

Parliament House Commons  
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F I R S T

R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON THE

S L A V E T R A D E ;

TOGETHER WITH THE

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,

AND APPENDIX.



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*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,*  
*24 May 1849.*

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Veneris, 16<sup>o</sup> die Februarii, 1849.

*Ordered*, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to continue the Inquiry undertaken by a Committee appointed last year, to consider the best Means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the Final Extinction of the SLAVE TRADE.

Mercurii, 21<sup>o</sup> die Februarii, 1849.

Committee nominated :

Mr. Hutt.  
The Earl of Lincoln.  
Viscount Brackley.  
Sir Robert Harry Inglis.  
Mr. Gladstone.  
Mr. Cardwell.  
Mr. Evelyn Denison.  
Mr. Simeon.

Mr. Jackson.  
Mr. Monckton Milnes.  
Admiral Bowles.  
Lord John Hay.  
Sir Edward Buxton.  
Colonel Thompson.  
Lord Harry Vane.

*Ordered*, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

*Ordered*, THAT Five be the Quorum of the said Committee.

Jovis, 3<sup>o</sup> die Maii, 1849.

*Ordered*, THAT the Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee of last Session be referred to this Committee.

Jovis, 24<sup>o</sup> die Maii, 1849.

*Ordered*, THAT the Committee have power to Report Observations and Minutes of Evidence, from time to time, to The House.

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## R E P O R T.

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THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to continue the Inquiry undertaken by a Committee appointed last year, to consider the best Means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the Final Extinction of the SLAVE TRADE, and who were empowered to Report the MINUTES of the EVIDENCE taken before them to The House;

**H**AVE made Progress in the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to Report the MINUTES of EVIDENCE to The House.

24 *May* 1849.

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# MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

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*Lunæ, 19<sup>o</sup> die Martii, 1849.*

## MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Gladstone.  
Viscount Brackley.  
Lord Harry Vane.  
Sir Edward Buxton.  
Mr. Simeon.  
Mr. M. Milnes.

The Earl of Lincoln.  
Mr. Cardwell.  
Lord John Hay.  
Colonel Thompson.  
Mr. Hutt.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

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The Right Hon. Viscount *Palmerston*, a Member of The House; Examined.

1. *Chairman.*] WILL your Lordship be so good as to state to the Committee whether, in consequence of the resolutions which the Slave Trade Committee of last year adopted, Her Majesty's Government took any measures to change the policy of this country for the suppression of the slave trade?—No; none.

2. Would your Lordship state whether the French government has made any overtures to our own for the abolition of the treaty of 1845?—The French government have lately made this application to us; they have stated that the relative proportions of their expenditure and revenue compelled them to make considerable reductions, and especially in their naval department. They represent that they wish to draw our attention to the state of their squadron on the coast of Africa, as, under the treaty of 1845, they have represented, that is to say, the Admiral Cecile, their ambassador here, has represented in a note, that the functions of that squadron are chiefly limited to preventing slave trade under the French flag; that they have no treaty of mutual right of search with Spain, with Portugal, or with Brazil, the three countries whose flags are considered most employed for slave trade; that therefore, with regard to slave trade carried on under the flags of those three countries, their squadron can be of no use. They say that it was thought, when the treaty was made, that the French law gave great powers of dealing with slave-trading vessels as pirates, but that decisions of their tribunals upon controverted cases of captures made under that impression, have in so many cases been adverse to the captors, that they have been obliged to change the instructions which they had originally given to their squadron; and under those circumstances they represent that the number of 24, which they are bound by the treaty to maintain, is greater than can be necessary for any purposes which their squadron can accomplish; and they propose that by mutual agreement they should be allowed to reduce their number to 12; promising that if by change of circumstances a larger number should be required, they would be ready to increase that amount. The British Government have acquiesced in their application, always upon the condition that if slave trade should again be carried on under the French flag, the French government would make such addition to their cruisers on the coast of Africa as might be necessary for preventing such an abuse of their flag.

3. Will your Lordship have any objection to state whether the French government made any proposal to our own to abrogate the treaty, so as to release this country from its engagement to France in that respect?—There has been no

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proposal to that effect; the proposal I mention is the only one that has been made.

4. Will you have any objection to state whether, in your opinion, the British Government would find any difficulty in treating with France for the abrogation of the treaty of 1845?—I should think that there might be a difficulty on the part of the British Government in making a proposal, the obvious tendency of which would be to encourage and give impunity to the slave trade.

5. Would your Lordship allow me to repeat the question?—Perhaps you will have the goodness to explain the question more fully, and then I would answer it more distinctly.

6. It has been reported in the French papers, in the debates which have taken place in the National Assembly on the expenses of the navy, that the French government is willing and even anxious to be released from the engagement which they have entered into by the treaty of 1845. Under those circumstances does your Lordship apprehend any difficulty in the way of the British Government, if France were to propose also to withdraw from the engagement entered into by that treaty?—I know nothing of the intentions or wishes of the French government, except in so far as they have been made known to us by the communication which I have already mentioned, I do not quite comprehend what difficulty is meant by the question. Does the question mean to ask whether, in my opinion, the French government would be desirous of withdrawing itself altogether from any interference with the slave trade; or does it mean to ask whether the French government would make any objection to Great Britain withdrawing itself from such interference?

7. The purport of the question is this, whether in your opinion there is any indisposition on the part of the French government to abrogate the treaty altogether?—I really cannot undertake to say what the disposition of the French government may be upon a question which has not been proposed to them.

8. Has any circumstance arisen since the last Session of Parliament which has altered the relations of this country with other States, in connexion with the suppression of the slave trade?—No; nothing very particular: the Persian government have given greater facilities for the interception of the slave trade in the eastern seas. There is no other change of any importance.

9. Have any communications passed between the British Government and the government of Brazil of any importance bearing upon this subject?—There have been communications with the government of Brazil, and the last thing that has passed has been an intimation recently made by the Brazilian minister at this Court, that he expected shortly to be authorized to propose to the British Government a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade.

10. Has your Lordship been led, by any circumstances which have happened since we last assembled in the Committee-room, to modify the opinions you then expressed upon the subject of the suppression of the slave trade?—The only modification of opinion that I have been led to is, that I have been induced to think, by recent communications, that our endeavours to suppress the slave trade have been more successful than I thought they had been, and that there is a greater prospect now than I was led to entertain then of making very considerable progress in the suppression of that trade.

11. Will you be so kind as to state what those facts are?—I will state those facts. First of all, we have had lately a report from Admiral Dacres, who has had the command on the Cape station, and therefore the watching of the eastern coast of Africa, reporting that for the last year at all events, and for rather more, he considered the slave trade to have been almost entirely extinguished on the east coast of Africa. He states that the Portuguese authorities have co-operated very cordially with the British cruisers, and that the united efforts of the two have, in his opinion, virtually suppressed the trade. I do not mean to say there might not have been some trade carried on, but that, speaking in general, he referred to the trade on the eastern coast as virtually extinguished for the moment. I have had lately a despatch from Mr. Hudson at Rio Janeiro, stating that great preparations were making there at the end of last year for slave trade adventures, but that the enterprises of those slave traders were going to be directed chiefly to the eastern coast of Africa, because the effectual vigilance of our cruisers on the western coast rendered enterprises on that part of Africa exceedingly hazardous, and attended with much loss. I have got here a report recently received from the commissary judge at Sierra Leone, part of which is interesting

interesting and important; it is dated the 1st of January of this year; he says, "My Lord, I have now the honour to present to your Lordship my annual report on the state of slave trade in the western coast of Africa during the year just ended, together with remarks, and such information as I have been able to collect in that period. Owing to the operation of the Acts 2 & 3 Vict. c. 73, and 8 & 9 Vict. c. 122, no vessel has been brought into the mixed courts during 1848; but a very large number have been adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court of this colony. That some of such vessels were really Spanish property (though under the Brazilian flag) I cannot doubt; but the now general system of destroying the ship's papers, flags, &c. previous to capture, effectually conceals their nationality. This is doubtless caused by the penal law promulgated by Her Catholic Majesty at Madrid, on the 2d day of March 1845, which law seems to have struck the Spanish slave traders with terror, for during the last two years only one vessel, the 'Ahevida,' under the Spanish flag, has been adjudicated in the mixed courts of Sierra Leone; the mate and three of the crew (being all who were brought here) of this vessel were, in accordance with the above-mentioned decree, sent prisoners to the rengente of the courts of justice of the Canary Islands; but I have not yet heard the result of their trial. It is a fact, also, that many of the Brazilian slavers, when captured, are found without either ship's papers or flag, thereby preventing the disclosure of the names of the owners of the ship and cargo, also the master, supercargo, and officers; and as the system of trying slave vessels in the Vice-Admiralty Court does not expose the names of parties to the public, they of course prefer that to the mixed courts, where all the parties concerned are annually exposed in the papers laid before Parliament. During the past year no case was brought before the British and Spanish, British and Netherlands, British and Chilean, British and Bolivian, British and Argentine, British and Uruguayan, mixed courts of justice; no slaves were emancipated by the mixed courts during the year; the total number of cases prosecuted before the mixed commissions since their establishment here in June 1819, up to the present date, is 529; whereof 502 were cases of condemnation, and 27 were either withdrawn, dismissed, or restored to the claimants. In the same period there have been emancipated, by these mixed courts, 64,625 slaves; of whom 56,935 have been registered here. I have the honour to enclose, for your Lordship's information, an official copy obtained from his honor the chief justice, of a Return of vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade, and adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, from 30 June to 31 December 1848, amounting to 17 vessels, which, with the 14 adjudicated in the same court during the previous half year, gives a total of 31 vessels adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone in the year just ended, under the Acts 5 & 6 Geo. 4, c. 113; 2 & 3 Vict. c. 73; and the Act of the 8 & 9 Vict. c. 122. Of the 31 vessels, 14 were captured under the Brazilian flag, 15 were without either ship's papers or colours, one under the British flag, and one under the flag of the United States. The aforesaid captures took place in the following localities: one in the Rio Pergas, two in the harbour of Sierra Leone, one off this colony, 11 between Seabar and Cape Palmas, 14 within six degrees north of the equator, two within four degrees south of the line, and one captured full of slaves, probably on her passage to Cuba, in latitude 12° 22' south, longitude 37° 14' west. Among the 31 captures 13 had slaves on board, the other 18 cases were proceeded against for being found equipped for the slave trade. The locality in which the 13 vessels having slaves on board were captured, is as follows: three canoes seized with 112 slaves on board within British waters, off this colony, nine vessels within six degrees north of the equator, two within four degrees south of the equator, and one was captured full of slaves in latitude 12° 22' south, and longitude 37° 14' west. The number of slaves so captured was 5,619, of whom 5,282 were decreed emancipation, 337 having died before such decree was passed. This dreadful mortality may be accounted for by the inhuman master of the slaver captured by Commander Sprigg, of Her Majesty's sloop 'Ferret,' having stowed on board his vessel, admeasuring only 167 tons, 852 men, women, and children, 127 of whom died before they were emancipated. And but for the humane conduct of Commander Sprigg, who transhipped about 300 slaves on board the 'Ferret,' the mortality must have proved even still more appalling. In the course of the year just ended, two cases of a rather unusual occurrence have been adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court of this place. The first was

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that of the British steamer 'Maid of Islay,' William Cunningham Townley, master, which vessel was seized on the 25th of May in this harbour, by Commander Dunlop, of Her Majesty's sloop 'Alert,' for being engaged in the slave trade, or otherwise aiding and abetting that traffic. The 'Maid of Islay' was adjudicated on the 19th day of July last, when Mr. Heddle, the acting judge, decreed that the aforesaid vessel, 'Maid of Islay,' her tackle, apparel, and furniture, be restored to William Cunningham Townley, the master and owner thereof; and the goods, wares, and merchandize on board the same be restored to Messrs. Hartung & Co., the owners and proprietors of the said cargo; and further decreed the seizer's costs, and condemned the said parties in such costs accordingly. Against this decree an appeal to a higher court at home has been made by the seizer. In my despatch, marked 'General, No. 34,' of the 18th of December last, I had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship all the particulars I could obtain in reference to this very extraordinary case; I therefore beg respectfully to refer you to the said despatch. On or about the 27th of September, the American brig 'Laurence,' Edward York, master, burden 170 tons, was seized in the harbour of Sierra Leone, by Commander John Dunlop, of Her Majesty's sloop 'Alert,' for being found with slave equipment on board in British waters. The brig 'Laurence' came into this harbour on the 23d of September last, her master alleging that she was making 34 inches of water per hour, and that he came into this port for the purpose of getting his vessel repaired. On November the 25th, the aforesaid American brig 'Laurence,' Edward York, master, was condemned as good prize in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone. Previous to the day of trial, the master took his departure for Brazil, and I believe carried away the register of the 'Laurence.' I have further the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that Her Majesty's sloop 'Alert,' Commander Dunlop, arrived in our harbour this morning with 100 slaves on board, who were immediately landed in the Queen's Yard. I beg respectfully to solicit your Lordship's attention to this novel and interesting era in the history of the abolition of slave trade; because it clearly proves that a highly important change has taken place in the very locality (Bissão) where an extensive slave trade has flourished for more than a hundred years, but where now many thousands of natives are daily employed in cultivating ground-nuts for shipping, and the slave trade is strictly prohibited by the powerful young king Branco, of Beeomba. The notorious Cayetano, the Portuguese governor of Bissão, has also abolished the slave trade, and is employing vast numbers of slaves in cultivating ground-nuts upon the British island of Bulama. It appears that Commander Dunlop sent his boats into Bissão to search the different creeks that run into the River Jebe, for slavers; that is just above Sierra Leone; "and that on hearing of their arrival, his majesty king Branco, though sick, officially applied to the commander for help, and requested him to remove to Sierra Leone all the slaves in the barracoons belonging to the two Spaniards, Don Bito (*alias* Victor) Dabreda, and Don José Van Kell; at the same time assuring Commander Dunlop that he, the king of Beeomba, had finally abolished the slave trade in his dominions. Thereupon the slaves in the barracoons were asked if they preferred to be then and there made free, and remain, when they all declared they wished to be taken to Sierra Leone. This was acceded to by the authorities, and the slaves were embarked on board the 'Alert,' and, as before stated, landed in this colony. The two Spaniards fled by land to their companions in human traffic on the Rio Pongos, where the notorious Spanish dealers in slaves, Senhor Pellegrin and Don Paul Fabre, reside; also the native slave dealers, Mrs. Lightbourne and Mr. Allen. The Rio Pongos may now be considered the sole mart for the slave trade to the northward of Sierra Leone. I have only heard of two slavers having escaped with slaves on board from the Rio Pongos during the year 1848, and I believe they were both owned by Spaniards." Then he goes on to say that the French government have emancipated all their slaves in Senegal and Goree, and that "this highly interesting event cannot fail to produce important effects upon the natives of the neighbouring kingdoms." And he says, "already agriculture upon a most extensive scale is in progress among the natives living between this place and Gambia. Rice and ground-nuts are the chief articles cultivated. The ground-nut trade has for several years past formed a highly important and valuable branch of export trade. The demand for ground-nuts from France, Hamburg, and America far exceeds the supply.

supply. I earnestly hope that the spirit of agriculture and commerce now happily manifesting itself among the natives, is the sure dawn of brighter days for benighted Africa. With the only exception of the Rio Pongos, I consider that we have now no export slave trade between Cape Blanco and Sierra Leone, a distance of coast of upwards of 600 miles." He says, "Before concluding my report, I beg respectfully to make a few remarks on the suggestions promulgated by certain parties in reference to the withdrawal of the British squadron on this coast, for the suppression of the slave trade. For more than 30 years I have taken a lively interest in the cause of abolition, and my present position in Her Majesty's service, together with a residence of many years in Africa, enable me to state, for your Lordship's information, an opinion gained by actual experience and observation upon the present progress of the cause of the abolition of the slave trade, which I humbly trust may induce some of those who entertain the mistaken views of advocating the withdrawal of the squadron to pause ere they sanction a measure so utterly ruinous to millions of the human family. It is my firm belief, that in nine or twelve months after the withdrawal of our squadron the whole of Western Africa, from Cape Verd to Benguela, would present a scene of cruelty and devastation too fearful to contemplate. All the progress of Christianity, civilization, and commerce would be annihilated; in a word, Western Africa would in the course of a year or two be rolled back to its worst pristine savage condition. The coast would become the resort of the most degraded renegades and pirates of Brazil and other nations. If our merchants entertain a hope that the trade of palm oil, gold, ivory, ground-nuts, hides, wax, &c. will continue to exist after the withdrawal of our squadron, I fear that they will be wofully disappointed. The thousands of palm-oil carriers and agricultural labourers would instantly be kidnapped and carried on board slave vessels. After a time the remaining natives would avoid the coast as they would the locality of a plague." He says, "In my humble opinion, this dreaded calamity can only be evaded by a strong treaty with Brazil, similar or more stringent than that with Spain. Your Lordship has, doubtless, noticed the excellent effect of the penal law of Spain, dated the 2d of March 1845, upon the Spanish slave traders. Since its promulgation, upwards of two years ago, we have only had one vessel under Spanish colours brought before the mixed courts of Sierra Leone. I would also venture to remark, that hardly any squadron, however vigilant, and none could be more so than the present, would alone effect the total abolition of the slave trade on this coast, unless it be supported by a zealous, honest co-operation of the Brazilian and Spanish governments. In my opinion, the concluding part of this great undertaking can only be brought to a successful termination by applying gentler means, and strict enforcement of treaties before the squadron is withdrawn from this coast." That is the Report from Sierra Leone.\*

12. From what officer is that?—From Mr. Hook, the commissary judge.

13. Mr. Gladstone.] Allow me to ask whether your Lordship is able to put a construction upon that sentence in Mr. Hook's letter, in which he says that he thinks that before the squadron is withdrawn, there ought to be the employment of gentler means, and likewise a strict enforcement of the existing treaties; can your Lordship put a consistent construction upon that?—What I understand him to mean is, that if those "gentler means and strict enforcement of treaties" are applied while the squadron remains, they will complete those means which the squadron alone does not fully afford. But I infer from the rest of what I have read, that his opinion is, that if the squadron were withdrawn before those other means had been employed in aid of the squadron, those means would not be successful, and that the calamities which he mentions would ensue.

14. The question had reference to an apparent inconsistency in the phrase "gentler means and strict enforcement of treaties." Does your Lordship apprehend that Mr. Hook means the strict enforcement of treaties by means of diplomatic correspondence only; that is to say, so as to make the strict enforcement of treaties fall within the expression, "by applying gentler means" apparently?—He separates them; because they are separated by "and" "by applying gentler means and strict enforcement of treaties," I should conclude that he considers the two things to be different.

15. Then,

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\* This Report appears more fully in the Appendix.

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15. Then, by the strict enforcement of treaties, does your Lordship apprehend that he means compelling, if necessary, the governments of Brazil and Cuba to fulfil those engagements of the treaties which refer to their own domestic proceedings?—I conclude that he means whatever methods may be requisite to attain a strict enforcement of treaties.

16. Correspondence, if that will do so, and if not, enforcement?—The Committee are as able as I am to state what they consider the meaning of the words.

17. Are the Committee to understand your Lordship to be unable to give an opinion whether by the words, "strict enforcement of treaties," Mr. Hook includes a resort to compulsory means, if necessary?—I should comprehend Mr. Hook to mean the execution of treaties, to be obtained by any means which may be sufficient for the purpose; that, I should think, is the natural construction. Instead of enforcement, he had better have put execution of treaties. I think that is what he meant.

18. The Earl of *Lincoln*.] The Committee observed that Mr. Hook, at the conclusion of that despatch, recommends a more stringent treaty with Brazil, or one similar to that existing with Spain; would your Lordship have the kindness to state whether, since the Committee made its Report in the last Session of Parliament, any attempt has been made by Her Majesty's Government to obtain such a treaty?—We have been in communication with the Brazilian government, as I mentioned before, and we were informed the other day by the Brazilian minister, that the Brazilian government intend to propose a treaty to this Government, and that he expected it shortly.

19. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Has your Lordship any reason to believe that the public opinion in Brazil has undergone any alteration on this subject, so as to facilitate the execution of such a treaty?—There is a considerable party growing up in Brazil upon the principles of anti-slavery, and that party would certainly be very useful in assisting the efforts of the British Government.

20. Does that party, as yet, possess much influence in the legislature?—I can hardly say whether it does or not. I was just going on to state the grounds upon which my opinion has been modified, as I stated. I should say that we have been actively employed in making treaties with the native chiefs, by which they bind themselves to suppress the slave trade within their respective territories, and I would give in here a list of the treaties which have as yet been made; they amount to 42, and include a considerable length of coast. (*His Lordship delivered in the same.*)

Vide App. No. 1.  
(A.)

21. *Chairman*.] How long has the earliest of those treaties been in operation?—They have been concluded at different times; the dates are here given of the conclusion of the treaties, beginning in 1841 and ending in 1848.

22. The Earl of *Lincoln*.] Are the whole of those treaties to the same effect, or do they vary in their purport?—All the latter treaties are concluded in a printed form, sent for that purpose. Some of the earlier treaties may have some little variation in them.

23. Has that printed form been given to this Committee in the former Session?—I should think it must have been; however, it has been laid before Parliament in the Annual Slave Trade Papers. In the course of the last year the President of Liberia came to England and I had several communications with him, and they were very satisfactory in their result as bearing upon this question. It appeared that the Liberians had got possession, by purchase, of a very considerable extent of coast, and that one of their great objects is the suppression of the slave trade, and they have succeeded in entirely suppressing that trade upon a considerable distance of coast, where, before they acquired possession, the slave trade was very much carried on.

24. *Chairman*.] Have you any reason to suppose that the government of Liberia is about to extend its possessions?—They are endeavouring to extend them, and especially to acquire possession of any points which are now the seats peculiarly of the slave trade.

25. Is any negotiation going on for the purchase of the Gallinas district?—I rather think they have the intention of buying it. In addition to what I have stated, I may observe that there have been a very large number of vessels captured in the course of the last year. The number captured in the whole of 1847 was 66; the number captured in 1848, though we have not the return for the whole year, was 99.

26. Lord *H. Vane*.] Is the number of slaves captured given?—The number

is not given in this return, but it would be very easy to give it. I have not got it here.

27. *Chairman.*] But your Lordship will have it in the Foreign Office, perhaps?—Yes; it can be given with great ease. The slave trade in Cuba has very much diminished; very greatly diminished; and I have an interesting report from the commissary judge at the Havana, dated the 1st of January of this year: his object is to dispute the statements which have been made, both as to the number of slaves imported from Africa, and as to the profits made by the slave traders. And I certainly am led to believe that those accounts have been much exaggerated by interested parties. It is obviously the interest of the slave traders to represent several things; first, that our measures fail; next, that the profit is enormous; thirdly, that our measures are not only ineffectual, but are productive of great cruelties. Now, in regard to the latter point, I should mention, that about two years ago we received a report, which at the time we had no reason to disbelieve, that a large number of slaves, I think it was stated to be nearly 2,000, had been put to death by the chief of Lagos, because our cruisers had prevented the vessels intended to carry them off from embarking them. Some circumstances led us to think that that statement might not be true, or might be much exaggerated, and we ordered inquiries to be made, but the result has been that nothing can be learned upon the subject, and the impression of our officers is, that there was no foundation for the report. This is rather a long report, but it is interesting, and if the Committee would like to hear it, I can read it. It is dated, "Havana, 1 January 1849." The writer says, "I have the honour to submit my annual report on the slave trade of this place during the last year, with the usual returns of vessels that I have heard of as having arrived here from the coast of Africa during the year, and of those that sailed hence in it, and in the year preceding, suspected of being intended for the slave trade." These returns are certainly very vague and incomplete, but as I believe the main fact is correctly stated, of so many vessels, for instance, having sailed hence, during the year, for the coast of Africa, the circumstance of our not being able to obtain fuller particulars of the expeditions, affords a proof of the depressed state of the trade; because the more contraband it becomes, the more secret must be the operations carried on. So long as any Captain-general condescended to receive fees for the introduction of newly imported Africans, the dealers cared little for the publicity attending these transactions; but as we have every reason to believe that the present Captain-general, Roncali, Conde de Alcoy, refuses to accept these fees, the dealers have not the same security for carrying on their trade with impunity, and are therefore obliged to be so much the more reserved. It is but justice to repeat this of the Conde de Alcoy as the general belief. Accordingly the general system of the government is carried on in a manner above all imputation of former practices, but he is evidently indisposed to proceed against the trade or its abettors with that severity which would be the best means of effectually suppressing it. I refer here to the case of the two vessels which, upon my information, arrived in the neighbourhood in July last, when 130 newly introduced Africans were seized by the Lieutenant-governor of Mariel. I believe my information of two vessels having arrived correct; yet the Captain-general declared, in no measured terms, that only one vessel had arrived, leaving the conclusion to be drawn, that he had allowed himself to receive as true some statement made to him to that effect, though a proper inquiry must, I think, have led to a different result. But supposing only one had arrived, it was proved that it had met with a collusive reception from the local authorities at Cabanas, as was pointed out to his Excellency at the time, and no steps have been taken against those authorities, nor against the parties concerned in the adventure. The mate, who offered himself as an informer against the parties, was put into prison; but the captain, who could have given evidence of the owners, was allowed to go away in the steamer to New York, with the person, Zulueta, on whose account the negroes were said to have been brought; and a considerable number of the negroes were given up to this Zulueta, under the pretence of being assigned to him as emancipados. It appears to me, therefore, that if the trade be, as I consider it, in a depressed state, the cause of this depression must be sought elsewhere than in the measures of the Government. At the commencement of the past year, it was indubitable that there was a great animation on the part of all persons interested in the trade, for its revival. A new governor was expected, and it

