from each of the duties?

3. Would you recommend increasing the duties on any other articles?

4. Has the abolition of the allowance for under 'proof' strength of spirits operated beneficially or otherwise on the revenue: to what extent in either case?

5. Did the abolition of export duties on palm-kernels, palm-oil, benniseed, kola-nuts, gum-copal, and hides originate with the Colonial Government, or from any suggestions from outside?

6. What is your opinion as to re-imposing a small duty on palm-oil and kernels, rubber and gum-copal, or any of these articles?

(*a*) If your opinion is favourable, what duties would you recommend?

(*b*) What, approximately, would they yield?

7. Can you suggest any form of direct taxation which would be advisable in the Colony of Sierra Leone, having regard to the ability of the people to pay a tax, and to the nature of the methods available in cases of default, and if so, what, approximately, would be its yield?

8. Would a House Tax, or House and Land Tax, in the Colony, including Freetown, be advisable; if so, would an *ad valorem* basis or some other basis be preferable?

9. As such a tax would probably prevent the Municipality of Freetown from making a rate on houses and lands, would the proceeds of the tax drawn from Freetown fall to be paid to the Municipality, or would a composition in lieu, paid from Colonial revenue, be advisable?

10. Would the proceeds of such a tax, drawn from places outside of Freetown, be beneficially expended in improving the condition of these outlying places, or of the roads leading to them?

11. Could local authorities of the nature of village councils, or otherwise, be constituted, and would they be likely to work efficiently?

12. Does any alteration occur to you as advisable with regard to the license duties charged in the Colony, or in the Protectorate? Would a graduated scale in the latter be advisable?

13. Would it be expedient to pay either a fixed or variable yearly sum to the Municipality of Freetown as compensation for the license duties now received by the Municipality, all license duties in future being paid to the Colonial Government?

14. Do you consider that the Municipality of Freetown works satisfactorily?

15. Is the work done by the Municipality as efficient as if done by the Government Public Works Department, or a branch of it.

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16. Is it more or less economical than if done by a Government Department?

17. Were there political reasons of importance for establishing the Freetown Municipality.

18. Are the license duties chargeable in the Protectorate excessive as regards small traders?

19. Are these duties likely to diminish the volume of trade passing into and out of the Protectorate?

20. What was the estimate of license duty from the Protectorate?

21. What amount was collected previous to the rising?

22. Is the encouragement of small traders (apart from the amount of license duty actually paid by them) advisable from a revenue point of view?

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23. As regards the Return of Exports with which you have favoured me, is it possible to separate the value of produce of the Colony from produce of the Protectorate, or of territories lying outside the Protectorate, and only passing through the Colony for shipment? If so, please make the separation, the Return is herewith inclosed for that purpose.

24. Have you any observations to make with regard to the fiscal importance of the several outports at which Customs officers are placed?—is it necessary to maintain all the stations?

25. Was the importation of gunpowder unusually large during any periods shortly preceding the commencement of the recent risings, or that of guns or other arms?

26. If so, was the importation unusually large at Freetown or Sherbro, or at both ports? Distinguish, if practicable, imports for the Imperial or for the Colonial Government from trade imports.

27. What generally are the matters dealt with in your department?

28. Have any alterations been made in your department since you have been connected with it?

29. If any alterations have been made, state briefly the causes leading to such alterations?

30. What are the duties of the Assistant Collector?

31. Have you any suggestions to make as regards the conduct of the business of your department?

32. What is the rule now in operation as to periods of resident service and leave of absence?

33. What is the ordinary arrangement for performing the duties of Head of your department when the Head is absent?

34. Have you any suggestions to make regarding the staff, or organisation of your department, or otherwise?

35. Can you suggest any method of encouraging the importation of spirits of superior quality to those now usually imported, at least as regards some appreciable portion of the imports?

36. Is there reason to think that smuggling from the French territories into the Protectorate takes place to an appreciable extent, or from Liberian territories?

LXXXV.

REPLIES to Queries addressed to the Honble. W. J. P. ELLIOTT, by Her Majesty's Royal Commissioner.

1. Since July 1891.

2. I am of opinion that it would not be advisable to increase the Customs duty on any of the articles mentioned, even if increased revenue is required, as trade importations are, I think, unable to bear further increases of duty.

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It is always more desirable to have good revenue from a sound and large volume of trade not heavily taxed, than the same revenue of a doubtful nature from a precarious and small trade heavily assessed.

3. I would not so recommend.

4. It has brought about an increased revenue on this article, and the importation of a better class of spirits.

5. The abolition of export duties emanated from outside suggestions, viz.: the Merchants.

6. I am of opinion that the re-imposing of any export duty is undesirable, as prices obtainable in Europe for produce are too low; but the Chamber of Commerce might be asked on this subject.

7. I am sorry I cannot make a suggestion in this matter.

8. I am of opinion that a House or Land Tax should only be imposed in the Colony at Freetown, Bonthe, Waterloo, and important villages, or as is adopted in England, and for municipal or village council purposes only.

9. Such taxes to be paid direct to the Municipality.

10. They should be so spent.

11. Such constitutions are quite an impossibility, and could not work efficiently.

12. I do not think any alteration is necessary.

13. The license duties should be received by the Municipality as long as it lasts, and not the Colonial Government.

14. The Municipality of Freetown does not work satisfactorily, owing to there being too many native Councillors in it who are unintelligent and have no desire to improve either themselves or their country.

15. I cannot answer from want of sufficient evidence or knowledge.

16. I should say it was more economical.

17. There were not. It was desired by the Colonial Office, to teach the more intelligent natives a system of self-government.

18. They are not.

19. Not at all.

20. This would, I think, be more properly answered by the Colonial Treasurer.

21. Do. do. do. do.

22. The revenue is not affected either way. Small importers should, however, be made to pay for their indents, which they in many instances endeavour to escape; they should not be allowed to bond goods, as they make use of bonding facilities as a method of avoiding payment to shippers.

23. There is no possible way of arriving at the value of exports produced in the Protectorate and in the Colony separately, but it may be correctly assumed that eight-tenths, if not nine-tenths, of the exports are produced in the Protectorate. The same difficulty is experienced with regard to imports passing from the Colony to the Protectorate, but from observations in the Customs it is assumed that, approximately on an average, 60 per cent. of goods imported are sent to the Protectorate, and in goods such as salt, tobacco, cotton goods, spirits, the greater portion reaches the Protectorate, and it is on this class of goods that our increases in revenue are chiefly received.

24. There are only five small Preventive Stations; they cost but little, and I am of opinion they are necessary.

25. Yes, in the case of gunpowder withdrawn from the magazine, but not arms.

26. The withdrawal was unusually great at Freetown. There is no magazine at Sherbro. The Imperial and Colonial Governments do not import powder, only ammunition for troops and for blasting purposes.

27. The receipt of all customs and shipping-dues, including transactions in bond, Board of Trade, Register of Shipping and Seamen, and Receiver of Wrecks services. The firearms and ammunition and petroleum Ordinance are managed at the Customs.

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28. No radical change.

29. No alteration worth naming.

30. Generally to assist the collector, and to give his attention more to scrutiny, to assume responsibility when the collector is acting as Colonial Secretary, and is absent on leave or otherwise. He is also Admeasurer of Ships.

31. None, except that as the trade increases the staff will have also to be increased, and it is most difficult to obtain the services of competent and reliable men.

32. For Europeans, fifteen months' service and six months' leave.

Natives—in any two years:—

Heads of Departments, 3 months. Subordinates drawing salaries of £150 a year and upwards, 8 weeks. Subordinates drawing salaries of less than £150 a year, 6 weeks. Boatmen, 4 weeks.

33. The Assistant Collector usually acts when the Collector is absent.

34. None.

35. My reply to Question 4, I think, answers this; nothing more can be done.

36. There is a certain amount of smuggling from outside territories, but I am of opinion that it is petty smuggling, and the Preventive Stations are most useful in stopping it.

W. J. P. ELLIOTT,
Collector of Customs.

H.M. CUSTOMS, FREETOWN,
18*th October* 1898.

LXXXVI.

QUERIES addressed to the Hon. E. O. JOHNSON, Acting Colonial Treasurer and Member of the Executive and Legislative Councils.

