



Government and Politics in the Gambia, 1816–1866

David Perfect

To cite this article: David Perfect (20 Oct 2024): Government and Politics in the Gambia, 1816–1866, The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, DOI: [10.1080/03086534.2024.2375870](https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2024.2375870)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2024.2375870>



© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 20 Oct 2024.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Government and Politics in the Gambia, 1816–1866

David Perfect


University of Chester, Chester, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the key features of government and politics in the Gambia from Bathurst's foundation in 1816 to the establishment of the British West African Settlements in 1866. Drawing on both contemporary and more recent primary and secondary sources, as well as on information provided by family members of officials and merchants who worked in the Gambia, the paper focuses on two main issues. First, it builds on and develops the work of Anthony Kirk-Greene by exploring the overall characteristics of the three key groups of political actors: senior Gambian government officials; British and Eurafican merchants and traders; and the local African community. Second, it examines the relations between these groups and how these changed over time. In the case of government officials, it also considers their relations with the Colonial Office and between one another. Where possible, comparisons are made with the other British West African colonies of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.

Introduction

Government and politics in the 50 years between the foundation of Bathurst in 1816, which marks the beginning of permanent British colonial rule in the Gambia, and the establishment of the British West African Settlements in 1866 centred on the changing relations between three main groups. These were Gambian government officials; resident British and Eurafican (mixed race) merchants, some of whom were linked with commercial establishments in London; and Africans living within the colony. The groups differed in size numerically and were not mutually exclusive; merchants sometimes also held official positions and officials were occasionally simultaneously involved in commerce. The extent of the political influence they wielded also changed over time and the groups were sometimes internally divided.

CONTACT David Perfect  david.m.perfect@btinternet.com

© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

All three groups were either exclusively male or male-dominated. Very few European women lived in the colony during this period, apart from the wives of missionaries.¹ Moreover, while important economically and socially, African women were not as influential politically as some Wolof women called *signaras* (or *senoras*) were in the French colony of Senegal.² Apart from officials and merchants, the only other permanent European residents were a few Wesleyan Methodist (from 1821) and Roman Catholic missionaries (briefly in the early 1820s and then from 1849) and (intermittently) the Anglican chaplain.³ These religious leaders generally steered clear of politics, although Methodist missionaries criticised the Gambian government for its approach towards slavery in the 1830s and British merchants for abusing the apprenticeship system prior to its abolition in 1839.⁴ At the top of the pyramid of colonial rule was the Colonial Office in London, headed by the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (until 1854) and thereafter by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.⁵

This paper draws on primary sources, particularly Colonial Office files at the UK National Archives in Kew, London; earlier secondary sources, particularly the work of Florence Mahoney in the 1960s and 1970s and David Perfect and Arnold Hughes from 2006; and information on the family history website, Ancestry, supplemented in some cases by family members of officials and merchants working in the Gambia at the time.⁶ The paper first provides an overview of the key political and economic developments to set the context. It then follows the work of Anthony Kirk-Greene by exploring the overall characteristics of the three groups as far as the available information permits.⁷ Next, it examines the changing relations between each group and in the case of officials, within the group, illustrating these with examples of alliances and disputes between individuals. Where possible, comparisons are drawn with the other British West African colonies of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone.⁸ The paper concludes by assessing the implications for our understanding of colonial rule in West Africa during this period and outlines areas of possible future research.

Context⁹

In March 1661, a British naval squadron led by Robert Holmes captured St. Andrew's Island on the River Gambia and renamed it James Island. Over the next century, the British maintained intermittent control over the area from their fort on James Island, although on five separate occasions between 1695 and 1779, Fort James was captured by French forces. On the last occasion, it was blown up by the French and almost completely destroyed. Governor Charles MacCarthy of Sierra Leone ordered Captain Alexander Grant, an officer of the 2nd West India Regiment, to rebuild Fort James. Finding it beyond repair, Grant instead purchased Banjul Island from Tomani Bojang,

the King of Kombo, in April 1816. He renamed the island, St Mary's, and constructed a new town which he called Bathurst after Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. Originally a military settlement, Bathurst's civilian population increased when the great majority of British merchants and traders transferred there from Gorée in Senegal, which reverted to French rule in 1817. They were accompanied by their Wolof and Eurafrican wives, partners and families and their servants.¹⁰

Bathurst's recorded population rose to 2,227 (1830), 4,262 (1851) and 4,591 (1871). Around 90 per cent of the inhabitants were African, the recorded resident European population fluctuating between 24 (1830) and 55 (1871). The number of Eurafricans, officially called Mulattoes in the Gambia and usually the children of marriages and relationships between European men and Wolof women in Senegal or their descendants, varied between 122 (1826) and 186 (1830). Their population was not recorded after 1833 except in the 1901 Census. Meanwhile, the colony's total area expanded only slightly through the acquisition of MacCarthy Island (1823), the Ceded Mile (1826) and British Kombo (1840, 1853), while its total population rose from 3,666 in 1833–14,190 in 1871.¹¹

After the Gambia's previous (nominal) ruler, the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, was wound up in May 1821, a Crown Colony was established. It was administered locally by the Commandant of St Mary's Island until 1830, then by a Lieutenant-Governor (1830–43), and thereafter by a Governor (1843–66). The Commandant and Lieutenant-Governor reported directly to the Colonial Office on political matters, but the Gambia was dependent for its legislation and administration of justice on the longer established British colony of Sierra Leone. Moreover, lacking the usual machinery of government in British colonies, an Executive and a Legislative Council, the Gambia could not pass its own laws. After a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1842 recommended that each West African territory be granted its own administration, the Gambia became a separate colony in June 1843. Executive and Legislative Councils were established, a Chief Justice appointed and the Gambia became responsible for its own legislation, subject to Colonial Office approval.¹² There was unofficial representation on the Legislative Council from the outset. However, unlike in Sierra Leone, where John Ezzidio, a Liberated African merchant originally from Nigeria was elected to Sierra Leone's Legislative Council in 1863, no African was appointed to the Gambia's Legislative Council until J. D. Richards in 1883.¹³

As recommended by a Parliamentary Select Committee in 1865, the Colonial Office reorganised the administration of the British West African colonies in February 1866. The Governor was replaced by an Administrator, who was required to report to the Governor-in-Chief of the British West African Settlements, the Governor of Sierra Leone, rather than directly to the Colonial Office. The Chief Justice was replaced by a Chief Magistrate and the post of Colonial

Secretary removed in 1867. In addition, the Executive Council was abolished and the Legislative Council downgraded with its membership reduced from eleven at the end of 1865 to four in 1867.¹⁴

The colony's total revenue and expenditure remained very small throughout the period, with annual revenue only exceeding £10,000 for the first time in 1851 and peaking at £19,079 in 1866. Customs receipts from duties imposed on manufactured goods, clothing and foodstuffs imported from Europe by British merchants provided the colony's main source of revenue, although in 1863, an export tax was imposed on groundnuts, by now the colony's leading export. Although there was little expenditure on anything other than the salaries of officials, there were budget deficits in all except three years between 1849 and 1866.¹⁵

Except during the Barra War between the government and the King of Niimi, Burangai Sonko, in 1831–32 and, the briefer conflict between the government and the King of Niani, Kemintang Kamara, in 1835, the colony's hinterland, the Gambia Valley, remained largely peaceful until the late 1840s.¹⁶ However, during the 1850s and 1860s, there was intermittent warfare between the 'Soninke' (the traditional rulers of many of the small kingdoms along the Gambia River) and reformist Muslim forces called 'Marabouts'. These wars, which continued intermittently until the 1890s, impacted indirectly on the Gambian government which had to decide how to respond.¹⁷

Characteristics of Senior Government Officials

Between 1816 and 1829, the colony was administered by the Commandant of St Mary's Island. Grant was usually the office holder until his retirement in 1826 when he was replaced by Major Alexander Findlay, who was promoted to Lieutenant-Governor in December 1829 and arrived back in Bathurst in January 1830. Findlay was promoted again to Governor of Sierra Leone in February 1830 and left Bathurst in April. His substantive successors as Lieutenant-Governor were George Rendall (1830-37), Major William Mackie (1839), Commander Henry V. Huntley (1840-41) and Commander Henry F. Seagram (1843). Appointed in January 1843, Seagram arrived in April and was promoted to Governor in June but died of fever in August 1843. Commander Edmund N. Norcott was appointed Governor in October 1843 but before he could sail to West Africa, his appointment was rescinded in March 1844. Norcott was followed by Commander Charles FitzGerald (1844-47), Richard G. MacDonnell (1847-52), Major L. Smythe O'Connor (1852-59) and Colonel George A. K. D'Arcy (1859-66). There were also two Acting Lieutenant-Governors between 1816 and 1866, Anthony Clogstoun (1837-39) and Thomas L. Ingram I (1839-40, 1841-43), and four Acting Governors, Ingram (1843-44, 1847), John I. Mantell (1844), Daniel Robertson (1851-52, 1854-55, 1856-57, 1859, 1861, 1862, 1864) and C. Beresford Primet (1865).¹⁸

Four of the eleven permanent heads of government (HOGs) during this period (D'Arcy, Findlay, Grant and O'Connor) were serving army officers, while Mackie was a retired one; another four (FitzGerald, Huntley, Norcott and Seagram) were naval officers who had previously helped suppress the external slave trade in West Africa as part of the West Africa Squadron. Thus only two permanent appointees (MacDonnell and Rendall) were civilians. In contrast, in Sierra Leone, almost all permanent HOGs from 1828 onwards were either civilians or long retired military officers.¹⁹ Civilians also mainly governed the Gold Coast, although two HOGs, Henry W. Hill (1843-45) and Sir William Winniett (1846-49, 1850) were former West Africa Squadron naval officers.²⁰ All five acting HOGs (Clogstoun, Ingram, Mantell, Primet and Robertson) were civilians. Of the sixteen men, six (FitzGerald, Ingram, MacDonnell, Norcott, O'Connor and Primet) were born in Ireland. Three or four (Findlay, Grant, Robertson and probably Mackie) were born in Scotland; Clogstoun was born in Trinidad; and only four (D'Arcy, Huntley, Mantell and Seagram) were born in England. Rendall's origins are not known. Compared with Sierra Leone, the Gambia appears to have had an unusually high proportion of Irish and Scottish-born heads of government.²¹