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was hoped that he would favour it more than General O'Donnel lately had done. The latter was to the last a declared favourer of it; but his later measures had disconcerted its operations, by proceedings against it, which, if they were owing to stricter orders from Spain, also answered his purpose, for by seizing the negroes, or exacting a larger fee, he gained so much the more, while as he was at the close of his government, the consequences of future distrust could not affect him. It was hoped a new governor would act on another policy; and vessels were prepared accordingly, to be sent as might be found advisable. Seven were sent during the first four months of the year, and four have sailed hence since; whereas in 1847, there were only three sent altogether, and in 1846 not one. After two such years, if any encouragement had been afforded the dealers, we might have expected a larger number to have been sent; and as so few have been sent, and as the new Captain-general does not appear to be a decided enemy to its continuance, the conclusion seems to me to follow that even as a contraband trade it is not one offering advantages sufficient to induce an active persecution of it. Having paid much attention to the subject, I am induced to think that considerable over-statements have been made with respect to this trade. First, as to the number of Africans exported from Africa, and secondly as to the profits of the dealers. Firstly, It is almost impossible to obtain exact returns of the numbers exported, and many persons who have written respecting it, have taken the numbers known in some one month as an average for the year, when perhaps the numbers in that one month were so extraordinarily large as to have made them noted on that account only. In the Havana, however, this difficulty did not exist, as the dealers were so sufficiently knotted together that they had a particular place formerly of assembly, and books kept there, from which I was, in 1840, able to obtain the exact numbers that had been brought in that year, the one before General Valdes arrived, and when the trade was quite free, so far as this Government could permit it. From these books I learned that the exact number brought in that year to Havana and Metangas, amounted to 11,756; and that perfectly agreed with the Returns we had been able to obtain from other sources on the arrivals of the vessels, as we reported to your Lordship at the time." (see Slave Trade Papers for 1841, class A., page 167.) "As it was most convenient for the dealers to bring them here to the head-quarters, whence to supply the demand, and as no difficulty whatever was put in their way in so doing, I feel warranted in saying that this number may be safely taken as two-thirds certainly of all brought in that year to the whole island. It may be that the supply was according to the demand, and therefore the next consideration arises as to the demand; if 20,000 were brought every year and sold at only 50*l.* each, the sum necessary to purchase them would be a drain to the island of one million sterling per annum. Such a sum might perhaps be raised in a year for some extraordinary purpose, for investment out of capital hoarded, but it could not be paid year after year, unless there were exports made concomitantly to compensate for such an outlay; but the whole exports of the island at that time did not amount to five millions sterling, and the imports of lawful merchandize, as given by the Custom-house Returns, exceeded that sum; so that, even if we make every allowance in supposing the value of imports overstated, and of exports the contrary, still it will be impossible to come to any other conclusion than this, that the number of Africans introduced was decreasing per annum, from natural causes, of a sufficient number having been brought to supply the demand. To show how impossible it was for the island to bear such a drain, I enclose further a Return of the amount of exports and imports during the last 20 years, which will present so even a balance as to put it out of the question that so large a number could be introduced year after year, as by some persons has been supposed. If 20,000 were introduced per annum for a few years, as for investment it might be done by foreign capital, and the effects would be felt in an increase of production. This has been the fact, but meanwhile the price of the articles of production, sugar and coffee, have both fallen, so that sugar in price now is scarcely half of what it was formerly, and coffee planting has been found so unproductive as to be almost abandoned; I conceive, therefore, that the number of slaves had come to almost the utmost the island required, and that it would have been found continuing to decrease even if General Valdes had not been appointed governor, to arrest its progress somewhat sooner than the course of events indicated. If the same number, say 20,000 per annum, had been continued

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continued to be brought, according to this supposition the price would have fallen, and then the question would be, could the dealers afford the slaves at lower prices? I think they could not; and this is the second inquiry I suggested. Second, that the profits of the trade were much overstated. All persons are apt to boast much of their gains, but the slave dealers more especially, as a triumph over the cruisers, and even the Government of England, as well as to console themselves for the discredit they could not but feel attached to their trade. Thus we hear of a few fortunate individuals who have formerly amassed fortunes in it, but of the many who have lost fortune and life in it we hear little or nothing; yet I am satisfied that there are many such, and that on the whole the trade here has not been, latterly, a productive one. One proof of this is, that the insurance offices lost so much on the policies of slave vessels that it is nearly 10 years since they resolved to take none on them on any terms whatever. But calculations may be safely made to show this from their own statements. The price of a slave on the coast may be only from 5 to 25 dollars, but the expenses of agencies and factories are necessarily great, besides those of bringing them. The more difficult is the embarkation, the more and better-paid agents must be employed, and well paid to be kept faithful to their employers, when it would be so completely in their power, if they pleased to act dishonestly, to set them altogether at defiance. I have heard it said that each slave costs the dealer 100 dollars, by the amount of these expenses, with those of bringing them. If half are captured, then each slave landed here may be said to have cost 200 dollars, and the average price for the cargo round may not perhaps be obtained more than 400 dollars per head. This would still be an immense profit, if no bad debts were incurred, as very often is the case; but if the dealers are further liable to these, and to have a third or a half of those brought seized by the Government, or 50 dollars per head charged for the fee to the Captain-general, then the remaining profit certainly would not compensate for the risk run of utter loss. It seems to me, therefore, that the trade is in a most depressed state, because the profits have been so much reduced as to make it unadvisable for any to engage in it, except they were persons like Don Julian Zulueta, forming themselves new plantations, and desirous of obtaining slaves for themselves at the lowest rates, and not as speculators for sale. Even if they lost two-thirds of those they had bought on the coast, they would be thus obtaining the remainder at a less price than importers by trade could afford to sell them at, taking the usual brokerage and chances of repayment into consideration. At present there is less demand for slaves than there was at this time of the last year. The newspapers have been full of advertisements for them to be sold or hired out in bodies for the season, whereas I have not seen one of any required, as was often the case last year, and even in the time of General Valdes. Neither has the price for slaves or for labour risen since the last year; and this and the other considerations before mentioned bring me to the conclusion, that the slave trade is in a depressed state not only on account of the blockade, but also on account of the dealers not being therefore able to afford slaves at such prices as to meet the wants of the planters at the present rates of produce. If the slave trade were again set free, and the planters could get them, as they then might, at one third or one fourth of the present prices, the numbers might be taken, perhaps, even 20,000 or 25,000 per annum, for some years, till the number was found sufficient to check further importations. The high price then is and must be a check to the trade, and this high price is owing to the blockade of the coast. In my last annual report, dated 1 January 1848, and a former one, I informed your Lordship that though lately a larger demand for slave labour had arisen on account of the higher price of sugar, yet this demand had been met by a supply of negroes from abandoned coffee plantations, to the number then estimated of about 30,000. Since then I learn there has been a return made to this government of the number so transferred to sugar estates, estimated at 38,000. This supply I should think sufficient for the necessities of some years to come. The extraordinary demand that arose last year and the one preceding for more labourers, was no doubt on the expectation of continued high prices; but with the present prospects it must abate. The calculations also formed last year of the quantity of sugar to be made, under particular circumstances, have in many cases proved erroneous, and the gains therefore have been less than what was expected. In the year now concluded very little rain has fallen in the island, so that the canes have proved of inferior quality; and it is supposed by many that the exports of this

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year, 1849, will fall even 30 per cent. below those of the past. Such being the case, as there are several estates on which they do not grind at all this season, and all from 20 to 30 per cent. less than before, the requirement of labour is so much less, and the quantity that sufficed for the last will be quite sufficient for the present. Thus, then, may be accounted for the fact that there is less demand even now for labour than there was a year since; and perhaps no great demand will arise for years to come, for the same reason. As far as can be judged, the best-informed merchants seem to think that the price of sugar will not again materially rise, and that this island has already attained the utmost that, under the present circumstances, it is likely to produce. With the present prices the planters cannot afford to give large sums for labour, and they must economise with what they have. In this they have also another supply beyond what the abandoned coffee estates afforded, namely, from the numbers formerly employed in the manufacture of tobacco and cigars. Much as has been the falling off in respect of remuneration for sugar, the fall in the tobacco trade is as remarkable. Of 20,000 persons estimated to have been employed in this city in the manufacture of cigars, it is said that half are now out of employment; and this circumstance, if it be true, and if it continue, must lower the rate of prices for labour generally, and give, if required, perhaps several thousand labourers for the estates. The exports from Havana and Matanzas, which in 1847 amounted to 1,006,767 boxes of sugar, and 106,904 quintals of coffee, in the past year have amounted to 1,000,341 boxes of sugar, and 31,673 quintals of coffee, there being five boxes of sugar and 22½ quintals of coffee to the ton. In 1847 there were exported from Havana 19,368 quintals of leaf tobacco, which was less than half the quantity exported in 1846. But in the past year the exports have fallen still further, to 13,508 quintals. Of cigars, in 1847 were exported hence 198,268 bundles of 1,000 each, which was one-fifth more than in former years; but during the last year the exports have fallen to their former average, 150,729 bundles, with the prospect of this depression continuing. I conclude from these facts that there is not that incentive for an increase of slave trade existing in the higher price and call for slave labour which would cause it to be continued against the risk of losses felt in late years. If the blockade were abandoned, and slaves procured at a quarter, a third, or even one half the present prices, it would be renewed unquestionably to as frightful an extent as ever. From my knowledge of this community, I feel myself warranted in saying that no other than coercive measures will suffice to keep the trade suppressed. They think much of gain, but only of present gain, and they have not the slightest scruples in carrying it on. There are a few advocates for the suppression of the trade, and a few even for the suppression of slavery itself; but there are very few indeed, and it may be doubted whether they would hold true to their opinions in case the alternative were offered them. The great body of the people have not the slightest sense of any injustice perpetrated in the trade. It seems to me therefore idle to think for a moment of its being ever to be put down by other means. In addition to the return of the exports and imports during the last 20 years, I also submit to your Lordship an account of the revenue of the island, as affording means to judge of its capabilities, and to gather the prospects of increase of production and inducements to carry on the slave trade, if the planters should find it worth their while to extend their cultivations, either by a rise in the price of sugar, or what is the same thing, a lowering of the price of labour, which would follow on the slave trade being opened to them again, so that they could produce sugar at a greater profit. In the despatch, No. 14, of 1847, dated the 9th March of that year, I gave your Lordship an account of a new estate, formed by Don Julian Zulueta, which was expected to produce 10,000 boxes of sugar during the year. Of this estate I am enabled now to give the following further particulars: it is named the Alava, situated in the neighbourhood of Cardanas; it is formed of 60 caballerias (2,000 acres) of land, of which 33 caballerias are laid out in cane, 17 unopened, 3 arid, and 7 occupied in buildings and roads. It has 3 mills, each of which give 50 pails of syrup per day, at a heat in January of 8½, and in March and April of 10½, 11; each caballeria gives 1,500 loads of cane; and in the last year, 1848, the produce exported was, of boxes of sugar 5,000 white, 3,000 yellow, 312 cœurncho, 600 muscovado, and 134 small cases; total, 9,046: the number of loaves being at the rate of 2,000 to the caballeria; for these there are

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28 caballerias of cane ground, and this year, 1849, they have of molasses 1,500 hogsheads. The body of labourers is represented to consist of 380 utiles or slaves, 35 Asiatics, and 200 creoles of 10 years and under. The last number is evidently false, and to be understood of the later introduction of slaves in July last, the cargo then brought being well known to have previously consisted of children. There are said to be, on the average, 25 sick in the infirmary. On the estate are 90 carts and 170 yokes of oxen, and the buildings are on the best scale, the whole lighted with gas, sufficient for 5,000 lights, but in general they use 60; the apparatus in England cost 240 *l.*, and the bringing and placing it 600 *l.*; it has 20 feet diameter, 12 of height, 3 retorts, and corresponding condenser and purifier. I have been led to give these details because the former account referred to has been pronounced fabulous by one of the monthly publications of London; but it is to be observed that there are several others in the island as colossal; one, for instance, belonging to the Conde de Penalver, another to the Condesa de Reunion, one to Don F. Diago, and others. The Conde de Fernandina has lately formed one, the Agüüca, which it is said will be the largest in the island, as the works are on the most improved scale, and the annual produce calculated at 14,000 boxes of sugar; the alava of Don Julian Zulueta, this season is only calculated to produce 6,000 boxes, on account of the drought of last year, but in general years at 10,000 boxes, which at 15 dollars a box would be 150,000 dollars, or 30,000 *l.* sterling per annum. As a general computation, it is stated here, in the last number of the Memoirs of the Royal Economic Society of Havana, that an estate with 150 negroes to putting it in a state to produce 2,000 boxes of sugar, may have cost its proprietor 140,000 dollars, and thereupon giving a value of 40,000 dollars to that crop; and considering that with proper management 15,000 dollars will suffice for the expenses, a net surplus remains of 25,000 dollars, which is about 18 per cent. Could the slaves be bought at reduced prices, the profit would be accordingly greater; from these considerations the inference seems to me, that the least relaxation of the present system of prevention of slave trade would be eagerly taken advantage of, for the prosecution of those gains of which I have given these details. The planters are actively intent on the promotion of their interests; they are proceeding with unremitting assiduity to obtain the best machinery, and carry on their works under the best systems they can learn; meanwhile the Government is also aiding them by going on with equal pace in promoting the prosperity of the island; coals are not only admitted free of duty, but the vessels bringing them are admitted at a reduced tonnage duty; public works on all sides are wisely carried on; new roads and bridges are in course of construction in every direction; and railroad companies encouraged and supported; harbours are improved and opened to trade, so that both internal and coasting communications are facilitated. Three lighthouses on the coasts are now building; public instruction is much attended to, especially a branch lately established for engineers; better municipal regulations also are formed for public convenience; but above all, the administration of the government under the Conde de Alcoy, the present Captain-general, influencing of course every tribunal and subordinate authority, is placed, in a remarkable manner, on a footing which, if it be continued so for a few years, cannot fail to give this island the fullest means of developing all the advantages it possesses. If the slave trade were opened to them again, the people here would enter into it with an unscrupulousness in which the English colonies could not compete with them; and the ruin therefore of the latter would be complete and immediate."\*

28. That is presuming that the local government of Cuba connives at the introduction of slaves into the island?—From this I should infer that they rather discourage it.

29. This is Mr. Kennedy's report?—Yes.

30. He states that if the squadron were withdrawn the introduction of slaves would be very largely increased?—Yes.

31. That is upon the assumption that the local government of Cuba connives at their introduction?—No doubt that the withdrawal of the squadron would be taken by them as indicating that the British Government meant to abandon its efforts to put down the slave trade, and then of course they would look only to their own interests.

32. Mr.

\* This Report appears more fully in the Appendix.

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32. Mr. *Gladstone.*] Has not the local government of Cuba usually pursued one of two courses, either, when it has been honest, if I may use the term in respect of the slave trade, discountenancing it altogether, or when it has not been honest in regard to it, taxing it in the form of fees?—There have been those two extremes, and there has been a middle course, where the governor has, to a certain degree discouraged it, to keep up an appearance of fulfilling the orders received from Spain; but has connived at it, and taken fees, while he could do it, as he thought, without exposure.

33. If the blockading squadron were removed, does your Lordship think that the local government of Cuba, presuming it to be perfectly honest, could prevent the introduction of slaves into the island?—I should think it could.

34. If on the other hand the blockading squadron were removed, and the local government of Cuba were not honest, do you think the local government of Cuba would take advantage of the increased facility for their introduction to impose a higher tax upon it, in the shape of augmented fees?—I should think that they probably, in that case, would fix their duty upon the principle of procuring the highest revenue; that they would take as high a duty as would give them the largest produce.

35. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Has the Government received any information as to the present price of slaves in Cuba?—I have no doubt that I could furnish it, but I have not got it here.

36. Have you any knowledge whether of those slaves that have lately been imported, the number of males greatly preponderates over the number of females?—It is almost impossible to obtain such detailed reports, because it is very difficult to get information even as to the fact of a cargo being landed. It is not easy to know even the total number that have been landed.

37. But the general information that the Government have received, tends to show that the number of males does in fact greatly preponderate over the number of females?—I believe that there is no question that the number of males is far greater than that of females in the imported cargoes.

38. Does not your Lordship, therefore, think that probably in a very few years the number of deaths of males must lead to a renewal of the slave trade, if the present exportation of sugar be kept up?—Assuming that which cannot be doubted, that the negro population consists of a much larger proportion of males than of females, it is certainly obvious that, supposing the importation stopped for a few years, the annual mortality would reduce the number of labourers. What the consequences of that might be as regards the renewal of the slave trade, would of course depend upon other circumstances.

39. *Chairman.*] You stated to the Committee that the captures made by our squadron on the coast of Africa in 1848 have increased considerably over the number of captures made in the preceding year, 1847?—Yes.

40. Have you reason to believe that the number of slaves deported from the coast of Africa, and carried across the ocean, has diminished in anything like the same proportion?—I have no information at present as to the number of slaves that have been carried this year across. I wrote not long ago to Mr. Hudson, to desire him to obtain the best account he could of the number supposed to have been introduced into Brazil in the year 1848, but that I have not at present any means of stating.

41. How soon may that despatch be expected?—I am afraid not for some time; the communications are very slow between Brazil and this country.

42. Have you any information with respect to the value of slaves during the past 12 months in the market?—Yes, I could give that; but I cannot state it off-hand.

43. Generally speaking, do you know whether the price has been maintained, or whether it has fallen off?—I will send the Committee a statement of the prices of this year and last year, both in Cuba and Brazil; that will be better than speaking from memory.

44. Have you any reason to suppose that the commerce of Cuba and Brazil has not suffered during the past 12 months, with the general depression of the commercial affairs of the world?—I suppose it must have been affected by the same causes that have acted upon other countries.

45. And if so, it would be a fair inference that the demand for slaves had, *pro tanto*, diminished?—Yes, that seems to be the result of the report I have read from

from Mr. Kennedy; that the fall in the price of sugar in Cuba has led to a diminution in the demand for slaves.

46. Mr. *Milnes*.] Can your Lordship tell us whether any measures have been taken, since you last gave evidence before this Committee, for the encouragement of trade with the coast of Africa?—The only encouragement that can be given is the security afforded by the presence of our cruisers, and the multiplication of treaties with native chiefs, binding them to abandon the slave trade, and to take to legitimate traffic.

47. Do you consider that those treaties have been generally adhered to by the persons who have made them?—I believe they have.

48. Do you look forward to a considerable increase of legitimate trade with those countries in consequence of those treaties?—My belief is, that if the slave trade could be entirely put down there would be a very great increase of legitimate trade with the coast of Africa; the natives are much in want of commodities with which we can furnish them, and they possess very ample means of paying for them in commodities which we require. I should state, with reference to the last question but one, that the chief of the Gallinas was found lately to have broken his treaty, and that the commodore ordered hostile proceedings to be taken against him, the details of which we have not yet received; but he has established a blockade upon that part of the coast which is under the rule of that chief.

49. Earl of *Lincoln*.] In answer to the first question from the Honourable Chairman, your Lordship replied, that there had been no change of policy on the part of the British Government with regard to the slave trade since the Committee made its Report last year. Would your Lordship have the kindness to state whether any additional steps, or any other measures have been adopted by the Government in consequence of the Report of the Committee, which urged upon the immediate attention of the Government the difficulties and embarrassments which attach to the present position of the subject?—We have felt that the great mass of the slave trade was directed to Brazil, and that consequently the main object was to induce Brazil to co-operate with us for preventing her subjects from trading in slaves, and we have been in communication with the Brazilian government.

50. In all other respects then, excepting the negotiation for a treaty, which your Lordship has already stated you have some reason to expect may produce some results, the Committee, we presume, is to understand that the subject remains much in the same position as it did when the Committee was sitting last year?—Yes; our object has been to multiply treaties with the native chiefs, to induce them to abandon the trade, and to persuade Brazil to give us a treaty which would enable us to propose to Parliament to repeal the Act of 1845, which they wish to get rid of.

51. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Has the treaty which your Lordship contemplates as not unlikely, or as possible, to be entered into with Brazil, reference simply to the matters which are affected by the Act of 1845?—What we have stated to the Brazilian government is, that if they will conclude with us a treaty similar to that which Portugal concluded in 1842, we should be quite ready to deal with the Act of 1845 as the Government of 1842 dealt with the Act of 1839, which was passed with regard to the Portuguese slave trade.

52. *Chairman*.] That is to repeal the Act?—Yes, to propose to Parliament to repeal it.

53. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Would the enactment of such a treaty with Brazil do all that your Lordship conceives to be necessary in conjunction with the present system for the suppression of the slave trade in Brazil?—I think it might be necessary to have, in the treaty with Brazil, some provision bearing upon local circumstances which would be different from those in the treaty with Portugal.

54. Does your Lordship think that the provisions which you have in your mind are such as Brazil would agree to?—That I cannot tell; we are waiting now to see what they propose.

55. Generally speaking, does your Lordship think it probable that Brazil would agree to such a treaty with this country as would secure the suppression of the trade between Brazil and Africa?—I think it would be the interest of the Brazilian government to do so.

56. But does your Lordship think it would be agreeable to their probable

views and inclinations?—I do not like to answer for other people's inclinations and intentions.

57. There is some light thrown upon the subject by past experience, is there not?—I am quite satisfied that what the Brazilians would wish would be that we should repeal the Act of 1845, without substituting anything for it; and the nearer that they could bring us to that the more pleased they would be.

58. Does your Lordship think, that if the treaties which we already have with respect to those slaves who have been surreptitiously introduced into Brazil were fulfilled, that would be of great effect towards the suppression of the slave trade?—That question relates rather to a law, I apprehend, of Brazil, than to a stipulation of treaty. By the treaty of 1826, the Brazilian government pledged itself that any slave trade carried on directly or indirectly by any Brazilian subject, should be deemed and treated as piracy. The emperor moreover passed a law, according to which any negro brought in and landed in Brazil after a specified date, should be *ipso facto* free. No doubt if that law were enforced, a very large proportion of the negroes now held in slavery in Brazil would be restored to that freedom which by the law of Brazil is their right.

59. Does your Lordship consider that England is entitled by the treaty to demand the execution of that order?—England is entitled to demand from Brazil a full and complete fulfilment of its treaty engagements.

60. Sir E. Buxton.] Under the law of Brazil slave trading is piracy, you were understood to say, at present?—No; it ought to be piracy according to the treaty, but the law promulgated does not declare it to be piracy; it attaches very heavy punishments to all parties engaged in the slave trade: the man who buys on the African coast; the man who lands a slave; the man who buys a slave in Brazil; all persons engaged in any way in the adventure.

61. Do you consider that by our treaty we have a claim to demand that it shall be treated as piracy?—I think we have, because that is the literal and plain engagement of the government of Brazil.

62. Does your Lordship think that there is any hope that the Brazilian government would give us the power to punish slave trading as piracy?—I do not apprehend that the Brazilian government would give us the power of dealing with their subjects as pirates. I should think that all they would do, would be to engage, by their own laws, to be executed by their own tribunals, to inflict such punishment as the crime of piracy might deserve.

63. Does your Lordship suppose, if the Spaniards were to fulfil honourably their engagements with us, that in Cuba also as well as in Brazil, a great number of persons now kept in slavery would be set free?—What I have said with regard to Brazil applies also to Cuba; for there is a Spanish law to the same effect as the Brazilian law which I have mentioned, namely, purporting that every negro brought into Cuba after a specified date, should be *ipso facto* free; there can be no doubt that there must be in Cuba a great number of negroes who are illegally held in bondage.

64. Are you aware whether it is easy to distinguish a newly-imported negro from one who has been born in the colony?—I believe perfectly easy for persons accustomed to see negroes for a certain time after their importation; I do not know how long the traces take to be obliterated.

65. If, therefore, the Spanish government were honestly determined to liberate all those who were illegally imported, they would have no difficulty in distinguishing at least a great number of them?—If they would consent to the establishment of a mixed commission for the purpose of examining negroes brought before them, I apprehend such commission would have no difficulty in nine cases out of ten.

66. Mr. Gladstone.] Your Lordship was understood to state that there was a considerable party in Brazil opposed to the continuance of the slave trade?—I stated that there was a party rising.

67. A rising party?—Yes, a growing party.

68. Your Lordship believes that that party is on the increase?—I believe so; I cannot say that it is a considerable party at present.

69. Does your Lordship consider that the system of forcible suppression of the slave trade has a tendency to enlist all the national pride in Brazil on the side of the slave-trading party?—Not with regard to those persons in Brazil who constitute the anti-slavery body. I am led to believe that they look to England as the support of their principle.

70. Does your Lordship think that with reference, not to persons already enlisted by their prepossession in the anti-slavery party, but with reference to public sentiment in Brazil, the public sentiment in Brazil is more likely to incline to the continuance of the slave trade, while the system of forcible suppression continues, than after it should have been abandoned?—My belief is, that that notion may be put forward by persons in Brazil who are themselves engaged, and have an interest in the slave trade, but I do not believe that that national feeling has any real effect. I believe the question upon which the conduct and opinions of the Brazilians chiefly turn is the practicability or the impracticability of continuing the trade.

71. Mr. *Cardwell*.] It has been represented that there already exists in Brazil a great apprehension of difficulty from the increase in the number of slaves, and that if the squadron were withdrawn there would probably be so great a fear on the part of the Brazilians of a still further large increase in the number of slaves, that for their own safety they would take effectual measures to suppress it; does your Lordship think that that representation is at all consistent with the truth?—I do not attach any value to that argument. It is very probable that there is a great apprehension of danger from an increase of negroes, in the minds of those who are not themselves directly to benefit by the importation; but they are a passive part of the population; and my belief is, that the expectation of gain on the part of merchants who import slaves, and of landowners who buy them, would lead to exertions that would entirely overrule any precautionary measures that might be suggested by that other class of persons to whom I have alluded.

72. Viscount *Brackley*.] Your Lordship spoke of a penal law having been passed by Spain, which was highly efficacious. Do you think that if Brazil could be induced to pass such a law, public opinion in Brazil would allow of its being enforced, so as to be of any use?—Yes; I should think that if the Brazilian legislature passed a law, attaching adequate punishment to slave trade, and if the government were sincerely bent upon carrying that law into execution, it would be sufficiently enforced to produce the effect desired.

73. Sir *E. Buxton*.] With respect to Brazil and Cuba too, does your Lordship suppose that, considering it is the interest of those countries to maintain the slave trade, there is any hope, that at any future time, they will be induced, from their moral feeling, to put it down; that is, that a sort of moral feeling will arise in those countries that will induce them to put it down?—I should think so. I think that if you could once effectually stop the slave trade, other habits and other interests would rise up, and that the governments of those countries, having got into the habit of faithfully executing their treaties, those treaties would be effectual. There is another effect that is produced by the stoppage of the slave trade, which is a great improvement in the condition of the slaves; the masters would be obliged to take better care of them; they would encourage the breeding of slaves upon their estates, and they would get a supply of labour by natural means, and their slaves would become more like the peasantry of a country where serfage exists.

74. But do you entertain the hope that they will be induced by their moral feelings to put down the slave trade, provided our cruisers are withdrawn?—No, I think certainly not: that moral feeling does not exist now, and it could only be the result of a complete suppression of the trade, which suppression I myself do not think could be effected if the cruisers were withdrawn.

75. We understood that in the letter you read from Mr. Kennedy, it was stated that at present there is no anti-slavery feeling in Cuba, or almost none?—There is no statement in the despatch which I read of the existence of an anti-slavery feeling, but there is no doubt that there does exist in Cuba a considerable body who are desirous that the slave trade should be put down; we have had that proved by addresses and representations made in former years to the government of Spain; and that party consists of owners of existing estates, who do not wish new land to be brought into cultivation, to come into competition with their own.

76. So that that aversion to the slave trade arises rather from a diversity of interest than from a diversity of opinion as to the morality of the slave trade?—Just so; but a feeling which arises from self-interest is perhaps as sure a foundation to build upon as one that arises from moral opinion.