Queries 1 *to* 22 *were similar to those addressed to Mr. Elliott, Collector of Customs.*

23. Is there any form of direct taxation which would, in your opinion, be more advisable in the Protectorate than the Hut Tax?

24. What generally are the matters dealt with in your department?

25. Was not the Treasury department formerly combined with the Colonial Secretariat?

26. What causes led to the separation of these departments?

27. Now that the Savings Bank is administered under the Post Office department, would it be feasible to amalgamate the Treasury and the Colonial Secretariat?

28. What is the rule now in operation as to periods of resident service and leave of absence?

29. What is the ordinary arrangement for performing the duties of Head of your department when the Head is absent?

30. Have you any suggestions to make regarding the staff or organisation of your department or otherwise?

From THE HONOURABLE THE COLONIAL TREASURER *to* THE SECRETARY, ROYAL COMMISSIONER.

I beg to return herewith the Queries of the Royal Commissioner together with my replies thereto.

I would remark for the information of Sir David Chalmers that my inexperience of the Colony and Protectorate has hampered my opinion on many of the points raised.

EDW. O. JOHNSON,
Acting Colonial Treasurer, 28*th October* 1898.

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LXXXVII.

REPLIES to Queries by the Royal Commissioner, addressed to E. O. JOHNSON, Acting Colonial Treasurer, Sierra Leone.

1. Assistant Colonial Treasurer 13th November 1897; Arrived in Colony 26th November; Appointed Acting Treasurer 26th December, have acted since that time.

2-3. I do not think it would be expedient to increase the duties on the articles mentioned in this query, as from experience in other colonies I have found that any increase in rates, on spirits and tobacco especially, is met by decrease in consumption, and conduces to smuggling, for the prevention of which an expensive preventive service would be necessary.

4. I regret that I am not sufficiently acquainted with the Customs statistics to be in a position to express an opinion on this point. I would venture to suggest that inducement be held out for the manufacture of rum under excise regulations locally, to take the place of German spirits now imported and consumed by the natives, and which I understand is of inferior quality. The soil of the Colony appears adapted to the cultivation of sugar-cane.

5. I regret being unable to reply to this.

6. I am opposed to the taxation of products, unless absolutely necessary. A move in this direction might tend to further divert the export trade to French territory.

7-8. I am of opinion that a House Tax, according to the number of rooms, at a rate of say 2s. per room per annum, would be advisable in the Colony beyond Freetown. A House Tax of 5 per cent. on the assessed annual rental value should be imposed in Freetown; but provision should be made for exemption in necessitous cases. Judging from the present rental values of houses in Freetown, I certainly think the owners are able to pay such a tax. I do not think a Land Tax feasible. The extent of cultivated land in the Colony appears very limited. My knowledge on this point has, however, been guided by observations from the railway only.

9. The rate for Freetown should be levied by the Municipality, and form part of the revenue of that body.

10. The tax drawn from places within the Colony should form part of general revenue, and a similar amount voted annually for improving means of communication.

11. I do not think the time is ripe yet for the creation of Village Councils. I regret being unable to form any estimate of the relative proportion of duty paid on imported goods retained for consumption in the Colony of Sierra Leone, and which pass into the Hinterland.

12. The license duties in force in the Colony do not appear to me to call for alteration, except in the case of the Dog License, which should be increased to 5s. The Protectorate licenses do not appear to press heavily on the traders.

13. I consider that the Municipality should collect its licenses and taxes, and become a self-supporting body. If the revenue of the Municipality is not properly collected, it would be advisable to establish a Town Board nominated by the Government, and abolish the Municipality.

14-15. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the working of the Municipality to be able to express an opinion.

16. As no statements of the Revenue and Expenditure of the Municipality are published for general information, I am unable to form an opinion.

17. I regret being unable to reply to this.

18. I do not think so, but am not aware of the amount of trade done.

19. I do not think so.

		Estimate.	Receipts to 30th April.
20-21.	Spirit License, . . .	300	182
	Store, ...	1500	770

22. I certainly think so.

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23. My experience of the condition of the natives and of the Protectorate being very limited, I am not in a position to recommend a substitute for the Hut Tax. I am, however, of opinion that it is necessary to draw revenue from the Protectorate in order to supplement that of the Colony, which is not capable of much expansion.

24. Receiving and disbursing the Revenue of the Colony and Protectorate, pre-audit of all vouchers relating thereto, preparation of various returns and statements, the abstracting of the Revenue and Expenditure under the various sub-heads of the estimates, and general supervision of the Finances of the Colony.

25. Yes.

26. This I am unable to say, but the offices were evidently found to be incompatible. Information on this point could, no doubt, be furnished from the records of the Secretariat.

27. The removal of the Savings'-Bank has not lessened the work of this department, as with the addition of the Protectorate, a considerable amount of extra duty has devolved upon the Treasury. The revenue and expenditure has increased by over 30 per cent. since the separation of the offices, and I most certainly do not think the amalgamation with the Secretariat feasible. I understand that when the offices were combined there were four European assistants. During my experience as Acting Head of the Treasury, I can but say that I have found the duties at times all that I could efficiently cope with.

28. Fifteen months' residential service, and six months' leave if the exigencies of the service permit. If an officer remains over his time he is entitled to ten days' additional leave for each complete month of service. I would draw attention to the want of proper quarters for officials. As over £500 is expended annually as lodging allowance, this amount would meet the Interest and Sinking Fund on a loan of, say, £10,000, for the erection and furnishing of suitable bungalows.

29. The Assistant Treasurer acts as Treasurer. The Assistant Treasurer, when not acting as Treasurer, is usually detailed to fill some other office when the holder is on leave.

30. None.

EDWD. JOHNSON,
Acting Colonial Treasurer, Sierra Leone, 28th October 1891.

LXXXVIII.

Request from H.M. Commissioner to Honourable W. J. P. Elliott, Collector of Customs and Acting Colonial Secretary, for information as to Taxation and Customs Revenue.

I would be obliged if you would give me a Memorandum showing—

1. The present sources of revenue of the Colony of Sierra Leone.
2. An outline of the history of the revenue showing—
   (*a*) Increase or decrease made from time to time on the rates of taxation on the principal taxed articles.
   (*b*) The abolition of taxes or imposition of new taxes.
   (*c*) Any increase or decrease that has taken place on the quantities or values of goods imported in sequence of any change of rates.

I would be glad that this outline should, if practicable, be carried back to 1870, and the total yield of the revenue from year to year stated.

3. Please state whether any export duties are levied; whether if any such duties have been abolished, what the circumstances were which led to the abolition.

4. Also whether any direct taxes are imposed on the inhabitants of the Colony of Sierra Leone, either in aid of the general revenue of the Colony or of the revenue of any particular institution or authority.

5. I would be obliged if you can give me an approximate estimate of the proportion of imported goods which are consumed in the Colony, and of what passes out in the way

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of trade to the territories outside of the Colony. Also, if practicable, what proportion of last-mentioned goods are consumed in the Protectorate, and what passes beyond the Protectorate to the country farther inland.

D. P. CHALMERS,
H.M. Commissioner.

LXXXIX.

MEMORANDUM by Honourable W. J. P. ELLIOTT, Collector of Customs Revenue, in reply to No. LXXXVIII.

The present sources of Customs Revenue consist of:—

(1) Light and Harbour Dues on vessels entering the harbour of Freetown or Sherbro.

(2) Import duties, specific, collected on articles shown in the accompanying table, and an *ad valorem* duty of ten per cent. on other goods. A list of goods on which no duty is collected is appended.

(3) Warehouse rent and treble Shed rent.

(4) Fees to Customs Officers for attendance on the public on Sundays and holidays, for endorsing ships' articles, for overtime services, and for attending transhipments.

1. LIGHT AND HARBOUR DUES.

Light.—Under Sections 2 and 4 of Ordinance No. 12 of 1874, all Colonial ships, steam or sailing, pay Light Dues once in every year upon entering the port from any place whatever, otherwise than from the Sierra Leone River.

All non-colonial ships (British) pay Light Dues once in every three months, whether from parts beyond the seas or from any place whatever, otherwise than from the Sierra Leone River.

The rate of Light Dues is threepence per ton. Foreign vessels pay the same rate as British vessels.