Five HOGs were the sons of the gentry or professionals. FitzGerald's father was a country gentleman from County Clare; MacDonnell's, the provost of Trinity College, Dublin; Mantell's, a surgeon; and both Huntley and Seagram were the sons of Anglican clergymen. In addition, Clogstoun's father was Trinidad's Collector of Customs; Primet's the Chief Clerk in the Coast Guard's office in Dublin; D'Arcy's a senior officer in the Royal Artillery; and Ingram's, a linen draper. The occupations of the fathers of Findlay, Grant, Mackie, Norcott, O'Connor and Robertson are unknown. When first becoming the HOG on a permanent or acting basis, FitzGerald was in his 50s; D'Arcy, Findlay, Grant, Huntley, Mackie, Norcott, O'Connor and Seagram in their 40s; and Ingram, Mantell, MacDonnell, Primet, Rendall, and Robertson in their 30s. Clogstoun was in his early 20s but his appointment occurred in exceptional circumstances. After the deaths in August/September 1837 of the Colonial Secretary, Andrew Hunter, and then Rendall, both probably from yellow fever, Clogstoun, the First Writer (the Colonial Secretary's secretary) was now the most senior surviving official.²²

Since being selected to head the Gambian government was often a route to more prestigious appointments, unsurprisingly no HOG had headed a government elsewhere, although Findlay, Huntley, FitzGerald, MacDonnell, O'Connor and D'Arcy all subsequently governed other colonies on a permanent basis.²³ Three others, Mackie, Rendall and Seagram died in office of fever, an indication that the Gambia's reputation as a very unhealthy colony, while sometimes exaggerated, was not without foundation.²⁴

The first Executive Council in 1843 contained three men appointed by the Colonial Office because of their official positions: the (Acting) Governor,

Ingram, the (Acting) Colonial Secretary, Mantell, and the Collector of Customs, Thomas W. Richards. A fourth official, the Queen's Advocate (a post held at the time by Mantell while simultaneously Acting Colonial Secretary) was added in May 1845. Together with the most senior legal official, the Chief Justice (who sat in the Legislative Council from October 1843, but not in the Executive Council), these positions can be considered the most senior ones after the Governor.²⁵ The *Blue Books* prepared by the Colonial Office show that between 1827 and 1866, there were four Colonial Secretaries, William Hutton (1827-30), Hunter (1830-37), Ingram (1840-49) and Robertson (1849-66); seven Collectors of Customs, J. M. Berry (1827-30), John Bland (1830-c.1832), Edward Buckton (1835-39), Richards (1840-51), Henry Robson (1851-54), M. L. Levey (c. 1855-58) and G. Hastings Kneller (1858-69); five Queen's Advocates, Richard C. Pine (1839-40, 1856-62), Mantell (1840-47), Sidney Billing (1847-51), A. B. Fenton (1852-56) and Thomas L. Ingram II (1863-66); and two Chief Justices, MacDonnell (1843-46) and Mantell (1847-66).²⁶ At least two others besides Hunter (Fenton and Robson) died in office, as did Richards shortly after being suspended. However, Mantell and Robertson remained in the colony for long periods and only retired to Britain when their posts were abolished on, or soon after, the establishment of the British West African Settlements.²⁷

Characteristics of British, Eurafrican and African Merchants and Traders

Whereas the *Blue Books* provide a comprehensive record of officials employed in the colony each year, only occasional lists of resident merchants and traders survive. There were always relatively few merchants and traders involved in the Gambian trade. George C. Redman, a London merchant who had been engaged in it since 1816, informed the 1842 Parliamentary Select Committee that 17 distinct establishments 'principally merchants' had been involved since he had 'known the trade', although no more than four at any one time.²⁸

In 1826, Findlay was instructed by Governor Neil Campbell of Sierra Leone to appoint nine leading merchants or traders to an advisory board of commerce. Those selected were Edward Boccock, William Forster, William H. Goddard, Charles Grant, Charles Johnston, Edward Lloyd, Jean Francis Pellegrin, William Waterman and John Wynne. In 1829, 12 merchants and traders agreed to support an initiative by the Acting Commandant, Hutton, to promote commerce up the River Gambia. These were Boccock, Thomas Chown, J. James S. Finden, Forster, Goddard, Charles Grant, Thomas Ingram, James Johnston, Thomas Joiner, Lloyd, William Milling and Wynne. In June 1834, Rendall informed the Secretary of State that 'the principal merchants are Messrs. Forster, Finden, Chown and (John) Messervy, Charles Grant, Edward Lloyd, Boccock and Goddard'.²⁹

Most of this group of 16 men were British or Irish, while Messervy probably came from Jersey. Pellegrin was a Eurafrikan from Senegal, while Joiner was a Mandinka who had been sold into slavery in the United States as a child. Having managed to purchase his freedom, he returned to West Africa around 1808 where he traded from Gorée before transferring to Bathurst. None were French; French merchants were based at Albreda, further up the River Gambia, until 1857 and the first French firm (Maurel Frères) was not established in Bathurst until 1860.³⁰ Moreover the majority of the group, including Chown, Forster, Goddard, Charles Grant, Joiner, Charles Johnston, Lloyd, Waterman, Wynne and probably Bocock, had previously been based in Gorée. In most cases, their backgrounds are unknown, although Chown was a former master mariner, Lloyd had been an officer in the Royal African Corps and Goddard was the son of a small-scale Wiltshire haberdasher.³¹

As Mahoney notes, few merchants were entrepreneurs (Goddard was an exception), but rather 'the majority began as agents for private merchants of London interested in the African trade'.³² These London merchants did not maintain their own establishments in the Gambia (or indeed elsewhere in British West Africa). As Redman informed the Parliamentary Select Committee, since around 1817, the London merchants had sent out goods on credit to their West African agents, charging them a commission, which meant that the agents, rather than the London merchants, bore the risk of commercial failure.³³ James Finden, for example, arrived in West Africa around 1821 probably to work as the agent of Robert H. Harrison of London. He initially focused on the gum trade with Portendic. Assisted by his younger brother, Francis W. Finden, from the early 1830s, he apparently later formed a partnership with Harrison, but gave up his commercial activities when Harrison withdrew from the Gambian trade around 1838. After applying unsuccessfully for the vacant position of Lieutenant-Governor, James Finden returned to the Gambia and was appointed Superintendent of Colonial Works and Acting Colonial Engineer in 1840. He also resumed his trading activities.³⁴ Part of a wealthy North East England shipping family, Forster moved to Gorée around 1815 before transferring to Bathurst in 1817. He served first as the agent of Forster and Company and then of Forster and Smith, which was founded around 1819. Forster and Smith's senior partner, Matthew Forster (William Forster's elder brother) introduced the commission system described above and helped make the company one of the most important business houses trading in West Africa.³⁵ Some merchants, however, appear to have been independent of the London business houses and instead formed partnerships with one another. In the early 1820s, Goddard and Grant did so to export timber, while Chown and Messervy established a relatively short-lived partnership in the 1830s; it was dissolved in 1836 not long after Messervy had organised an attack on the house of John Cupidon, a Wolof Methodist missionary on MacCarthy Island, over a land dispute.³⁶

By the early 1840s, the 'first generation' merchants had been joined by a younger group of men born around 1810. The most important of these were Thomas Brown and John Hughes, who were socially and politically closely allied. Of unknown birthplace and background, Brown was probably aged only 18 when he was appointed Private Secretary to the Acting Commandant, William Hutton, in 1829. After Hutton's dismissal from government employment in 1830, Brown briefly worked as a clerk for Forster and Smith (and for the government), which ended when he had a very public affair with Thomas Ingram's 'country wife', Mary.³⁷ Probably thanks to the financial assistance of his father-in-law, David Hickenbotham, a successful wine merchant, he then established his own company around 1835. He initially formed a partnership with Edward Kent Brewer, but from 1838 traded on his own account as Thomas Brown & Company while probably simultaneously acting as the agent of W. B. Hutton & Company, one of only two remaining London merchant houses left in the Gambia trade in 1842 (the other was Forster and Smith). Hughes was a Eurafrican, the son of Thomas Hughes, who had traded at Gorée before 1817, and a Wolof *signara*. Educated in England, he returned to West Africa around 1825 and worked as a clerk before becoming a merchant by the early 1840s while simultaneously working as an agent for Forster and Smith. He died in January 1844, probably because of the long-term effects of an injury he had sustained during the 1831 Barra War.³⁸

By 1850, most first generation merchants, including Chown, Forster, Charles Grant, Johnston, Joiner and Lloyd had either died or retired to Britain, although Goddard was still engaged in trade.³⁹ Very few completely new businesses were established in the later 1840s, 1850s and 1860s, since most first generation merchants handed over their businesses to their sons or other close relatives. One exception was the firm set up by Thomas F. Quin. Born in Dublin in 1818, Quin had been appointed Acting Queen's Advocate in June 1839 and become the substantive office holder in March 1840. He resigned as First Writer in November 1848 and became a merchant, but retained various government positions (presumably to ensure a regular source of income) until 1855. Indeed, he may only have resigned his positions because a London business complained to the Secretary of State that he had failed to pay bills incurred in 1848. Quin eventually retired to Clapham, Surrey, England, with his Eurafrican son, Thomas F. J. Quin, taking over the family business.⁴⁰

More commonly, however, 'second generation' merchants were relatives of the first generation merchants. After Thomas Chown I died in Bathurst in 1845, his son, Thomas Chown II, took over the family business; he retired to Edmonton, Middlesex, in 1869. In turn, his son, Thomas Collingwood Chown, worked in the family business in the 1860s and 1870s. When W. H. Goddard retired to live in Hampstead, London, in 1865, he was succeeded in the family business (later renamed the Gambia Trading Company) first by his nephew, William Goddard, and then by his great-nephew, Henry C. Goddard.