77. Have you any expectation that that party who are already supplied with

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slaves, will, in any short time hence, be predominant in Cuba, so that from having that influence they could put down the slave trade?—I would not found any expectation upon that; I believe that party consists chiefly of Spanish settlers; and those who are most active in encouraging the slave trade are the American settlers, who have bought land, and wish to bring new land into cultivation, or extend the cultivation of existing estates.

*Lunæ, 26° die Martii, 1849.*

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Sir Edward Buxton.  
Earl of Lincoln.  
Colonel Thompson.  
Admiral Bowles.

Mr. Jackson.  
Mr. Monckton Milnes.  
Mr. Hutt.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Commander *Charles Wilson Riley*, R. N., called in; and Examined.

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78. *Chairman.*] YOU are a Commander in the Royal Navy?—I am.
79. You have been recently employed on the African station?—Yes; I left that station in January of this year.
80. What vessel did you command?—The "Star."
81. What description of vessel is that?—One of the eight-gun sloops.
82. In what part of the coast of Africa were you stationed?—In the Bight of Benin.
83. Was your station confined to the Bight of Benin?—Entirely.
84. How long did you command the "Star" on that part of the coast?—From May 1848 to January last.
85. That was about nine months. From what cause did you come home so soon?—I was not well for the first fortnight or three weeks of my being on the coast; and then there were some family affairs that required me to leave.
86. Did the state of your health enable you to make accurate observations of the operations of the slave trade?—Perfectly so.
87. Was the slave trade carried on with activity in that part of the coast at which you were stationed?—It became very active about the months of October, November, and December 1848.
88. Did you make many captures?—I took two vessels only.
89. Were they loaded with slaves?—No, they were empty; I seized them under the Equipment Act.
90. You made no capture of vessels loaded with slaves?—No; the traffic increases there in the last three months of the year, on account of the beach being at that time better for shipment. In those months they have what is called a good beach.
91. During those months the slave trade is in the state of the greatest activity?—Yes.
92. Have you reason to believe that many slave trade vessels were successful in carrying off their cargoes from that part of the coast?—I will state the number of vessels that were captured during the time I was there by the division, which consisted of one steamer and four sailing vessels.
93. That was the whole of the squadron on that part of the coast?—That was the whole of the division of the Bight of Benin; 10 vessels were taken empty under the Equipment Act, and seven vessels which were full; and the whole were condemned.
94. That was in nine months?—Yes.
95. Had you been previously on the coast of Africa?—I had not.
96. Have you reason to believe that many vessels got away without being captured?—No; my opinion is that very few got away; and I am satisfied that if we had had steam vessels instead of sailing vessels, none would have escaped; with five steamers I would have suppressed the slave trade entirely.

97. Along

97. Along the whole coast?—Along the entire Bight of Benin, from Cape St. Paul's to Cape Formosa, which is the division of the Bight of Benin; that is an extent of between 300 and 400 miles.

98. Are you of opinion that steamers are more effective than sailing vessels in suppressing the slave trade?—Decidedly; I will give my reasons for that opinion. Formerly we had but indifferent sailing vessels on the coast, and those employed in the slave trade had also indifferent vessels; since then we have employed the best sailing vessels that we have in the navy, and the consequence is that we have driven them to build a superior class of vessels; such vessels for sailing qualities you will not find among the Cowes yachts, so that with our weight of metal we cannot compete with them; but if we had steamers we could walk up to and capture them, and they could not get in to ship their slaves; the movements of the steamers would be quicker also. I chased one, the "Curioso;" she ran me from daylight to dark; I lost sight of her in the dark; I caught sight of her again two days afterwards, and after seven hours chase I captured her; she was empty; a steamer would have had that vessel in two hours. I got sight of another vessel, the "Rasparte;" she was built to beat every vessel under Sir Charles Hotham's command. I caught sight of her at seven o'clock in the morning, and chased her. Her captain was so satisfied of her sailing qualities, and that no vessel could beat her, that in my view he stood into Whydah, and landed the supercargo to order the slaves; they made signals for him to stand off, which he disregarded. I was reaching towards her with a light royal breeze; when I commenced the chase she was to windward of me, and at about 11 a change of wind threw her rather to leeward of me, and I captured her at three o'clock; but for that change of wind, I question whether I should have taken her; when I got on board, I never saw anything so beautiful; she was just off the stocks. To give an idea of her power of sailing, I may state that she was 24 days from Bahia to Whydah, an unrecorded passage.

99. Admiral *Bowles*.] What was her tonnage?—105 tons.

100. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Where was she built?—At Bahia; she had a crew of 25 men, and she handled her sails and everything as well as the best equipped man-of-war could.

101. *Chairman*.] You have stated that you have reason to believe that very few vessels got away with a cargo during the time you were on the coast?—That is my impression, from the information we got; and we get information from merchant vessels lying at the different ports along the coast.

102. Your observation was not applied exclusively to the station on which you were employed, namely, the Bight of Benin, but to the whole line of coast?—No; I applied it to the Bight of Benin, to which my knowledge extends.

103. Do you think that if steam vessels were employed instead of sailing vessels, the blockade would be effectual along the whole line of the coast of Africa?—I applied my remark decidedly to the Bight of Benin. To the southward of the line sailing vessels would answer almost as well, with here and there a steamer, and I will give the reason: during the rainy season we have generally in the Bight of Benin a good topgallant breeze; the wind is from west to south-west; this is a wind which enables vessels to run in upon the coast, and it will carry them clear of Cape Formosa. Now to the southward it is not so; they have very light winds, and the boats of the cruisers are more effective than ours are; in fact we cannot send our boats on service, except from the latter end of October to the end of February; then they are very serviceable.

104. Are the sailing vessels which are now employed to the southward of the line effective in completing the blockade?—I think they are generally effective; but you want more steamers there than you have. I should withdraw some of the sailing vessels to the southward, and substitute steamers.

105. Did not I understand you to say that sailing vessels would do as well as steamers, to the south of the line?—Almost as well; but where there is a force of eight vessels, I would have two of those steamers; but I would have all steam vessels in the Bight of Benin.

106. You have not been south of the line?—No.

107. You cannot then speak from your own knowledge of the activity of the trade on that part of the coast?—By talking with the officers who are stationed there we get information; the purser of the "Star" had been there upwards of three years, and my clerk had been there three years, from whom I received much useful information.

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108. Has not the slave trade been carried on very actively south of the line, notwithstanding the vessels that have been employed in the blockade there?—Report says so; but a great number of vessels have been taken. I see Captain Matson makes an observation of the number of vessels that he took in three years: the “Styx” took 27 in the twelvemonth; he took 40 in the three years. That shows the comparison between steam and sailing vessels.

109. Would not the employment of steam boats on the part of the British Government lead to the employment of steam boats on the part of the slave traders?—They could not get the coals which would be necessary for steam vessels. We here and there find a screw steamer; they have sent four over, all of which have been captured.

110. Do you believe those are the only vessels that have been sent?—I believe it is almost an ascertained fact that they have had none but those four.

111. I have before me a letter which is printed in the “Anti-Slavery Reporter” of the 1st of March in this year, dated Rio de Janeiro, and in which there is this statement: “A steamer of large dimensions, intended to carry out 2,000 slaves, is building on the Braganza side, and is to be launched in two or three months.” That would seem, supposing this statement to be correct, which I have reason to believe that it is, as if the hopes of the slave traders of the efficiency of steam boats were not entirely exploded?—I should imagine that is only a report. If they have a steamer of that size, she certainly will be captured.

112. On her first voyage?—We shall know that she is coming, and a steamer will be sent to look after her.

113. Mr. Jackson.] Supposing she had sufficient power to beat the steamers which we have out there, she might escape them?—We are sending out very fast steamers.

114. But steamers which were considered swift a few months ago, running 14 miles an hour, are considered slow now: when steamers are built to run between Dublin and Holyhead 18 miles an hour, and they having the advantage of having no heavy metal, how would you capture them?—They would not be able to get fuel on the coast for vessels of such large dimensions.

115. Vessels carry sufficient coals across the Atlantic; why could not those vessels carry sufficient coals?—The vessels going across the Atlantic have to coal for the return voyage.

116. Supposing they came under canvas, and took the coals for the return voyage?—The chances are, if they came to the coast, they would be captured if they were under canvas. You cannot form an idea of the vigilance of the squadron unless you have been among them; there is great zeal in the service.

117. Chairman.] They would have a difficulty in obtaining coals?—Yes; our vessels go to Fernando Po for coals; they would have to get them on board on the coast; with all our means it takes us some days to coal a steamer.

118. Do not you think the slave traders would beat you in the rapidity with which they would coal their vessels?—Decidedly not; we have established depôts.

119. Mr. Jackson.] Do you mean to say that it is not possible for them to land coals on the coast of Africa without parties knowing for what purpose they were sent there, and to reship them within a certain period of time, to be used on board the steamer?—The steamer must go in for that purpose, and our cruisers would look in and see her there, and would capture her while she was coaling.

120. That is supposing that your vessels saw her; but your vessels cannot be everywhere at the same time?—They are very vigilant.

121. Sir E. Buxton.] You mean to say that the coaling of those swift steamers would take a considerable time, and that if that were attempted, the vessel would be captured while she was coaling?—Yes.

122. Mr. Jackson.] Do you know how long it takes to coal a vessel in Aden?—I do not.

123. Do you know that it is done in a few hours, to enable the steamer to run the voyage from Aden to Ceylon?—No. I am aware how long it takes our steamers where we have everything to assist us. At Fernando Po, where we have every advantage of smooth water, and are close in the shore, it takes four days for a small steamer to complete her coaling.

124. Chairman.] Do not you think that the ingenuity and energy of the slave traders would enable them to load their vessels in less time than that?—I should say decidedly not; when you remember that at Fernando Po we have smooth  
water,

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water, and they would have to contend with the surf along the coast; for instance, along the entire Bight of Benin we have one perpetual surf along the beach.

125. Mr. *Jackson*.] There is a very heavy roll there?—Yes, which would retard the shipment of coal sometimes for three or four days.

126. How many tons of coal do you take in in the four days?—I did not command a steamer, and therefore cannot say.

127. You are not then speaking of your own knowledge?—Yes; the “*Firefly*” was under my command when I sent her from the Bight to coal, and four days was the shortest time she took in getting the coal on board.

128. Can you state to the Committee what quantity of coal she took on board?—No; not being in the command of a steam vessel, I never took the trouble to inquire into that.

129. You cannot state whether she was employed all the time in taking in coal?—Yes; for the commander of the vessel, when she returned, brought a log which I had to present to the commodore, and I know the number of hours they were employed coaling the vessel. They are employed from the time they enter as long as there is day-light; they work from six to six, with the exception of half an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner, and half an hour for supper, and it takes them four days.

130. Sir *E. Buxton*.] If the slavers had coal depôts on the coast it would be certain that the commanders of your vessels would know where those depôts were?—Most certainly they would.

131. And that would give them an opportunity of catching the vessel when she went to coal?—Our vessels would very frequently look in where they knew there were coal depôts, to see whether steamers were there to coal or not.

132. Are you aware how the slave steamers that have been already on the coast have managed their coaling?—I am not.

133. Admiral *Bozoles*.] They would not be able to establish any secret depôts?—Certainly not; it is impossible for them to do that.

134. *Chairman*.] A very intelligent officer of considerable experience who was examined before this Committee last Session, stated that he considered sailing vessels were as efficient for the purpose of blockade as steam vessels; you hold the contrary opinion?—I do, particularly as applied to the Bight of Benin, the part that Captain Denman alludes to. In his evidence he states that in consequence of the very light and variable winds in the Bight, sailing vessels are as efficient as steam vessels; now, it is known to everybody who has been in the Bight, that during the rainy season we have a strong top-gallant breeze six days out of the seven; it is only in the months of November, December, and January that we have light winds, and then we have rarely calm weather more than an hour or two at one time; from which cause I consider steam most efficient.

135. When you observe a slave vessel at sea, can you distinguish by her appearance whether she has slaves on board or not?—No; it is impossible till we get near her.

136. You cannot by the depth of water, or any other means, ascertain it?—No; we sometimes judge that the vessel is empty; but the vessels they work now do not sink much from the weight of the people. To show that it does not alter their trim much, I may state that the “*Dolphin*” took a brig last October; she came from Lagos that night; she had 807 slaves on board; and she was 110 tons. The “*Dolphin*” saw her at daylight, and chased her with a fresh breeze, and she went away from the “*Dolphin*,” two miles to the “*Dolphin’s*” one. The “*Dolphin*” is a fast sailing vessel: it fell a calm, and the commander of the *Dolphin* took her in his boat; an hour after he had taken her a breeze sprang up; they took much sail off the brig, and she then sailed round the “*Dolphin*” with those slaves on board. This vessel was built in the river Douro, and sailed from the Douro to Bahia, thence to Lagos, where she took her slaves in,

137. What rigged vessel was she?—A brig: she was a most beautiful vessel. I saw her at Sierra Leone; she was lying in Destruction Bay, and was going to be cut up.

138. When you observe a vessel that you believe to be a slaver, what course do you adopt?—Chase immediately.

139. Do you make any signal for the vessel to lie-to?—We are not allowed to fire at vessels; that is strictly prohibited, unless we ascertain their nationality; and it is necessary at the present time to be very careful not to give offence to France; therefore we chase till we get as close as we can to the vessel; but

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anyone who has been on the coast two months will know a slaver from her manœuvres; a legal vessel will heave-to for you.

140. Supposing you are enabled to make out that a vessel is a slaver to a certainty, what course do you take then?—We are ordered not to fire; but we run the risk of it; we do fire, but our firing is of very little use; unless we get close to them, they will stand the firing as well as any English man-of-war; for instance, a brig the "Dolphin" took: she fired 84 shots at her, and put upwards of 50 into her hull and canvas, knocked away all the gunwale, and killed seven slaves in the hold; and, till the mate was wounded in the arm, they never shortened sail.

141. Is the course usually pursued with regard to vessels that you believe to be slavers, that you fire at them?—Yes. I fired at a schooner which I took; but he did not care for it, and he never shortened sail till I got my ship almost as close as that door to me. I desired the lieutenant to put a shot into him; and then he rounded-to; but he was so bold, that he was trying to cross my bows; a very little more and I must have passed over him.

142. It was not till the mate of the other ship that you mentioned was wounded that the ship struck her sails?—No. The master had sent everybody below but himself and the mate.

143. Did you strike the hull or the mast of the vessel?—The hull.

144. That was an empty vessel?—Yes; she had ordered slaves on shore to be taken away that evening.

145. How many shots did you fire at that vessel?—I was firing an hour.

146. How many times did you strike her?—We avoid firing into vessels; I put shot round him to show that I had him within range. We avoid killing the people if we can possibly help it; it is only when we find them determined to stand to the last that we put a shot into them.

147. Sir E. Buxton.] Is it your opinion that the slave trade would increase if our vessels were withdrawn from the coast?—I feel confident that it would; it is as much as we can do to keep it down, with all our vigilance; and I believe that the slave trade would increase, and would commence again where legitimate trade is now going on, if our cruisers were withdrawn.

148. On the other hand, do you believe that the slave trade may be diminished if the cruisers are kept up as efficiently as possible?—It is my decided opinion, (I form it after some deliberation) that if you substituted steamers for sailing vessels in the Bight of Benin, within two years you would totally destroy the slave trade there; it would cease in that part. I confine my observations to that part, for I cannot speak in reference to the southward, except from the information of others.

149. Mr. Jackson.] Do not you think that if the slave trade were put down along the part of the coast between St. Paul's and Cape Formosa, the parties engaged in the slave trade would try to establish it elsewhere on the coast?—They would have a difficulty in establishing it where there is legitimate trade going on; for instance, in the Bight of Biafra they would have a difficulty in establishing the slave trade.

150. Where commerce is once fairly established, you think it is an effectual cure for the slave trade, and that it would not revive again; have you been up the rivers Bonny, Andoney, and Old Calabar?—No; I have not been up any of the rivers. Where you have commerce and protection in my opinion the slave trade will never rise again; but if you were to entirely depend upon commerce, and withdraw all protection from that commerce, I think the slave trade would revive again.

151. You cannot give an opinion from having been up the rivers and seen what the effect of the commerce there has been?—No, except from conversations with the masters of merchant vessels; we get information from them; they find the trade a very lucrative one; the chiefs find it pays them as well, if not better, to employ the labour of those people instead of having them sold for slaves.

152. You come to the opinion, from the information of the masters of merchant vessels, that the owners of the slaves find it as profitable to employ them in producing palm oil and the other produce of the country, as to sell them as slaves?—That is my opinion, from the conversations I have had with different parties.

153. Sir E. Buxton.] It is your decided opinion that if some alterations were made, which you would recommend, our squadron may be rendered more effectual than it has ever hitherto been, and that the slave trade may be considerably diminished,

diminished, if not entirely suppressed?—My opinion is that the slave trade may be entirely suppressed in the Bight of Benin; we have three sailing vessels now there, and two steamers; there has been a second steamer sent there lately.

154. Was there a second steamer sent before you left?—Yes, the “Cyclops,”

Captain Hastings, who took the command of the division from me.

155. How many steamers do you think would be required upon that coast?—I would have five small steam vessels; one to guard from Cape St. Paul’s, taking in Elmina Chica, and Gomolouta; one from Little Popoe, taking in Aughway and Great Popoe; one from Wydah, taking in Porto Novo and Ajuda; one from Lagos to Palma; one from Palma to Benin.

156. Those are all in the Bight of Benin?—Yes.

157. Mr. Jackson.] That is five vessels for a distance of 400 miles?—Yes.

158. The vessels would be 80 miles a part?—Yes, they would manage that distance very well.

159. You do not think it would be possible, if there were vessels 80 miles apart, for a large steamer, well equipped, to run to any part of the coast and take in slaves and escape with them?—I should say it was next to impossible; for such a vessel to take in coals would be impossible.

160. Supposing she had coals enough to carry her there, and she were equal to any of our steam-boats, and better adapted for sailing fast, in consequence of her having no heavy metal on board, do not you think that she could run in and take slaves on board and get away?—She must run in by day to arrange; she might ship the slaves by night, but she must go in by day to make the necessary arrangements.

161. Sir E. Buxton.] Cannot they make arrangements by a certain number of lights?—Not for the shipment of a certain number of slaves; in the first place, they must fix upon the point where the slaves are to be embarked, and the slaves must be brought from the interior to be shipped there.

162. Those things are done by signals, are they not?—I question it very much; the signals they make are generally, “A man of war in sight,” and “Stand out to sea.”

163. Mr. Jackson.] Do you suppose that a steamer of the description I have adverted to could not go up one of the rivers, take the River Benin, and there take slaves on board?—We have no slaving up the River Benin.

164. But do you suppose that if slavery was put an end to at Wydah and Lagos, it would not revive again in those rivers?—I think not; the legitimate trade is too valuable to the chieftains for them to give it up.

165. You think that the legitimate trade having become established in the River Benin, it would not be worth the while of the chieftains to follow the slave trade if they had the opportunity?—I believe that is the impression of the chieftains themselves.

166. Supposing the opinion of the chieftains was the reverse, and that they thought it profitable to carry on the slave trade, do not you think a steamer such as I have described, could readily come into the River Benin, take in a cargo of slaves, and come out again?—In the first place they must form, what does not exist now, a factory, they must have barracoons, and have the slaves brought there; barracoons are not there now; and that would be an affair of time. We should know that they were forming those establishments, and should take precautions, and have a cruiser off there.

167. Sir E. Buxton.] Have you been present at the destruction of any barracoons?—I have not.

168. From the information you have received, are you of opinion that much assistance may be rendered to the vessels in suppressing the slave trade, by destroying the barracoons?—It would have delighted me to destroy the barracoons in the Bight. I would have destroyed De Souza’s if I had been permitted.

169. Do you think the destruction of the barracoons would be effectual in suppressing the slave trade?—It would compel them to keep the slaves more in the interior, and then it would amount to an impossibility for them to get them down to the coast to ship them; they could not transport them in sufficient time.

170. Mr. Jackson.] You would not like to go even five miles into the interior to destroy the barracoons?—There are no barracoons there.

171. Supposing that they were five miles in the interior, would you like to

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venture five miles in order to destroy them?—I should not hesitate if I had orders; I should do it immediately, and I would not be afraid of going.

172. Do not you think that you would endanger the health of your crew by going there?—No; I could go five miles or more, without endangering their health.

172\*. How much further into the interior could you go with safety?—I think I could manage 10 miles, and get back by night to the beach.

173. Supposing the barracoons were 10 miles in the interior, and you had to destroy them, do you think it would be possible to get the slaves brought down 10 miles during the night?—I think not; even now there is a difficulty in getting the slaves to the beach; they get the crews of Sardinian vessels to assist them in driving the slaves down to the shore, when they want to ship them.

174. Have you seen any shipment of slaves yourself?—No; I am speaking from what the Sardinians told me who had been employed.

175. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You think that if means were adopted by the British Government to destroy the barracoons, it would tend very much to the repression of the slave trade?—I think it would make the thing so expensive to the slave factors and people employed, that they would give it up, not being able to bear the expense.

176. Are you aware what the price of slaves on the coast of Africa is?—We can only get at the price of slaves from such information as we can gather along the coast, or from the masters of slave vessels, and they tell us that a slave is worth from 20 to 25 dollars on the coast.

177. *Chairman*.] Does not it vary according to the opportunities of embarking the slaves?—It depends upon the health of the slave; a healthy slave will fetch 25 dollars.

178. Does it not also depend upon the opportunities with which the slaves can be embarked?—I do not think it does; a good deal will depend upon the expense of bringing them down from the interior, and their healthy condition.

179. Sir *E. Buxton*.] In addition to the expense of the slaves themselves, is there not a great expense from the establishment which the slave traders are obliged to keep up?—Very great. That which I am now going to state I only state from the information of others. *Senhor Domingo*, at Port Novo has found it so expensive to keep up his factory, that he has now cleared away a considerable quantity of the country, and is forming a large farm, with the intention, as he says, of giving up the slave factory, which costs him so much, and pays him so little. There are persons at Whydah and at Badagry, who can bear me out in saying this is the intention of *Domingo*.

180. Mr. *Jackson*.] Have you heard whether the price of slaves lately has decreased or advanced?—The Brazilians say that the price of a slave is from 50 *l.* to 60 *l.* in the Brazils.

181. But on the coast of Africa where you have recently been, have you heard whether the demand for slaves has increased the price or not?—I believe many years ago a slave could be bought for 10 dollars, but now you could not get a good slave under 25 dollars.

182. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Are you aware whether within the last four or five years the efforts of our vessels to put down the slave trade have decreased the price, or whether the demand on the contrary has increased the price?—From what I can learn the price of slaves is not more now than it was; it may be five or six dollars more; that is the outside of the increase in Africa, within the past three or four years.

183. Are you aware that at one time the price of slaves was 50 dollars?—I am not aware of that.

184. In case we were to determine to give up all attempts at the suppression of the slave trade, is it your opinion that vessels would be required on the coast to protect our legitimate trade?—Certainly you must have them; if you did not the slave factors there would compel those who are now in useful occupations to return to the slave trade; by having a vessels-of-war you prevent the possibility of their forming the idea of again going on with the slave trade.

185. Do you think that our legitimate traffic with the coast of Africa would be very much decreased if the cruisers were withdrawn?—I believe you would have great difficulty to get the natives to bring the palm oil; the slave factors would employ them to look after the barracoons, and they would return to the slave business.

186. Do you suppose that if the cruisers were withdrawn, piracy would be adopted by the slave traders?—I think if you had not the cruisers there would be pirates; they have all the inclination for it.

187. *Chairman.*] Have you ever found that the necessary vigilance of the cruisers has operated injuriously on legitimate commerce?—Certainly not.

188. Was the "Alert" upon the station when you were there?—She was on the northern station.

189. Do you know any of the circumstances connected with the seizure by the "Alert," of a vessel out of the port of Liverpool, called the "Maid of Islay"?—I am aware of her seizure; she was suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, and I believe it was a well-founded suspicion.

190. Was the vessel carried into Sierra Leone?—She was.

191. Do you know what the sentence of the court was?—There has been no decision come to.

192. A decision has been come to, and the decision is to this effect: "the judge decided that the steamer was not engaged in the slave trade, nor otherwise aiding or abetting that traffic; and decreed her, with her cargo, &c., to be restored to the owners, and condemned the seizers in the costs"—I was not aware of that. On the 10th of February, she was lying at Sierra Leone without any one to acknowledge her.

193. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Supposing we were to give up all attempts to repress the slave trade, how many vessels do you think would be requisite in the Bight of Benin alone, to protect the legitimate commerce?—One vessel in the Bight of Benin, and one in the Bight of Biafra.

194. Where five vessels are now employed, two would be required?—Yes; the vessels stationed in the division of the Bight of Benin, now protect the legitimate commerce in the Bight of Biafra.

195. *Mr. Jackson.*] Then one small vessel would be sufficient to protect the Bight of Biafra, and another the Bight of Benin, for all legitimate commerce?—That is my opinion.

196. They would be quite sufficient to keep the natives in awe, and to lead them to act with justice to the British traders?—Yes, in my opinion.

197. *Sir E. Buxton.*] That is, two vessels would be required of a similar class to those which, under the present system are required for the suppression of the slave trade?—Two similar to the "Star."

198. *Mr. Jackson.*] Two vessels would protect the legitimate commerce, instead of five, which are necessary for the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes, as far as regards the Bights of Benin and Biafra; but you have a large trade from Cape St. Paul's, extending to the west, and you would require a vessel there also.

199. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Have you been on shore much?—No, we are forbidden to land.

200. *Mr. Jackson.*] Taking it that British trade commences at Sierra Leone, and continues along the coast as far as Cape Lopez, how many vessels would be required to protect legitimate commerce?—We will take from Sierra Leone to the Galinas and Cape Mount; there ought to be two vessels there; you might do it with one, but there ought to be two, because you have the Gambia trade to protect.

201. Then from Cape Mount to Cape St. Paul's you would have another vessel?—I would.

202. And between Cape St. Paul's and Formosa you would have another?—Yes.

203. And from there to Congo, a fourth?—Yes.

204. Four vessels would be enough?—If I went as far as the Congo I should have two vessels there, because one would have more than enough to do to look after the trade.

205. Supposing you went to Cape St. John?—After passing Cape Lopez I should put on another vessel.

206. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Do you think the number of vessels you have mentioned, provided we gave up our efforts to suppress the slave trade, would be sufficient?—No; you must first entirely suppress the slave trade, and get those people to follow legitimate commerce, as they are now doing in the Bight of Biafra.

207. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] I think you misunderstood the questions which have been put to you; give me leave, therefore, to ask whether, in answering those

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questions respecting the number of vessels that would be required to protect legitimate commerce, you presupposed the suppression of the slave trade?—Decidedly. I did presuppose its suppression.

208. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You think that number of vessels would not be sufficient were we to give up our efforts to suppress the slave trade, and it were to go on unchecked?—You would merely be able to protect the merchants against piracy; but you could not effectually protect the trade.