Harbour.—Under Section 5, Colonial registered ships, under 30 tons, pay Harbour Dues at the option of the master or owner once in every year, or (a sum of 2s. 6d. for ships under 10 tons, and 5s. above 10 tons and under 30 tons) upon every entrance into the harbour of Sierra Leone or Sherbro.

Of 30 tons and upwards rateably upon every entry, which, according to present practice, is taken to be from parts beyond the seas. Non-colonial British vessels pay Harbour Dues once in every three months' upon entering the harbour, either from parts beyond the seas, or from any place whatever, otherwise than from the Sierra Leone River. Foreign vessels pay the same rate as British vessels.

For vessels of 30 tons and upwards the dues are as follows:—

30	tons	and	under	50	tons,	.	.	.	£0	7 6
50	„	„		80	„	.	.	.	0	12 6
80	„	„		100	„	.	.	.	1	0 0
100	„	„		200	„	.	.	.	1	10 0
200	„	„		300	„	.	.	.	2	10 0
300	„	„		400	„	.	.	.	3	0 0
400	tons	and	upwards,			.	.	.	5	0 0

Steamers belonging to a firm trading regularly with this Colony, which make Sherbro a port of call either outward or homeward bound, are exempted from Harbour Dues, under Ordinance No. 5 of 1882.

By Ordinance No. 24 of 9th November 1883, vessels entering the harbour for repairing damages, or for landing or taking mails, passengers, crew, provisions, or coals, without breaking bulk or taking cargo, are exempted from paying Harbour and Light Dues.

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Any ship or vessel entering the harbour of Sierra Leone for the sole purpose of taking or discharging stores for any of Her Majesty's ships on the West Coast of Africa, not liable to pay Harbour or Light Dues.

(2) The following Table shows the Customs Tariff of Sierra Leone at present in force.

Articles.	Rate.	No. and Date of Ordinance.
IMPORT DUTIES.	£ s. d.	
1. Ale, Beer, and Porter,	0 0 6 per gallon,	No. 11 of 29th Oct. 1874.
2. Do. do. in bottles, quarts,	0 1 0 per dozen,	
3. Do. do. do. pints,	0 0 6 do.	
4. Cartridges, Rifle ball,	0 5 0 per 100,	
5. Cigars, Cigarettes, and all manufactured Tobacco,	0 2 0 per lb.,	
5a. Bread,	0 0 3 per barrel of 50 lbs. or fractional part thereof,	No. 18 of 24th June 1896.
5b. Flour,	0 0 3 per barrel of 50 lbs. or fractional part thereof,	
6. Gunpowder,	0 6 0 per barrel of 100 lbs.,	No. 15 of 25th July 1883.
7. Guns-Trade, flint-lock,	0 2 6 each,	No. 11 of 29th Oct. 1874.
8. Do., percussion,	0 4 0 do.,	
9. Do., rifle muzzle-loader,	0 5 0 do.,	
10. Do., breech-loading, single or double barrelled,	0 10 0 do.,	
11. Do., breech-loading rifle,	1 0 0 do., ,	
12. Hardware of all kinds,	0 3 0 per cwt.,	No. 14 of 30th Dec. 1887.
13. Lumber,	0 8 0 per 1000 feet,	
14. Petroleum (Kerosine Oil),	0 0 6 per gallon,	No. 15 of 23rd May 1882.
15. Salt,	0 8 0 per ton,	No. 18 of 24th June 1896.
16. Brandy,	0 3 0 per gallon,	No. 1 of 1st Feb. 1893.
16. Cordials,	0 3 0 do.,	
16. Geneva,	0 3 0 do.,	
16. Rum,	0 3 0 do.,	
16. Whisky and other Spirits,	0 3 0 do.,	
17. Sugar, unrefined,	0 2 6 per cwt.,	No. 18 of 24th June 1896.
18. Do., refined,	0 7 6 do.,	
19. Tobacco, unmanufactured,	0 0 4 per lb.,	No. 14 of 30th Dec. 1887.
20. Wine, except Claret,	0 1 6 per gallon,	No. 11 of 29th Oct. 1874.
21. Do. Claret,	0 1 0 do.,	No. 14 of 30th Dec. 1887.

Ten per cent. *ad valorem* duty on other goods (not liable to specific duty) except the following, which are free:—

FREE GOODS.

Articles.	No. and Date of Ordinances.
African produce,	No. 14 of 30th December 1887.
Bulbs and roots,	
Seeds of all kinds,	
Shrubs and trees imported for planting,	
Bullion,	
Coin,	
Coals, coke, and patent fuel,	
Fruits of all kinds not in sugar or syrup or otherwise preserved,	
Ice,	
Poultry,	
Game or fresh meat of all kinds not preserved in any way,	
Articles imported with the sanction of the Governor for the use of any Educational Establishment,	
Mineralogy or Botany,	
Specimens of Natural History,	
Turtle and fresh fish not preserved in any way,	
Live-stock,	
Onions,	No. 18 of 24th June 1896.
Potatoes,	
Boats,	No. 7 of 7th May 1890.
Telegraphic Materials,	

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(3) Under Order-in-Council of 23rd October 1895 and 27th December 1895, the following rates of rent are in force for goods deposited or secured in the Queen's Warehouses and Sheds:—

Place.	Nature of Goods.	Rate.
(1) Queen's Warehouses, .	Cotton goods and goods liable to specific duty under the Customs duties Ordinance 1874 and amending Ordinances.	½d. per cubic foot per month or fraction of a month.
(2) Queen's Warehouses, .	Goods other than Cotton goods not liable to specific duty.	½d. per cubic foot for first month; and afterwards, 2d. per cubic foot per month or fraction of a month.
(3) Queen's Sheds, . .	Goods liable to specific duty and all other goods.	Nil for the first seven days lodged in the Shed, after which time treble the rent usually charged on such goods for each and every month or fraction of a month when regularly warehoused.

CHANGES IN THE CUSTOMS TARIFF.

A 1 and A 2

App. II.—XCIII.

In the accompanying comparative table of the Customs Tariff of Sierra Leone from 1870 to 1898, the various changes in the rates of the tariff from year to year are shown, but it appears necessary to give a short history of the different enactments which have been passed within the period above stated, and which authorised the changes in question.

Commencing with the rates in force in 1870, shown in the column for that year, the first alteration noticeable was made in 1871 in the duty on spirits, which was raised from 1s. 2d. per gallon, the rate sanctioned by Ordinance No. 4 of 30th March 1864, to 1s. 6d. per gallon by Ordinance No. 8 of 20th November 1871.

In 1872 the tariff was thoroughly recast by Ordinance No. 13 of 17th August of that year, whereby import duties on spirits, tobacco and gunpowder were increased as shown in the table, and the duties upon articles of food and clothing, and also upon building materials and other goods, were abolished. An export duty on ground-nuts was imposed to take effect from 1st January 1873.

Wharfage of 5s. per ton on certain articles, which was levied from 1853 under the provisions of Ordinance No. 55 of 12th July, was abolished by Ordinance No. 14 of 17th August 1872.

During 1873 there was no change, but as there appeared to be a falling off in the receipts for that year and part of the following year, it became necessary to increase the taxes, and therefore in 1874, by Ordinance No. 11 of 29th October, the duty on gunpowder was increased from 2s. to 3s. per barrel of 100lbs., rifle ball-cartridges were made liable to specific duty of 5s. per 100, and guns were made to pay a graduated scale of duties according to their value as arms of precision. A Wharfage duty of 10s. per ton, weight or measurement, was imposed.

Export duties on palm-kernels, benniseed, kola-nuts, palm-oil, gum-copal, and hides were also sanctioned, and the duty on ground-nuts exported was raised from ¾d. to 1d. per imperial bushel.

The Customs tariff thus amended was in force from 1874 to 1882, when wharfage was abolished on lumber, slates, tiles, lime, bricks, and salt, under Ordinance No. 11 of 12th July. By Ordinance No. 15 of 23rd August 1882, petroleum was made liable on importation to a specific duty of 6d. per old wine gallon.

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In 1883 the imposts on the following articles were raised as follows :—

Tobacco from 4d. to 6d. per lb.
Gunpowder from 3s. to 6s. per barrel of 100 lbs.
Guns—Flint-locks, from 1s. to 2s. 6d. each.
Guns—Percussion, from 2s. to 4s. each.