After Edward Lloyd's death in 1847, his business was probably taken over by his nephew, Richard. Thomas Brown's son, David, joined his father in the Gambia around 1860 and had become a co-partner by around 1867.⁴¹

Most merchants aspired to make enough money to retire to England and some were very successful. When he died in 1872, W. H. Goddard's effects were valued at between £40,000 and £50,000, equivalent to between £6.1 and £6.8 million in 2023. T. F. Quin died in August 1883 and when his estate was revalued in January 1884, it was worth £52,138 (£7.8 million in 2023 prices). Thomas Chown II lived to the age of 99; after his death in 1915, his effects were valued at £73,453 (£9.7 million in 2023 prices). In contrast, Thomas Brown remained in Bathurst until his death in 1881; his estate was valued in February 1882 at £2,574 (£373,000 in 2023 prices). His firm then ceased to trade, David Brown having predeceased him in 1877.⁴²

Of course not all businesses were successful. Some merchants certainly failed and even went bankrupt, in the Gambia as elsewhere in West Africa. J. G. Nicholls, the Secretary of the London-based Committee of Merchants, informed the 1842 Parliamentary Select Committee that the West African trade had been 'decidedly' bad for merchants and that the 'great majority' of London African merchants had failed in the previous 25 years. Redman argued that of the 17 distinct commercial establishments in the Gambia, three had become bankrupt, while a further five (including his own) had 'abandoned the trade with loss' and a further seven had withdrawn for unknown reasons. The bankruptcies included that of James Hook, in the 1830s and Thomas Ingram I, who turned to trade after his dismissal from government employment in 1849, but eventually went bankrupt in 1860.⁴³

Characteristics of Resident Africans

It is likely that in the 1820s, most Africans living in Bathurst were Wolof who had transferred to the Gambia from Gorée and Saint-Louis with their European employers or been sent there by their *signara* owners. There were also some 'Liberated Africans'. Africans of diverse ethnic origin who had been freed from slavery by the West Africa Squadron, a small number of Liberated Africans came from Freetown to help with the construction of the new settlement. Some Mandinka may also have moved into the town from neighbouring localities. During the 1830s, the composition of the colony's African population changed due to the large-scale, organised, immigration of Liberated Africans from Freetown. Between 1831 and 1835, more than 2,500 Liberated Africans were transported to the Gambia, compared with less than 500 prior to 1831. Consequently their number rose from under 100 in Bathurst in 1826 to about 1,800 in 1834, while in 1841, Lieutenant-Governor Huntley estimated the size of Bathurst's African population at 3,500, of whom 1,400 were Liberated Africans and the remainder primarily Mandinka and Wolof.

Unfortunately, the 1851 and 1871 Censuses (none was conducted in 1861) did not seek information on ethnic origin; in 1881, the African population of Bathurst was 6,138 of whom the largest proportion (2,875 people) were described as ‘natives of British Gambia’. These were most likely Wolof born in the colony or the descendants of Liberated Africans. In addition, there were 825 ‘natives of Sierra Leone/Liberated Africans’, 829 Wolof (but presumably not born in the colony), 757 Jola, 189 Mandinka and 505 other Africans.⁴⁴

Excluding the Eurafrikan merchants, Pellegrin and Hughes, and Joiner, only a few Africans in the colony had significant economic or political influence prior to the later 1840s. Some African converts to Christianity had assumed leadership positions within the Methodist Church, notably two former Wolof slaves, John Cupidon (the victim of Messervy’s attack) and Pierre Sallah, who were taken on as missionaries and school teachers.⁴⁵ One reason for the lack of Liberated Africans in higher posts was that many of those who transferred from Freetown in the 1830s were in poor health and their mortality rate was extremely high; the survivors tended to be apprenticed to British merchants. Gradually, however, thanks primarily to the efforts of the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who had established schools in the early 1820s, an increasing number of Wolofs and Liberated Africans became literate in English (many also converted to Christianity).⁴⁶ Consequently, by the early 1840s, some were employed as clerks with the government or the merchants, while by the 1860s, a few had gained higher-level, although not senior, posts in government employment. For example, Seymour Gay, a Wolof government pensioner originally from Gorée, was appointed Superintendent of Police in November 1862 and remained in post until his resignation in February 1867.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, African advancement within government employment was slow compared with the Gold Coast. There James Bannerman, the merchant son of a Scottish father and African mother, was appointed Acting Lieutenant-Governor in December 1850, while an African merchant associated with Forster and Smith, Joseph Smith, served as the colony’s Collector of Customs and Acting Colonial Secretary.⁴⁸

Relations Between the Colonial Office and the Gambian Government

At the apex of government of Crown Colonies was the Colonial Office. However, it could not, and did not, reserve all powers to itself; some were devolved to HOGs through the formal instructions they received when appointed.

As in other colonies, the Colonial Office was responsible for appointing the HOG, in the Gambia, first the Lieutenant-Governors and then the Governors, on a fixed salary. It was the generally accepted practice from 1828 that HOGs were appointed for a maximum of six years although in the Gambia, Rendall, O’Connor and D’Arcy all served longer terms.⁴⁹ In most instances, we do not know how Gambian HOGs were selected, although probably most wrote

to the Colonial Office to request the appointment for themselves or to recommend others. This was certainly the case after Rendall's death. Between November 1837 and July 1838, at least six individuals applied for the vacant post for themselves or were nominated by others, although neither Mackie, who was eventually selected, nor Acting Lieutenant-Governor Clogstoun apparently did so.⁵⁰ However, on at least one occasion, the Colonial Office seems to have taken the initiative. In his memoirs, Huntley stated that a fellow naval officer asked him if he wished to become Lieutenant-Governor (presumably at the Colonial Office's behest). Huntley subsequently wrote to the Secretary of State to request the post, but then heard nothing more until his appointment was announced in *The London Gazette*.⁵¹ To what extent the Colonial Office considered prior service in the Gambia (or at least West Africa) when making its choice is unclear. It probably did so over the appointment of Findlay as the first Lieutenant-Governor, given his past experience as Commandant; of Rendall, because of previous employment in Sierra Leone; and of MacDonnell who had served as Chief Justice for four years before he was appointed Governor. However, that Mackie was chosen over those with more experience of West Africa suggests this was not a critical factor, while Ingram was passed over for promotion to permanent Lieutenant-Governor despite his long experience in the colony.

Sometimes a provisional appointment of a HOG was made, but later rescinded, and even a confirmed appointment, published in *The London Gazette*, could be revoked. Following Rendall's death, it took the Colonial Office a year to choose his successor. Two of the six candidates, James Hook and Captain Ethelred Hawkins, were provisionally appointed before objections by Forster and Smith resulted in the Secretary of State, Baron Glenelg, rescinding them. When it became known in January 1838 that Glenelg had provisionally appointed Hook, Matthew Forster of Forster and Smith condemned the decision on the grounds that Hook had twice been declared bankrupt and had allegedly failed to repay his creditors. Faced by this mounting criticism, Glenelg gave way and the appointment was cancelled. A furious Hook, who emphasised the extent of his support in Bathurst and that he was backed by most of the London merchants engaged in the West African trade, denounced Forster's 'malignant conduct'. When Glenelg then provisionally appointed Hawkins, a former army officer, rather than Forster's preferred candidate, the former Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Findlay, Forster complained that Hawkins was unacceptable due to his lack of education and 'the fact of his having filled a menial situation in the service of a merchant in that very colony which it is proposed that he should govern'. Hawkins had also been implicated in a case of bigamy (although as the innocent party). Once again, Glenelg backtracked and the appointment was cancelled, a clear indication of Forster's influence.⁵²

The most unusual case concerned Edmund Norcott who successfully applied for the vacancy caused by Seagram's death, his application being supported by a group of influential friends. The Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, was impressed by Norcott's military credentials (and probably his good political connections) and appointed him in October 1843; this was publicly announced in *The London Gazette* on 20 November. However, before he could set sail for the Gambia (his voyage was delayed by a cholera epidemic), Norcott had an affair with a French woman, 'Rosalie' in Boulogne, while his wife was in London. Norcott's unscrupulous Private Secretary, Thomas Castle Horton, then tried to blackmail him over his affair and when Norcott refused to pay him off, Horton sent their detailed correspondence to Stanley. Stanley concluded that Norcott was no longer a suitable person to serve as Governor since his authority would be completely undermined if Horton published the correspondence. When Norcott refused to withdraw his acceptance of the position, Stanley rescinded the offer in March 1844 and Norcott was never again offered preferment by the Colonial Office.⁵³

As in other colonies, the Colonial Office appointed some other senior officials, while the HOG appointed junior officials. The HOG also made acting appointments to senior posts which the Colonial Office usually confirmed. The Colonial Office was also responsible for promoting individuals to more senior and lucrative colonies or dismissing them, usually after the HOG had suspended them. During this period, of the 17 men who held senior positions below the rank of HOG, no fewer than six (Billing, twice, Ingram (I), Kneller, Levey, Pine and Richards) were suspended. Billing, Ingram, Kneller, Levey and Pine were dismissed, while, as noted, Richards died while currently suspended.⁵⁴ In the Gambia, as in the other British West African colonies, the number of suspensions made by particular HOGs varied; none by Rendall are known, whereas MacDonnell suspended Billing, Ingram and Richards. Similarly, in Sierra Leone, Lieutenant-Governor Henry D. Campbell was notorious for suspending officials.⁵⁵ In addition, Hutton was dismissed as Colonial Secretary by the Secretary of State in April 1830, although in this case he was not apparently suspended first by the HOG, Findlay, who had in fact recommended his appointment as Acting Commandant in March 1829. Rather, the Colonial Office took action over Hutton's excessive expenses claims submitted after his upriver expedition; it was also concerned that Hutton had negotiated treaties with local rulers without prior discussion.⁵⁶

The Colonial Office was also responsible for deciding whether a colony should have Executive and Legislative Councils and for their initial composition. That the Gambian Executive Council should contain the Governor, Colonial Secretary and Collector was laid down in Seagram's instructions on his promotion to Governor in 1843. The Colonial Office also approved an increase in the number of Executive Councillors to four, with the addition of the Queen's Advocate, in 1845 but rejected MacDonnell's request to appoint

Brown to the Legislative Council in 1847 (over a year before his actual appointment) on the grounds that there was no vacancy.⁵⁷ New legislation was usually discussed first in the Executive Council before consideration in the Legislative Council over which the Governor presided. All legislative ordinances had to receive the formal assent of the Colonial Office, which had the power to amend or even reject them, before they became acts. In addition, as Seagram's instructions made clear, there were significant restrictions on what legislation the Legislative Council could pass; for example, the Governor was specifically prohibited 'not to propose or assent to any ordinance whatsoever whereby Our revenue might be lessened or impaired.'⁵⁸

The Colonial Office also retained responsibility for the colony's external relations and could approve or reject treaties drawn up by Gambian government officials and signed by local rulers outside the colony's borders (those made by Hutton were nullified). It could also prevent a Governor adopting a more aggressive policy in the Gambia Valley; for example, the Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, refused to finance or support Governor O'Connor's wish to annex the whole of the kingdom of Kombo in 1853.⁵⁹