209. Mr. *Jackson*.] Supposing there were an unlimited free trade in slaves, and the Government of this country did not in any way interfere with the traffic in slaves, but left the Brazilians and the people of other nations to do as they liked, under such circumstances, with a view of upholding the character of the British nation, and that British traders might be protected there in the pursuits of legitimate commerce, how many vessels would you require from Sierra Leone to Cape Lopez?—If you made it a free trade in slaves you would require double the number, because you would not put down the slave trade, you would rather encourage it than otherwise, and our commerce would suffer; those slave traders would be the lords of the place, and they would interfere with our trade, and interfere with our vessels in every direction.

210. I will confine myself to the question of piracy; how many vessels do you think would be required between Sierra Leone and Cape Lopez to protect British vessels from piracy?—The number I first mentioned would be sufficient for that purpose.

211. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Are you of opinion that if the British squadron were withdrawn, there would be any attempt on the part of the present slave dealers to revenge upon the British merchants and British traders the difficulties and injuries they have suffered from our cruisers?—I think they would naturally interfere with our trade; they would prevent the shipment of anything; you would have continually to interfere on land, to protect the trade; they would beat you entirely away from the coast, for they would prevent the natives trading with you.

212. Do you think that there would be any such attempt at violence and reprisals as would place the persons of British subjects in danger?—On shore there would. My opinion is, that you would not be able to keep up the establishments that you have formed there, if your squadron were withdrawn and the slave trade made an open mart to all countries.

213. Would not there be danger that such unscrupulous men as are at present engaged in the slave trade, would at least attempt to revenge upon the persons of British subjects engaged in the trade of that country, what they consider the difficulties which have been thrown in their way, and the injuries inflicted upon them?—I feel certain that they would revenge themselves, both by destroying the people and every establishment that is formed there.

214. Do you think there would be any danger of those reprisals at sea, by means of buccaneers?—No; the very dread that we should sink them would prevent them.

215. But I am supposing the squadron to be withdrawn, or very much limited?—My opinion then is that you would have piracy, and that if the slave trade was not suppressed it would go on to such a degree that you would have at last to send a larger squadron than you have at the present time.

216. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You think, as far as piracy is concerned, five vessels would be sufficient to protect British vessels, but on the other hand the commerce of the country would be extremely diminished?—It is my opinion that five vessels would protect them against piracy, but that it would not be sufficient to coerce the chieftains and the slavers on shore, and that it would materially interfere with our legitimate commerce.

217. So that though five vessels would protect our trading vessels at sea, they would not be sufficient to protect our commercial establishments on shore?—Certainly not.

218. And you think that the trade with the western coast of Africa would be very much diminished?—It is my opinion that it would be seriously diminished.

219. Colonel *Thompson*.] If the Brazilians were to be entirely driven from the use of sailing vessels to the employment of steamers, which would of course induce a counteraction as regards the British navy, do you think the tendency would be to increase the slave trade carried on by the Brazilians, or to diminish it?—In my opinion we should make the captures much more easy than we do now;

now; we should capture those steam vessels more easily than we now capture the sailing vessels by means of sailing vessels.

220. You have no idea that the Brazilians have any art by which they would be superior to the British navy on the seas?—Decidedly not. My opinion is, that in adopting sailing vessels they can compete with us, but that with steamers it is an impossibility; and now, when they see a steam-vessel, they give themselves up at once as gone.

221. Mr. *Milnes.*] Would you, therefore, recommend a large accession of steam force to the British squadron?—I would recommend an entire steam force in the Bight of Benin, and an accession of steam force to the southward.

222. Mr. *Jackson.*] I understood you to say, that where legitimate commerce had been planted some time, the native chieftain found it more profitable to use his slaves as labourers than to sell them?—I applied that remark to the Bight of Biafra, where we have much legitimate commerce.

223. Do you think that if slavery were allowed to exist wholly unrestricted, the natives would forego a trade which is more profitable to them, for one which is not so profitable?—Where they have established a legitimate trade they find it profitable, you must first suppress the slave trade, and then legitimate trade will follow.

224. The slave trade has been virtually suppressed in the River Bonny, and a large legitimate commerce is carried on there; and the native chiefs, according to your opinion, find it more profitable to carry on that trade than to traffic in slaves. Do you think they would resume the slave trade, it being less profitable than the legitimate trade of the country, if slavery were allowed to exist in that part of the country?—The temptation to them would be very great. One is an affair of labour, and the other is an affair of little labour and of great profit.

225. I understood you to give your opinion, that there is greater profit to the chief in employing his slaves, than there is in selling them?—One is a certain profit, viz., legitimate traffic, and the other has a great risk attending it. I believe that all the chieftains, if they could carry on the slave trade, would prefer that to having anything to do with labour.

226. Notwithstanding it is less profitable?—It would not be less profitable to them if they could carry it on without any expense; for instance, they would not have to keep up barracoons and those expensive establishments; but, then every man would have his own venture.

227. Can you say, either from your own information or from communication with chiefs up the rivers, what would be the effect of removing the squadron?—I have never been up the rivers, but the trade up there is very great. There is a great competition to get palm-oil, and the price frequently increases from the great demand, and that is an extra inducement to the chieftain to confine himself to legitimate commerce; the removal of the squadron would cause our commerce to suffer materially.

228. The more the trade is encouraged, the greater is the profit of the chieftain?—Yes.

229. Supposing that the slave trade was carried on without any attempt on the part of our Government to suppress it, do you suppose that the demand for slaves would increase in proportion to the supply?—I am afraid you would not find sufficient slaves; the demand would be so great that they would not be able to keep up the supply.

230. *Chairman.*] Have you made that observation after having duly considered the demand that exists?—The demand that exists is very great at this time, in consequence of the mines being more at work in the Brazils than they were some years back; and the free trade in sugar has increased the demand for slaves; they are clearing away more land for the cultivation of sugar.

231. Have you been in the Brazils?—No; but I have had conversations with the masters of American vessels, and that is their opinion.

232. Sir *E. Buxton.*] You stated that the reason which induced Domingo and others to turn their attention to legitimate trade, was the great uncertainty in the slave trade, produced by the efforts of our cruisers?—The efforts of the cruisers have been very successful in capturing vessels under the Equipment Act, which renders the keeping of slaves very expensive to those concerned in the factories.

233. So that when you say that Domingo and other chiefs have some idea of turning their attention to legitimate traffic, you mean to convey to the Committee

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the impression that it is under the present state of things that they have that intention?—Yes, under the present state of the squadron.

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234. And not at all that they would turn their attention to legitimate traffic if the cruisers were withdrawn?—I think not, certainly. Domingo is clearing away a good deal of land for the cultivation of palm oil, and is likely to pursue legitimate commerce.

235. When you say that Brazilian vessels can compete with our vessels in some cases, you allude to the difficulty that our vessels have in sailing after them, in consequence of their heavy armament?—Yes; it is a well-known fact that all vessels will sail better without any heavy armament; if our vessels were without guns in them, we could sail as well as the slavers; it is our heavy metal that retards our sailing. You make a vessel out at 12 o'clock to-day, 12 or 14 miles distant, in the wind's eye; you have a dead beat and she escapes you; but if you had a steamer you would go up in the wind's eye of her and capture her.

236. Colonel *Thompson*.] Is there more difficulty in capturing Brazilian vessels than there was during the war in capturing French privateers?—Yes; all French privateers carried guns and stores, which made them worse sailers.

237. But they often got away from the ships of the British Navy?—Yes; because our vessels at that time were not so perfect as the vessels in the present day.

238. You think that the English vessels are more a match for the Brazilian vessels than the English vessels were in the time of the war for the French privateers?—Yes.

239. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Were the vessels which you lately captured on the coast very good, or were they inferior vessels?—They were very good vessels; in the Bight of Benin the vessels captured had been the admiration of every person who saw them, from the great beauty of their build. Captain Eden, in the "*Amphitrite*," took the "*Josephina*," a most beautiful brig.

240. They do not usually now employ old foreign vessels?—Not in the Bight; occasionally to the southward they do. I will give one instance of the kind of vessel they use in the Bight: there was the "*Diligentia*," the schooner mentioned in the report of Mr. Porter; she has made many successful voyages; she was chased by the "*Amphitrite*" and her boats, and escaped; she was chased by the "*Rapid*" and "*Cygnets*," two very fast brigs, and escaped. The "*Rapid*" was going on a mission to Cape Coast, and she there fell in with her again; she chased her, and lost her; the next morning at daylight she saw her; it was calm, and after five hours' pull her boats captured her. A steamer in two hours would have been in possession of her; when she escaped she was to windward, and therefore got away from the sailing vessels.

241. Are you aware whether the vessels which have been captured in the Bight were generally bound to the Brazils or to Cuba?—All were bound to the Brazils; we have not had any Spanish vessel in the Bight in the last 18 months.

242. Under what flag have they sailed?—The Brazilian.

243. *Chairman*.] That is, those who have a flag?—We have never found one without a flag; they clear out from Bahia with papers, a list of crew, &c.

244. You stated that you thought many cargoes of slaves had not been carried off from the coast of Africa during the time that you were on the station?—I think during that time very few got away; we knew of every cargo; there was one that got away from Lagos, one from Little Popoe, two from Whydah, and there was a report that one had got away from Elmina Chica, making five during that time.

245. How would you reconcile that with the statement I have here in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; it is a letter from Africa, dated at the end of last year: "The slave trade is more flourishing than ever; all parts of the coast between this and Bahia are open to their disembarkation; some 1,400 were landed from a steamer a few weeks since." "It is a fact that at present, in Rio, a young healthy slave of 13 or 14, and well grown, can be purchased for 350 dollars, while within the last two years from 700 to 800 dollars were paid for the same as a domestic servant, though untamed and ignorant, on the day he was imported"?—The steamer that is there spoken of, was one from the southward; we heard that she had escaped; but we can always pretty nearly ascertain what leave the Bights; we have so much legitimate trade there that we can find out from the merchant vessels the amount of the slave trade; we can ascertain it almost to a certainty; and I think I am pretty correct in stating that five is the outside number of the vessels that left with cargoes in the last 12 months.

246. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You heard of five?—Yes; four we were certain of; there was a question about the fifth.

247. You are certain that the information you obtained is correct?—Yes, we had it from many sources, and we felt confident of it.

248. Mr. *Jackson*.] Do you ever find any reluctance on the part of British merchants to give you information?—No, they give us information very willingly; they are rather pleased to do it; they regret very much when we are not there in time to take the slave vessels.

249. You generally find that they have a strong feeling in favour of rendering you every assistance in their power?—Yes, and the Hamburgh merchants also will give us information.

250. *Chairman*.] If the statement contained in this letter which I have read is correct, that the slave trade is active, and if, from the circumstances to which you referred a short time ago, there is also great activity in cultivating sugar and exploring mines in Brazil, which creates a great demand for slaves, and yet, notwithstanding those facts, the price of slaves had fallen in Brazil, is it not a necessary conclusion that a large number of slaves must have been imported into the country?—It appears to be the conclusion that must be come to, assuming that statement to be correct.

251. Then assuming that in the Bight of Benin very few slaves have got away, we must assume that they have got away from other parts of the coast?—Yes, assuming that to be correct; this past year the slave traders have made a start again to the northward from Havana and Cuba; but we captured the first six vessels that came over under the Equipment Act, and they were condemned at Sierra Leone. There was information that two others were to come, but they never came.

252. Admiral *Bowles*.] You have said that five vessels would be sufficient for the protection of our trade on the coast of Africa from piracy; supposing five vessels were sufficient, how many would you allow for reliefs?—I think five would do for the parts of the coast I have alluded to; when one vessel was away another would be able to look after her position.

253. Five includes the reliefs?—Yes.

254. *Chairman*.] Is there any farther statement on the subject which you wish to lay before the Committee?—I observe that in the evidence given before the Committee last year there is an allusion to the position which the vessels occupy, as being too far from the shore. When Sir Charles Hotham took the command the "Wanderer" had lost several of her men by sending boats up the Pongas during the rainy season; Sir Charles Hotham therefore gave orders that we should not, during the rainy season, send our boats to cruise; that led to a material saving of life; our boats no longer cruise in the rainy season. The cruisers may go as close in shore as they can with safety, but they are not allowed to extend their distance from the land beyond a certain point, which the commodore lays down; for instance, two or three degrees from the land. But it has been given in evidence that the slave trade has increased, because Sir Charles Hotham does not allow his vessels to be close in shore. That is not the fact; we are allowed to go as close in shore as is consistent with safety, but we are not allowed to go beyond a certain distance from the shore unless in chase. I may perhaps be allowed to say, that in my opinion no officer could dispose the squadron better than Sir Charles Hotham has done; it is a very rare thing to hear of a case of African fever in the whole of the squadron; I believe last year that the whole of the invalids from that squadron amounted to only 44 cases, where they used to send home hundreds; and a squadron to be efficient must be healthy.

255. Sir *E. Buxton*.] How many men are there in the squadron on the coast?—There was a force of between 2,000 and 3,000 men; there is, I believe, less mortality on the coast of Africa than there is on any station, except the Mediterranean.

256. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Is the unpopularity of the service also diminishing?—It is the monotony of the service that is felt more than anything else; we are much cut off from correspondence with home, and we have none of the relaxations of more favoured stations. With the seamen it is very popular. You can at any time get 200 or 300 of the best men in the service willing to go there.

257. Colonel *Thompson*.] Is the service on the coast of Africa popular, or unpopular?—It is popular with the men, but with the lieutenants it is not; they

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complain that they have not the annual promotions given to the officers of the coast guard.

258. If there is any unpopularity among the officers, is it from a cause independent of the climate?—They dislike the service in some degree; they consider that they are deprived of all those pleasures that officers have upon other stations; and they say that in the coast-guard service there are three annual promotions, whereas on the coast of Africa they do not get promotion unless for some dashing affair; they state that on the coast of Africa there should be annual promotions, and then the smartest lieutenants would volunteer for that service. There were five lieutenants appointed to me, and not one would join, because there was no promotion.

259. Sir E. Buxton.] Another thing that makes the service unpopular is the great irregularity of the correspondence?—Yes, that is complained of as a great grievance.

260. How many months were you there without receiving a letter?—I was seven months, and then I had five or six letters at once.

261. It is not the dread of great sickness that makes the service unpopular?—No, I did not lose a man while I was there. I was ill when I first went; for three weeks I felt the effects of the climate, but that was owing to my having received an injury in the service previously; but with the young men you do not hear of illness.

262. Chairman.] Is there anything you wish to add?—I consider there is one great point which you should establish, if you could; namely, a mission at Whydah; it would do great good. The mission has worked very well at Badagry; a great many of the slaves who have been liberated at Sierra Leone have gone there and settled.

263. Sir E. Buxton.] You think that a missionary station at Whydah would have a great effect there?—Yes; I am sure it would have a very good effect.

264. Do you think it would have any effect on the slave trade?—It would bring the people more to consider the results of civilization which are so much wanted there; and I am a good deal borne out in this opinion by Mr. Cruikshank, the chief justice at Cape Coast. He went on a mission to the King of Dahomey in October, and was astonished at the state he had got that part of the kingdom in that he went to. He went to the capital; the king received him in great state, and took him to his manufactory of iron, which Mr. Cruikshank told me was almost equal to many that we have in England; his mission would have been attended with success had it not been for De Souza. Mr. Cruikshank went with presents from Her Majesty, expecting to enter into a treaty, and he offered to King Dahomey to subsidize him; but the offer he made was so small that De Souza procured greater presents, and had relays all ready on the road and outstripped Mr. Cruikshank; he made those presents, and thus upset all the effect the mission would have had. If instead of dollars, he could have offered pounds, Mr. Cruikshank's opinion was that he would have become one of the subsidized sovereigns, and would have entered into a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade and for legal commerce. I was with Mr. Cruikshank when he embarked, and he described to me his reception from the king.

265. Sir E. Buxton.] Have you any further statement to make?—The legitimate trade is very great in the Bight; vessels of 600 or 700 tons, and 400 or 500 tons, come there with cargoes from England. They begin from Little Popoe, and they trade along the coast to Badagry, and dispose of their cargoes; and then they begin to take the oil; and complete very profitable voyages. The Danes send their vessels, and the Sardinians and French go a great deal there. My opinion is that the more you stop the slave trade there, the more you will find the value of commerce. I think, by means of the squadron, with an increase of steamers, you would put down the slave trade.

266. Mr. M. Milnes.] Is it then the result of all your experience of the slave trade on the western coast of Africa, that by increased means, and by a continuation of our present vigilance, we may entirely succeed in the object we have in view?—In two years I think you might entirely suppress it in the Bight of Benin.

Commander *Frederick Montresor*, R. N., called in; and Examined.

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267. *Chairman.*] YOU are an Officer of the British Navy?—I am a Commander.

268. Have you recently returned from the African station?—Very recently; I was paid off from the “*Wanderer*.”

269. When did you leave the station?—I left Sierra Leone on the 10th of February.

270. How long were you on the station?—Nearly three years.

271. On what part of the coast of Africa were you chiefly employed?—I was stationed for six months off Cape Mount, the Gallinas, and Seabar. I was then sent to Cape Verde, and I was afterwards employed at the southward extremity of the station, at Fish Bay and Benjuela; and from that I went to St. Helena; on my return from St. Helena I was stationed off Cape Lopez.

272. You have been employed both north and south of the equator?—Yes; but never in the Bights as a station.

273. Did you command the same vessel on both occasions?—I commanded the “*Cygnet*,” off the Gallinas and Seabar.

274. During what period of time were you in that vessel?—I was appointed to the “*Cygnet*” in April 1846, and I was in her about eight months.

275. How long were you in the “*Wanderer*”?—Two years.

276. Were either of those vessels steam boats?—No, sailing vessels.

277. Of what description?—The “*Cygnet*” was a six-gun brig, and the “*Wanderer*” a 12-gun brig.

278. Was the slave trade carried on with activity during the whole time you were on the coast?—I have every reason to know that it was so; I was not fortunate in capturing vessels, but on other parts of the station very near me I knew that the slavers were being taken very fast. The “*Styx*” stationed at Ambrize captured, I think, 30 vessels.

279. Have you any reason to suppose that a number of vessels got away loaded with slaves?—Yes, I have every reason to believe so from the nature of the coast; it is very heavy, thick, cloudy weather, with very light breezes, which scarcely clear away the weather at all; or else you have tornados, in which vessels are liable to make a run, and in which you do not see them till they are clear off the coast.

280. Is the slave trade more active north or south of the line, according to your observation?—I should say that it was more active in the Bights and to the southward, than to the northward; but when I was stationed at the Gallinas and Seabar, although there were four vessels stationed there, no vessel had taken any prize for a considerable number of months; and some time after I left the slavers made a run for that very place, and they were very fortunate again.

281. During the last year that you were on the coast, was the slave trade, in your opinion, as active as it had been in previous years?—Yes, quite as active.

282. Was the fleet in an equal state of efficiency and strength?—Yes, in strength quite; and in regard to efficiency, without wishing to deteriorate from the other vessels that were there before, I should say that it was more efficient, from the commodore’s activity.

283. But notwithstanding the strength and efficiency of the squadron, it had not been effective in putting down the slave trade?—No, I think not.

284. Were any steamers employed in carrying the slaves from the coast?—Yes, I know that they were employed; but I have not seen them.

285. Do you think that if a larger number of steam vessels were employed in the British service, the slave trade could be effectually put down?—I should think that the only efficient way of putting it down, would be by a cordon of steam boats; but I doubt even then whether it would be possible to put it down, from the circumstances I have spoken of before, and also from the strong currents which throw you out of your reckoning; there have been cases in which vessels have been thrown out of their reckoning 60 miles, but as many as 30 or 40 I have frequently experienced, in 24 hours.

286. What number of steam boats would be required in order to produce the most efficient blockade on the coast?—I should say not less than 12, and from 12 to 18 small steam boats.

287. Along what extent of coast line can the slave trade be carried on?—Along

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the whole extent, from 15° north to 15° south; that would be 30 degrees. I am speaking of the part that the commander-in-chief of the station was on; beyond that I have no knowledge.

288. Do you understand that no slave trade is carried on except between those degrees of latitude?—No, I do not, but I believe that the slave trade is not carried on to the southward of Fish Bay, but that is the southern extremity of the commander-in-chief's command.

289. Your experience has been confined to the west coast of Africa?—Entirely; at least for many years.

290. Have you any knowledge of the east coast?—None whatever.

291. From your experience, are you led to conclude that any force which this country could practically employ for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade by a marine guard would be effective?—I think it could be effective only by employing an immense steam force, as I said before, instead of a sailing force; and then not without making the punishment of slave trading much more severe than it is at present, because at this moment they laugh at the idea of being taken. We took a vessel in coming home, off Wydah; the crew were glad to be taken, for she had been six weeks cruising in the Bights and could not get out, owing to the light winds, and her bottom was very much fouled in consequence. In addition to keeping the squadron up, I think it would also be necessary to destroy the barracoons.

292. Is there any other measure which you would recommend as a means of stopping the slave trade?—None has ever occurred to me, except that of permitting it to go on by withdrawing the squadron altogether, and I think the effect would be to glut the market.

293. Do you feel confident that if you were to employ the three means you were adverting to, namely, of largely increasing the steam force, destroying the barracoons along the coast, and personally punishing the offenders, you would effect the extinguishment of the slave trade for ever?—I have no doubt it would extinguish it; but when you say "for ever," I believe it must, and ever will be, hydra-headed; it is not a speculation of individuals only: to my certain knowledge, in the Havana there are companies, even down to a man putting a doubloon into it as a speculation, in the same way as you would do with a lottery; and therefore, though those means would be sufficient to put it down for two or three years, they would not be sufficient to put it down for ever, when they found that you had withdrawn your squadron.

294. Do you then think it would be necessary to maintain this force, and those means you have adverted to perpetually on the coast, in order to keep down the slave trade?—Perhaps not so large a force to keep it down as there would be required to put it down; but I think still a considerable force would be required for ever.

295. Have you been on the coast of Cuba?—I have.

296. Have you been likewise on the coast of Brazil?—No.

297. Colonel *Thompson*.] You have stated that it would require 18 or 19 steam boats to stop the slave trade; what would be the force on board of them?—A small force, as far as armament went, would be better than a large one; small vessels would be better than large ones. I think it is necessary that they should be commanded by commanders, for this reason: if you establish a cordon on the station, I think they all ought to have fast paddle-box boats, built like whale boats; and that a lieutenant should be sent away in those boats, the commander remaining in the steamer; and that they should also have a more efficient crew than the lieutenant would require, because they are always sending crews away with the slavers; and the lieutenant-commander can never keep his own crew sufficient.

298. Would one heavy gun be sufficient?—I think one 32 long pivot-gun would be sufficient.

299. How many men would be a sufficient number; would 50 be sufficient?—No; I think she ought not to have less than from 60 to 80 men.

300. Taking your estimate at the largest, that is 18, how many line-of-battle ships would that be equal to; would it be a fair thing to say that it was the expense of two line-of-battle ships; or if not, what number?—The ships would have 18 commanders, and double the number of lieutenants; that would be very greatly beyond the line-of-battle ships. I think, taking the whole expense, you cannot estimate the 18 steamers at less than between three and four line-of-battle ships;

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ships; taking the much greater expense of the steamers, and the greater wear and tear, and the 18 commanders, which would in itself be expensive, and also the very much greater number of lieutenants and officers of higher grades than those employed in lieutenants' commands, and the consequent expense there is in keeping them up.

301. Mr. *Jackson*.] You say 18 vessels would be required; how many would be required in going backwards and forwards to relieve those 18, in order to keep up the service complete?—That must depend upon the pleasure of the Admiralty, when they chose to relieve them.

302. Taking the casualties of steam vessels into account, the bursting of boilers, the breaking of the paddle-wheels, and the breaking of the machinery, how many reliefs would be required?—The average would be something short of two years service that a vessel could keep up.

303. Supposing no accident occurs, she would be required to come home in two years to make up her repairs?—No; taking the average of accidents, and those which have not accidents, the vessels might be supposed to require relieving in two years, or something short of two years.

304. How many would you place in the list to relieve the eighteen that were in full service there?—I do not know that it comes within my province to judge of that. I should think it would be impossible to keep up the relief without having eight vessels continually.

305. Then there would be 26 vessels that this country would have to find, so as to make the service complete, according to your view?—Yes; but I do not mean to say that those eight vessels are to be equipped, but to be in readiness to bring forward. At this moment you never calculate the number of vessels relieving; it is only the number in the squadron, because, as some are brought forward, others are removed.

306. Then we require that weight of metal, and that number of vessels, under the supposition that the slave trade will be carried on under canvas?—Yes.

307. If the slave traders adopted the plan of using steamers of an equal capacity or of larger capacity to those which we could build, and they were to make their speed equal to ours, do you think 18 vessels would be sufficient, taking into account the currents and heavy weather which you have alluded to in the first part of your evidence?—I was considering the station as it is; not as they might make it by increasing the force of steamers as you increased yours.

308. If you had knowledge that they were building steamers now for the express purpose of carrying on the trade, and those steamers were of increased power and speed, do you think 18 vessels would be sufficient to put an end to the slave trade?—No; I think it would require a more efficient species of steamers than we have now on the station. Our lieutenant-commanded steamers are not very efficient vessels.

309. What would be the average distance at which the 18 steamers would be placed from each other, according to your plan?—To divide the station, they must be at least about 120 miles apart.

310. Do you think it possible for a steamer, well equipped, to run in and take a cargo of slaves on board, and run out without being observed?—No, I think not. I think there will be some escapes; but I think it will not pay them with such a blockade as that. The present idea is that one in three, like smuggling, pays them.

311. What I wish is, to have your opinion of the possibility of steam boats of great power and great speed running in and getting on board a cargo of slaves, and getting away?—I am sure that it would be still very possible, but not often probable, that they would do so.

312. Would it not be as possible for them to do so as it is for their sailing vessels now to escape your sailing vessels: supposing you had steamers and they had steamers, would the possibility be as great of their getting away with a cargo of slaves as it is now, the slave traders and ourselves employing vessels under canvas?—No, I think not; because even supposing the vessels to be equal, you would always, with a steam-vessel, keep sight of the coast; with sailing vessels, after one o'clock, p.m. it has been observed, I have heard many officers observe it, and I know it from my own experience, it is seldom of any use chasing; it gets dark, and you lose the vessel. If you begin to chase by daylight, you come up before sunset, or so near that you can be sure of her in the morning.

313. Supposing a vessel, capable of carrying 2,000 slaves, were armed and with a great weight of metal, would you think it right to attack her, supposing she

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was three times the force of your own?—Yes, if she was only three times the force, for she would be very much disabled by her slaves from the chance of their rising, or the fear of it at any rate, and their guns much less efficiently served.

314. But you would recommend an increase in the armament of the vessels in case of steamers being employed to carry slaves, both in the number of the vessels and in the number of men?—Not in the number of men; the number of men would be quite sufficient; you might increase the power of metal without increasing the number of men. It is on account of sending vessels away that I consider it right that such a number of men should be on board. I consider when you board you should never have less than 20 men.