There were no changes from 1884 to 1887, but at the close of the last-named year Ordinance No. 14 of 30th December was passed, and assented to on the next day, authorising the levying of additional duties, as follows :—

Lumber, per 1000 feet, ...	8s.
Hardware of all kinds, per cwt., . . .	3s.
Salt of all kinds, per ton, ...	3s.
Sugar unrefined, per cwt., ...	5s.
Do. refined, per cwt., ...	10s.

The duty on claret was doubled, viz.: from 6d. to 1s. per gallon, and that on tobacco was lowered from 6d. to 4d. per lb. An *ad valorem* import duty of five per cent. was imposed on the value of all goods not liable to specific duty, and not coming under the table of exemptions. The laws authorising the collection of duties on exports were repealed by this Ordinance.

In 1889 no alteration was made in the tariff, but in 1890 wharfage was abolished entirely under Ordinance No. 16 of 27th June, which also provides special legislation for Isles de Los, by which all dutiable goods imported there became liable from 1st July 1890 to an *ad valorem* duty of seven and a half per cent. only. By this Ordinance the *ad valorem* duty on goods imported into the Colony was increased from five to seven and a half per cent.

With these alterations the tariff experienced no change in 1891 and 1892.

In 1893 the duty on spirits was increased to 3s. per proof gallon, with effect from 1st March, under Ordinance No. 1 of 1st February. The special legislation effected for Isles de Los in 1890 was repealed by this Ordinance, and importations into those islands became liable to the tariff in force in the Colony.

In 1894 there was no change in the tariff, but in 1895 Ordinance No. 19 of 27th December was passed, by which the mode of collecting the tax on spirits was slightly altered, and the rate of 3s. per imperial gallon was made to apply to the liquid contents of the bottle or cask when the contents are of under proof strength. If of over proof strength, the same is reduced to proof standard, and the duty assessed accordingly on the increased quantity thus calculated. This Ordinance was made to take effect from 1st January 1896.

Auction duty, which had been in force from 1813, under Ordinance No. 2 of 15th February of that year, was abolished by Ordinance No. 20 of 30th December 1895.

In 1896, by Ordinance No. 18 of 24th June, the tariff in force was revised, increasing the duty on salt from 3s. to 8s. per ton, and the rate of *ad valorem* duty from seven and a half per cent. to ten per cent. The duty on sugar refined was reduced from 10s. to 7s. 6d. per cwt., and sugar unrefined from 5s. to 2s. 6d. per cwt. Flour and bread, otherwise known as biscuits, when imported in barrels or half-barrels, were respectively made subject to specific duty of 3d. per 50 lbs. weight. When these articles are imported in other packages they are liable to ten per cent. *ad valorem* duty.

Potatoes and onions were made free goods under this Ordinance.

PORT DUES.

Light.—Light Dues were established by Ordinance No. 35 of 9th August 1850, and although there have been some changes in the law as described in Ordinances No. 14 of 1872, and No. 12 of 1874, the original rate of 3d. per ton remains the same up to the present time.

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Tonnage Dues were authorised under Ordinance No. 55 of 12th July 1883 at the rate of 1s. 6d. per ton for each voyage of the vessel, and continued in force until 1872, when the rate was decreased to 6d. per ton under Ordinance No. 14 of 17th August of that year. In 1874, under Ordinance No. 12 of 14th November, Light and Tonnage Dues were authorised to be collected once only in every year on ships registered in the Colony and belonging to persons trading in or resident on the West Coast of Africa, and once in every three months on other ships. Tonnage Dues were abolished altogether by Ordinance No. 13 of 30th December 1887.

Harbour Dues were first levied by and paid to the Harbour Master, under Ordinance No. 78 of 7th January 1856, upon a graduated scale ranging from 15s. yearly, or 2s. 6d. each entry, on vessels of 10 tons and under, to £3 on vessels of 350 tons and upwards upon each entry. This scale was revised in 1874 by Ordinance No. 12 of 4th November, under the provisions of which the dues are collected by the Customs Department.

It will be observed that I have so far endeavoured from the foregoing to give an outline of the history of the Customs revenue, showing the increase or decrease made from time to time on the rates of taxation on all articles of import and items upon which the Customs Department has authority to collect revenue; and this memorandum shows also the Customs taxes that have been abolished.

QUANTITIES AND VALUES OF PRINCIPAL TAXED ARTICLES.

$\frac{B}{1}$ to $\frac{B}{28}$ Not printed.

In submitting the attached returns marked $\frac{B}{1}$ to $\frac{B}{28}$, showing the principal taxed articles, their quantities, the amount of duty levied, and the increase or decrease in the quantities from year to year, whether there was a change in the tariff or not from 1870 to 1897, I beg to draw attention to the fact that owing to the operation of Ordinance No. 80, dated 15th January 1856, under which merchants were allowed to clear their goods from the Customs on giving a bond to secure the Customs duties collected thereon, and paying the same some three months afterwards, it has not been possible to show definitely the actual duty levied on each article of importation for each year from 1870 to 1876, but the total amount so received during each year is shown, and also in Return of Total Customs Revenue from 1870 to 1897. From 1877 to 1881 the duties leviable on the quantities are shown, but the totals will be seen to be different to the amounts actually received, and shown in the returns for those years, owing to the reasons already given in regard to bonds. The system of giving bonds for the subsequent payment of the duties came to an end in 1880, under the provisions of Ordinance No. 6 of 24th September 1880.

I desire to point out that the differences shown in the quantities of the taxed articles before and after a change in the Customs tariff, are by no means attributable to the operation of either the old or the new tariff. There have been other causes which contributed in effecting an increase or decrease in the quantities imported of certain articles, especially by those articles which are largely consumed by the aborigines in the Colony and Protectorate, viz.: such articles as cotton goods, rum, geneva, unmanufactured tobacco, and salt. Some of the causes to which I am referring were the tribal feuds and disturbances occurring in the territories adjacent to the Colony, whereby trade has for years been greatly interfered with.

Another cause which has considerably developed itself in recent years was the activity of our neighbours in French Guinea, whose efforts to extend their influence into the northern rivers and far interior have resulted in diminishing the volume of the trade which formerly found its way into this Colony.

It will be observed that in certain articles of European food, drink, etc., there has been in late years an increase, due undoubtedly to a more extensive consumption than formerly was the case. There has been a marked decrease in the number of firearms imported since 1892, caused by the operation of the Firearms, Ammunition, and Gunpowder Ordinance passed in that year.

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CUSTOMS REVENUE.

I append a return of the total Customs Revenue received each year from 1870 to 1897, showing the various heads under which the amounts have been collected. The rise and fall are therein clearly exhibited, and it will be seen by way of comparison that the percentage of increase or decrease of one year over the next one following it, has been worked out and shown in the last column. C/1 App. II.—XCIV.

I may here remark that some of these totals, when compared with the amounts actually paid into the Colonial Treasury, in certain years disclose differences. The reason for these apparent differences is of a twofold nature, due partly to varied treatment in the classification of heads of receipts, and partly to some small amounts collected principally in the out-stations at the close of a year, and shown in the Customs accounts for that particular year, but which, not having been actually received into the Treasury until the beginning of the following year, were credited to the Customs according to date of receipt The system now in operation precludes the possibility of these differences again occurring.

EXPORT DUTIES AND THEIR ABOLITION.

There is no law now in force authorising the collection of export duties.

The first introduction of duty on exports was, as already pointed out, made in 1872 under Ordinance No. 13 of 17th August of that year. It consisted of a tax of three farthings per imperial bushel of ground-nuts, and was brought into operation on 1st January 1873.

Export duties on palm-kernels, benniseed, kola-nuts, palm-oil, and gum-copal were authorised in 1874 under Ordinance No. 11 of 29th October of that year, and the duty on ground-nuts was then raised to 1d. per bushel. These duties continued in force until 1882, when by Ordinance No. 1 of 15th March of that year the rates on palm-kernels and benniseed were doubled, and that on ground-nuts was re-arranged as follows: on ground-nuts in shells, 3d. per cwt., and on ground-nuts decortigated, 2d. per cwt., and the duties on kola-nuts, palm-oil, gum-copal, and hides were abolished.