These restrictions on the HOG's authority might suggest that they lacked any real power and simply carried out the instructions of the Colonial Office to the letter. However, this was not the reality in the Gambia, or indeed in the Gold Coast or Sierra Leone. London was a long way away and communications with the Gambia were very slow, especially before the telegraph was introduced in 1885.⁶⁰ HOGs sometimes had to make instant decisions and their actions were generally ratified by the Colonial Office. After the deaths of Hunter and Rendall in 1837, for example, the surviving officials had to act straightaway to ensure the continuance of government; this was also the case after the deaths of Mackie in 1839 and Seagram in 1843. Where there was a military threat to the colony, as after the outbreak of the Barra War in 1831, Rendall had to respond immediately. Generally speaking too, the Colonial Office did not reject acting appointments and usually endorsed the suspensions of senior officials. A partial exception was Billing; as discussed below, he was suspended twice, in 1849 and 1851, but in the first instance, his suspension was reduced to a reprimand and he was allowed to return to the colony by the Colonial Office against MacDonnell's wishes.⁶¹

Relations Between Merchants and Officials

Although British merchants were not as powerful as their counterparts in the Gold Coast, which was governed by a Council of Merchants between 1828 and 1843, they nevertheless played an influential role in the Gambia Crown Colony from its foundation.⁶² This was inevitable in view of its dependence for its revenue on taxes on imports from Europe supplied by the merchants. Although commercial rivals, they generally sought to agree on policy to

ensure their collective voice was heard; before his death in 1849, they usually met at William Forster's house on Wellington Street in Bathurst to do so.⁶³ Until the Legislative Council was established in 1843, the merchants relied on informal conversations with officials to ensure their views were taken on board by the Gambian government, but in such a small community as Bathurst, this was a relatively easy task. They could also draw up formal petitions, which might be endorsed by officials, to the Secretary of State to achieve their policy aims. They could also ask the London merchants involved in the Gambia trade to lobby the Colonial Office on their behalf. That William Forster was the younger brother of Matthew Forster of Forster and Smith was significant; although only a few letters from William Forster have so far been located, the two men clearly corresponded regularly which enabled Matthew Forster to draw on first-hand evidence from the Gambia to support his arguments.⁶⁴ Matthew Forster's influence was shown most clearly when he persuaded Glenelg to withdraw the provisional appointments of Hawkins and Hook. In a broader West African context, his main achievement was to undermine the conclusions of Dr Robert R. Madden, the commissioner whose report was considered by the 1842 Parliamentary Select Committee of which he was a member, having been elected MP for Berwick upon Tweed in 1841. Accused by Madden of having a nefarious influence in the Gold Coast, Forster was not sanctioned by the committee.⁶⁵

During the 1820s and most of the 1830s, relations between the merchants and the Gambian government were good. Merchants were consulted regularly by the Commandant and apparently considered that Findlay had acted consistently to protect their interests. They also backed William Hutton's expansionist aims. In turn, Rendall generally supported the merchants. In 1834, for example, he endorsed their petition which protested against the anomaly of having to accept inappropriate legislation from Sierra Leone and called for the establishment of a Legislative Council and a separate Gambian judiciary.⁶⁶ However, relations between merchants and officials deteriorated after Rendall's death. A group of merchants, including Brown, Hughes and Charles Heddle, a Euro-African trader with commercial ties to Forster and Smith, complained that Acting Colonial Secretary Ingram's 'conduct and proceedings ... tend to frustrate the due execution of the Laws in this Settlement'. They drew up a petition, which was headed by Heddle and signed by 10 other merchants and traders, including Brown, F. W. Finden, Goddard, Hughes and Pellegrin, that expressed a lack of confidence in Ingram. They also called for a change in the process by which the Colonial Secretary automatically took over the administration in the Governor's absence. However, the petition was never sent since Ingram informed Heddle that: 'I have no hesitation to pledge my honor that I will never assume or retain the Govr of this Colony, should the departure for Europe of the present Govr or any other circumstance warrant my doing so without the concurrence of the Inhabitants and Merchants'. He also wrote a

short note of endorsement to a broadly similar effect.⁶⁷ Despite this, Ingram later became HOG on four separate occasions.

Conflict between some (but not all) merchants, particularly Brown and Hughes, and the government, especially Ingram and Mantell, resurfaced in the early 1840s over what this group of merchants considered to be maladministration of justice. Officials and merchants concurred about the problems caused in criminal cases by the lack of a Gambian Chief Justice until MacDonnell's appointment in 1843; the colony thus depended for criminal trials on the Chief Justice of Sierra Leone who visited periodically at best.⁶⁸ However, they disagreed about the handling of civil cases, including those relating to commerce. Under the 1821 charter setting up the Crown Colony, a Court of Common Pleas, headed by a Judge and three Assistant Judges, had been established, with these posts apparently usually being filled by merchants. However, in April 1832, the Colonial Secretary (and unpaid King's Advocate), Andrew Hunter, was appointed as the Judge by the Sierra Leone Council, meaning that officials were now involved in the Court's administration.⁶⁹ Some merchants became concerned when Huntley appointed John Mantell, previously the Commandant of MacCarthy Island, Queen's Advocate in September 1840 following Pine's dismissal. They objected to Mantell's appointment partly because he now held multiple posts and heard appeals against judgments he had himself made in lower courts and partly because of his lack of legal qualifications; he only enrolled at the English bar in November 1841. Their concerns increased when Huntley appointed Alexander Ingram, the younger brother and political ally of Thomas Ingram I, an Assistant Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in January 1841, and were not alleviated when, as Acting Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Ingram appointed Goddard as another Assistant Judge in August 1842.

In October 1842, various merchants, including Brown and Charles Grant, called for Mantell's dismissal as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas due to his 'very grave misconduct and want of probity and integrity' and accused Thomas Ingram of exerting official pressure in the courts through his brother. The group was aggrieved that in a case involving domestic slavery, the Court had found in favour of Captain Alexander Findlay, the son of the former Lieutenant-Governor. Appointed Commandant of MacCarthy Island by Ingram in February 1841, Findlay had prosecuted some African traders, whom the merchants employed as agents, for slave-dealing in the upper Gambia River. The Gambian government strongly supported both Mantell and Ingram. Seagram stated that Mantell had been 'the object of a series of attacks' by the merchants, which originated in 'strong party feeling', while Mantell complained of 'the falsehood and malevolence' of his opponents.⁷⁰ The Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, who was perhaps swayed by the fact that Goddard, and possibly other merchants like the two Thomas Chowns, apparently endorsed the government's stance, accepted Seagram's arguments.

Far from losing his position, Mantell was appointed Acting Colonial Secretary by Ingram in November 1843, served as Acting Governor in 1844 and became Chief Justice in 1847 in succession to MacDonnell on the recommendation of FitzGerald, the former Governor.⁷¹

Brown and Hughes then attempted, in September 1843, to change the succession process for acting appointments as HOG. By the mid-1830s, it had been established in the Gambia that the Colonial Secretary should assume office in the HOG's absence or death. In 1841, Pine had argued that, as in Sierra Leone, the Queen's Advocate should take over in these circumstances, but the Colonial Office rejected the idea. Now Brown and Hughes argued that precedence should be given to the newly appointed Chief Justice, MacDonnell. Whether MacDonnell covertly supported the idea is unknown, but a furious Ingram swiftly denounced it, arguing that the Chief Justice was 'by far the least fitted from his position of any of the Colonial Officers, to fill the post of Acting Governor'. Ingram, who also complained in May 1844 that Brown, Charles Grant and James Finden (Hughes having since died) were the instigators of 'a party highly inimical to the Authorities at the Gambia' won over the Colonial Office and the petition was ignored.⁷²

When MacDonnell became Governor in 1847, relations between the merchants and officials improved considerably. The merchants welcomed MacDonnell's abandonment of the expensive construction of a lock with sluice gates at the Malfa Creek begun by FitzGerald to prevent flooding in Bathurst. They also approved of MacDonnell's aggressive policy against hostile local African rulers who threatened their commercial interests and his attempts to curb smuggling by French traders.⁷³

After 1843, as well as continuing to petition the Colonial Office, the merchants used their presence on the newly established Legislative Council to influence government policy. The first unofficial member was Goddard, who attended the inaugural meeting in November 1843 (although his official appointment dated from May 1844) and served regularly until his retirement in 1865. A second merchant, Richard Lloyd, the agent of Forster and Smith, was added in 1847 and a third, Thomas Brown, in 1849. The Legislative Council minutes reveal that in the 1850s Brown was particularly active, frequently speaking in debates and often proposing amendments to government legislation.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the merchants' power was limited by the Colonial Office's insistence on retaining an official majority on West African Legislative Councils. It resisted pressure from European merchants in the Gold Coast to grant an unofficial majority when its council was established in 1850. Similarly, in the Gambia, official members still outnumbered unofficial ones by four to three on the Legislative Council even after Brown's appointment.⁷⁵ Thus as long as the official members were present and remained united, the merchants could not block undesirable government policies since they would be outvoted. Moreover, they were not directly represented on the Executive Council where policy was initiated.

The situation changed in the early 1860s. First, in August 1861, Brown was appointed Acting Queen's Advocate, due to a lack of officials, and automatically became a member of the Executive Council, while simultaneously remaining on the Legislative Council. He remained on the Executive Council until its abolition in 1866 even after Thomas Ingram II was appointed the substantive Queen's Advocate in April 1863. This meant that he could influence government policy on behalf of himself and other merchants before legislation reached the Legislative Council. Second, Brown established a close working relationship with Kneller, the Collector of Customs who was automatically a member of the Executive Council. As a result of their alliance, Governor D'Arcy was provoked to inform the Executive Council in April 1864 that much time and 'some scandal' had been caused by officials opposing his measures; he added that this was unconstitutional since they were expected to support government policy in the Legislative Council.⁷⁶

Relations of Africans with Officials and Merchants

Before the late 1840s, there is limited evidence of a collective African political identity amongst either Wolofs or Liberated Africans. By the early 1840s, Wolof clerks employed by the merchants (but not the government) were signing petitions to the Colonial Office on policy matters, a first stage in greater involvement in local politics, but these petitions were headed by British merchants and the clerks were perhaps instructed to sign.⁷⁷ Separately, Thomas Reffles, a Methodist of Ibo origin, who had been one of the first Liberated Africans to settle in Bathurst, founded the first Friendly Society (for men and women of Ibo origin) in 1842. This association aimed to ensure that members could pay their burial expenses and to offer some assistance to unemployed members. Other Friendly Societies followed, some being organised by groups of Liberated Africans along ethnic lines and others, such as a Shipwrights' Society formed around 1850 by Senegal Fye, a shipwright, on an occupational basis. Their leaders (or headmen) exercised a degree of social control over their members.