315. You mentioned an opinion, that one mode of stopping the slave trade would be to glut the market with slaves?—Yes, I have not a doubt that it would in a great measure.

316. The supply being unlimited the demand would diminish, and the profits would cease, and the trade would go down?—Yes.

317. You look at it as a question of supply and demand, and profit and loss?—Yes.

318. Admiral *Bowles*.] Do you think it possible for a steamer to arrive on the coast, to get into the river on the same night and take a cargo on board, and sail out again before the morning?—Yes, while there are barracoons, and she knows exactly where to come to pick up her slaves, I think it is very possible.

319. *Chairman*.] You stated that the slave trade was, up to the last moment that you had any knowledge of it, carried on with activity along the coast?—Yes.

320. The present force is wholly inefficient for the purpose of extinguishing the slave trade?—Yes, for the purpose of extinguishing it, it is.

321. Looking at it as employed for the extinction of the slave trade, the expense hitherto bestowed on the squadron has been thrown away?—Yes, I am afraid so. If the object of the squadron is the utter destruction of the slave trade, the keeping up the squadron is, I should say, entirely thrown away.

322. If the slave trade is to be put down, I understand that your opinion is that means very different from those employed must be resorted to?—Yes, I think so.

323. Even then do you feel confident that it can be put down by a marine-guard?—Under the circumstances I have stated, that for a time it could be put down, but not for ever; it would eventually rise again.

324. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] What makes you think that if an effectual check were now given to the slave trade, and the commerce of Africa drawn into legitimate channels, under other circumstances it would be renewed?—Because I think I have observed that it is not a mere matter of speculation taking up the business, but it is almost a national affair, in which they are sure of funds to almost any amount at any time; and when they found this country sleeping upon it, the love of gain would at any time induce a number of men to enter into a company to run cargoes, and to try it again.

325. Would not the suspension for any length of time, of the importation of slaves into Brazil, necessitate a change in the social condition of that country, which might render the re-introduction of the slave trade impossible?—It might; but it is a question, I think, almost beyond a naval officer's calculation.

326. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You think that provided a steam force were employed, though some escapes might take place, yet so many captures would be made by those steamers, that the trade would cease to be profitable?—It would cease to be profitable for a time.

327. Consequently the establishments on that part of the coast would be given up, and the trade for a time would cease?—I think that it would be necessary to destroy the establishments on the coast, otherwise the vessels might run in at night and take slaves.

328. You would recommend that in addition to employing steamers the barracoons should be destroyed also?—Yes.

329. You mentioned the case of a steamer to carry 2,000 slaves?—No, it was mentioned to me by the Committee.

330. Supposing a steamer were built to carry 2,000 slaves, and were supplied with arms and coals sufficient, would not the coals and arms necessary to carry so great a number of slaves interfere with the speed of that vessel?—I should say, decidedly.

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331. It would therefore be more likely that your vessel would come up with her?—Yes.

332. Do you suppose that practically there would be, under any circumstances, the least fear that the steamers would be so armed that our vessels would be afraid to attack them, and that if they did attack them they would not succeed in capturing them?—I think there would be no fear of it for at least 12 or 18 months: finding, perhaps, that their cause was in a measure desperate for the time, they might then do so.

333. Supposing a vessel were armed and manned so as to beat off an armed steamer of ours, would not the expense of such a vessel be enormous?—It would be very great indeed.

334. Do you imagine it likely, as a mercantile speculation, that they would continue such a trade as that?—If they found that it was otherwise desperate they might continue it in that case.

335. Is it your opinion that such a speculation as that could in the long run be profitable, considering the risk that there would be of capture by our vessels?—Decidedly not.

336. You have given as an alternative plan that we should leave the trade free, and that we should allow them to glut the market; you think that would have the effect of putting down the trade?—I think it would have the effect of making the trade dwindle by degrees, until it became at last nothing; in the course of a dozen years, perhaps.

337. Are you aware that the greater number of those who are sent over are males; have you ever heard that?—No; but I myself captured one vessel with 570 slaves, and very much the greater part of those were males; and I captured another with 57 on board, and there were only 11 women among them.

338. Is it your opinion that that is about the general proportion?—I think the proportion is at least three males to one female.

339. Therefore even by the ordinary rules of mortality, there must be a constant mortality in Brazil of labourers employed in mining and in the cultivation of the land?—Of course.

340. Do not you suppose that this mortality would continue even if we gave up our efforts to suppress the slave trade?—Decidedly it would.

341. Do not you imagine that it would still be as desirable as it is now for them to replace the labourers by slaves from the coast of Africa, instead of breeding them in the country?—There would be in the interim a very great introduction of slaves, so that the breeding in consequence would be very much greater than it is now.

342. You believe, as far as your experience has gone, that the number of males is much greater than the number of females?—Yes.

343. Do you suppose that if the market were glutted the price of slaves would fall in the Brazils?—Yes, I have no doubt of it.

344. Do not you imagine that if the price of slaves were to fall very low they would be more inclined to replace their slaves by bringing them from the coast of Africa, than by breeding them in the country, considering that at present, when the price is high, they do not breed them?—I should suppose that they still would be anxious to obtain slaves, but the casualties on board ship would be very different, and the number required in consequence would be very much less.

345. You think that a number of slaves would require to be still imported into Brazil?—Yes; but the number would be diminished.

346. In consequence not of a diminished demand, but a diminished mortality on board the vessels?—Yes; and also from a diminished demand from the slaves being landed stronger and able men, and likewise from breeding being increased a good deal.

347. At present the price of slaves is high, and we were informed by a gentleman who came from the Brazils, Dr. Cliffe, that the number of female slaves on an estate, was not more than eight per cent.; do you suppose that as they have only eight per cent. of females on estates, with a high price of slaves, they would be induced to increase that number, if they could buy slaves at a much lower price than they do now?—I should very much doubt the grounds from which the argument is deduced; I think the number of women was very much greater on any part of the coast I have landed at.

348. You have not been in the Brazils?—No. In case of the squadron being withdrawn, I think another thing would be very probable, viz., that a greater  
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number of women would be in the vessels. I suppose the reason for a small number of women being sent now, is in a great measure owing to their being more liable to die from weakness. In the vessel which we took with the "Cygnet," the first man was placed against the side of the vessel with his legs pinioned, and another man was put between his legs, and another between his legs, and so on; and then, on the other side of the deck, other men were placed, pinioned in the same way.

349. How many vessels did you take while you were on the coast of Africa?—Only two with slaves, and one empty.

350. That was not so much as the average?—No, we were very unfortunate.

351. What was the condition of the slaves in the vessels you took?—Very greatly emaciated, and a good deal covered with ulcers.

352. Were there a great many deaths?—I think in the first vessel we took there were nine deaths; at the time we took her we towed her into Sierra Leone.

353. Were there many children?—There were as many as 15 or 20 children.

354. You state that the slave trade is carried on between 15 degrees north and 15 degrees south; are there not some parts of that coast where, from natural circumstances, it is impossible to embark slaves?—No, I think not.

355. It is necessary to guard the whole of that coast?—Yes.

356. Are you aware whether any steamers that have been employed by the Brazilians as slavers, have been captured?—I cannot speak positively to that; but I think that as many as two or three have been captured; one is now a tender to the commodore's ship; she was taken by Commodore Jones; she is turned into a sailing vessel.

357. *Chairman.*] Are you of opinion that a much larger number of slaves is carried off on the coast of Africa for the purpose of meeting the demand of the slave trade, than is landed on the coast of Brazil?—Yes, I should think there were. There are many cases in which vessels are driven off, and obliged to abandon their original project of taking in slaves at certain points; and those slaves must in consequence be there for many weeks together, and frequently they are marched off to other points.

358. Do you apprehend that there is much loss of life on the coast itself while the slaves are waiting for embarkation?—I should think there was, but we have very little opportunity of observing anything of that sort, because we are either at anchor four or five miles from the land, or cruising; it is very seldom we remain in any part.

359. Your opportunity therefore of observation, with reference to the loss of lives, is more applied to the loss of lives after they have embarked?—Yes; and such reasoning as is derived from the causes I have stated, that one would suppose that numbers of them must be lost in those marches.

360. Do you consider that a much greater number are placed on board the slave ship than is ever landed on the coast of Brazil?—Yes, in all cases a much larger number. I know that in several cases slave vessels either have not had the quantity of provisions or water that would have been necessary for taking the whole cargo, reckoning for the deaths of at least a third.

361. Then you are of opinion, I conclude, that the slave trade is now carried on at a prodigious expense of negro life?—Yes, decidedly.

362. *Mr. Jackson.*] You are of opinion also that notwithstanding the force you speak of could not put down the slave trade, if the vigilance were relaxed at all it would be revived again?—Yes.

363. In proportion as we relaxed our efforts, the slave trade would increase?—Yes.

364. Is it your opinion, that in the event of the trade in slaves being free, there would be a greater number of females sent than are sent now, so that the prospect of breeding in the Brazils would be increased by a greater number of women being sent?—Yes; if the necessity for crowding them together in the vessels did not exist, more women would be sent; there would be a greater chance of their arriving in safety.

365. I understand you to say, that from your experience there, you have come to this conclusion, that in the course of eight or 10 years the market would be so glutted as to render the trade altogether unprofitable, and that it would die away: do you think that if legitimate commerce increased in the same degree as the slave trade decreased, it would be worth while for the traders on the coast

of Africa to return again to their old trade?—There is no doubt as trade increased there would be a proportionate diminution of the slave trade. But as I said before, I conceive there will be always slave trade, because it is a profitable speculation to men who may speculate with the smallest possible sums of money.

366. That is, always supposing the demand in Brazil continues?—Yes; I suppose there will always be a demand.

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*Veneris, 20<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, 1849.*

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Sir Edward Buxton.  
Earl of Lincoln.  
Mr. Simeon.

Lord Harry Vane.  
Viscount Brackley.  
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

The Reverend *Hope Masterton Waddell*, called in; and Examined.

367. *Chairman.*] YOU have been within the last twelve months on the coast of Africa?—Yes.

368. When did you leave the coast?—At the end of May last year.

369. In what capacity were you engaged in Africa?—As a missionary.

370. In what connexion?—The United Presbyterian Church.

371. The Free Church?—Not what is called the Free Church, but the old secession and relief churches united, under the general name now of the United Presbyterian Church.

372. How long were you in that country?—Two and a half years, or thereabouts.

373. In what part of Africa were you principally engaged?—In Old Calabar; I touched on other parts of the coast occasionally, but I was principally there.

374. Had you any previous acquaintance with Africa?—Not previously, that is to say, not personal knowledge; I had been in the West Indies as a missionary, amongst the negroes in Jamaica, for 15 years previous to my going to Africa.

375. During the time that you were in Africa, did you see anything of the operations of the slave trade?—No.

376. Is the district lying between Old Calabar and the Niger one in which the slave trade is carried on at all?—I cannot say from personal knowledge whether it is carried on between Old Calabar and the Niger. I believe it is not carried on at the Old Calabar River; but the districts between Old Calabar and the Niger can find other outlets for their slaves if they desire to sell; the impression upon my mind is that there is no slave trade in those districts now, at least no slaves are exported between Calabar and Bonny.

377. The question refers to what is generally called the Ebo country?—Yes, exactly.

378. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Has there ever been slave trade carried on on that part of the coast?—To a very great extent formerly.

379. Can you say how long ago that was?—I think that in Old Calabar River it was terminated in the year 1841 or 1842. I am not sure that it terminated at that time in Bonny; I think it lingered at Bonny a little longer, from all I hear, but I do not know that it is going on at Bonny just now.

380. Is it your opinion that the slave trade has been diminished there in consequence of other trade taking its place?—I think to a very great extent the legitimate trade has had a very beneficial effect in diminishing the slave trade, but I would not attribute the suppression of the slave trade in that district altogether to the legitimate trade.

381. Is the legitimate trade extensive?—It is pretty extensive at Old Calabar; they probably export on the average 4,000 tons of palm oil yearly.

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382. What is the value of that?—It is worth 30 *l.* a ton in Liverpool, perhaps, at the average price; sometimes lower, sometimes higher.

383. If you cannot ascribe the diminution of the slave trade altogether to the legitimate trade taking its place, to what cause would you ascribe the failure of the slave trade on the part of the coast to which you allude?—The Calabar River is very easily blockaded; it has only one outlet. I think it was diminished very much in consequence of the frequent captures of vessels coming out of Calabar; they could scarcely escape; and it may be ascribed, to a great extent, to the treaty entered into between this country and the chiefs of Old Calabar, in the year 1841 or 1842.

384. You think the treaty that was formed in 1841 or 1842 was effectual in inducing the chiefs of the country to turn their attention to legitimate trade?—I think it was effectual in inducing them to abandon the slave trade; they had turned their attention previously to legitimate trade, which has been carried on to a considerable extent, but I believe the legitimate trade has flourished a great deal more since the natives have given up the slave trade, and turned their attention entirely to legitimate trade.

385. Have the terms of the treaty been that annual presents should be given to the chiefs?—Yes, for a period of five years, but not permanently. I might here mention perhaps that the five years' payment, or present which it is called, has not been implemented on the part of this country; they only received it for two years, and the other three seem to have been forgotten; a representation to that effect was made last year by king Eyo Honesty, through Captain Becroft, to the commander of one of Her Majesty's cruisers which was up the river, mentioning that five years' presents were promised, that only two had been paid, and that three were now in arrear, three years having passed without their receiving anything. Captain Becroft mentioned the circumstance to the commander of the cruiser, and he said he would instantly mention it to Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, and he was sure that everything would be immediately put to rights in that respect.

386. Is it your opinion that the slave trade is now extinguished in the Bight of Biafra?—That is the general opinion.

387. Do you believe that that opinion is correct, from the information you have received?—I should question it only in two respects; the first respect is as regards the Gaboon River, which is adjoining to the Bight of Biafra; I think it probable that there are a few cargoes taken to the islands of Princes and St. Thomas; the probability is that they carry on a sneaking slave trade there yet. These islands are in the neighbourhood of the Bight of Biafra.

388. The Gaboon is quite to the south of Biafra?—It is to the south of Biafra. It is just under the Line, but it is held as included in Biafra in that part of the coast; it is just at the extremity of the south coast of Guinea. I have heard statements that Portuguese schooners run across from St. Thomas and Princes Island, and take in slaves from the Gaboon; and I have heard it surmised that we cannot be altogether sure as to Pepel, king of Bonny, for he has facilities for carrying on the slave trade in an underhand way, which cannot be very readily detected from his peculiar position there at one of the mouths of the Niger, and from his having many channels of communication immediately around him; but there is nothing overt, nothing tangible at Bonny, so far as I have learned of late years.

389. The attention of the chiefs and the king at Old Calabar is entirely, so far as you know, directed now to legitimate traffic?—Entirely; in saying that I wish to be understood as referring to the foreign slave trade; they continue still to have slavery amongst themselves; they continue to buy slaves in the interior markets of the country, although they do not sell them off the coast.

390. *Chairman.*] They do not sell them off the coast?—They do not sell them off the coast, but they are always buying them from the markets in the interior.

391. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Is there a large number of slaves held in that way?—A very great number.

392. What is the proportion in number between slaves and freemen?—The slaves are a much larger part of the population than the freemen; very much larger.

393. And they still continue to buy slaves?—They still continue to buy. The two principal slave markets to which the Old Calabar people go are the Ebo and the Qua; the Ebo slave market is a very extensive one; the Qua is also

also a very extensive one, but though the Qua slave market is a cheaper one than the Ebo, they buy many more slaves at Ebo than at Qua; I suppose that will arise from there being a greater demand in that district of the country, and there being greater access to the coast.

394. Mr. *Simeon*.] Are you of opinion, from what you heard when in the country, that there is any exportation of slaves now taking place in the Ebo country?—I could not answer the question positively; the Eboos do not export directly; the Eboos have no towns on the coast; the Bonny people do not call themselves Eboos; the Eboos therefore sell to those places which are sea-ports; they used to sell to the Calabar people to a large amount; they used to sell formerly to Bonny, although I am not aware of their doing so now, but the Eboos are still great suppliers of slaves.

395. Do you imagine that the Ebo people could supply slaves to any market at a greater distance than the Bight of Biafra and the Bight of Benin?—Not easily. I should scarcely suppose that the Ebo slaves are at present sent further than to the Bight of Benin.

396. Then if those places of exportation, those debouches, were stopped, you would consider that to be evidence that the supply from the Ebo country must also be stopped?—I could not positively affirm to that extent; slaves are passed from hand to hand, and from town to town, and they can be sent forward by different routes to different parts of the coast. Since the trade has been stopped in Biafra they go to Benin; and were it stopped there it would in some degree find its way elsewhere; in some small degree.

397. Supposing the slave trade to be stopped in the Bight of Benin, as well as in the Bight of Biafra, could you then suppose that the Eboos could find any means of exporting any slaves?—I think not easily, nor to a great extent, if the slave trade in the Bight of Benin were stopped.

398. *Chairman*.] Are not slaves carried for a very great distance in Africa?—Yes.

399. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You find that slaves are brought from a very great way up the country to the region of Calabar?—Yes, from a very considerable distance; they have a multitude of slaves at Calabar from various places; there is quite a confusion of language amongst the slaves at Calabar.

400. Is it not the impression that some of them come almost from the opposite side of the Continent?—I would not suppose that they come from the extreme east coast.

401. Is it your impression that the cruisers might be safely withdrawn from that part of the coast with which you are acquainted?—I fear not, if the object is to suppress the slave trade.

402. What, in your opinion, would be the effect of the withdrawal of the cruisers?—To encourage a renewal of the slave trade to a great extent in some places where it has been suppressed.

403. *Chairman*.] You are not, as we understand, prepared to say that some of the Ebo slaves are not exported by the Bight of Benin?—I am not prepared to say so. I think it very probable that some are sold thither.

404. If that take place then, the operation of the squadron upon the mouth of the Calabar River is only to direct the course of the trade from the Ebo country to the coast by another channel?—The more difficulties you throw in the way of a work the less that work will be done. The cruisers have thrown difficulties in the way of the slave trade, and have greatly diminished it in some places and extinguished it in others; take away the difficulties and it will revive to its original extent; and although there may be some facility for the trade in the Bight of Benin, yet I conceive that being suppressed in the Bight of Biafra it will not all find its way to the Bight of Benin.

405. That is upon the assumption that the slave trade be diminished. Supposing, in relation to Brazil, the fact be otherwise, what would you say then?—The fact must be proved to be otherwise before I could say anything about it. My own impression is, that Brazil does not get her slaves now chiefly from the Guinea Coast.

406. Sir *E. Buxton*.] The question asked was with respect to the part of the coast you are acquainted with; whether, in your opinion, the withdrawal of the cruisers would cause a renewal of the slave trade?—I think it would cause a renewal of it in those places where it has been suppressed by means of our cruisers; our cruisers have been operating chiefly upon the coast north of the

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Line, to the best of my belief, until lately ; it is only within the last few years that they have had authority to take vessels under the Portuguese flag south of the Line.

407. *Chairman.*] Up to the year 1830 they were confined to the north of the Line, and after that they went to the south also?—North of the line, from all I can hear, the slave trade has been very greatly diminished, where once it chiefly prevailed.

408. Lord *H. Vane.*] Before 1830 do you mean?—I cannot speak particularly before 1830, but to the present time it has been considerably diminished on the coast of Guinea.

409. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Is it your opinion that if our cruisers were withdrawn the legitimate traffic would be diminished in the Old Calabar River?—I should fear it certainly. I should very much apprehend that there would be a risk in withdrawing our cruisers altogether from the coast. If once the slave traders knew that the Calabar River was as open to them as to the legitimate traders, I am persuaded that we should have slave-trading vessels there within twelve months.

410. But from your acquaintance with the people, that is the opinion you form?—Yes.

411. Do you think that the cruisers are of advantage on the coast of Africa to protect the legitimate traffic?—I have not been myself personally engaged in traffic, but from such opinions as I have heard generally expressed, and from such circumstances as have come to my knowledge, it would appear that our cruisers were of benefit in protecting our legitimate traffic. Here is an example of it : some of our trading vessels had a quarrel with some of the Bonny people two years ago, in which one of our ship's captains lost his life ; a representation was made to the Government here ; the commodore on the station sent a cruiser to Bonny and demanded the criminal, and notwithstanding the strong reluctance of King Pepel to deliver him, inasmuch as the criminal was a head Jujuman, the captain of the cruiser obtained the criminal and removed him, to the great alarm of Pepel and his people, who since that time has written to Mr. Horsfall, of Liverpool, desiring missionaries for his country.

412. What in your opinion would be the best means of putting down the slave trade on that part of the coast of Africa with which you are acquainted?—Do the Committee mean if the cruisers were withdrawn, or previously to their being withdrawn?

413. Under any circumstances?—I should say, encourage the natives themselves to abolish it ; for if they are not induced to abolish it in good faith and good will, I believe that they will still find ways and means of evading our cruisers, and of dealing with the slavers. We should league them against it.

414. But is it your opinion that they might be induced to abolish it?—It is my opinion that they can be induced, certainly.

415. What means would you recommend?—Treaties with this country are a very obvious means ; the legitimate trade still protected and allowed to gather strength would be another very obvious means. The increase of educational and missionary establishments all along the coast would be a very obvious means.

416. Do you think that the effect of treaties would be great?—Yes, if we had perhaps some more efficient representation of this country resident upon the coast ; there is a want of distinct representation of this country ; we have not consuls on the coast ; for example, there are no consuls in the Bight of Biafra or the Bight of Benin ; there is no means of reference to any British authority, except a cruiser comes into the river ; that is the only British authority available, and it cannot be always or easily obtained ; besides, it is not every person perhaps that would choose to refer every matter for settlement to a man of war. A civil authority would be a better reference in the first instance. I should think that if we had Government representatives living on the coast, recognized and authorized, who could often see the parties with whom treaties might be made, it would tend very materially to maintain good faith.

417. Do you think it would be effectual if we were to engage to give them annual presents?—To a certain extent. It would not do, perhaps, to engage positively to give them a certain sum permanently every year, but presents might be made conditionally ; a moderate present goes a great way on the coast ;

coast; I conceive that the money spent in that way at Calabar, in presents given to King Eyo Honesty in 1841 and 1842, and King Eyamba, was well-spent money.

418. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Would the amount of the presents which were given by the British Government at all compensate the chiefs for foregoing the profits derived from carrying on the slave trade?—I do not conceive that they carry on the slave trade because it is the most profitable, but just because it comes easiest to them, and fits in best with the custom of the country; they have always an abundance of slaves ready at hand; they can always get slaves; it is very little trouble to get them, being an old-established trade, and it produces at once the results which they desire from trade; but I should conceive that the simplest among them would know that it was not the most profitable trade.

419. But without comparing the profit of the trade in slaves with the profit derived from more legitimate traffic, do you think that any amount of presents that have been heretofore given by the British Government, or are likely to be given, would afford anything like full compensation for the profits of the slave trade?—Taking presents alone, I suppose not; it could never be imagined that we were to pay them for all their imaginary losses, but merely to make presents as an encouragement to abandon it; and that, taken in connexion with the legitimate trade, would supply the place of the slave trade, and would more than compensate for the loss. I conceive, for example, that King Eyo, of Calabar, has been far more than compensated by his legitimate trade; he said that he never had liked the slave trade, but that he was forced to it by the French. After we had abandoned the slave trade, the French carried it on, and King Eyo said he was forced to carry it on from dread of the French; they went up with armed vessels and threatened to ransack the town if he did not procure slaves for them.

420. Then you consider the only compensation for the abandonment of the profits of the slave trade is by the profits of a legitimate trade?—That would be the greatest and best compensation; you could make them presents, not as compensation, but rather as a token of goodwill, to let them know that they had the friendship of this country.

421. If the profits of the legitimate trade are greater than the profits of the slave trade, as in the instance to which you have referred, would not motives of self-interest, before long, induce the chiefs to abandon the slave trade for the more legitimate trade?—If a full grown legitimate trade could immediately take the place of the slave trade, no doubt that would be the case; but if there is a full grown slave trade existing, and only an infant lawful trade to take its place, of course the natives would not all at once abandon the one for the other; the infant lawful trade must have time to grow before it will develop all its advantages. In some places that lawful trade has been developed; at the same time, even where a lawful trade does exist, there is a disposition on the part of some of the chiefs to sell slaves, especially their worst slaves.

422. Lord *H. Vane*.] You think then that they can both exist simultaneously?—To some extent they can exist, though in a state of contest and opposition.

423. The question is whether they can co-exist?—I cannot speak from experience, inasmuch as there has been no slave trade in the Calabar River since I went there, but I have heard the captains of our ships speak of the existence of the slave trade in former years at Bonny, when they used to be trading there, and speak of the difficulties they had on that account, but still they could carry on some trade, while at the same time slave ships lay in the river.

424. You were understood to state that from Ebo, which is a large slave market, a considerable number of slaves are sent, for the purpose of supplying slaves for the interior?—Not for the interior, they come from the interior towards the coast.

425. Is that for export, to be sent away?—In some places no doubt it would be, and in other places it would not.

426. You were understood to say that the slave trade was nearly, or entirely, extinguished in the Bight of Biafra and the Bight of Benin?—I did not speak of Benin.

427. There may be an export of slaves from Ebo by the Bight of Benin?—There may.

428. You were understood to say that there was a large number of slaves brought

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brought to Ebo for the purpose of being sold for the interior, not for export? —Brought from the interior, and sold to chiefs on the coast.

429. Brought from the interior for the purpose of being sold?—Yes; the first migration of slaves was from the interior. The Moors having possession of the interior are laying waste the population of negroes about them, because the Moors are a pastoral people, which the negroes are not; the Moors require lands for their flocks and herds, the negroes only for provisions.

430. Is the slave market at Ebo for the purpose of exporting slaves?—I cannot speak from personal knowledge as to that.

431. It must be either a market for slaves for the interior, or for slaves for exportation?—Not necessarily; it may be for the purpose of farming in different districts on the coast, as at Calabar; the people of Calabar buy slaves from the Ebo people, but they do not sell them, they employ them. King Eyo buys as many as he can, but he sells none; he is making many farms; building towns, and carrying on various operations.

432. Do you imagine that the people of Calabar would sell slaves if they had the means?—Some people, I fear, would.

433. Sir E. Buxton.] Do the people of Calabar still have human sacrifices? —They have.

434. And they are idolaters?—There is no very obvious or glaring system of idolatry; they are very superstitious; they have objects of superstition, charms, and fetiches, and so on.

435. Are you of opinion that throughout that country the system of human sacrifices is largely kept up?—Very largely; but I believe that it is on the decrease.

436. In the town of Calabar?—The district of Calabar, which includes a number of towns.

437. So that there is nothing in the habits or the morals of the people that would induce them to give up the slave trade if it were profitable to them to continue it?—I think not, if left to themselves; slavery and the slave trade have become so natural to them from ancient times, from old habits and institutions, that if left to themselves they would never think of abandoning it; some inducement must come from without.