All duties on exports were finally abolished under Ordinance No. 14 of 30th December 1887.

The circumstances which lead to the abolition of these duties originated from representations made by merchants against double taxation, viz.: the levying of an import tax upon European goods on there being entered for home consumption, concurrently with an export tax upon the produce bought here with those goods, or the proceeds thereof, on such produce being shipped from the Colony to Europe or America. It will be seen that in lieu of the export duties, an *ad valorem* duty of five per cent. on certain class of imports was introduced.

IMPORTS TAKEN TO THE PROTECTORATE.

It is difficult to furnish a return showing with accuracy the proportionate amount of imported goods consumed in the Colony, and of what passes out in the ordinary course of trade to the territories outside thereof, but I have caused the inclosed return to be compiled showing the quantities and values, and the duties paid thereon, of articles duly entered for home consumption in 1897, and the bulk of which, there is every reason to believe, was not consumed elsewhere than within the Colony, with the exception of all flint-lock guns and of certain quantities of gunpowder, cotton goods, rum, geneva, manufactured tobacco, salt, and hardware in the shape of matches, iron bars and iron pots which may fairly be estimated as having been carried for consumption within the Protectorate; but I regret to state that there are no materials within my reach to enable me to furnish such an estimate with any degree of accuracy.

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I have no data at my disposal to enable me to estimate the quantities, if any, of imported goods that pass beyond the Protectorate into the country further inland, but I submit a return showing an estimate of the quantities and values of duty-paid imports which were bought at Freetown out of stock entered for home consumption, and cleared for places outside of the Colony and the Protectorate.

W. J. P ELLIOTT,
Collector of Customs.

HER MAJESTY'S CUSTOMS,
FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE, 26*th August* 1898.

XC.

RETURN showing total value of Yearly Exports from the Colony of Sierra Leone during the undermentioned period.

Date.	Produce and Manufactures of the Colony.	British, Foreign, and other Colonial Produce and Manufactures.
1888, . . .	£239,734 17 2	£99,308 2 8
1889, . . .	241,603 5 1	78,115 18 7
1890, . . .	234,333 9 8	114,985 6 2
1891, . . .	437,017 2 11	40,638 7 9
1892, . . .	301,951 3 11	118,500 2 11
1893, . . .	298,910 10 5	99,753 18 0
1894, . . .	316,608 18 5	109,890 6 2
1895, . . .	354,427 4 10	98,176 19 9
1896, . . .	348,937 17 0	100,095 1 9
1897, . . .	315,763 10 1	84,984 2 4

W. J. P. ELLIOTT,
Collector of Customs.

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XCI.

TABLE showing distances in day's journeys between Freetown and various places in the Protectorate.

Number of Days.	Kaure Lahun via Mongheri and Panguma.	Falaba via Kambia and Yana.[1]	Falaba, Port Lokko and Bumban.	Mongheri via Rokell, Matotoka and Yele.	Tikonko via Senahu East and Bompe Mendi.
1	Waterloo	Kambia (Canoe)	Port Lokko (Canoe)	Rokell (Canoe)	Waterloo
2	Kebal	Kaukubramia	Kholifa	Maconte	Kebal
3	Rotofunk	Kukuna	Rotata	Rosint	Rotofunk
4	Senahu	Kamasasa	Bendembu	Ropohim	Senahu
5	Kwellu	Samaiya	Madina	Masorie	Kwalu
6	Makorch	Yana	Karene[2]	Mabum	Makorch
7	Taiama	Samaiya	Bumban	Matotoka	Taiama
8	Gundema	Kamakwi	Surinumuya	Patafu	Senahu East
9	Monagheri	Katiri	Katimbo	Yele	Jama
10	Gonahun	Karasa	Koukoba	Taiama	Bompe
11	Jarra	Kamalifi	Bafodia	Gundema	Tikonko
12	Goma	Bafodia	Musaiya	Mongheri	
13	Luma	Musaiya	Sinkunia		
14	Panguma	Sinkunia	Falaba		
15	Kaura Lahun	Falaba			

[1] Carriers sent direct to Falaba need not pass Yena. In such cases the time will be two days less than the above.

[2] Freetown to Karene—four days.

XCII.

RETURN showing Total Yearly Value of Specie imported into the Colony of Sierra Leone during the undermentioned period.

Year.	Imperial Government.	Colonial Government.	Individuals.	Total.
1888	.....	.....	£7,553 0 0	£7,553 0 0
1889	.....	.....	7,557 14 3	7,557 14 3
1890	.....	.....	18,536 14 11	18,536 14 11
1891	.....	.....	15,039 10 1	15,039 10 1
1892	.....	.....	5,753 2 3	5,753 2 3
1893	£333 0 0	.....	6,362 17 8	6,695 17 8
1894	5,000 0 0	.....	9,666 2 11	14,666 2 11
1195	.....	.....	8,966 5 3	8,966 5 3
1896	.....	£1,750 0 0	20,638 18 0*	22,388 18 0
1897	.....	7,000 0 0	4,044 16 1†	11,044 16 1
	£5,333 0 0	£8,750 0 0	£104,119 1 5	£118,202 1 5

* This large increase over previous years is due to Specie imported by the Bank of British West Africa.

† This decrease is due to the falling off in the Cola-nut Trade between this place and Bathurst, Gambia, Goree, Senegal, and Dakar.

W. J. P. ELLIOTT,
Collector of Customs.

CUSTOM HOUSE,
SIERRA LEONE, 29*th September* 1898.

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COMPARATIVE TABLE of the Customs

IMPORT

Article.	Rate.	1870.	1871.	1872. Increased to	1872. Decrease.	1873.	1874. Increased to	1874. Decrease.	From 1875 to 1881.
Ale and Porter,	Per Gallon,	-/6					No change.		
Do. in quarts,	„ Dozen,	1/-					„		
Do. in pints,	„ „	-/6					„		
Bacon and Hams,	„ Cwt.,	5/-		...	Free.		„		
Beef and Pork,	„ „	5/-		...	„		„		
Bread and Biscuits,	„ „	2/6		...	„		„		
Bricks,	„ 1000,	5/-		...	„		„		
Butter,	„ Cwt.,	8/-		...	„		„		
Candles, not Tallow,	„ „	9/-		...	„		„		
Cartridges, Rifle Balls,	„ 100,	4 % *ad valorem*		...	„		5/-		
Clocks under 20s. value,	„ Each,	5/-		...	„				
Do. above 20s. value,	„ „	10/-		...	„		No change.		
Cheese,	„ Cwt.,	5/-		...	„				
Cigars,	„ 1000,	8/-		2/- a lb.			„		
Fish, Dried,	„ Cwt.,	1/-		...	„		...		
Do., Pickled,	„ Barrel,	2/-		...	„		...		
Flour, Wheat,	„ „	5/-	No change.	...	„	No change.	...	No decrease.	No change.
Do., Other than Wheat,	„ „	2/-		...	„		...		
Guns, Trade Flintlock,	„ Each,	4 % *ad valorem*		...	„		1/-		
Do., Percussion,	„ „	„		...	„		2/-		
Do., Rifle Muzzle-Loader,	„ „	„		...	„		5/-		
Do., Breach-Loading, Single, or Double-Barrelled,	„ „	„		...	„		10/-		
Do. Do., Rifle,	„ „	„		...	„		20/-		
Gunpowder,	„ Barrel,	-/9		2/-	...		3/-		
Hardware of all kinds,	„ Cwt.,	See Iron Bars, Hoops, Pots, etc.							
Herrings, Smoked,	„ Box,	-/3		...	Free.		No change.		
Horses,	„ Each,	20/-		...	„		„		
Iron Bars,	„ Cwt.,	1/6		...	„		„		
Iron Hoops,	„ „	1/6		...	„		„		
Iron Pots,	„ „	2/-		...	„		„		
Lard,	„ „	5/-		...	„		„		
Lumber,	„ 1000 feet,	See Masts, Spars, Pitch and White Pine.							
Nails,	„ Cwt.,	2/6		...	Free.				
Petroleum,	„ O.W. Gall.,	4 % *ad valorem*		...	...				
Pitch and Tar,	„ Barrel,	1/-		...	Free.				
Salt,	„ Ton,	4 % *ad valorem*		...	...				
Sausages, Tongues and other Meats, Dried or Cured,	„ Cwt.,	8/-		...	„				
Soap,	„ „	2/6			Free.				
Slates and Tiles,	„ 1000,	6/-			„				
Spirits. Brandy,	„ Gallon,	1/2	1/6	2/-	...				
Spirits. Cordials,	„ „	1/2	1/6	2/-	...				
Spirits. Geneva,	„ „	1/2	1/6	2/-	...				
Spirits. Rum,	„ „	1/2	1/6	2/-	...				
Spirits. Whiskey and other Spirits,	„ „	1/2	1/6	2/-	...				
Sugar, Refined,	„ Cwt.,	10/-			Free.				
Do., Crushed,	„ „	8/3		No change.	„				
Do., Muscavado,	„ „	6/-			„				
Tea,	„ lb.,	-/3			„				
Tobacco,	„ „	-/1½		-/4	...				
Masts and Spars in aver. diam.	„ inch,	-/2			Free.				
Pitch Pine,	„ 1000 ft.,	7/6			„				
White Pine,	„ „	5/-		No change.	„				
Shooks,	„ Each Bundle,	1/-			„				
Shingles, Cypress,	„ 1000,	2/-			„				
Do., Boston or Pine,	„ „	1/-			„				
Staves and Heading,	„ „	2/-		No change.	„				
Wine, not Claret,	„ Gallon,	1/-		1/6	...				
Wine, Claret,	„ „	1/-			-/6				
Other Goods,	4 %	*ad valorem.*			Free.				