Friendly Societies were not initially political organisations, but by the late 1840s, this had changed. Providence Doyery (c. 1816-1863), a Liberated African Anglican convert, and Reme Lome, members of a Friendly Society based in the Soldier Town area of Bathurst established the Committee of the Black Inhabitants, which organised (in August 1849) the first major petition to the Secretary of State (Earl Grey) that Africans, rather than British merchants, headed. It was thus the first expression of collective African opinion in the Gambia. Signed by 139 of the self-proclaimed 'principal Black inhabitants', the petition criticised MacDonnell's administration and called for his removal from office. MacDonnell claimed the petition was instigated by Thomas Ingram I and it was dismissed by Grey. Despite this setback, Friendly

Societies grew in importance during the 1850s. After Reffles' death in 1849, Harry Finden, a Methodist of Ibo origin who owned a shop in Bathurst selling spirits and wines, assumed the leadership of the Liberated African community. Lacking Legislative Council representation, Liberated Africans again resorted to petitions to the Colonial Office. Finden also directly appealed to MacDonnell's successor, O'Connor, who was more sympathetic to the local African population than his predecessor. After a meeting between the two men, O'Connor pushed two bills through the Legislative Council that sought to protect African artisans against their merchant employers. One, in 1856, abolished the 'truck' system that had allowed merchants to pay their employees partly in cash and partly in goods which they valued well above the normal retail price in Bathurst. The other, in 1858, repealed certain clauses in the Grumetta Act that had allowed magistrates (who were usually merchants) to impose punishments (including hard labour) on artisans who refused to work for wages offered by employers. The Colonial Office had requested O'Connor to repeal the provision which he agreed to do against the wishes of the merchants, two of whom, T. F. Quin and W. H. Selby, resigned as magistrates over the issue.

Matters came to a head under O'Connor's successor, D'Arcy. The merchants used their influence on the Legislative Council to block measures that would improve the social and economic conditions of the local African population but were deemed too costly. In September 1862, Finden organised a petition over the 1850 Rates Ordinance. Since only British merchants benefitted from the ordinance (the districts in which they resided acquired street lamps and were now patrolled by policemen), the petitioners argued that they should pay higher rates. D'Arcy was sympathetic, but the merchants successfully blocked a repeal of the ordinance in 1863. Strong opposition from the merchants also forced D'Arcy to withdraw a proposed Bankruptcy Bill in 1865, which would have prevented debtors, who were often Africans trading up river for European merchants, being imprisoned without trial even when there was no evidence of fraud or misappropriation. In addition, Brown used his position on the Executive Council to ensure that increased taxation fell on commodities traded by Liberated Africans (or French businesses) rather than by British merchants. The merchants also forced legislation designed to curb Friendly Societies' activities through the Legislative Council against protests by Liberated Africans led by Harry Finden. Such was their influence that in evidence to the 1865 Parliamentary Select Committee, the Colonial Secretary, Daniel Robertson, agreed with the suggestion that the 'great mercantile interest' was the ruling interest in the Gambia.

As his legislative initiatives showed, D'Arcy was initially sympathetic to emerging African political opinion, and as late as August 1864, a large number of Liberated Africans signed a petition praising him and calling for his term of office to be extended. However, by December 1865, he had

become so estranged from the Liberated African leadership that he could believe a wild claim by the French Consul in Bathurst that Finden was behind a plot to kill all the Europeans in the town. Kneller and Brown, wished him to declare martial law, but the other two unofficial members of the Legislative Council, Goddard and T. F. Quin, were sceptical about the rumours and martial law was not declared.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, at the end of the period, relations between the HOG and the African political leadership remained tense.

Relations Between Heads of Government and Other Senior Officials

Colonial Office files reveal that correspondence between London and Bathurst sometimes concerned disputes between HOGs and other senior Gambian government officials. The extent of the conflict should not be exaggerated; where relations were harmonious, they were only reported if the HOG endorsed an application from an individual for preferment or promotion. For example, in 1847, Earl Grey awarded Thomas Ingram I, then the Colonial Secretary, the honorary title of Lieutenant-Governor on the recommendation of Governor FitzGerald in recognition of his long service in the colony. This brought no financial reward, but was 'valued as a title of higher rank' whenever Ingram administered the colony.⁷⁹

The historian, J. M. Gray, who examines the bitter conflict in the 1770s between Acting Governor Matthias McNamara, the Governor of Senegambia, and his deputy, Joseph Wall, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Gambia, in detail, surprisingly does not mention the nineteenth century disputes between senior officials. Indeed, despite referring several times to Thomas Ingram I, Gray does not mention his dismissal from office in 1849. In fact, long-running disputes between the HOG and other senior officials, which resulted in an extensive correspondence with the Colonial Office, were quite common in West Africa; one example was the conflict in Sierra Leone between Norman Macdonald, who rose from Second Writer in 1830 to Governor in 1846 with Lieutenant-Governors Findlay and Henry Campbell.⁸⁰

To illustrate the disputes between the HOG and senior officials, the three most important ones in the period are examined below. All occurred over a ten-year period and involved at least one of the following: Thomas Ingram I, Richard MacDonnell and Richard Pine.

First, in August 1840, the Queen's Advocate, Pine, asked Lieutenant-Governor Huntley to forward a letter to the Secretary of State in which he expressed his 'utter inability to pay that respect and deference' to Ingram as Acting Governor 'which the dignity of the Office demands'. He did so on the basis of a package of documents which he claimed had been left by an unknown person at his house. These documents referred to Ingram's statement in 1838 that he would never head the administration without the merchants' consent.

However, Huntley, who held Ingram in high regard, refused to forward the letter unless Pine could provide attested true copies of the documents he claimed to have found. He also demanded the originals and asked Pine to explain why he had kept these. When Pine refused to do this, he was suspended by Huntley. Subsequently dismissed by the Colonial Office which backed Huntley, Pine regained his old position in 1851.⁸¹

The second, and the most bitter, dispute occurred in 1848–49 and again involved Ingram. Shortly before Ingram travelled to London in May 1848 for an extended period of leave due to poor health, Governor MacDonnell informed the Secretary of State, Earl Grey, that Ingram had been accused of embezzlement by the Clerk of Works, William Thompson, and that he was dissatisfied with Ingram's response. Thompson's allegations referred to the voucher system used to authorise small amounts of expenditure. MacDonnell explained that the voucher system aimed to make it easier for the government to buy goods for public buildings from itinerant African long-distance traders who did not speak or understand English and might spend only a few hours in the colony. This made it impossible to draw up and receipt a voucher for the purchase. The approach adopted was to substitute 'a false name for the real seller; and making a party, who was quite a stranger to the transaction, appear as the party selling the goods, and signing the receipt for the money paid'. MacDonnell considered the practice 'most objectionable' since there was 'no guarantee to the Government of the reality of any sale'. To make matters worse, the vouchers only contained limited information. MacDonnell also believed that any fraud had been masked by the colony's accounting system. Three sets of annual accounts (based on quarterly accounts) were prepared. One was sent to the Audit Office in London, the second was retained by the Governor and the third by the Colonial Secretary in his capacity as the colony's Accountant (for part of this period, the Acting Colonial Secretary was Alexander Ingram who had been appointed by his brother). The sets in the Gambia should have been held in the appropriate government office, but according to MacDonnell, contrary to his instructions and his own promise, Ingram had taken one set for 1847 to London in 1848.⁸²

The dispute dragged on over the next few months, with Thomas Ingram continuing to protest his innocence in London and MacDonnell interrogating Alexander Ingram in Bathurst. In March 1849, matters escalated when Thomas Ingram launched a tirade of accusations against MacDonnell, claiming he had 'illegally forced' his brother to deliver the accounts to him under pain of dismissal from the colonial service, which was an 'unanswerable threat, and galling piece of tyranny'. He also condemned MacDonnell's 'injurious attacks on my character during my absence from the Gambia', adding that he did not wish to serve under him 'because I know he will in every possible manner persecute and malign me ... to serve his private ends'. He urged Grey to ignore MacDonnell's 'iniquitous and injurious reports' and called for

his 'disapprobation of such conduct' and reparation for 'the foul play' he had received from MacDonnell'.⁸³

Grey supported MacDonnell's version of events and in March, Ingram was dismissed as Colonial Secretary; Grey also upheld MacDonnell's suspension of Ingram as Lieutenant-Governor. Given the opportunity to have MacDonnell's charges investigated by an independent government official, Ingram initially declined, but later accepted the invitation, only to be informed that since he had rejected the original offer, he could not request it again. Matters did not improve after Ingram's return to Bathurst, with MacDonnell later reporting that an official had heard Ingram state he wished 'to spit in the Governor's face'.⁸⁴ Ingram continued to accuse MacDonnell of suppressing various documents which would have supported his case 'and of wilful and deliberate falsehood'. But his cause was lost and in October, Grey asked MacDonnell to inform Ingram that he did not intend to change his decision to dismiss him. The Colonial Office decided not to investigate Thompson's charge of embezzlement. It considered that a court would be unlikely to find Ingram guilty since Thompson had left the colony because of poor health and was unlikely to return, while Alexander Ingram had died. MacDonnell also decided not to take legal proceedings against Thomas Ingram, believing that to do so would 'give him an undue notoriety, and might tend perhaps to revive factional feelings now happily annihilated'.⁸⁵

The third case involved another Queen's Advocate, Sidney Billing. When Mantell was appointed Chief Justice in October 1847, the former Governor, FitzGerald, recommended Billing, a London barrister and author of a legal textbook, *A Practical Treatise on the Law of Awards and Arbitrations*, as his successor. MacDonnell did not know Billing personally, but considered *A Practical Treatise* 'excellent' and that Billing was 'a gentleman of good education'. He therefore recommended his appointment to Grey. Billing arrived in November to take up the paid position of Queen's Advocate which was combined with the unpaid position of Police Magistrate.⁸⁶

In June 1848, MacDonnell declined to support Billing's request for an increase in his salary; Billing claimed that his duties were onerous, which MacDonnell refuted, and that he had not been able to supplement his income through private practice as he had anticipated. Then in March 1849 MacDonnell refused to allow Billing to practice privately in his own court. The differences between the two men were further exacerbated when it became clear that Billing supported Ingram rather than MacDonnell in their dispute. In August 1849, MacDonnell suspended Billing over his actions as Police Magistrate in two legal cases. MacDonnell then appointed Pine, who had last held this position in 1841, Acting Queen's Advocate.⁸⁷ Arguing that MacDonnell had interfered improperly in the cases, Billing complained about the 'threat' made against him by the Governor 'in my character of a magistrate'. Again, Grey fully supported MacDonnell. He reprimanded Billing, but lifted his

suspension and, against MacDonnell's wishes, allowed him to return to the colony. However, in November 1851, Billing was suspended once more, this time by Acting Governor Robertson over a legal case involving the master of a schooner. Robertson claimed that Billing had disobeyed his orders by refusing to prosecute the man himself, help the Assistant Collector do so, give the Collector any official advice on what action to take, or advise the Acting Governor on whether the man should be prosecuted. Billing's correspondence with Robertson had also been 'discourteous' and had 'an insolent tone'. Once again, Pine was appointed temporarily to replace him. In December 1851, Billing left the Gambia to travel to England to plead his case, finally arriving in England in March 1852. This time, however, his suspension was upheld by the Colonial Office and he was dismissed.⁸⁸ Thus on all three occasions, the Colonial Office supported the HOG rather than his subordinates.