438. Does King Eyo employ his slaves in collecting palm oil?—The palm-oil tree grows in extensive forests through the country, and part of the people are employed in manufacturing the oil, part of the people in trading from town to town, and village to village, collecting it for the use of the ships.

439. Do they cultivate the ground-nut there?—I think not to any extent; they cultivate yams and other things abundantly.

440. With respect to the climate, did you find it very injurious?—Not at all injurious to myself personally; I had my health quite well.

441. But is it your opinion, that generally the climate is very injurious?—I could not say that I would consider it to be so injurious as reports commonly have represented the coast; I was disappointed agreeably in that respect; at the same time it is a trying climate and an exhausting climate, and under particular circumstances might very easily become a destructive climate; but under favourable circumstances, and with due care, I think persons can live there safely; most of our missionary band has lived; we have had only two deaths since we went out, and one of those was not from any disease of the country; we have had only one death out of about 14 persons from climatal disease; some of those 14 persons were blacks; West Indians.

442. Mr. Simeon.] Were you at Old Calabar at the time of the visit of the French steamer the *Ostrale*?—Yes, I was; that was I think in the month of August or September 1847.

443. Were you aware of an application that was made by the chiefs to Captain Hope, I think, to permit the English flag to be hoisted there, and possession to be taken?—Yes, I was aware of it.

444. Do you know whether any effect was given to that request?—No. Captain Hope stated that there was a treaty between this country and France, which was in force till 1850, which treaty provided that neither party should take any direct or decided step towards appropriating or taking possession of the country in that part of the coast of Africa without the knowledge of the other, and their going equal partners in it; a sort of temporary plan to serve as a mutual check between France and England, not to make encroachments

on the coast, in consequence of which Captain Hope said that he could not hoist the English standard without sending to the French commodore, in order that the French standard should be hoisted at the same time.

445. Then the affair of the flag remains in *statu quo*?—I believe it remains in *statu quo*.

446. Sir E. Buxton.] Did King Eyo sign any requisition?—I believe he did, but I was not personally cognizant of it; what was signed by him, or his chief men, was prepared on board of one of the trading ships; I was not present, and cannot state what the contents of the documents might be, but I understood that King Eyo agreed to it; I am disposed to express a doubt, however, whether King Eyo and the chiefs understood what would have been indicated by hoisting the flag. I do not think they meant to make over the country to us, but merely to put themselves under our protection.

447. You do not think they meant to make over the sovereignty of their country to this country?—I do not think they meant to make over the sovereignty; I think it was in order to have a legitimate answer to give the French.

448. King Eyo is a man of sagacity and intelligence, is he not?—Very much so; he possesses great acuteness, judgment, sense, and prudence.

449. A man of superior character?—Of very superior character and ability in every respect.

450. Is he superior to the people generally?—Very much so; I have met with but few black men like him. I have met some in Jamaica who might be considered his equals, but I certainly have not met with any on the coast of Africa who might be considered his equals.

451. Does he patronize human sacrifices?—Not at all; he condemns and he opposes them; he has himself abandoned them and abolished them in his own patrimonial dominions, and has engaged to exert his influence to suppress them as far as he can in the country; acknowledging, however, that he cannot promise their absolute suppression, inasmuch as they might be carried on without his knowledge. With the permission of the Committee, I would state, that while this country is exerting itself to prevent the selling of slaves upon the coast, I think it would be equally its duty to use all its influence with the native authorities, to prevent their killing their slaves, for it is certainly just as bad to kill them for nothing as to sell them, and perhaps rather worse; something has been done in that way in the Calabar River; they had a visit from a man-of-war 18 months ago, with a communication from our Government here, which had a beneficial effect I believe, and I think that similar visits and communications all along the coast would be decidedly beneficial, and although perhaps not immediately effectual, would have very good effect in conjunction with some other means.

452. You think that if a representation were strongly made by the Government, and by the commercial parties engaged in traffic in the river, the people would be in a considerable measure induced to put down the system of human sacrifices?—Yes; they should be dealt with very strongly upon the subject; they should be told in very distinct terms that they would not be allowed to kill their people by hundreds and thousands for nothing. It is a barbarous thing that at Calabar, for instance, there should be a hundred men killed because one man has died. Such a superstition is an outrage on mankind not to be endured.

453. What would be the most effectual mode of enforcing recommendations of that sort?—I think that pretty strong language should be used; and that any annual presents, or any other recognition of kings and chiefs on the coast, should be made to depend on their abolishing human sacrifices, as well as the slave trade. In that case it would not be necessary to proceed to ulterior measures; but a decided tone should be made use of in any communications upon the subject; not merely requesting them to abstain, but enjoining it upon them as a duty. The esteem in which the British name is held is very great upon the coast of that country, and our language is generally spoken along the coast, in some form or other; and I think a decided representation from this country would not be without its effect on any part of the coast.

454. Is it your opinion that if the captains of vessels were to make a representation to the chiefs it would produce that effect?—We should not depend upon the captains of trading vessels for that purpose; the business of the cap-

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tains of vessels is to get their ships loaded as fast as possible, and they could not be expected to say or do anything to the native chiefs that would prevent the filling of their ships. Such recommendations might come from our Liverpool or Bristol or London merchants, which could be communicated through the captains, but I think it should not be left merely to the verbal opinions of captains trading on the coast; their own interests might not render it advisable for them to speak very strongly with the natives on the subject, however well inclined otherwise. A missionary can take a stand that no captain can take; he has a ship to freight, and he must freight it in a few weeks; he must look to the interests of his family and the interests of his employers, and freight his ship; whereas a missionary, having no such interest to interfere with him, can make statements of that sort. In like manner commanders of our Government vessels on the coast can make such statements far more decidedly than any trading captain can be expected to do.

455. Do you think that strong representations from our captains on the coast would have much effect with the chiefs?—From the captains of our cruisers I believe they would have a good effect. I might also mention what I have been impressed with during my residence there; that there should be some distinct representation of our country on the coast, in the way of consuls, at different points, holding magisterial authority, to whom disputes could be referred, in order that our trading vessels might not come into direct collision with the natives. It is an awkward thing when our trading vessels are firing on the towns or the towns on the ships, and there is no British authority immediately at hand to refer to.

456. Colonel *Thompson*.] Did you ever of your own knowledge know an instance where slaves were put to death?—Yes; but not from seeing them.

457. But from what you consider as equivalent to knowledge; so that you feel certain of the fact?—Perfectly so.

458. To what extent has that come within your knowledge?—The numbers have been variously stated; at the death of John Duke, who was a descendant from the sovereign Duke Ephraim, it is stated that 100 were killed. At the death of the late king Eyamba also very many.

459. Was that in the way of sacrifice?—Yes.

460. The question applied rather to a commercial proceeding; have you of your own knowledge known slaves put to death because there was no sale for them?—Not of my own knowledge; but I heard a statement from Captain Young, of Her Majesty's steamer, I think, the "Styx." Captain Young said that he had heard of not less than 1,500 or 2,000 having been put to death on the Dahomey coast.

461. But he also had only heard it?—He had heard of it from a vessel upon the coast, and he believed it; representations were made to this country at the time, and also in France; it was a very horrible transaction, and the thing was made public, I believe.

462. The Committee wish to know how far such a thing has come within your knowledge. Do you consider that an advantage is gained by inducing the native chiefs at some time or other to sign a renunciation of the slave trade?—Yes, if followed up by other measures.

463. But is that or not, in your opinion, a point of advantage gained, independently of whether the chiefs themselves should be very anxious to put it in execution or not?—I should say that I would not consider it of any very great value to go away 500 miles up the Niger and get a chief to sign a paper with which he was little acquainted, and then go away down again and leave him. I can suppose little value in that; but I suppose the signing of treaties would be taken in connexion with other measures, and then I think the signing of treaties would be of value.

464. Would you consider it an advantage if the man-of-war went back again, and the captain said, "Here is a treaty which you have signed, promising to give up the slave trade, and we expect you to act upon it;" do you consider that would be of advantage?—I think it would.

465. *Chairman*.] Have you any other statement which you wish to make to the Committee?—No, I do not remember any other.

*Mercurii, 25<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, 1849.*

## MEMBERS PRESENT.

Admiral Bowles.  
Mr. Monckton Milnes.  
Sir Edward Buxton.  
Mr. Gladstone.  
Sir R. H. Inglis.  
Mr. Cardwell.  
Lord Harry Vane.

Mr. Simeon.  
Viscount Brackley.  
Mr. Jackson.  
Earl of Lincoln.  
Lord John Hay.  
Mr. Evelyn Denison.  
Mr. Hutt.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Sir *Charles Hotham*, R. N., K. C. B., called in; and Examined.

466. *Chairman.*] YOU have, I believe, recently held the command of the British squadron on the West Coast of Africa?—I have. Sir *C. Hotham*, R. N.  
K. C. B.

467. When were you relieved on that station?—I was relieved on 1st March 1849. 25 April 1849.

468. How long had you held the command of that African station?—From October 1846 until March 1849.

469. What was the naval force usually under your orders?—It seldom averaged 22 ships of all kinds.

470. How many of those were steamers?—It would be difficult to give an average of those; the number varied very much.

471. What was the largest number of steam-vessels that you had under your orders at any time?—The largest number was seven.

472. Was that force in a high state of discipline, generally speaking?—I thought so.

473. Were your views carried out by the officers under your command to your entire satisfaction?—Entirely so.

474. What was the result of your operations; did you succeed in stopping the slave trade?—No.

475. Did you cripple it to such an extent as in your opinion is calculated to give to the slave trade a permanent check?—No.

476. What is the length of the line of coast on the western side of Africa along which in your opinion the slave trade could be carried on?—Two thousand one hundred and ninety-five miles.

477. In your opinion, is the blockade of the whole of that line of coast at all seasons of the year, and at all periods of the 24 hours, practicable?—Certainly not.

478. Will you be so good as to state to the Committee why you consider it is impossible so to blockade the whole line of the coast under all those circumstances?—Because the distance divided by the number of cruisers, namely 24 cruisers, will give 91 miles for each cruiser to watch.

479. What are the two points between which you think it would be necessary to carry on blockading operations?—Cape Roxo on the north and Little Fish Bay on the south, but I confine myself to the limits of my own station.

480. Do you think it would be impracticable under any circumstances to conduct slave-trading operations north or south of those two points?—I see no reason why it should not be done either north or south.

481. I understand that you consider that the extent of 91 miles is too great a distance for the effectual operation of a single cruiser?—I do.

482. Will you state in what respects the exertions of a cruiser would be foiled within that distance?—First, because neither by herself nor by her boats could she watch 91 miles of coast; secondly, because neutral vessels lying at ports within that distance could ship at their leisure, and sail at their convenience; thirdly, because the operation would be facilitated by fogs and dark nights.

483. Does the atmosphere of the coast of Africa present any particular facilities

Sir C. *Hotham*, R.N. for carrying on the operations of the blockading squadron?—No; at certain seasons of the year there are fogs, and what are termed smokes.

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484. Are those fogs sufficiently dense to prevent the successful exertions of the cruisers during the time they prevail?—They cripple their exertions.

485. At the time when the fogs do not prevail is the atmosphere as clear as it is in these latitudes?—I think not.

486. How far from a ship's deck will a cruiser, under ordinary circumstances, be visible during the night?—A trial was made during a full moon by the "Amphitrite," with a commanding breeze, and the interval from the time of quitting the ship till losing sight of her was ten minutes.

487. Can you give the Committee any information as to the relative facility which would be afforded to a vessel under similar circumstances on the coast of Europe?—You would see a vessel on the coast of Europe, with a commanding breeze, half an hour; that would be the interval from the time of quitting till the time she was out of sight.

488. It appears by papers laid before this Committee that during the last five years a vast number of slaves were carried off from the coast of Africa for the Brazilian market, and that a comparatively small number were conveyed to the market of the Spanish West Indies; how do you account for those two facts?—Because the government of Cuba was unfavourable to the admission of more slaves, and therefore co-operated with you, while the government of Brazil rather assisted than the reverse the exertions of the slave dealers.

489. Your officers, I presume, stopped all vessels alike; they stopped all they could; they showed no favour to vessels going to Brazil?—They visited every vessel to verify her flag.

490. If that be the case it would seem an error to set down to the credit of the blockading squadron the comparative extinction of the slave trade with the Spanish West Indies?—To a certain extent, yes; but both should be taken into consideration together.

491. There has been a very great decrease in the slave trade carried on to the Spanish West India Islands, while there has been an increase of the slave trade to the coast of Brazil; under those circumstances it would seem a fair inference that the distinction was not created by yourself and the squadron, but by the different circumstances of the two countries to which the slaves were sent?—I connected the squadron with the domestic government of Cuba, because the slave trade to Cuba was confined to certain points which could, from particular circumstances, be effectually guarded, and therefore I connected a reference to that part of the coast with the policy of the Cuban government.

492. Sir *E. Buaton*.] To what parts of the coast of Africa do you allude?—I allude now to the coast between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas.

493. *Chairman*.] You understand that the slaves have been chiefly sent from those parts of the coast of Africa to Cuba?—Principally so.

494. Is it the case that the people of Cuba give a preference to the slaves from that part of Africa?—I presume it is from that reason.

495. Will you be so kind as to explain from what circumstances it is that that part of the coast admits of being more effectually guarded?—Because there are tracts of country between which the slave trade is not permitted, therefore they can only ship at certain points.

496. When you stated to the Committee that the slave trade could be carried on to the extent of 2,100 miles, did you include those portions of the coast to which you are now adverting?—I did.

497. Do you understand that no slaves are sent to the Spanish West India Islands from the parts of Africa south of the Equator?—No, certainly not, inasmuch as two vessels have sailed out of the River Bras or the Quorra River for Cuba, but I wish to observe that previously the trade had been principally from the Gallinas, Shebar, and the northern coast, the coast I have just described.

498. Do you attribute the comparative suppression of the slave trade to the Spanish West India Islands mainly to the proceedings of the local government there?—To the local government, connected with the exertions of the squadron on that part of the coast. I think the question previously asked me was to explain the reason why the trade had decreased in Cuba and increased in Brazil; I have said that it was from the facility of watching certain points on the northern coast; I afterwards said that they had recently commenced sailing out of the

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River Bras, therefore that being of a recent date has nothing to do with the diminution of the trade in Cuba before.

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499. Has the Brazilian slave trade been very vigorous during the last three years?—Very much so.

500. From your experience of the slave trade have you any reason to doubt that the slave trade is acted on by the same causes which affect legitimate branches of commercial industry?—I think it is acted on by the same causes.

501. And consequently a stagnation of the general business of Brazil would be, under ordinary circumstances, accompanied by a stagnation of the slave trade?—I should think so.

502. Do you happen to know whether, during the last year, commerce has been depressed in Brazil?—During the existence of commercial distress in Europe, the trade of Brazil was certainly affected; I learned it from intercepted letters and from other causes; principally from intercepted letters.

503. Has there been any relaxation in the activity with which the slave trade has been carried on between the coast of Africa and Brazil?—Yes, during the time to which I have just referred.

504. Supposing the demand for slaves to be very high in Brazil, is it your opinion that it would be practically possible to prevent the demand obtaining a supply from the coast of Africa?—Not by our present measures.

505. Are you acquainted with any modification of the present measures which would effect that object?—I am not.

506. Supposing the present policy of this country, of attempting to stop the slave trade by a blockading squadron, to be persisted in, can you look forward to any definite period when it will effect the extinction of the slave trade?—I cannot.

507. Under those circumstances you must look upon the blockading squadron not as a temporary expedient, but as the normal state of our policy as applied to that subject?—I hardly know how to answer that question; but I should say yes.

508. Are you acquainted with any plan of operations which would permanently extinguish the slave trade in two or three years?—It would be very vain in me to say that I am; but I am intimately persuaded that our present measures are perfectly futile, and that our operations should be undertaken on the other coast, in connexion with the Brazilian government.

509. A plan for suppressing the slave trade was laid before a Committee appointed to consider this subject last year, by an officer of great intelligence, Captain Denman, and it excited a great deal of attention. Are you acquainted with the general features of that plan?—I am.

510. Do you think that plan is calculated to effect the extinction of the slave trade within any definite period?—Certainly not, with the exception of the coast between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone, where alone it is in any way applicable.

511. What facilities does that part of the coast afford for the successful operation of Captain Denman's plan?—There is not there a continuous line of country whereon the slave trade is conducted, which is the case on almost every other part of the coast.

512. Are there any other circumstances which would facilitate the successful application of Captain Denman's scheme?—I do not recollect any at the present moment.

513. There are some difficulties arising from the fogs?—Precisely; the coast is subject to the contingencies of weather.

514. Are you acquainted with the lagoon which lies between Sierra Leone and the Gallinas River?—Only by report.

515. You must necessarily be acquainted with its existence, and with its character?—That it exists, I am aware.

516. Does that lagoon offer any facilities for carrying off slaves from the coast?—It does, at the Boom Kittam River.

517. Mr. Jackson.] Do you think the existence of the shoal lying between Sierra Leone and the Gallinas, the part of the coast which you say might be blockaded, would not facilitate, notwithstanding such a blockade, the transmission of slaves from the coast of Africa?—I think it would be perfectly possible to blockade it.

518. Chairman.] Supposing the slave trade were successfully blockaded at one part of the coast, do you consider that the slave trade would be *pro tanto* decreased,

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decreased, or should you rather infer that the slave trade would shift its quarters and break out to the same extent elsewhere?—I believe that the slave trade could be conducted on any part of the West coast of Africa, and that blocking it up in one place would have no great effect upon the general amount of the trade.

519. Do you know whether the slave traders prefer the west to the east coast for their operations?—I am not aware, but I have recently heard that they have shifted from the west coast to the east coast, in consequence of the number of captures which have been made upon the western coast.

520. From the geographical position of the eastern coast with regard to Brazil, would not it be necessary to carry on the slave trade in another description of craft than those employed on the western coast?—In larger and better-found vessels.

521. Would not the voyage be a longer and a more precarious voyage?—The voyage would also be longer.

522. Would not a slave vessel making a voyage from the eastern coast be more liable to capture than when proceeding from the western coast?—I have never served on the eastern coast, and therefore cannot answer that question.

523. Sir E. Buxton.] All vessels coming from the east coast must come round by the Cape of Good Hope?—Yes.

524. Does not that fact that they must all come round by the Cape of Good Hope give greater opportunity to our cruisers to catch them?—Never having served upon that station, I cannot answer the question.

525. *Chairman.*] Looking at the facilities which the geographical position of the western coast would give to traders carrying their cargoes to Brazil, would not it be a fair inference that they would prefer the western coast to the eastern, if both offered them equal facilities in other respects?—A great deal depends upon the character of the slave which is required in Brazil at the moment, as well as upon the geographical position.

526. Sir E. Buxton.] Independently of your local knowledge as an officer who has had great experience, would not you say that the greater distance, the stormy nature of that part of the ocean, and the necessity of passing round the Cape of Good Hope, must throw great impediments in the way of the slave trade from the east coast?—My impressions are the other way, but never having served there I am not competent to give an opinion.

527. It is your impression that the necessity of passing round the Cape of Good Hope and the greater length of the voyage would not form any impediment to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa?—That is my opinion, but I am not a competent witness upon the matter.

528. *Chairman.*] Have you ever been professionally employed upon the coast of Brazil?—But a short time.

529. Did you command a vessel upon the coast?—I commanded the “Gorgon” steam-vessel.

530. How long were you upon the coast of Brazil?—The greater part of my service in that country was in the River Plate. Any information I have as to the Brazils is more from conversation, and from collecting the opinions of persons competent to give an opinion, than from any experience of my own.

531. Did you ever land in the Brazilian territory?—I have repeatedly.

532. Has your experience on the coast of Brazil enabled you to form a judgment of the description of slave which would be most in demand there?—An officer can only be guided by what he learns from persons competent to give an opinion. I have conversed a good deal with slave captains; I have conversed with merchants, and I have conversed with persons familiar with the country; and from their opinions I gather that there is a great difference in the character of the slave that is required for different purposes, and in different parts of the country.

533. For instance, in Bahia there is a particular slave required?—Yes, for sedan chair carrying, and he must be of a certain stature, and of a certain size. Then another slave is wanted, a domestic servant, and he can only be obtained from a particular part of the coast, because there the people are more tractable.

534. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Is there any distinction between the slave employed in coffee cultivation, and the slave employed in sugar cultivation?—I am not aware.

535. The proportion of slaves that can be used as bearers of sedan chairs cannot,

not, probably, represent any great number of those who may be imported from Africa?—The amount of slaves required for that and Bahia purposes is very nearly 10,000 persons, imported annually into Bahia, and they are very nearly of the same class, the same character, and the same description. They are all men of large stature; required for a particular purpose.

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536. Will you state to the Committee what proportion of the 10,000 may be employed and required for one service, and what for another?—I cannot do that.

537. You mean, generally, that the Committee should understand that 10,000 slaves are imported annually into Bahia, for the purposes of Bahia itself?—Precisely so; I take Mr. Porter's Report, which is the most accurate source of information.

538. Sir E. Buxton.] Those 10,000 persons are employed for domestic purposes?—The greater part of the slaves in Bahia come from the Bight of Benin. I believe that not more than two vessels sail to the south coast for domestic purposes.

539. You do not mean to say that all those 10,000 persons are of the description of slaves used for domestic purposes?—I mean that there is a class of 10,000 persons in round numbers, deducting from that 10,000, to speak more accurately, two cargoes of vessels from the south coast; those persons are all of the same character and the same class.

540. The whole of the 10,000?—Very nearly.

541. And all that class of persons are used for domestic servants?—They are used for the purposes of Bahia.

542. Sir R. H. Inglis.] To the exclusion of sugar cultivation or coffee cultivation?—I cannot answer that question; they are used for Bahia purposes; but, as a naval officer, I cannot be expected to understand the details of the matter.

543. Chairman.] It appears that the slave trade to the coast of Brazil is much larger now than it was in the years 1842 and 1843; are you cognizant of that fact?—I believe that it is so.

544. It has been stated, to a Committee appointed to consider this question, by several naval officers, that if the same vigilant proceedings that were employed in the years 1842 and 1843 were now in operation, they would effectually extinguish the slave trade. Do you concur in that opinion?—I cannot say that I do; the slave trade was then only in its infancy; the slave captains had, and particularly to the south of the Line, very little experience; and therefore it was in proportion much easier to catch them.

545. Do you happen to know whether, at that time, the commercial world was suffering from depression?—I do not.

546. Do you happen to know whether, at that time, General Valdes was Governor-general of Cuba?—I am not certain; I believe he was.

547. Captain Butterfield stated, that he found the slave traders on the coast were breaking up their establishments, and were returning to Brazil, in consequence of the successful activity of the British squadron; should you attribute such abandonment of their establishments, by the slave traders, exclusively to the operation of the squadron?—In some degree; probably they found that the spot was so well watched that it would be impossible to effect a shipment, and therefore they removed to another place, where it would be more easy.

548. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Do you conceive that an increase of the steam force, as compared with the sailing force, would materially, or in any degree, tend to effect our great object, the suppression of the slave trade?—I do not think so.

549. Will you be pleased to state to the Committee the grounds upon which you consider that the employment of steam force would not be effectual, or more effectual, than that of the sailing force in the suppression of the slave trade?—Because the Brazilians would immediately employ the same description of vessel, and steam against steam would place matters worse than they are now.

550. Admitting that the Brazilians could send to the coast of Africa a steam navy for the purpose of carrying away slaves, do you not conceive that tonnage against tonnage, and, above all, man against man, an English steam vessel would have a great advantage?—I think that, considering the climate, the general state of the atmosphere, and the darkness of the nights on the coast of Africa, it would be giving the Brazilians a very great advantage were they to introduce steam.

551. Do not you consider that, *ceteris paribus*, wherever steam and sails are employed together, steam would have a great advantage, inasmuch as when there is no wind, steam has a facility, which in the best and most favourable states of

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the weather, can hardly be acquired by the means of wind?—Certainly, as a general rule.

552. Are there any circumstances connected with the employment of steam on the coast of Africa, which would exclude from the steam so employed the benefits of the general principle which you have admitted?—I think not.

553. Then you wish the Committee to understand that you do not retain strongly, at all events, your opinion that steam might not be employed advantageously?—I consider, that if we introduced a great increase of our steam force, the Brazilian would immediately meet it in the same way, and that we should have placed ourselves at a disadvantage.

554. Do not you consider that, tonnage against tonnage, the cost of steam navigation is infinitely greater than the cost of sails?—Certainly.

555. Do you suppose that there is in Brazil such a salient source of wealth as can compete with England in employing steam navigation?—The Brazilians are supposed to be now laying out three millions in the slave trade; a nation which can do that can easily provide steam vessels.

556. Do you wish the Committee to understand in mentioning that sum, that it is 3,600,000 *l.* sterling employed by Brazilian traders and slave dealers, or do you wish the Committee to understand that that amount, if it be correctly stated, is supplied, in part at least, by the natives of other countries besides Brazil?—I mean the actual payment obtained for slaves, supposing 60,000 slaves to be imported into Brazil, is not much less than 3,600,000 *l.*, and a nation which can find that sum will, I think, not find any difficulty in providing steam vessels.

557. Do you reckon 60,000 slaves to be sold at such a price per man as to give you the 3,600,000 *l.*?—I take that which is stated to be the price in the Evidence before the Committee; I take 60 *l.* as the price of a slave.

558. Lord *J. Hay.*] Have you any means of knowing the expense of equipping a sailing vessel for the slave trade equal to carry 500 slaves?—Taking all vessels, I consider I should generally estimate the expense at 7 *l.* a ton, but that can only be taken on the average of vessels.

559. What sized vessel can conveniently stow 500 slaves, according to the present custom?—I have here an account of slaves according to section 2 of the 5th and 6th of William the 4th, 352 slaves in the proportion to 100 tons.

560. Does that represent a single vessel?—Yes.

561. I believe the “*Pluto*” has served under your orders?—She has.

562. She is a steam-vessel?—Yes.

563. What is the tonnage of the “*Pluto*,” and her power of engine?—I forget at this moment.

564. What number of slaves do you consider the “*Pluto*” equal to carry?—I should think the “*Pluto*” could carry 1,400 slaves.

565. *Chairman.*] Do you consider that the slave trade has been generally regulated by the strength and efficiency of the British squadron on the coast, or by the commercial demand for slaves?—I consider it is entirely dependant upon the commercial demand for slaves, and has little or no connexion with the squadron.

566. Mr. *Jackson.*] Do you think, in the event of steam-boats being employed for the transport of slaves from the coast of Africa to the Brazils, those steam-boats being built for the express purpose of evading our cruisers, and supposing our cruisers were steam-boats also, it would be necessary to go to the same cost in the construction of steam-boats to carry slaves, as our Government goes to in the construction of a steam-boat like the “*Pluto*”?—Supposing we were to employ an entire steam squadron on the coast, I apprehend it would be necessary for the Brazilians to go to that expense; supposing matters to be left as they are now, I consider the policy of the Brazilian is to employ his steam power merely to run in and ship his slaves, trusting to his sails for the rest of the passage.