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Tariff of Sierra Leone from 1870 to 1898.

[marked $\frac{A}{1}-\frac{A}{4}$ in original].

DUTIES.

1882.	1883. Increased to	From 1884 to 1887.	1888.		1889.	1890.	1891 and 1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
						No	change						-/6
							,,						1/-
							,,						-/6
	No change.		5 %	...	5 %	7½ %		No	change		10 %		10 %
	,,										In brls. 3d. per 50 lbs.		In bls. 3d. per 50 lbs.
	,,		5 %	...	5 %	7½ %			,,		in other pkgs. 10 %	No change.	in other pkgs. 10%
	,,												
	,,		5 %	...	5 %	7½ %			,,		10 %		10 %
	,,												
						No	change						5/-
	No change.		5 %	...	5 %	7½ %		No	change		10 %	10 %	10 %
						No	change						2/- per lb.
	...		5 %	...	...	7½ %		No	change		10 %		10 %
	...		5 %	...	...	7½ %			,,		In brls. 3d. per 50 lbs.		In brls. 3d. per 50 lbs.
	2/6					No	change						2/6
	4/-						,,						4/-
	...						,,						5/-
	...						,,						10/-
	...						,,						20/-
	6/-						,,						6/-
	...		3/-				,,						3/-
	No change.		5 %	...	5 %	7½ %	,,				10 %	10 %	10 %
	,,					No	change						Free.
	,,												
	,,		See	Hard	ware.								3/-
	,,												
	,,		5 % *ad*	*valorem*		7½ %		No	change		10 %	10 %	10 %
			8/-			No	change						8/-
			See	Hard	ware.								3/-
-/6						No	change						-/6
			5 %	...	...	7½ %		No	change		10 %	10 %	10 %
			3/-						,,		8/-	8/-	8/-
			5 %	...	...	7½ %			,,		10 %	10 %	10 %
			5 %	...		7½ %			No change.		10 %		10 %
				...						3/- per Impl. Gal., whether Proof or under Proof.			3/-
				...									3/- Impl. Gal. whether Proof
				...				3/- per Proof Gallon.					3/- Impl. Gal. whether Proof
	No change.		No change.	...		No change.					No change.	No change.	3/- Impl. Gal. whether Proof
				...									3/- Impl. Gal. whether Proof
				...									3/- Per Impl. Gal. whether Proof or under Proof.
			10/-	...							7/6		7/6
			10/-	...							7/6		7/6
			5/-	...							2/6		2/6
			5 %	...		7½ %					10 %		10 %
	-/6		...	-/4		No change.					No change.		-/4
			5 %	...		7½ %					10 %	10 %	10 %
			...	...		No					See Lumber.		
			5 %	...		change.							
			5 %	...		7½ %					10 %	...	10 %
			5 %	...		7½ %					10 %	...	10 %
			5 %	...		7½ %					10 %	...	10 %
			5 %	...		7½ %					10 %	...	10 %
	No change.		No change.	...		...					No change.		1/6
			1/-	...		...							1/-
			5 %	...		7½ % *ad valorem*					10 % *ad valorem*	...	10 %

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IMPORT

Article.	Rate.	1870.	1871.	1872.		1873.	1874.		From 1875 to 1881.
					Decrease.				
ISLES DE LOS.									
Wharfage on :—									
Lumber,	Per 1000 feet,	3/9	...	...	Abolished.	...	Ten Shillings per ton when landed at the Government Jetty.*	..	...
Shingles, Cypress,	„ 1000,	2/-	...	...		...		...	...
Do., Boston or Pine,	„ „	1/-	...	...		...		...	...
Bricks,	„ „	3/-	...	...		...		...	...
Slates or Tiles,	„ „	3/-	...	...		...		...	...
Lime,	„ Hogshead,	2/-	...	...		...		...	...
Salt,	„ Ton,	5/-	...	...		...		...	...
Other Goods,	„ „	5/-	...	...		...	10/-	...	...
*Except Coals, Coke, and Patent Fuel,									
Auction Duty,	On Sales above £50,	2 %							No
	On Sales below £50,	1 %							

EXPORT

Article.	Rate.	1870.	1871.	1872.		1873.	1874.		From 1875 to 1881.
							Increased to		
Ground Nuts,	Per Impl. Bushel,	...	Nil,	...	...	-/¾	-/1	No change.	...
Do. in Shell,	Per Cwt.,	...	„	...	...	...	...		...
Do. Decorticated,	„ „	...	„	...	...	...	...		...
Palm Kernels,	Per Impl. Bushel,	...	„	...	...	...	-/1		...
Benni Seed,	„ „	...	„	...	...	...	-/1		No change.
Cola Nuts,	Per Cwt.,	...	„	...	...	...	5/-		
Palm Oil,	Per Impl. Gallon,	...	„	...	...	...	-/1		
Gum Copal,	Per Cwt.,	...	„	...	...	...	-/2		
Hides,	Each,	...	„	...	...	...	-/2		

PORT

Article.	Rate.	1870.	1871.	1872.		1873.	1874.		From 1875 to 1881.
Light Dues,	Per Ton,	-/3	...	-/3	...	...	-/3	...	...
Tonnage Dues,	Each Voyage,	1/6	...	-/6	...	...	-/6	...	...
Harbour Dues—									
Vessels under	10 Tons,	2/6		No change.				2/6	No
„ of 10 and „	30 „	5/-			„			5/-	
„ 30 „	50 „	7/6			„			7/6	
„ 50 „	80 „	12/6			„			12/6	
„ 80 „	100 „	17/6			„			20/-	
„ 100 „	150 „	20/-			„			...	
„ 100 „	200 „	...			„			30/-	
„ 150 „	200 „	30/-			„			...	
„ 200 „	250 „	40/-			„			...	
„ 200 „	300 „	...			„			50/-	
„ 250	300 „	45/-			„			...	
„ 300 „	350 „	50/-			„			...	
„ 300 „	400 „	...			„			60/-	
„ 350 and upwards	...	60/-			„			...	
„ 400 „	...	...			„			100/-	

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DUTIES—*Continued.*

1882.	1883.	From 1884 to 1887.	1888. Increased to	1888. Decrease.	1889.	1890.	1891 and 1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
						No Specific Duties to be levied. All landed at Isles only liable to *ad valorem*.		Duties to Goods de Los 7½ %	The present applicable to all Goods into Isles		Tariff of the Colony is de Los.		
Free.	...	...	...	...	...	Wharfage abolished by Ordinance No. 16 of 1890.							
...	...	...	...	...	...								
...	...	...	...	...	...								
Free.	...	...	...	...	...								
„	...	...	...	...	...								
„	...	...	...	...	...								
„	...	...	...	...	...								
...	...	...	...	...	...								
change.											Abolished.		