Conclusions and Further Research

This paper has built on Kirk-Greene's work by exploring the characteristics of the three main groups involved in the government and politics of the Gambia between 1816 and 1866. To a much greater extent than in similar historical analyses of the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, it has examined the backgrounds of all the HOGs and outlined the similarities and differences between them. As far as the information allows, it has also done so for the British and Eurafican merchants and the African community in Bathurst. The paper has then examined the relations between the three groups, and with the Colonial Office, shown how these varied over time and discussed the most significant disputes between the HOGs and other senior officials.

Although the paper has shed new light on the nature of colonial rule in the Gambia in this period, gaps in our collective knowledge remain and there is considerable scope for future research. Our knowledge about their backgrounds and earlier careers is greater for some officials than others (for example, Rendall) and further analysis of Colonial Office documents or other sources is very likely to reveal more information. Similarly, more is known about the backgrounds of some British and Eurafican merchants than others. This is in part because some merchants, particularly Brown, were much more likely to correspond with the Colonial Office than other merchants, such as the Chowns. Moreover, there is more surviving, available, evidence on Ancestry for some individuals than others, while the extent of prior family research conducted varies hugely. Future research, including the sharing of information with family historians, may shed more light on particular merchants, although it is easier to carry out research on some individuals than others.⁸⁹ There is also much to be learned about the emerging African political leaders, some of whom were to become much more prominent in the 1870s through coordinating the local resistance to 'cession', the proposed enforced exchange of the Gambia for

French colonial territory.⁹⁰ A systematic analysis of the names of those who signed all the petitions headed by Africans from 1849 to the 1870s would provide a useful starting point for future research. Finally, an analysis of how the Colonial Office compiled its official responses to dispatches from Gambian HOGs might provide new insights on the much debated issue of whether politicians or salaried civil servants wielded the greater influence over colonial affairs during this period.⁹¹

Notes

1. The colony's first Census was conducted in 1851. Only 13 out of 180 Europeans, who included officers and men of two naval ships who were temporarily present as well as residents, were female. See Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, 340, note 2.
2. On the *signaras* in Senegal, see Jones, *Métis*; Mahoney, 'Mulattoes' (who calls them *senoras*).
3. Frederiks, *We Have Toiled*, 183–273; Prickett, *Island Base*, 5–99. See also the first-hand accounts by Fox, *Wesleyan Missions*; MacBrair, *Sketches*; Moister, *Wesleyan Missions*; Morgan, *Reminiscences*. There was apparently no Anglican chaplain between 1828 and February 1831 (William West's appointment); February 1836 (West's resignation) and December 1844 (F. H. Rankin's appointment); October 1848 (death of Rankin's successor, Dr Thomas Griffiths) and October 1852 (arrival of John H. Monsarrarat). See Colonial Office, *Blue Books* (1828–52).
4. Frederiks, *We Have Toiled*, 199–207; MacBrair, *Sketches*, 212; Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 147–9; Prochnow, 'Perpetual Expatriation', 360–1.
5. Pugh, 'Colonial Office', Young, *Colonial Office*.
6. Key secondary sources are Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion'; Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*; Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*. Relevant documents at the National Archives, some of which Mahoney also examined, are in the Colonial Office (CO) 87 series. Personal information was provided by their descendants and other family members on Thomas Chown I and II and T. C. Chown; George D'Arcy; John H. Dodds; Matthew and William Forster; Henry, W. H. and William Goddard; James Hook; Thomas L. Ingram I and II; Charles Johnston; and C. B. Primet. Additional information on these and others from Ancestry.
7. Kirk-Greene, *Biographical Dictionary*, provides biographical details of all African colonial Governors from c.1875 to 1968, but does not cover this earlier period.
8. No comparisons are drawn with Lagos, which was only established as a colony in March 1862.
9. This section is based on Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 1–26. See also Gray, *History*, 266–9 on Fort James' destruction.
10. At least one British merchant, John H. Dodds, remained in Senegal (until around 1822). Dodds had particularly strong connections there; his wife, Marie Sophie Feuil-taine, was the daughter of Saint-Louis' mayor and he had also established a coffee plantation at Dagana. Personal information from Kevin Dodds, 12, 21 November 2022. Dodds is profiled in Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 157.
11. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 6–8; Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, 317–9; 340. On the Eurafrican community, see Mahoney 'Mulattoes'.
12. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 56–60. See also House of Commons, *1842 Select Committee*, I vii–viii.

13. On Ezzidio's election, see Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 319–20; Fyle, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone*, 49–50. A Eurafrican, James Bannerman, was appointed to the Gold Coast Legislative Council in 1850, but the first wholly African member, John Mensah Sarbah, was only appointed in 1888 (he had been appointed as an Extraordinary Member in 1887). See Kimble, *History of Ghana*, 455–6. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 76–7 discuss Richards' appointment.
14. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 65–6; House of Commons, *1865 Select Committee*, xv. See also Colonial Office, *Blue Books* (1865–67), 72–4.
15. Newbury, *British Policy*, 620–1, contains incomplete data on income and expenditure from 1829. See also Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 31–5.
16. On the conflicts, see Gray, *History*, 344–57; Wright, *Very Small Place*, 124–30. Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 331, 525–6, for profiles of both men.
17. On the Soninke-Marabout Wars, see especially Quinn, *Mandingo Kingdoms*; Skinner, *States, Conflict and Islam*.
18. Information from Colonial Office, *Blue Books* and Ancestry. Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 114, 146–7, 188–90, 243, 259, 268–9, 358–60, 370, 424–5, 429–30, 464–5, 469–70, 499, profiles all except Primet.
19. Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone* describes the backgrounds of some, but not all, HOGs.
20. Information on Hill from <https://www.pdavis.nl/ShowBiog.php?id=235>. Blakeley, 'Winniett' profiles Winniett.
21. The birthplaces of some Sierra Leonean HOGs is unknown. Mackie's birthplace is also uncertain, but his younger brother, Reverend Charles Mackie, whom he names in his Will (probate date 13 December 1839), was born in Scotland. Information from 1841 Census of England and Wales (Ancestry).
22. CO 87/19, Ingram to Glenelg, 11 September 1838. On the yellow fever epidemic, which killed 18 out of 40 resident Europeans, see Prickett, *Island Base*, 54–5; Fox, *Wesleyan Missions*, 426–34 (an eye-witness account). Hunter died in Gorée when on route to England to try to recover his health. Rendall probably also died of yellow fever, although in a private letter written in 1840, Huntley claimed that he had 'thought little beyond eating and drinking, in which occupation he fattened himself up to 20 stone and died.' See Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 377, note 18.
23. See Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 147, 188, 190, 259, 359, 430.
24. Captain J. F. Napier Hewett, a visitor in the 1850s, claimed Bathurst's climate was 'undoubtedly more deadly and injurious to the European constitution than that of almost any other place in the world'. However, the Staff-Surgeon, Dr Thomas Kehoe, claimed in 1850 that of the 11 deaths of resident Europeans over the past five years up to December 1849, only five could 'be at all attributed to climatorial influence'. Both sources are cited in Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, 386.
25. House of Commons, *Letters Patent*, 9–10; Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 45–8; Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1843), 56–8; (1845), 60.
26. Colonial Office, *Blue Books* (1828–66). Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 258–60, 267–8, 338–9, 447, includes profiles of Hunter, Hutton, T. L. Ingram II (the elder son of T. L. Ingram I), Kneller and Pine. Robertson remained in post until 1867 and Kneller until 1869.
27. Robson died in Bathurst in August 1854 and Fenton in June 1856 while absent from the colony. Richards was suspended in July 1851 and died in Bathurst in September. See Colonial Office, *Blue Books* (1851–56); CO 87/51, Robertson to Grey, 17 November 1851. Mantell's first appointment in the Gambia was in 1839 and he retired in