567. Do you think it would be necessary for the Brazilian steamer to be equipped for warlike purposes in the same way that our steamers must necessarily be to capture them?—No.

568. Therefore they would cost so much less?—They would cost less by the amount of the armament.

569. It has been stated before this Committee, that the difficulty of coaling a Brazilian steamer would be such as to prevent her ever getting away from the coast with a cargo of slaves; is that your opinion?—Certainly not; she makes her passage

passage under sail; she would not light her fires until within 300 miles of the coast, and she would not require to expend more than five days' fuel.

570. Mr. *Cardwell*.] Are there not many steamers in the United States of America, and other places, which may be very fast-going steamers, but which sold, either new or second-hand, would be much cheaper than a British steamer built in the dockyard at home?—Decidedly.

571. If the Brazilian slave traders resorted to vessels of that kind, it would diminish the amount of expense you are speaking of?—Yes; and they would diminish the expense, by employing high-pressure engines alone, without making any other calculation.

572. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Have there been steamers employed already in the slave trade?—I know of only two; there may have been more.

573. Have those steamers been captured?—The "Penelope" captured one, and there is an account in the paper of the other having been captured. I only give the newspaper report.

574. So that the only two steam-vessels which have already been employed, as far as your knowledge goes, have been captured?—They have been captured; but if the report is true as regards the "Providencia," she has cleared herself over and over again, inasmuch as she has made five or six successful passages.

575. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Have you any reason to believe that the Brazilians are at this moment building steam-vessels to any extent at all?—I have no reason to believe it.

576. You have no reason to believe the truth of the report that a vessel of 2,000 tons for steam navigation was building at Rio in the course of the last winter?—I have no reason to believe it.

577. Admiral *Bowles*.] Did I understand you correctly that a vessel of 100 tons would carry 300 slaves?—We took a vessel of 60 tons and she had 300 slaves on board.

578. On deck?—There was a deck cargo, and others stood below. There were two cases which will elucidate the subject better, if I may be allowed to read them, and give them in as evidence. On the 11th of December 1847 the "Ferret" captured a brig of 167 tons, with 852 slaves and 30 seamen on board; 127 slaves died before adjudication; the average number of persons per 100 tons of the vessel's burden was 528. On the 8th of December 1847 the "Grappler" captured a brig called the *Arguia*, with 740 slaves on board and 28 men; the tonnage by the second section of the Act was 95 tons, and she is supposed to have been about 150 tons; by the former measurement she was carrying 800 persons per 100 tons of her burden, and 27 slaves died before trial. The "Brazilencia" was captured on the 12th of October 1848; she had 703 slaves on board and 27 seamen, and 300 slaves were removed to the "Dolphin," both vessels sailed to Sierra Leone; 37 slaves died; she averaged by the second section 829 men per 100 tons, and by the sixth section 442.

579. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You have stated that the total extent of the slave coast is 2,195 miles?—I have.

580. But from that you wish to deduct that part of the coast where no slave trade exists?—I have calculated the whole coast upon which the slave trade is conducted. The extent of the station was 3,000 miles; therefore, a deduction of 2,195 miles from 3,000 is to be made to give the length of coast to which the slave trade does not extend.

581. Then that part of the coast where the slave trade does not exist is not included in the 2,195 miles?—It is not.

582. What is the total distance from Cape Ruxo to Little Fish Bay?—Without measuring it, I can hardly state what it is exactly; I should say it is about 2,800 miles.

583. Are there not some parts of that coast where, during a great part of the year, it is impossible to ship slaves?—According to the received idea among English officers, you have stated the fact correctly, but not according to the idea of Brazilian captains, who have assured me over and over again that they can ship at any season of the year.

584. And from any port?—And from any port.

585. You have stated that the fogs which prevail upon the coast of Africa interfere with the operations of our vessels?—I have.

586. Do you mean to imply that those fogs do not also interfere with the operations of the slavers?—They give rather an advantage to the slavers, for this reason, that outside of, I will take a distance of 300 miles, the weather, in all

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probability is perfectly clear; the slaver gets her observation, and by running in a certain course she hits her port; whereas the man-of-war is driven about with the current, and hardly knows exactly where she is.

587. With respect to the slave trade to Cuba, you have stated that the slave trade has languished in Cuba because the Government has not been favourable to the trade?—I give the received opinion.

588. Are you aware that there has been a very great number of coffee plantations given up in Cuba, and that in consequence of that, a great number of slaves have been turned over to sugar planting?—I am not acquainted with the state of Cuba.

589. You are not aware what causes have operated in Cuba to prevent the importation of slaves?—Generally speaking, it is the want of demand.

590. Besides that, is not the voyage to Cuba much longer than the voyage to Brazil?—It is; it requires a better vessel; a better-found ship.

591. Is not there a greater chance of capture with respect to vessels going to Cuba?—Not from the African squadron certainly, because they more speedily get out of the limits of the station; with reference to the West India arrangements I am unable to speak.

592. Has not Cuba been supplied from that part of the coast which could easily be guarded, as you have stated?—It had been supplied up to this time from the nearest part of the slave coast to Cuba, as a general rule.

593. So that our cruisers have been able to guard that part of the coast from which Cuba has hitherto been supplied?—Generally speaking, yes.

594. You think, in spite of that, the effect of diminishing the slave trade has not been produced?—I speak particularly with reference to Brazil, because I am more familiar with that than with the other; but the number of slaves imported into Brazil from that part (the north coast) is as a drop in the ocean compared with the rest. I will give the number of captures, and the position of the captures, to show how the slavers regulate their supplies: from the 14th of October 1846 to the 31st of October 1846 there was one vessel taken in the north, none in the Bights, and six in the south; in the year 1847 there were five taken in the north, 17 in the Bights, and 52 in the south; from the 1st of January to the 1st of March 1849 there were 15 taken in the north, 20 in the Bights, and 57 in the south; so that the captures in the south are considerably more than the rest of the coast of Africa put together, with the exception of the east coast.

595. Mr. *Milnes*.] You have stated that you considered that the amount of slaves exported from the coast of Africa was chiefly regulated by the demand in Brazil; in a despatch of yours to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated the 17th of August 1848, you stated that, during the 22 months of the experience of your squadron, you had captured 143 slave vessels with 11,700 slaves on board; do you wish the Committee to understand that you consider that the places of those 11,700 slaves, which by the exertions of your squadron were saved from captivity, were supplied by something like the same number of slaves taken from other quarters?—I am unable to answer that question as it is put; but I should apprehend that they have always had the exact number of slaves in the Brazils, which they have required. Having been unable to procure them from one part of the world they have gone to another; therefore I do not consider that the number of slaves which we have taken has, as a general rule, affected the question; but that is merely a matter of opinion.

596. Admiral *Bowles*.] What proportion of vessels do you consider to have escaped annually, compared with those which have been captured?—I think we have taken a little more than one-third.

597. Mr. *Gladstone*.] That is, of vessels?—Of vessels.

598. But not of slaves?—On the whole, we have taken during my command, 173 vessels, and 15,462 slaves; that is in two-and-a-half years.

599. You estimate the proportion of vessels captured to be rather more than one-third of the total number employed; can you also give the Committee an estimate of the proportion of slaves captured to the total number of slaves exported?—To do that one must know the total number of slaves imported into Brazil, which I have always considered to be merely a matter of opinion, and the data given as to it to be, generally speaking, inexact; I do not see that in Brazil they have the means of calculating the thing so closely as the returns would lead one to imagine.

600. A third of the whole number of vessels employed, you say, have been captured; are the Committee to understand that the other two-thirds have carried

ried their cargoes to Brazil?—The only way of estimating the thing is to say that 60,000 slaves have gone into Brazil in a year, and to say three-and-a-half or four, as a nominal number, has been the average per ton; in that way you can make the calculation, but I do not know any other.

601. You are not able to state to the Committee the per-centage, according to any calculation which you think trustworthy?—Certainly not.

602. Lord *H. Vane.*] Have you any means of calculating the proportion of deaths of the slaves?—I think there is a very good rule of calculating them, by taking the deaths in our own squadron; I am of opinion that when they come under our care after capture, the losses are more considerable than they would have been if they had remained in the hands of the dealers; to obviate that I provided, in the latter part of my time, a dietary, and gave an order that the slaves should be fed according to that dietary, and not according to option, as was the case before, thinking that the deaths had been caused by over-feeding.

603. What was the result of that arrangement?—I do not think we have had sufficient time to ascertain that.

604. Mr. *Jackson.*] You stated that the cost of a vessel of 100 tons was 700*l.*, and that she would carry over 350 slaves, making that part of the cost of the freight equal to 2*l.* a head, supposing the vessel were used for no other purpose, and that she carried the 350 over. Had you ever any opportunity of ascertaining what was the additional cost for wages and provisions of the crew of a vessel during the voyage?—None that could be depended upon.

605. Have you in your own mind estimated the proportion of the cost on each slave, in addition to the first cost of the vessel?—We take seamen at 1*s.* a day, the master is paid before he embarks; he is afterwards paid about 100*l.* in the event of his succeeding, and in some cases he is allowed a certain amount of tonnage in the vessel; a doubloon, I believe, to be given to each seaman, and he also is paid so much more, but how much I cannot inform the Committee, on a successful voyage.

606. How many men would there be on board a vessel of 100 tons?—From 17 to 18.

607. That would be, say 1*l.* a day for wages?—Yes.

608. What would be the cost of working a vessel of 100 tons; her first cost being 700*l.* or 2*l.* a head; the next, 20*s.* a day for 20 seamen; would you add as much more for food?—I would include everything in the 20*s.* a day.

609. How many days would she be on the voyage?—You ought not to give her less than 70 days, because she may have to lie off the coast for a cargo.

610. If we allow 100*l.* more for wages and provisions, in addition to the cost of the ship, it makes the outlay for the adventure, including vessel, wages, and provisions of the seamen, 800*l.* Then you would add 100*l.* to the captain, and as much more for bounty to the men; making the total charge of a vessel carrying 350 slaves 1,000*l.*?—Yes, that would be about the amount.

611. Or in round numbers 3*l.* per head?—Yes.

612. Do you know what is the average cost of a slave on the coast of Africa?—It depends very much upon circumstances; from 3*l.* up to 15*l.*

613. What would you take to be the average cost; would you go as high as 6*l.*?—I should say about 9*l.* a head would be the average.

614. Taking 6*l.* to be the cost of the slave, and proceeding upon the assumption of one out of three being captured, the cost of carrying over the remaining two would be, at 9*l.* a man, 18*l.*; to which must be added 9*l.* as the loss on the one taken, making the cost of two slaves in Brazil 27*l.*, or 13*l.* 10*s.* per head. If the price of a slave on landing in Brazil were 60*l.*, there would be a profit, notwithstanding the capture of one-third, and including the cost of the two ships, which took over the two-thirds of 46*l.* 10*s.* a head?—I think that would be so.

615. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Have not the slave traders very expensive establishments on the coast?—Expensive in comparison, but not expensive according to our ideas.

616. Mr. *Jackson.*] Do you think the two vessels that had escaped would sell for as much as would defray all the expenses which the trader is put to on shore for his barracoons and other charges?—I should think they would.

617. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Have not the slave traders a great many agents, Spaniards or Portuguese, employed permanently on the coast?—They have.

618. Do not you suppose that their salaries must be very large?—I have no idea how they are paid; probably they are paid according to the proportion of slaves which they ship.

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619. Along that coast of 2,100 miles there must be many of those men, must not there?—There are a great many.

620. In your calculation you have added nothing for the heavy expense of those establishments?—I have not included them.

621. Mr. Jackson.] What do you consider would be the average loss of life out of every 100 slaves shipped for delivery on the coast of Africa, supposing the vessel not to be distressed by any pursuit, but that she had a regular voyage?—The average number of deaths under our hands, which, as I said before, I conceive to have arisen from bad management, is nine per cent.; but as I think, as a general rule, they would get them across with only five per cent. loss. In one case of a brig which was taken on the Brazilian coast, and sent to Sierra Leone with a month's passage, the lieutenant in charge only lost five, she having made first a passage to Brazil, and then the passage from Brazil to Sierra Leone.

622. If we add 2*l.* to the 27*l.*, which is nearly 10 per cent., have you any doubt that that would cover all the loss which might arise from death?—It would be an ample calculation.

623. That would yield a profit of 45*l.* 10*s.*, supposing the price of the slave to average 60*l.* on arrival in Brazil?—Yes.

624. And allowing for the capture of one vessel out of three?—Yes.

625. Mr. Cardwell.] So that, in your judgment, upon the whole, following the calculation which has been submitted to you, taking 60*l.* as the selling price in the Brazils, an adventure of this kind would yield upon the average a profit of 45*l.* 10*s.*, upon a total outlay of 14*l.* 10*s.*?—I should think so.

626. Mr. Jackson.] After allowing 33 per cent. of the amount invested to be lost in the way of capture?—Yes.

627. Do you think if the Brazilians employed steam boats there would be any diminution in the loss of life?—I do not think I am competent to answer that question. They themselves are strongly prejudiced against steam vessels. The natural inference, therefore is, that the slaves land in a more emaciated state, and that the speculation is not so good a one.

628. From that the Committee may infer that if they did employ steam boats, the horrors of the trade would be rather increased than diminished?—I should think so, they are forced to depend upon distilled water, which is another element which enters into the calculation.

629. The Committee understand you to say that a steam vessel would only use her steam power four or five days, till she got a good offing from the coast?—That would be the whole time she would be required to use her steam power, excluding chases and casualties, which one cannot foresee.

630. Supposing one of the steam boats which you have under your command were to give chase from any given point of the coast of Africa, to a vessel so equipped, how long would you be enabled to chase her under steam; how many days' coal would you have on board for that purpose?—It would depend on how long the man-of-war had been absent from a depôt.

631. You have a depôt at Fernando Po?—We have.

632. Supposing a steamer were going to embark slaves at Lagos, how many days would it take you to steam from Fernando Po to Lagos?—A little more than two days.

633. Supposing you had taken in a full supply of coal at Fernando Po and steamed to Lagos, where you would have to beat on and off in anticipation of this vessel coming out under steam, how many days could you give chase to the steamer, assuming that she had not used her coal, but was in full coal for a good run?—That can only be answered by estimating the speed at which you travel; for instance, from Fernando Po you must steam round Cape Formosa; then from Cape Formosa to Lagos you have a fair wind and would sail; therefore you would arrive off Lagos with as much coal as the steamer would have.

634. You think under such circumstances you could chase her as long as she could steam?—Yes.

635. Then you would have to chase her with canvas after that?—Supposing you have not captured her, but every probability is in favour of your having captured her.

636. How many days' coal should you require to have on board?—It is impossible to give a general answer to that question; one vessel would stow a very different quantity from another; one ship would stow coals for twenty days, and another vessel would not stow coals for more than seven days.

637. It has been intimated that the Government entertains an intention of sending to the coast of Africa vessels of a certain description; supposing they were stationed on that coast for the purpose of putting a stop to the slave trade, could they,

they, in your opinion, fully carry out the object that Government would have in view in sending them; could they stow sufficient coal for the purpose of giving chase to a steamer built for the slave trade?—In my opinion, they are the best vessels that could be sent to the coast of Africa; they stow a large quantity of coal; they have great sailing power, and they could economize their fuel to a much greater extent than the common class of steamers.

638. Sir *E. Buxton*.] With respect to your calculation of the profit of 40% upon each slave which is landed, you have stated in your despatch, dated the 17th of August 1848, that the slave trade upon the coast of Africa would be quite at an end were it not assisted by very large importations from the east?—I gave a quotation; I made no statement of my own; what I wished to assure the authorities at home was, that every possible exertion had been made by their squadron; I had nothing further from my mind than to prove that the slave trade was extinguished or diminished to any extent by those means.

639. I am to understand that, though you made this quotation, you do not agree with the gentleman yourself?—I gave his words, without offering any opinion; I only wished to assure the authorities at home that, in the judgment of the dealers, we had driven the vessels, by the activity and exertions of the cruisers, from the west coast to another part of Africa.

640. You are not able to give any opinion to the Committee whether that quotation was accurate or not?—My opinion is, that it is accurate, inasmuch as I heard it from men who were located 500 and 600 miles apart, not only on the coast south of the Line, but also at the Gallinas; I have asked dealers how the trade had been progressing, and they have said it had been driven to the east coast of Africa, and that large shipments in Rio had been made from there.

641. Does not it appear to you natural to suppose that if this trade has been only maintained by the assistance of the east coast, there must be some incorrectness in your calculation, that under present circumstances a profit of 40% a slave is obtained by the slave dealers?—I do not think that; slaves might be cheaper, or there might be mercantile reasons, with which I am not acquainted, for the vessels quitting the west coast and repairing to the east. I only give the facts as they are given to me, with the inferences which I drew.

642. Mr. *Jackson*.] In your opinion, supposing a strict blockade to be kept up at one particular part of the coast, a trade would immediately burst out at another part of the coast?—It is impossible, in my opinion, to keep up such a blockade as to prevent the slave trade existing in the Bight of Benin, though I think it is feasible on the north coast.

643. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Will you mention, in miles, the proportion of coast which you think might be strictly blockaded, and the portion of the coast which is not susceptible of being strictly blockaded?—I am sorry to say the former is very small; altogether it is not more than 100 miles which you could blockade effectually, in my judgment.

644. Does that mean only 100 miles out of the 2,100 miles you have given?—There are only 100 miles out of 2,195 miles which you could blockade effectually.

645. How many vessels would you require to blockade that 100 miles effectually?—Four vessels.

646. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Are those 100 miles more favourable for carrying on the slave trade than the remainder of the coast?—There are greater facilities in the way of shipping slaves; it is a coast more easily watched; it is a coast where they only ship at particular points, and for that reason I am of opinion that a successful blockade might be maintained; it was maintained in 1848.

647. Are the facilities in the remainder of the 2,195 miles so much less than the facilities in the 100 miles, as to render the blockade of the 100 miles desirable, when the remainder cannot be blockaded?—In the Bight of Benin you have water communication entirely round it, and by that water communication slaves are transferred from point to point, and shipped anywhere on the beach, not from Lagos, not from Little Popo, but from any point, according to the position and arrangements of the slavers. On the south coast you have another lagoon, beginning at Cape Lopez, and running up as high as Mayamba, therefore there is another water facility; and lastly, from Mayamba to Little Fish Bay, slaves are run from point to point like post horses, and can be shipped anywhere, at any time when the cruiser is not present.

648. Sir *E. Buxton*.] What is the extent in miles of those lagoons?—I can hardly answer that question, we have no survey of them.

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649. Can you state in a rough way what is your opinion?—The whole extent of the Bight of Benin is girdled with a natural water communication between the river Quarra and Cape Saint Paul.

650. What is your estimate as to the extent of that?—About 450 miles, I should think; but that is speaking at a guess.

651. Then the lower lagoons, south of the Cameroons, is of what extent?—About 240 miles.

652. Mr. Jackson.] Is the Committee to understand that in your opinion it is not possible to blockade the coast between Cape Lopez and the river Cameroons so as to prevent slaving?—I am not aware that any question has yet been asked me as to the country between Cape Lopez and the River Cameroons.

653. Take it between Cape Lopez and the Quarra?—We have never had occasion to guard that part of the coast; it is only within the last three months that any attempt at slaving in the river has recommenced; I allude to two vessels which sailed out of the river Quarra.

654. Mr. Cardwell.] In regard to what is called the regular trade, the palm-oil trade, and that class of trade, are you of opinion that the co-existence of that trade and the slave trade are impossible?—I think wherever the two are together the slave trade will have the preference, and the slave trade will beat the other out of the market; at the same time, on many parts of the coast, particularly from about St. Paul de Loanda, and from the Congo down to Cape St. Bras, the country produce is very small, and there is not the means of forming a trade.

655. It is the interest therefore of the persons engaged in the regular palm-oil trade, above all other persons, that the slave trade should be suppressed?—Certainly.

656. Have you found that those persons have been ready to co-operate with you during your command, and to give you every information in their power?—Always.

657. Have you the slightest reason for supposing that any of Her Majesty's subjects engaged in carrying on the palm-oil trade have had any connexion whatever, direct or indirect, with the slave trade?—I do not recollect any.

658. You are of opinion that such an imputation as that made upon that class of persons would be a very unfounded and unjust imputation?—I think so; confining it to the palm-oil traders.

659. Are there any other persons carrying on the lawful trade of Great Britain with the coast of Africa to whom you think that imputation does apply?—If we are to look for it anywhere it must be in Brazil, not on the coast of Africa; at the same time I am far from wishing to fix the imputation upon any one in Brazil.

660. So that those merchants who are engaged in trade between Great Britain and Africa are quite clear of any such imputation?—Directly, certainly.

661. By the word directly, you mean to refer to persons engaged in the direct trade?—In the direct trade. I apprehend that all commerce is so mixed up together in Africa that they are more or less all connected with it, but still it is in so slight a measure that it is hardly worth mentioning; it is impossible to trade with Africa without in some way or other being connected with the slave trade.

662. As, having in view only the interests of the African race, one of the last things you would desire to discourage would be the lawful trade?—Certainly; it is a great object to encourage the lawful trade wherever any means of carrying on a lawful trade exists.

663. So that a lawful trade having been carried on without any effect whatever tending to the encouragement of the slave trade, other than such as you believe to be absolutely inseparable from the multifarious ramifications of commerce under any circumstances, who have conducted that lawful trade, have been doing all that in them lay to supplant and supersede the slave trade?—Certainly.

664. I think you say that with regard to the suppression of the slave trade, your efforts have hitherto been ineffectual?—I have said so.

665. And you are not prepared to suggest any mode by which they shall become effectual?—No. I think I said that I was not prepared to suggest any modification of the present system, which would render it more effective.

666. Do you think that the nature of the penalty, which is confined to the mere confiscation of the vessel by which the slaves are carried, is wholly inadequate to the repression of the offence?—I do not see how you are to increase the

the punishment, circumstanced as the trade is at present, with foreigners and natives of all countries entering into it.

667. Supposing it to be impossible, according to the law of nations, or for any other reasons, to inflict personal penalties upon those who actually carry it on, you believe it to be impossible forcibly to repress it?—I believe it to be impossible forcibly to repress it with our present means, nor am I prepared to suggest any modification of those means.

668. The Committee has been told that there exists an apprehension in the minds of a considerable portion of the people of Brazil, and I observe in your despatch you allude to that subject, that the number of slaves in Brazil is already sufficiently large, and that they would deprecate, from political considerations, any very large increase in the number of blacks in the Brazils; is that your opinion?—To a certain extent it is; there are a number of very intelligent men, headed by Signor Cavalcante, a man of great ability, who are desirous, if possible, to suppress the further importation of slaves; but constituted as that government is, it is quite out of their power to do so.

669. Are you of opinion that our proceedings on the coast of Africa have any effect upon the position of Signor Cavalcante and his friends in the Brazils?—I think they render it impossible for them to move in the affair; inasmuch as they see their flag, as they think, insulted, and therefore would not risk their popularity and personal influence by coming forward with any measure of the kind.

670. In your opinion there would be a highly enhanced probability of the Brazilian government itself interfering, successfully, to put down the slave trade, if our operations on the coast of Africa were suspended?—That leads to another question; I do not think we can suspend our operations on the coast of Africa without proposing some other measure; from political considerations it would be impossible to do so; and, at all events, we must always reserve a squadron of from 10 to 12 sail for the sake of protecting our commerce.

671. In your opinion that might be done in such a manner as to enlist the feelings of the Brazilians on our side, and to strengthen the hands of those who, like Signor Cavalcante, wished to put down the slave trade?—I do not think we can ever succeed in our endeavours without enlisting Brazil upon our side, and the obvious way of doing that, is to frame some measure which would meet that desire.

672. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Will you be pleased to state to the Committee to what measure you advert, as likely to conciliate the Brazilians, and at the same time to suppress the slave trade?—I think that some such measure as this might be proposed to them: to allow the importation of slaves for a certain number of years, arranging the proportion of the sexes, under certain conditions, and under the government of Commissioners residing on the coast of Africa; that after that period the Brazilian government would willingly consent to declare it piracy, and then you might look forward to a successful termination of your endeavours.

673. In other words, you wish the Committee to understand that you would propose to legalize the revival of the slave trade between Africa and Brazil for a certain number of years?—There is a great difference between reviving the slave trade and importing slaves under conditions having reference to their comfort and health. I have also in view the establishment of a certain degree of morality in Brazil, which now by no manner of means exists; I do not see how you are to bring that about unless you sanction the importation of women to a large extent. Those are my views.

674. Could more means be devised to render the passage of slaves across the Atlantic free from disease and death than were adopted under the provisions of the Act commonly called Sir William Dolben's Act?—I think that you might make arrangements which would render their passage, comparatively speaking, perfectly comfortable.

675. Mr. Cardwell.] Do you happen to know whether, during the time that the slave trade was carried on legally in the Brazils, the sufferings of the negroes were at all proportioned to what they have been since it became a contraband trade?—I am not aware.

676. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have heard and read probably enough to know that there was a very strong conviction on the minds of the people of England, founded upon evidence taken before Committees of both Houses of Parliament, and before a Committee of the Privy Council, that the mortality, even

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under the most favourable circumstances, was very great during the period of the legalized existence of the slave trade?—I have proved that the mortality, under the worst measures, which I consider are while the slaves are under our control, only amounts to nine per cent., and I do not think the Brazilian loss amounts to more than five per cent.

677. You have repeated the statement which you previously delivered to the Committee, that the mortality, so far as you had been able to ascertain, has not exceeded nine per cent.; are you aware of the evidence given before this Committee last year by an officer employed under your command, Captain Birch, who stated that the mortality was about one-third; in other words, that out of a crew of 450, 300 only were landed; are you aware also of the evidence of another officer, Captain Wyvill, who stated that the proportion was about the same, namely, one-third; Captain Birch having been employed two years and nine months upon the coast, and Captain Wyvill a considerable time. Are you aware also of a statement made to this Committee by a witness, himself domiciled in Brazil, Doctor Cliffe, to the effect that occasionally the mortality is so frightful as that one vessel containing 160 slaves, 10 only landed in the Brazils; are you aware also of another vessel to which he adverted, namely, "The Senator," which did not land a single slave in the Brazils; and are you prepared either to gainsay that evidence, or to affirm your own proposition by any probable evidence to which you can refer this Committee?—With Dr. Cliffe's evidence I have no concern; with respect to the evidence of the other officers, I trust they will pardon me, if I say that they have no grounds for arriving at anything approaching to an accurate calculation. Only the commander-in-chief of a large squadron is competent to form a fair opinion, and he does that from returns from the Admiralty Court, checked again by returns from officers in charge of cruisers; individual captains have not it in their power to make an accurate statement before a Committee.