DUTIES.

1882.	1883.	From 1884 to 1887.	1888.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891 and 1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
No change.		...	...	All Export Duties abolished by Ordinance No. 14 of 1887.									
-/3	No change,		...										
-/2	...	„	...										
-/2	...	„	...										
-/2	...	„	...										
...	Free,	...	...										
...	„	...	...										
...	„	...	...										
...	„	...	...										

DUES.

1882.	1883.	From 1884 to 1887.	1888.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891 and 1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.
...	...	...	...	...		No change.	...	...	...	...	...	...	3/-
No change.		...	...	...	...	Abolished by		Ordinance		No. 13 of	1887.	...	...
													2/6
													5/-
													7/6
													12/6
													20/-
													...
change.													30/-
													...
													...
													50/-
													...
													...
													60/-
													...
													100/-

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XCIV.

RETURN showing yield of TOTAL CUSTOMS

Year.	Petroleum.	Surcharges.	Export Duty on Produce.	Auction.	Tonnage.	Light.	Harbour.		Ad Valorem on Imports.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1870	...	...	...	113 1 1	4,504 14 6	754 9 0	507 10 0	4 %	4,130 0 11
1871	...	...	...	87 9 10	4,875 18 0	817 0 9	553 0 0	...	4,238 9 6
1872	...	...	...	53 14 10	3,985 3 0	924 6 9	576 2 6	...	3,928 6 6
1873	Ground nuts		1,949 8 2	122 6 7	2,046 1 6	1,063 3 0	647 2 6	...	...
1874	...	...	3,470 5 7	134 3 7	1,944 10 0	989 7 0	643 7 6	...	...
1875	...	...	6,470 2 7	70 17 1	2,503 5 0	972 16 2	612 2 6	...	...
1876	...	...	6,178 3 10	134 7 8	2,352 19 0	973 7 0	553 15 0	...	...
1877	...	...	6,423 4 1	32 17 10	2,521 2 6	1,034 16 9	563 10 0	...	...
1878	...	...	6,918 18 10	53 16 1	2,786 11 0	1,134 5 3	599 2 6	...	...
1879	...	...	9,774 3 0	57 7 4	3,401 1 0	1,482 4 0	743 10 0	...	...
1880	...	...	6,680 13 8	47 0 0	3,117 5 0	1,303 7 6	610 0 0	...	...
1881	...	...	6,488 16 7	36 14 11	2,360 7 0	1,059 8 0	480 10 0	...	...
1882	...	...	7,788 15 0	2 2 2	2,814 5 6	1,246 18 6	547 15 0	...	...
1883	...	...	6,150 14 10	4 3 1	2,773 10 6	1,310 8 3	576 15 0	...	...
1884	...	...	6,190 3 8	1 17 10	2,399 14 6	1,225 9 6	568 18 0	...	...
1885	0 2 6	1 0 0	5,431 10 10	3 2 5	2,347 18 6	1,262 3 3	501 5 0	...	...
1886	...	...	5,117 14 7	6 9 2	2,330 12 0	1,196 0 0	503 10 0	...	...
1887	...	...	5,160 6 3	1 2 5	1,378 11 6	1,143 2 9	457 5 0	...	...
1888	...	...	137 15 11	3 17 6	...	1,494 4 0	593 17 6	5 %	8,313 18 7
1889	...	...	...	...	...	1,684 9 3	657 15 0	...	9,317 3 6
1890	...	...	...	2 15 4	...	2,054 5 9	729 10 0	7½ %	12,330 7 10
1891	...	...	...	2 16 2	...	2,185 14 6	810 12 6	...	17,770 4 9
1892	...	...	...	1 6 6	...	2,106 19 9	797 12 6	...	17,510 7 5
1893	...	...	...	3 4 9	...	2,182 12 6	759 0 0	...	17,838 1 9
1894	...	...	...	2 8 8	...	2,655 12 0	886 0 0	...	19,139 16 7
1895	...	...	...	2 15 11	...	2,638 19 9	861 0 0	...	17,105 10 0
1896	...	...	...	...	...	2,584 2 9	780 0 0	7½ & 10 %	22,093 13 2
1897	...	...	...	...	...	2,689 12 6	677 12 6	10 %	24,385 19 3

N.B.—The marked decrease in the revenue for the year 1892 is due to the operation of the Firearms and Amunition Ordinance
In 1893 there were decreases in revenue upon Spirits, Kerosine, Hardware, Lumber, etc., but they were counterbalanced
In 1896 the decrease is due to less receipts on Gin, caused by Merchants withdrawing from Bond considerable quantities

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Revenue during the undermentioned periods. [marked $\frac{C}{1}$ in original].

Specific.	Bonds.	Warehouse Rent.	Treble Rent.	Wharfage on Lumber.	Wharfage.	Total.	Percentage of Increase or Decrease from Year to Year.	
							Increase.	Decrease.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.		
4,308 15 6	21,128 9 3	170 15 9	47 0 4	101 17 2	1,429 11 3	37,196 4 8	...	...
4,827 2 6	25,818 13 6	289 18 9	52 19 9	66 17 9	1,474 16 3	43,102 6 7	16	...
4,387 3 7	33,275 7 9	329 6 1	84 9 5	94 11 2	1,104 18 9	48,743 10 4	13	...
6,519 14 5	31,158 12 1	343 14 4	133 9 1	...	...	43,983 11 8	...	9·77
6,323 15 2	33,203 5 4	218 17 0	62 19 5	...	991 4 2	47,981 14 9	9	...
8,211 5 10	26,884 5 6	184 16 1	169 4 1	...	4,767 4 3	50,845 19 1	6	...
10,774 3 4	22,989 14 0	156 13 1	80 11 1	...	4,141 3 0	48,334 17 0	...	4·94
6,668 9 7	27,825 1 8	147 6 1	110 18 6	...	3,885 8 8	49,212 15 8	1	...
6,036 1 11	33,178 16 3	193 17 7	152 7 1	...	4,964 11 11	56,018 8 5	13·1	...
6,878 3 8	35,703 10 1	878 7 5	93 10 1	...	5,609 2 7	64,620 19 2	15·3	...
6,260 10 6	38,760 0 9	891 15 9	63 16 1	...	6,013 1 11	63,752 11 2	...	1·35
32,022 4 0	9,771 15 5	652 1 0	41 16 3	...	4,510 9 11	57,424 3 1	...	9·93
36,251 18 7	...	780 9 8	29 9 11	...	4,380 5 1	53,841 19 5	...	6·24
36,205 8 9	...	709 14 7	41 4 9	...	4,593 4 2	52,365 3 11	...	2·75
46,680 9 10	...	901 1 7	46 5 5	...	4,558 13 4	62,572 13 8	19	...
40,423 4 1	...	918 8 8	46 5 3	...	4,211 2 7	55,146 3 1	...	11·86
34,437 3 10	...	880 3 0	38 12 0	...	3,709 15 10	48,220 0 5	...	12·56
33,824 5 3	...	1,012 17 9	51 9 8	...	4,176 12 3	47,210 12 10	...	2·1
35,428 10 11	...	1,279 1 9	35 3 5	...	3,942 18 7	51,229 8 2	8	...
39,716 14 10	...	1,202 0 3	37 10 9	...	3,858 8 0	56,479 1 6	10	...
41,479 18 1	...	1,306 13 1	29 18 1	...	2,384 0 4	60,317 8 6	6	...
52,228 6 8	...	1,387 18 0	40 5 4	...	1 14 5	74,427 12 4	23	...
51,894 14 2	...	1,554 6 5	103 0 0	...	1 2 11	73,969 9 8	...	·62
54,332 16 10	...	1,188 3 7	75 17 1	...	1 14 2	76,381 10 8	3	...
60,661 8 2	...	1,372 2 4	91 2 7	...	...	84,808 10 4	11	...
65,473 10 7	...	1,325 1 2	111 7 8	...	...	87,518 5 1	3	...
52,669 1 8	...	1,089 3 9	111 9 10	...	...	79,327 11 2	...	10
58,489 9 7	...	727 7 1	122 18 0	...	...	87,092 18 11	9	...