- June 1866; Robertson's first appointment was in 1834 and he retired in April 1867. See Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 370, 469–70.
28. Evidence of George C. Redman, 27 May 1842. House of Commons, *1842 Select Committee*, I, 175–6.
 29. The lists of names are in Brooks, *Western Africa*, 155–6; Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 37–8, 57–8. Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 110, 188, 198–9, 238, 244, 268–9, 317, includes profiles of Chown, Finden, Forster, Goddard, Grant, Ingram and Joiner. On Pellegrin and Joiner, see Mahoney, 'Mulattoes', 127–8 and 'African Leadership', 26–8. On Johnston, see also Gray, *History*, 309; CO 87/20, enclosure to Hook to Glenelg, 12 February 1838.
 30. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 23; Nugent, *Boundaries*, 108–9. Brooks, *Western Africa*, 133, states that Messervy was French, but it is more likely that he was from Jersey, the home of many other Messervys (see Ancestry).
 31. Gray, *History*, 309; Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 39–46. One of Goddard's descendants recorded in the 1950s that he 'always worked on his own account and never in the employ of any other firm'; information from Simon Darken, 15 October 2012.
 32. Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 45–6.
 33. Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*, 55, citing Redman's evidence to the 1842 Select Committee (I, 173).
 34. Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 46; CO 87/20, Finden to Glenelg, 10 May 1838; House of Commons, *1842 Select Committee*, I, 466; Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1840).
 35. On Forster and Smith and the two Forsters, see Kaplow, 'African Merchants', 34–8; Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*; Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', especially 39–42; Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 196, 198–9, who profiles both men and the company. The merger establishing Forster and Smith had certainly occurred by 1819 when both Matthew Forster and his partner, Ralph Smith, had offices at 26 New City Chambers, Bishopsgate in London. See Critchett & Woods, *1819 Post Office Directory*, 124, 318.
 36. Information from Simon Darken, 15 October 2012 on Grant and Goddard. On the clash between Cupidon and Messervy, see Brooks, *Western Africa*, 154; MacBair, *Sketches*, 273–81.
 37. CO 87/10, Rendall to Hay, 14 June 1834 and enclosures discusses the affair, which Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 68, coyly calls an 'unorthodox relationship'. See also CO 87/11, William Forster to Matthew Forster, 20 November 1833 (enclosure to Matthew Forster to Hay, 31 January 1834); Brown to Stanley, 17 January 1834. Country marriages, called 'mariage à la mode du pays' in French, were temporary marital unions between European merchants or officials and local women in West Africa. Although not recognised as formal marriages in Europe, Huntley pointed out that 'Mulatto Ladies' considered themselves 'as legally married as are the European Ladies, and so they are according to the practice of the country, supposing it not to be a British Colony'. See CO 87/25, Huntley to Hope, 14 October 1841. See also Jones, 'Mariage' and Ipsen, *Daughters of the Trade* on country marriages in Senegal and the Gold Coast.
 38. On Brown and Hughes, see Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 83–4, 257. See also Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion'; 'Mulattoes', 125–9; Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*. The dissolution of Brown's partnership with Brewer is noted in *The London Gazette*, 21 August 1838, 1843. CO 87/39, W. B. Hutton & Sons to Grey, 24 July 1846 notes that Brown had been their agent for the past eight years.
 39. Joiner died in 1842, Chown in 1845, Lloyd in 1847, Grant in 1848 and Forster in 1849. According to James Hook, by 1838 Johnston had been 'for several years past, residing

- in a front room house in Hackney'; CO 87/20, enclosure to Hook to Glenelg, 12 February 1838. Indeed, at the time of the 1841 Census, he was living in Well Street, Hackney. Information on Johnston (who died in 1874) from Judy Barradell Smith, 1 July 2020. Boccock had probably also died or retired; he was listed as a justice of the peace for the final time in 1838. See Colonial Office, *Blue Book*, 1838. Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 125, who believes Boccock died in 1859, confuses him with another merchant, Charles Boocock.
40. Both Quins are profiled in Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 457–8. See also Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion'; Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 64–76. See CO 87/58 on the payment dispute.
 41. Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 82–3, 109–10, 237–8, includes profiles of David Brown, the three Chowns and the three Goddards. Richard Lloyd, Forster and Smith's agent on MacCarthy Island, was appointed to the Legislative Council in June 1847; see CO 87/47, FitzGerald to Grey, 24 March 1847; Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1848), 58.
 42. See the Wills of Goddard (probate date 15 January 1873), Brown (13 February 1882), Quin (25 September 1883) and Chown (21 September 1915) on Ancestry. Thomas Brown moved to England in 1857 perhaps intending to retire, but returned in 1859. Both events may be connected to a legal case between his son, David, and sister-in-law, Jane Hickenbotham, over the disputed Will of his late wife, Ann Keen Hickenbotham. See Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1857), 72; *The London Gazette*, 28 January 1859, 319. Probably because of this dispute, probate was only granted for Ann Brown's estate in 1860 more than 18 years after her death. Her Will (probate date 14 August 1860) is on Ancestry.
 43. House of Commons, *1842 Select Committee*, I, 11; 175. Hook was bankrupted twice; see *The London Gazette*, 7 January 1831, 40–1; 22 November 1833, 2176; 'An Ex-Colonial Queen's Advocate', *Doings*, 15. On Ingram's bankruptcy, see *The London Gazette*, 20 January 1860, 202. Additional information on Ingram's case from Judy Barradell Smith, 26 June 2020 and Lyn Ellenby, 6 August 2020.
 44. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 11–22; Anderson, 'Diaspora', 125–7, who shows that Ibo (Igbo) formed the largest component (36 per cent) of the Liberated Africans transported from Sierra Leone between May 1832 and June 1836; Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey*, 317 note 9; House of Commons, *1842 Select Committee*, II, 226.
 45. Following Kimble, *History of Ghana*, 65, note 3, Euraficans are considered Africans, although Hughes probably thought of himself as a European. Certainly he had a very low opinion of Liberated Africans; see House of Commons, *1842 Select Committee*, I, 508–9. See Frederiks, *We Have Toiled*, 207–13 on Cupidon and Sallah.
 46. Prochnow, 'Perpetual Expatriation'.
 47. Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 213; Colonial Office, *Blue Books* (1857–69). Gay had received a pension since 1857 because he had been severely wounded at the Battle of Sabajy in 1855 and because of past services. His pension ceased in 1870 presumably because he had died.
 48. Kimble, *History of Ghana*, 65–6; Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*, 107–12.
 49. Banton, *Administering the Empire*, 16.
 50. Clogstoun probably did not apply because he was so ill in early 1838 that could not sign his own name. See CO 87/20, Grant to Redman, 15 January 1838 (enclosure to Redman to Glenelg, 7 March 1838).
 51. Huntley, *Seven Years*, II, 27–30. See also *The London Gazette*, 24 December 1839, 2677.
 52. Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 251–2, 255, profiles both men. The anonymous account, 'An Ex-Colonial Queen's Advocate', *Doings*, 14–35, whose author was

- almost certainly Pine, contains the correspondence with Forster and Smith (with the names redacted); the originals are in CO 87/20. See also CO 87/20, Hook to Glenelg, 31 January 1838; Hook to Glenelg, 12 February, 9 March 1838; *The London Gazette*, 4 March 1831, 434; 4 February 1834, 218; and the evidence of Alexander Findlay to the *1842 Select Committee*, I, 154–5. See also Brooks, *Yankee Traders*, 143–4 on Hook's earlier activities. Shaw, 'British Attitudes', 75, describes Glenelg as one of the weakest Secretaries of State in the first half of the 19th century, so it is unsurprising that he bowed to the pressure from Forster.
53. CO 87/34 contains the correspondence between Norcott, his former Private Secretary (and blackmailer), Horton, and Stanley. Norcott wrote that his friends included a 'Lord Sandon', who was probably Dudley Ryder, Viscount Sandon, the MP for Liverpool. The other men Norcott mentioned (Messrs Strathmore, Shannon and Harrington) cannot be identified. Norcott remained in the Royal Navy, finally retiring in 1870 and dying in 1874. Horton begged Stanley to offer him a government job, but not surprisingly this was denied. He died in 1849, aged only 26. Further information on Norcott and Horton from Ancestry.
 54. See Colonial Office, *Blue Books*. Levey was dismissed in February 1858 and Kneller in 1869 after leaving the colony; the other cases are discussed in the paper.
 55. Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 198–9.
 56. On Hutton's dismissal, see Gray, *History*, 341–2; Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 260.
 57. CO 87/40, MacDonnell to Grey, 25 October 1847; Grey to MacDonnell, 6 November 1847.
 58. House of Commons, *Letters Patent*, 7–8.
 59. Quinn, *Mandingo Kingdoms*, 87–8.
 60. The African Steamship Company only began a regular monthly service from Plymouth to Fernando Po, calling at Bathurst on route, in 1852; this not only regularised transportation between England and West Africa, but shortened the journey from 35 days to 21 or fewer. Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 266–7; Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*, 119. The African Direct Telegraph Company laid a cable from Bathurst to the Cape Verde Islands in 1885, with other cables then linking the latter to England via Portugal. See Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 120.
 61. For example, in November 1837, the Secretary of State confirmed Clogstoun's assumption of office. See Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1837).
 62. See Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*, 76–98.
 63. Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 40.
 64. One surviving letter is CO 87/11, William Forster to Matthew Forster, 20 November 1833 (enclosure to Matthew Forster to Hay, 31 January 1834), in which the former denounced Brown, his former employee, as 'one of the most degraded, base, and ungrateful beings that can exist and is not worth the notice of any one'.
 65. Kaplow. 'African Merchants', 36–8.
 66. Brooks, *Yankee Traders*, 167; Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 57–8.
 67. The petition, which was probably drawn up in June 1838, letter and note are in CO 87/26, enclosure to Pine to Russell, 12 March 1841. The other merchants did not sign, but may have been absent from the colony, especially as the petition was drawn up during the rainy season when they tended to return to England. See also CO 87/28, Colonial Office note, c. 6 December 1842. On Heddle (who for a period was a partner of Pellegrin), see Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*; Fyle, *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone*, 66–8.
 68. CO 87/25, Ingram to Stanley, 27 November 1841.
 69. Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 57; Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1832).

70. Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 191–8; Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 59. See also CO 87/28, Forster to Stanley, 24 September 1842; petition from Forster, Lloyd and Grant, 17 October 1842; Ingram to Stanley, 22 October 1842. CO 87/30, Ingram to Stanley, 1, 31 March 1843; Colonial Office note (summarising the charges against Findlay), 3 May 1843; CO 87/31, Seagram to Stanley, 8 May 1843; Stanley to Seagram, 6 July 1843; Mantell to Seagram, 26 April 1843.
71. See also CO 87/31, Ingram to Stanley, 23 November 1843; CO 87/40, FitzGerald to Hawes, 24 June 1847. There is no evidence that either Chown criticised his policies. Ingram apparently remained on good terms with them and one (probably the younger man) accompanied his pioneering mission in 1842–43 'to the kings and chiefs on the banks of the River Gambia'; see Ingram, 'Journal', 2.
72. CO 87/26, Pine to Russell, 12 March 1841 and enclosures. Pine pointed out that the issue had not arisen before he was appointed as the first Queen's Advocate. CO 87/31, Ingram to Stanley, 18 September 1843; Stanley to Ingram, 12 November 1843; Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 192.
73. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 60–2.
74. Minutes of the Legislative Council, CO 89/1, 89/2; Colonial Office, *Blue Books* (1843–49).
75. See Kimble, *History of Ghana*, 405; Reynolds, *Trade and Economic Change*, 121–2. See also Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1851), 66.
76. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 63–5.
77. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 59.
78. Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 60–5; Mahoney, 'Government and Opinion', 205–6; Banton, 'Colonial Office', 261–3; House of Commons, *1865 Select Committee*, 270. In forwarding the petition, D'Arcy claimed, perhaps with a degree of exaggeration, that all native inhabitants who could write had signed it. Finden and Reffles are profiled in Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 187–8, 462.
79. CO 87/40 FitzGerald to Grey, 31 March 1847; Grey to Ingram, 7 June 1847. CO 87/47, Colonial Office note, 23 January 1849.
80. Gray, *History*, 248–65. Fyfe, *History of Sierra Leone*, 241–2. Perfect, *Historical Dictionary*, 379, 583–4, profiles McNamara and Wall.
81. Pine and Huntley's full correspondence in August/September 1840 is in CO 87/29, Matilda Pine (Pine's mother) to Stanley, 19 December 1842. See also CO 87/26, Pine to Russell, 21 January 1841; 12 March 1841 and enclosures; Colonial Office minute, 18 March 1841; Vernon Smith to Pine, 30 January 1841; CO 87/47, MacDonnell to Grey, 20 November 1849; CO 87/51, Robertson to Grey, 23 November 1851. Huntley's view is outlined (obliquely) in *Seven Years*, II, 228–9.
82. CO 87/43, MacDonnell to Grey, 5 May 1848 (and enclosures); 8 May 1848 (and 22 May addendum); 2 June 1848; 11 November 1848. CO 87/47, internal Colonial Office note, 23 January 1849; Grey to MacDonnell, 19 March 1849.
83. CO 87/47, Ingram to Hawes, 5 March 1849; note for Hawes, 9 March 1849 citing Ingram to Grey, 14 August 1848. CO 87/43 contains the correspondence between MacDonnell and Alexander Ingram.
84. CO 87/47, Hawes to Ingram, 19 March 1849; Grey to MacDonnell, 19 March 1849; Ingram to Grey, 24 March 1849; 28 April 1849; MacDonnell to Ingram, 27 April 1849; Robertson to Ingram, 5 September 1849; MacDonnell to Grey, 8 November 1849.
85. CO 87/47, Ingram to Grey, 20 September 1849; Grey to MacDonnell, 12 October 1849; MacDonnell to Grey, 8 September 1849, who claims Ingram had insinuated that Thompson was 'hurried out of the way'; CO 87/48, Colonial Office to Trevelyan, 20 February 1850.

86. CO 87/40, MacDonnell to Grey, 29 September 1847; Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1847).
87. CO 87/43, MacDonnell to Grey, 1 June 1848; CO 87/45, MacDonnell to Grey, 30 March 1849; CO 87/47, MacDonnell to Grey, 11 September 1849; 8 November 1849; Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1849).
88. CO 87/54, Billing to Pakington, 19 March 1852; Colonial Office, *Blue Book* (1851).
89. For example, it is easy to find information on Ancestry relating to the ‘right’ Charles Beresford Primet, very difficult to do so for the ‘correct’ Thomas Brown.
90. On the successful resistance to cession which meant the Gambia remained a British colony, see, in particular, Hughes and Perfect, *Political History*, 67–73.
91. See, for example, Manning, ‘British Empire’; Shaw, ‘British Attitudes’.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Judy Barradell Smith, Martin Evans and Arnold Hughes for their very helpful comments on earlier drafts and the following for the information they provided on their relatives who lived and worked in the Gambia in this period: Tim Anderson, Judy Barradell-Smith, Paul Bowman, Michael Convery, Simon Darken, Kevin Dodds, Audrey Donithorne, Lyn Ellenby Mary Flood, David Hook, Will Ingram, William Ingram, Bruce Jones, Warren Lloyd, Tanya Marschke, Lyn Osborne, Glen Roberts, Patti Salt and Reg Smith.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

References

- ‘An Ex-Colonial Queen’s Advocate’ [Richard Pine?]. *Doings in Downing Street*. London: J. W. Southgate, 1841.
- Anderson, Richard. “The Diaspora of Sierra Leone’s Liberated Africans: Enlistment, Forced Migration, and “Liberation” at Freetown, 1808-1863.” *African Economic History* 41 (2013): 101–138.
- Banton, M. K. “The Colonial Office, 1820–1955: Constantly the Subject of Small Struggles.” In *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955*, edited by Douglas Hay, and Paul Craven, 251–302. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Banton, Mandy. *Administering the Empire, 1801-1968: A Guide to the Records of the Colonial Office in The National Archives of the UK*. 2nd ed. London: Institute of Historical Research, 2015.
- Blakeley, Phyllis R. “Winniett, Sir William Robert Wolseley.” In *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol. VII, 1836–1850, edited by Frances G. Halfpenny, 917–918. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.
- Brooks, George E. *Yankee Traders, Old Coasters, & African Middlemen: A History of American Legitimate Trade with West Africa in the Nineteenth Century*. Brookline, MA: Boston University Press, 1970.
- Brooks, George E. *Western Africa and Cabo Verde, 1790s – 1830s: Symbiosis of Slave and Legitimate Trades*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2010.
- Colonial Office. *Blue Book of Statistics*. London: Colonial Office, 1828-1870.

- Critchett, Woods. *The Post Office London Directory for 1819*. 20th ed. London: Her Majesty's Postmaster General, 1819.
- Fox, William. *A Brief History of the Wesleyan Missions on the Western Coast of Africa*. London: Aylott and Jones, 1851.
- Frederiks, Martha T. *We Have Toiled All Night: Christianity in The Gambia 1456-2000*. Zoetermeer, Netherlands: Uitgeverij Boekencentrum, 2003.
- Fyfe, Christopher. *A History of Sierra Leone*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Fyle, C. Magbaily. *Historical Dictionary of Sierra Leone*. New ed. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006.
- Gray, Sir John M. *A History of the Gambia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940.
- House of Commons. *Report from the Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa; Together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index*. Parts I and II. No. 551, 5 August 1842. London: House of Commons, 1842.
- House of Commons. *Copies of Letters Patent Providing for the Government of Her Majesty's Settlements in the River Gambia, and the Letters Patent Appointing the Governor Thereof, Together with the Instructions to the Governor*. London: House of Commons, 1845.
- House of Commons. *Report from the Select Committee on Africa (Western Coast); Together with the Proceedings of the Committee Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix*. No. 412, 26 June 1865. London: House of Commons, 1865.
- Hughes, Arnold, and David Perfect. *A Political History of The Gambia, 1816-1994*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006.
- Huntley, Sir Henry. *Seven Years' Service on the Slave Coast of Western Africa*. Vol. II. London: Newby, 1850.
- Ingram, Acting Governor Thomas Lewis. "Journal of a Mission to the Kings and Chiefs on the Banks of the River Gambia" 31 August 1846. Unpublished. Copy supplied by Audrey Donnithorne.
- Ipsen, Pernille. *Daughters of the Trade: Atlantic Slavers and Interracial Marriage on the Gold Coast*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Jones, Hilary. "From *Mariage à la Mode* to Weddings at Town Hall: Marriage, Colonialism, and Mixed-Race Society in Nineteenth-Century Senegal." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38, no. 1 (2005): 27–48.
- Jones, Hilary. *The Métis of Senegal: Urban Life and Politics in French West Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.
- Kaplow, Susan B. "African Merchants of the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast." *PhD diss.*, Columbia University, 1971.
- Kimble, David. *A Political History of Ghana: The Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism 1850-1928*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.
- Kirk-Greene, Anthony H. M. *A Biographical Dictionary of the British Colonial Governor*. Vol 1. Africa. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980.
- Kuczynski, R. R. *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*. Vol. 1. West Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- MacBrair, R. Maxwell. *Sketches of a Missionary's Travels in Egypt, Syria, Western Africa, etc.* London: Simkin, Marshall and Company, 1839.
- Mahoney, Florence K. O. "Government and Opinion in the Gambia 1816-1901." *PhD diss.*, University of London, 1963.
- Mahoney, F. "Notes on Mulattoes of the Gambia before the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 8 (1965): 120–129.
- Mahoney, Florence K. "African Leadership in Bathurst in the Nineteenth Century." *Tarikh* 2, no. 2 (1968): 25–38.

- Manning, Helen T. "Who Ran the British Empire, 1830-1850?" *Journal of British Studies* 5, no. 1 (1965): 88-121.
- Moister, William. *A History of Wesleyan Missions in All Parts of the World from Their Commencement to the Present Time*. 2nd ed. London: Elliot Stock, 1871.
- Morgan, John. *Reminiscences of the Founding of a Christian Mission on the Gambia*. London: Wesleyan Mission House, 1864.
- Newbury, C. W. *British Policy Towards West Africa: Select Documents 1875-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.
- Nugent, Paul. *Boundaries, Communities and State-Making in West Africa: The Centrality of the Margins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Perfect, David. *Historical Dictionary of The Gambia*. 6th ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2024.
- Prickett, Barbara. *Island Base: A History of the Methodist Church in the Gambia 1821-1969*. Bo, Sierra Leone: Bunumbu Press, c. 1971.
- Prochnow, Kyle. "'Perpetual Expatriation': Forced Migration and Liberated African Apprenticeship in the Gambia." In *Liberated Africans and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1807-1896*, edited by Richard Anderson, and Henry B. Lovejoy, 347-364. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- Pugh, R. B. "The Colonial Office, 1801-1925." In *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. III, edited by E. A. Benians, Sir James Butler, and C. E. Carrington, 711-768. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.
- Quinn, Charlotte A. *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia: Traditionalism, Islam, and European Expansion*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1972.
- Reynolds, Edward. *Trade and Economic Change on the Gold Coast 1807-1874*. Harlow: Longman, 1974.
- Shaw, A. G. L. "British Attitudes to the Colonies, ca. 1820-1850." *Journal of British Studies* 9, no. 1 (1969): 71-95.
- Skinner, David E. *States, Conflict and Islam: A Reconsideration of Jihād in the Gambia River Region, 1850-1900*. PAS/ISITA Working Paper no. 2. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 2017.
- Wright, Donald R. *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niimi, The Gambia*. 4th ed. Abingdon: Routledge, 2018.
- Young, Douglas M. *The Colonial Office in the Early Nineteenth Century*. London: Longmans, 1961.