No. 3 of that year, as well as less importation of Kerosine.
by increases on Tobacco and Cotton Goods.
at end of 1895, previous to operation of Ordinance No. 19 of that year, which came into force on 1st January 1896.

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XCV.

RETURN showing total number of Crafts cleared from Freetown for the Northern Rivers, together with the Value of Goods Exported therein during the year 1896.

Months.	No. of Vessels.	Duty-paid Goods.		Good Exwarehouse.	Remarks.
		Prime Value of Goods.	Value at Port of Shipment.	Prime Value of Goods.	
January, .	37	£2128 3 4	£2155 6 11	£3385 1 1	
February, .	36	2385 15 3	2412 10 7	4235 13 6	
March, . .	34	2263 14 1	2295 15 7	3464 17 6	
April, . .	36	1499 17 2	1511 5 9	1566 9 0	
May, . .	28	1214 18 7	1228 1 6	2088 10 3	
June, . .	24	1403 10 9	1413 13 8	1384 12 2	
July, . .	33	1818 5 0	1832 1 7	1367 2 9	
August, . .	32	1151 16 2	1163 3 2	973 5 11	
September, .	28	724 19 8	835 19 7	1930 4 7	
October, .	48	2723 0 5	2759 17 8	2202 10 6	
November, .	53	1560 16 2	1591 19 1	2150 13 8	
December, .	51	1778 6 1	1797 6 1	3140 12 7	
	440	20,653 2 8	20,997 1 2	27,889 13 6	

XCVI.

RETURN showing total Value of Yearly Imports into the Colony of Sierra Leone during the Years 1888 to 1897—exclusive of Specie.

Date.	Value of Imports.	Remarks.
1888	£319,424 10 1	The value of Railway Material imported cannot be ascertained as it is included in Colonial Government importations. But quite approximately, the value may be considered as 1896, £23,968; 1897, £16,312.
1889	328,269 9 0	
1890	371,370 19 8	
1891	438,338 12 8	
1892	407,364 2 9	
1893	410,769 16 8	
1894	463,358 9 2	
1895	418,371 10 1	
1896	474,049 2 5	
1897	451,344 7 5	

W. J. P. ELLIOTT,
Collector of Customs.

XCVII.

RETURN showing total yield of Customs Revenue during the undermentioned period.

Date.	Amount.	Remarks.
1898		
January to June, . .	£40,699 0 8	
July to September, . .	21,277 2 7	

W. J. P. ELLIOTT,
Collector of Customs.

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NOTE A.—p. 24.

Previous to the deputation referred to in paragraph 57 of the text, viz. about February 1897, the Chiefs of the Sherbro and adjacent countries had met Sir Frederic Cardew at Freetown, to make representations concerning the Protectorate Ordinance; the Chiefs said they did not agree to the Ordinance; they objected to the new laws being imposed on them without consultation with them, and without their consent, appealing to their obligations under Treaties, as showing that they were not absolutely subject to the Queen of England, although they gladly acknowledged their position as friends; they said they had not sold their country or their lands, or the rights of their Kings and Chiefs to the Queen. They objected strongly to paying hut tax, saying that the huts were built by their labour for sleeping-places, as men could not sleep in holes in the ground. The slave question was also referred to, the Chiefs disclaimed slave-dealing in the sense of selling slaves. They objected to their practice of pawning children being abolished, one species of which was merely the placing of a child in charge of some elderly discreet person for training, the other species, in which a loan was given in respect of the person was, they said, never resorted to except under very urgent necessity. Sir F. Cardew told the Chiefs that all that was in the Ordinance must be carried out; the Chiefs left expressing themselves as in no way satisfied. After returning to their own country they stopped trading as a measure of passive resistance to the new Ordinance.

NOTE B.—pp. 9 and 66.

Since the foregoing Report was written, Sir F. Cardew has, in support of his view that the people of Sierra Leone advised the Chiefs not to pay the Hut Tax, drawn attention to a letter written apparently by Chief Tucker of Bullom to a friend in Freetown, dated 29th April 1897, from the tenor of which he infers that there was then an agitation in Freetown against the Protectorate Ordinance, and that Chief Tucker was being advised by influential inhabitants "to protest against the right of the Government to impose license and house "tax, on the grounds that Native Chiefs were not subject to Her Majesty, as they had not "ceded to the Crown sovereign rights over their Territories." The main business of Chief Tucker's letter seems to have been to inform his friend as to steps he had been taking for recovering some debts due to him: he is apprehensive that a Sierra Leone lawyer he had employed, wishes to play a trick on him by getting him to take out Letters of Administration, which he believes will have the effect of causing him to lose his status as an independent Chief. He says, "Principal Officers in the Government and of the Munici-"pality, formed in Sierra Leone to protest against the Ordinance," have advised him not to take Letters of Administration, and refers to a number of steps for recovering his debts, which he means to follow. He also says that he is directed to write to the Secretary of State, representing the rights of Native Chiefs "to our lands under Protectorate to Her Majesty's "Government, and not a ceded one, and the inconsistency of license being imposed on us "in Sherbro, and house taxes." This letter is quite in accord with the view I already stated, that there was a decided opinion in Freetown against several of the provisions of the Ordinance, quite possibly communicated to Chiefs, but not therefore to be taken as the foundation of the Chiefs' knowledge, or as having created his opinions. In the letter under reference there is not the slightest indication that advice had been given to resist the law. If opposition had been suggested, it was entirely of the constitutional kind, by way of remonstrance and petition.

It is not to be doubted that the Chief of Bullom, as well as other Chiefs who (or whose predecessors) had made Treaties with the English Government, knew the position which had been assigned to them in these Treaties, viz., that of independent contracting powers, and as the Chiefs, having territories along the littoral of the Protectorate, had all made such Treaties, to which the Sub-Chiefs and headmen were also parties, there must have

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been a very large aggregate of active knowledge on this subject, for it would be an entire mistake to suppose that matters of historic importance like the making of treaties with the English Crown, are not fully remembered in their spirit and details, and several allusions to the subject are made in the oral evidence. Nor is it to be doubted that feelings of amazement, if no other, were aroused when the Chiefs found that in the Protectorate Ordinance they were dealt with as being now under the absolute rule of England, as represented by the Government of Sierra Leone, and had new laws imposed on them, especially taxation laws, and laws taking away the Chief's jurisdiction, authorising their deposition and the banishment of persons from the districts on undefined grounds, and without hearing, without any consent on their part. There was a conspicuous example of adherence to the Treaty ideas in the case of Fahwoondah, the Paramount Chief of the Manoh country, who came to Freetown in January 1898 along with other Chiefs, to lay before Sir F. Cardew objections they felt to the new Ordinance. He was so confident that he still occupied the same position of a contracting party, and not a British subject, as had been assigned to him in an agreement for cession of territory he and other Chiefs had made with Governor Sir Henry Havelock in October 1883, that he used expressions in writing to the Secretary for Native Affairs founded on that view of his position, stating that the object of the visit was to treat on the subject of the new Ordinances, and that these Ordinances "practically affect and set aside entirely the soverign rights of the kings "of those countries" to which the Ordinances applied. The Chief was informed that the Ordinances had been explained already, and further, that no communication from him would be acknowledged unless addressed through the District Commissioner of Bandajuma. Afterwards the Chief sent a further letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, in which he adhered to the idea of being treating as to Foreign relations. Sir F. Cardew caused him to be informed that his letter was most disrespectful and disloyal, that he was a subject of the Queen, that he must send a written apology before noon of the next day, withdraw his letter, and quit Freetown within twenty-four hours, and that failing obedience he would recommend his deposition. Fahwoondah replied disclaiming all intention of acting improperly, apologising and asking to withdraw his letter, but he drew attention to expressions in the agreement of 1883 justifying his mode of writing. Sir F. Cardew refused to accept his apology, and deposed him from his position as a Chief. Afterwards this Chief was imprisoned in virtue of Ordinance 14 of 1898, and after having been detained for five months in the gaol at Freetown, was released without any charge having been made against him.

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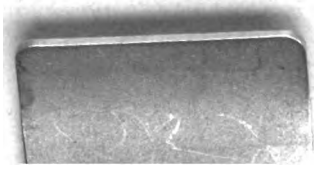
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