678. You wish the Committee to understand, that the slave trade is not conducted with such aggravated horrors, in the present instance, as some have supposed to be the case, inasmuch as the mortality is less than has been popularly supposed?—I will give in, if the Committee will allow me, a Return showing the number of deaths in the separate cargoes of slaves hereunder specified.

[The same was delivered in, and is as follows:]

Number of Slaves on Board when Captured.	Number died before Adjudication.	Number of Slaves on Board when Captured.	Number died before Adjudication.
545	11	48	8
517	25	270	51
317	—	403	18
305	26	354	55
214	6	501	13
515	57	250	62
57	6	496	20
608	125	379	25
447	13	427	55
220	5	288	1
189	8	388	27
265	35	703	37
237	26	275	81
374	70	529	21
60	14	303	4
650	114	527	65
852	127	322	28
747	27		

Average number of deaths, 9 per cent.

679. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You have stated that the mortality, after capture, is about nine per cent., and that in your opinion the mortality in crossing the Atlantic is less than that which takes place after capture; what is the mortality at present on board those vessels which escape and arrive at the Brazils?—Drawing a comparison from the mortality on board the slave ships after capture, I should think five per cent.

680. Considering, as far as we are able to learn, that under Sir William Dolben's Act the mortality was 14 per cent., and that now it is only five per cent., do you imagine, if the slave trade were allowed for a certain period, any great diminution in the mortality would take place?—I anxiously hope that the slave trade may never be allowed; if you were to remove all restrictions, and to take your squadron entirely away, small speculators would spring up and undersell those who are now in the market; the slave trade would be greatly increased in its horrors, and it would be impossible to calculate the calamities which would ensue; besides this, pirates would abound, and in my opinion it would be impossible for a legitimate trader to conduct his operations upon that coast.

681. Admiral *Bowles*.] You think it would be necessary to keep up a squadron under any circumstances?—Under any circumstances; you cannot reduce your squadron lower than from 10 to 12 sail.

682. Sir *E. Buxton*.] With respect to the number of ships, do you consider that the number of ships must be 12 effective ships?—I include vessels of all descriptions; depôts, the senior officer's ship, and vessels of all descriptions.

683. You think 12 vessels [should be sufficient in that case, 26 being employed now?—I think that the commerce of this country would require that force entirely independent of slave cruising.

684. Mr. *Jackson*.] The plan you have suggested of fixing the proportion of the sexes, and the other views that you have submitted to the Committee, are not with a view of legalizing or reviving the slave trade, but with a view of arriving at a speedy termination of it?—I cannot see that you have any other road open to you but to enlist Brazil upon your side, and without offering something that may be considered a concession, you cannot expect to obtain the consent of Brazil.

685. In your opinion, if that plan were adopted, it would tend more to put an end to the slave trade than keeping up the squadron which we are doing at present?—Decidedly; but that is my own private view.

686. Mr. *Gladstone*.] When you said that, you did not think you could withdraw the squadron without proposing some substitute; did you refer to the withdrawal of the 12 vessels of which you have now spoken, or did you mean that we could not alter the present system without proposing a substitute?—I alluded more particularly to the impossibility of altering the present system without proposing a substitute, because, independently of humanity, there are political considerations which should not be overlooked.

687. You refer chiefly to matters upon which you have formed your opinion in common with others, rather than to matters upon which you have formed your opinion professionally, after experience?—Naturally speaking, after a long professional service, you enter more into politics than you would do as a private individual in private life.

688. You have said that the withdrawal of the squadron would lead to a great extension of the trade, to a great increase of suffering, and to horrors unexampled; do you think that opinion to be quite consistent with the one which you are understood to have expressed before, that in the main, the supply of slaves was actually regulated by the demand in Brazil; if that be so, would not it follow that the supply of slaves would still be regulated by the demand in Brazil, after the squadron was withdrawn?—I apprehend the slave trade is now regulated by men of considerable capital, and that slaves are conveyed across with comparative ease and comfort; if you remove the restriction, men of a less amount of capital, small speculators, would embark in the trade, and then I think the trade would increase greatly in its horrors.

689. Do you think if the system of forcible suppression were withdrawn, the government of Brazil would take no measure whatever for the regulation of the slave trade, or the prevention of its horrors. You have referred to the existence of a good feeling in Brazil, though repressed by unfavorable circumstances; do not you think when the sense of national honour had ceased to be irritated

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by our measures, you might hope that, at least, it would begin to act with some degree of force, and that there would be a disposition to mitigate the horrors of the slave trade?—I consider the government of Brazil is perfectly powerless in this matter; it is as much as they can do to keep the monarchy together; the slightest shock would dismember it, therefore it is a question which they scarcely interfere with.

690. Is it your opinion that they would continue to be equally powerless, even after the system of forcible suppression were abandoned, so that it should become entirely in their own discretion; do you think public opinion would still remain as favourable to the slave trade in Brazil as it is now?—Not equally powerless, certainly, but still powerless.

691. *Chairman.*] You were speaking of the consequences of withdrawing the squadron to the slaves themselves; supposing the squadron were withdrawn, why should the trade assume a different character to that which belonged to it before the slave trade was prohibited by the European states?—I have hardly sufficient knowledge of the subject to draw a comparison; but when I find slave dealers all looking out for you to maintain your squadron, all telling you that the worst thing that could happen to them would be for you to withdraw it, I do not see how you can form any other conclusion than to suppose that they would be under-sold in the market, and that they individually would be ruined by it, and have to retire.

692. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have stated, that under any circumstances the government of the Brazils would not be equally powerless, but still powerless to repress the slave trade; if that be so, can you still recommend to the Committee to allow the existence of the slave trade between Africa and the Brazils for a certain number of years, in the hope that thereafter the government of Brazil would have it in its power finally to suppress the slave trade?—I should like to alter the word “slave trade” to “importation,” and to say “to allow the importation of slaves,” and with that alteration, I may say I think it is a measure which would greatly conciliate the Brazilians. I say so because I asked dealers at the Gallinas the effect which such a measure would produce. They were astonished at it, and said it would “produce a hundred opinions” directly in the Brazils, and thereby cause a corresponding influence upon the government.

693. Did you understand when that phrase was used, that those opinions would be predominantly in favour of the final suppression of the slave trade when the plantations now in progress were adequately supplied with negro labour?—I did not.

694. Will you explain to the Committee in what way “the hundred opinions” would operate so as to induce the government of Brazil five or ten years hence to do that which the government of Brazil is not willing to do now, namely, to suppress the slave trade?—I have said that the government of Brazil is powerless in the matter, but it would enlist so many opinions on their side, that they would probably find themselves strong enough to propose it to the country.

695. Mr. Gladstone.] If you think the government of the Brazils, under the circumstances last stated, would be strong enough to induce the country to abandon the slave trade altogether after a limited number of years, do not you think, *à fortiori*, it would be strong enough to induce some such regulation of the slave trade as would put it upon a better footing with regard to the treatment of the slaves upon the passage, than that upon which it is now?—I think the Brazilian government would accept the proposition, and in that proposition you would naturally include everything which could possibly relate to the ease and comfort of the negro.

696. Even short of their accepting such a proposition as that, or presuming that they have the power and the will to accept such a proposition, does not it seem to follow from that, that they would have the power and the will, under any circumstances, independently of a covenant finally to extinguish the slave trade, materially to mitigate the horrors which now attend it?—I think not; it is an illicit trade, entirely independent of the government; it would be like asking a smuggler to regulate the amount of cargo which he should carry in his vessel.

697. Presuming there were no arrangement with the Brazilian government, but that there remained on the coast of Africa sufficient ships for the protection of the legitimate trade, do you think, under those circumstances, the horrors

horrors which now attend the carrying on of the slave trade would be increased? —I should think not, provided the ships were furnished with warrants. You would not check the trade in slaves; nevertheless I think it would keep it in the hands of the present men.

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698. Mr. *Cardwell*.] The retaining 12 vessels you think would protect the existing trade in the possession of the present slave traders, and bad as they are, you think that would be better than the state of things which would otherwise ensue?—Decidedly.

699. Lord *H. Vane*.] Upon that supposition, unless you entered into some arrangement with the Brazilian government, small speculators would necessarily spring up, because by the very supposition you would have no power to detain vessels engaged in the slave trade?—The answer to that question is, that it is a comparative power; you would not have the same power you have now to detain them, by reason of the squadron being reduced; but you would have a certain power, and then the question resolves itself into this, whether the reduced number of ships would be sufficient?

Veneris, 27<sup>o</sup> die Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Sir Edward Buxton.  
Admiral Bowles.  
Lord Harry Vane.  
Mr. Monckton Milnes.  
Mr. Gladstone.  
Sir R. H. Inglis.  
Earl of Lincoln.

Colonel Thompson.  
Mr. Simeon.  
Mr. Evelyn Denison.  
Mr. Cardwell.  
Lord John Hay.  
Viscount Brackley.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Sir *Charles Hotham*, R.N., K.C.B., called in; and further Examined.

700. *Chairman*.] HAVE you any observations to make in regard to the evidence which you gave before the Committee on Wednesday last?—There are one or two questions on which I am desirous to give some further evidence. The first question is question 687. The answer I gave was this: “Naturally speaking, after a long professional service, you enter more into politics than you would do as a private individual in private life.” By the words, “entering into politics,” I mean to infer, that as England has hitherto taken the leading part in endeavouring to put down the slave trade, and as she has in every treaty which has been made expressly inserted a clause for that purpose, and has thus set an example to the whole world, I do not think she can now depart from that course (unless she proposes a substitute) without a certain degree of degradation.

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701. Will you allow me to refer you to a preceding question, asked by Mr. Gladstone: “When you said you did not think you could withdraw the squadron without proposing some substitute, did you refer to the withdrawal of the 12 vessels of which you have now spoken, or did you mean that we could not alter the present system without proposing a substitute?” Will you be so kind as to answer that question a little more fully?—My answer had no reference whatever to the withdrawal of the 12 vessels, but had reference to the general withdrawal of the squadron.

702. Have you had any opportunity of reading the evidence reported to the House of Commons by the Committee of last year upon this subject?—I have.

703. Have you read with attention the evidence given by Mr. Bandinel?—With the greatest attention.

704. Do you or do you not concur with that gentleman in the views he has there expressed?—I entirely concur in the views of Mr. Bandinel, as far as I am acquainted with the subject. With the historical parts I cannot presume to be intimately acquainted; but with that part of his opinion wherein he refers to the necessity of having the assistance of the slave-holding states, before you can

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suppress the slave trade, I entirely concur. I am desirous, for the information of the Committee, to read the despatch wherein the subject is treated, and which subject I have considered most minutely; and I think they will arrive better at my meaning if they will bear with me for a few minutes while I read that despatch. It is dated—

Sir,

"Penelope," at Ascension, 5 December 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 265, dated 30th September 1848, with a copy of the evidence taken before and of the report made by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which has been sitting during the recent Session of Parliament, for the purpose of considering the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave trade, and desiring me to transmit to you any remarks thereon that I might see fit. Their Lordships will, no doubt, have observed that the evidence of the several witnesses, and especially of the naval officers, is conflicting and contradictory; and were I to attempt to criticise and compare their opinions, I should be led into a description tedious in itself and probably difficult for their Lordships to understand. I therefore propose to confine myself to a statement of the modes and shifts at present adopted by the slave traders, detail the configuration of the coast, and offer some general remarks on the difficulties which present themselves in the attempts hitherto made to suppress the slave trade. But as the subject is intimately connected with the condition and prospects of the Brazilian empire, as the means which that government possess to enforce a prohibitory law cannot be left out of the account, I trust their Lordships will not consider that I am exercising an undue discretion in extending my observations beyond the limits given in their instruction, and including in one despatch the opinions which I have formed on this important question. I have already transmitted to their Lordships a chart, explanatory of the facilities offered to the dealers in transporting and shipping slaves on different parts of the coast. The course of the internal waters is also inserted, and in the margin I have set forth the line of country where the slave trade is actively conducted. If the whole distance is divided by 24 it will give 91 miles for each cruiser to watch. Generally speaking, there are no established points of shipment. Information is conveyed by neutrals and canoes to the vessel waiting off the coast, of the exact position of each cruiser, and arrangements are then made for the further operations. The quantity of provisions and water carried by our vessels is perfectly well known, and if circumstances are not propitious, she waits off the coast until the man-of-war is compelled to quit her station, then makes her point, and in two hours receives a full cargo. In the Bight of Benin this precaution is considered unnecessary. The trade from Logos and Whydah is conducted by vessels in every way superior to our sloops of war; and the practice latterly has been to steer direct for their port, ship their slaves, and take their chance, feeling sure that the probability of success is greatly in their favour. To show this confidence I must mention two anecdotes. On the capture of the "Gentil Africano" by the "Styx," on the night of the 18th of February, Captain Chads inquired of the master why he did not use greater exertions? He was told, "The night was so dark I took you for a brig; in that case there was no occasion to hurry." By a recent letter I am informed that a full slaver came down the Congo and ran boldly past the "Pluto" steamer lying at its mouth, in the certainty of an escape. From Cape Lopez to Little Fish Bay there is not a foot of ground untrod and unoccupied by the slave dealers; the slaves are run from point to point, and it is within these latitudes that the great shipments for Rio de Janeiro are made. The class of vessels hitherto employed has been of an inferior construction; a certain number are sent across, and if one out of five escapes a fair profit is divided amongst the proprietors of lottery stock. It appears, however, that this system is undergoing a change: latterly the vessels captured have rivalled those sailing out of Bahia. The dealers at Gallinas, Shebar, and in the north, formerly supplied the Havannah trade; during 1846 and 1847 few, if any, slaves were exported from those marts. The accounts of this year I fear will show that Brazilian vessels have been chartered from Cuba and Porto Rico. The slave, like any other marketable commodity, is chosen for his merits; the residents at Bahia prefer the Logos and Whydah negro, for sedan-chair carrying and agricultural purposes; but as domestic servants they give the preference to the Congo. The inhabitants of Cagnabac, and those islands, abhor slavery, and generally commit suicide. The best tempered and most manageable negro is imported from the Congo. Embomma is the grand focus of the slave trade; nearly all the blacks exported between Mayambar and Benguela Velha come from here. Supposing that 50,000 slaves were imported last year into Brazil, I should imagine that 10,000 sailed out of the Bight of Benin for Bahia, and 30,000 taken from the south and east coasts for Rio de Janeiro and the southern provinces. I doubt whether one cargo for the Brazils left the Gallinas or Shebar, but possibly 1,000 from the Pongos, Nunez, and Bisagos islands. These numbers naturally regulate the distribution of our cruisers. At present to watch and guard the coast we have nominally 24 cruisers, being one for each 91 miles; in reality, never more than 22, and deductions are again to be made for ships recruiting at St. Helena, negotiating treaties, or employed in the protection of our trade. Boat service has always been sanctioned on every part of the station, except from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmos; then humanity required that men should not be exposed to the effects of a pestilential climate; the losses from this cause in 1847 amongst the boats' crews of the "Syren" and "Wanderer," call loudly for remedy. No assistance has been given by the French; they cannot legally capture Brazilian vessels, and appear to decline interfering with those who are unfurnished with papers. Independent of the facilities offered by the topography of the coast, great assistance is obtained through

through the medium of neutrals. The Americans and Sardinians are the principal movers; their vessels bring the cargoes required for the purchase of slaves, with an additional master and Brazilian crew; their water is stowed and slave deck laid under the legitimate cargo, and every preparation made for the shipment of slaves; the papers are correct, and they anchor off the ports, and there remain until the cruiser is either led off by chase, or compelled to quite her station for water, seize their opportunity, shift the flag, and sail under a Brazilian master; the same vessel frequently repeats this trick, the sail being only nominal, unless capture should ensue. So long as this is allowed, I am of opinion that the entire suppression of the slave trade by our present means is impracticable. Neither do I think that a blockade of this extensive coast is feasible; the question is independent of local knowledge, it is one on which old and experienced seamen are most competent to decide. it is summed up in a few words; whether it is possible with a squadron of 24 vessels, or even say 48 vessels, to blockade or guard a line of coast 2,195 miles in extent. I am confident, that viewing the subject, with the eye of a seaman, and laying aside other feelings, the captains in Her Majesty's navy would, by a large majority, decide that it is impracticable. If a strange sail is descried from the masthead after two o'clock p. m., and endeavours to escape, there are very few if any vessels in Her Majesty's service who can chase her sufficiently to continue the chase after dark, therefore the captures by sailing ships are to be made between daylight and two p. m., being eight hours out of the 24. During the night, even with a full moon, the distance commanded in this climate is very small, and the known position of the boats having been conveyed to the slave vessel, she runs in and ships at such an hour as may enable her to obtain an offing before daylight. In the harmattans and fogs a cruiser may accidentally stumble on a slaver; but during that season the wind is generally light, and a chase would be protracted. Supposing that we employ steam vessels, they will of course do the same, and anything like a blockade will be more difficult than it is now; steam against steam, taking into consideration the length of the nights and the absence of the steam cruiser for coals, will afford additional advantage to the slave trade. For the sake of argument we will admit that success is obtained, that they are compelled to leave their present haunts, still I cannot satisfy myself that the slave trade would be put down; what is to prevent it being transferred to the coast north of the French settlements? Formerly Goree was one of the largest marts; or from little Fish Bay to the Cape of Good Hope, there is no difficulty about water, by digging in the sand a supply can be obtained, or it can be conveyed by negroes employed in the domestic trade. I say nothing about the east coast, because I have never visited it; but I am persuaded that there is no idea more fallacious than the supposition that the abode of slave trade is limited. In some of the proposed resolutions stress is laid upon the extension of legitimate commerce; but it appears to me that sufficient consideration has not been given to the paucity of African produce; some say, "Suppress the slave trade and establish legitimate commerce," and the Bight of Benin and Gold Coast are cited; wherever there is produce the conclusion is valuable, but where the supply is small the question is more difficult. The Portuguese are the great culprits, and the trade is most active between St. Paul de Loanda and Little Fish Bay. The quantity of palm and ground-nut oil grown in their possessions is inconsiderable. Their exports are gum, ivory, enchelle, beeswax, and hides. Valuable copper is found near Ambriz, but not in sufficient quantities to form an article of commerce. On this point Mr. Tobin's evidence is extremely important, therefore there is not a sufficient quantity of produce to exchange for manufactured goods, and slaves are substituted. The labour attending the cultivation and manufacture of palm-oil and ground-nut oil is comparatively trifling, and there is a speedy return; but no one will voluntarily lock up his capital and cultivate coffee, sugar, and tobacco, for which the land is admirably adapted, when he can get a quicker profit on slaves. Besides, there is a great uncertainty and competition attending plantations; and hitherto, wherever it has been tried, the experiment has been unsuccessful. The Portuguese are bad colonists; their aim is to make a sum of money, and return to Europe as quickly as possible, and no one thinks of establishing himself permanently in Africa. I fear but little increase of trade can be expected in Angola. A great stress is laid upon the conclusion of treaties with the native chiefs. As a means of forcibly destroying barracoons or factories, it is an important auxiliary; but no chief will enter into such an agreement who is interested in the traffic, therefore, in reality, but little good is obtained. The plan under which we have been hitherto acting has entirely failed. It matters little whether we keep our ships in shore, or allow them to cruise; it never could succeed; it is a point to be decided by seamen, and requires neither African experience or local knowledge. Hitherto, with a large expenditure of money and good arrangements, we have never been able to guard the shores of England, and prevent the entry of contraband goods, and why should we expect better results abroad? I am persuaded that if we blocked the whole coast, slaves would be conveyed by canoes at night to a vessel 40 or 50 miles from the land. Do what we may, an armed force, with their present powers, never can put it down. It appears that some of the Committee were of opinion that a general declaration on the part of Europe and the United States, that slave trade is piracy, would materially tend to its final extinction. I observe, also, that it has been suggested to "authorize the cruisers of any nation sailing under its recognized flag to inflict summarily such personal punishment upon the captain; or, if not ascertained, upon any three other persons serving in any ships found with slaves on board." I anxiously hope that the clause may never form part of our sea code of laws, and that it may never fall to the lot of a British captain to perform so unworthy a duty. Apart, however, from this should be considered the effect which a declaration that the slave trade is piracy would have upon its continuance; there is no doubt that it would tend to check it; but England must be prepared to maintain her present force, it will bear no diminution; she must be prepared to watch the coast of Africa, from Tangiers to the northern boundary of the Cape

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of Good Hope; arrangements will be made to provide slaves in other parts of Africa. She will obtain complete success for one year, being the time required to enter upon the new system, after that the ramifications of the slave trade will have extended to quarters where legitimate commerce is at present flourishing, it cannot be considered otherwise than a question of pounds, shillings, and pence; as we augment the difficulties, so will the price of the slave rise and the profits increase, for men will always be found willing to embark in any adventure offering excitement and gain. Nevertheless I consider that if the cruising or blockading system is to be maintained, it is of essential importance to attach personal penalties to those who engage in slave trade; and this should be accompanied by powers to the officers in command to destroy factories containing goods belonging to parties known to promote the traffic, without reference to a treaty with the native chiefs, attaching to him the responsibility of proving that the owner or proprietor abetted the slave trade. I have already said that the consideration of the best means of suppression cannot be taken alone; it is intimately blended with the future prospects of the Brazilian empire; and the friends and promoters of civilization and commerce are bound to identify the two subjects, and not hastily rush on to a measure in principle tending to retard its advancement, disunite the empire, and establish anarchy and confusion. Brazil is vast and disjointed; at present little more than the sea-coast is inhabited; and it differs from other countries in the variety of its productions and temperature. On the most fertile parts the heat is excessive, and prevents European labour; it enervates and degenerates the constitution of the Brazilian, and renders the cultivation of the country dependent on the negro, who alone in that climate is physically able to endure exposure to the sun. The cottons of Pernambuco, the sugar and coffee of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, are brought to the market by black labour, and it may safely be asserted that without this aid the whole country would become a wilderness. To expect the Brazilian government unconditionally to suppress the slave trade, is to look for an impossibility; their decree would be the signal for raising the republican flag in Pernambuco and Bahia, who now connected together by a frail thread, would break it rather than submit to ruin. But the case would be different if we met them halfway, and instead of saying, "We will compel you forthwith to put slavery down," placed ourselves in their position, and negotiated with their interests and feelings in view as well as our own. There is reason to hope, that if time were given to Brazil to establish a proportion between the sexes, and prepare for the abandonment of foreign slavery, and the institution of domestic, according to the principle observed in the United States, that a satisfactory negotiation would be effected; with the state of our West Indian colonies before their eyes, they never can consent to any immediate relinquishment of foreign slavery. With our present proceedings the nation at large are dissatisfied, but I entertain a confident belief that there is an important party, particularly amongst the younger men, who have the same desire as ourselves. At present our proceedings unite the whole population against us; it is not unreasonable for them to dislike the seizure and condemnation of their vessels by a friendly power. The mass see the results, and do not inquire whether it is according to treaty or by force of arms. I think a negotiation might be opened with Brazil on these grounds:—1. To sanction the importation of slaves until a fixed period. 2. To require them to frame laws proportioning the sexes, regulating the number to be carried, according to the tonnage, &c., and generally for the ease and comfort of the negroes. 3. To require the presence of English and Brazilian commissioners at slave marts to be fixed and recognised on the coast of Africa, and at the landing ports in Brazil. 4. To pass a law awarding the penalties of piracy to any Brazilian vessel found on the high seas without government papers. 5. To declare, that after the fixed period slave importations shall cease, and its further prosecution be considered piracy; and that a systematic breach of treaty would be visited by a blockade of their principal ports. 6. To destroy all slave factories in Africa, except at the recognised ports. The time appears to have arrived when some such scheme as this would be accepted. In the year 1846 I had a conversation with Senhor Cavalcante, then minister of marine, and one of the ablest men in that country; he expressed these opinions: "You cannot expect us to assist England, or consent to stop the trade, whilst you are seizing Brazilian vessels, insulting our flag, and illegally condemning them. Do not think I am in favour of the slave trade; I do not possess one slave on my property; I wish to see it suppressed; it does not do the Brazilians good; the Portuguese manage it, and are the great gainers." Senhor Cavalcante represents an important section of the people, and had no interest in saying what he did not think. Of all countries England is most concerned in the welfare of Brazil, whether on account of her commerce, or the establishment of monarchy and regular government. English capital is largely employed in that empire, and invested in its funds; and if, by a postponement of a few years, we can establish our desire—extinguish foreign slavery, and at the same time avoid giving a blow dangerous to that country, and liable to produce a dismemberment—I think that it is advisable that the alternative should be offered before we resort to stronger measures, the end of which no man can foresee. Without desiring to disparage the great question of slavery suppression, I consider that the civilization and happiness of the Brazilian empire are equally important. I would hesitate to endeavour to extirpate slavery on the ruin of a young and rising nation, and I would afford time for her to consolidate her institutions, and establish the natural proportions of sexes. I have been led on by the nature of the subject further than I had intended, but before I conclude this despatch I must take occasion to mention the pleasure I have derived in reading the encomiums passed by the late Mr. Macaulay on my predecessor, the late Commodore Jones. The records of the station show the anxiety and great zeal put forth in the service of the public. He endeavoured to fulfil his instructions to the letter, and paid the penalty of his assiduity with his life."

That is the despatch which I wrote, and which fully expresses my opinions.

705. In reference to that part of your despatch which alludes to the negotiation with Brazil, are the Committee to understand that the only object you have in view is effectually to put the slave trade down?—The object I have in view is to put the most speedy termination to the slave trade. At the same time I was in a position of an officer called on to give an opinion who could not shrink from doing so, but I did not feel myself competent to discuss the political point of the question; that I left for higher authorities.

706. Do you think that some such plan as you have recommended would have the effect of extinguishing the slave trade?—I see no other means of doing so.

707. You think that the present system is open to many grave objections on other accounts, and that it will not succeed?—Experience has proved the present system to be futile.

708. Therefore, from motives of humanity, you are anxious to extinguish this enormous evil?—Indubitably so; I have no other object in view.

709. In reference to question 695, will you be so kind as to explain your views a little further?—I am glad to have an opportunity of doing so. From circumstances of ill health and over fatigue, I perceive that I have explained myself indistinctly; I should have said that the Brazilian government is in such a position with the people of that country as to be unable to make any concession, because there is a point of honour involved.

710. Mr. *Gladstone*.] When that point of honour had ceased to be involved, and the Brazilian government were in such a position as to be able to give free play to any sense of humanity it may have, independently of national pride, do you think it would be disposed to take measures towards either the extinction or the mitigation of the slave trade?—I am not prepared to answer that question; but the first thing is to meet their views upon the point of honour.

711. If you propose to meet their views upon the point of honour, is it not with the opinion that that would have the effect of subsequently improving their policy?—Naturally; but the only way to meet them will be by a concession.

712. In the term concession do you include essentially the abandonment of the present system of repression?—We can take no measures, according to my idea, at the present moment, without conceding something. I do not see that you have anything open to you but concession; for instance, a proposal of a treaty is a concession.

713. Is it your opinion that any treaty, such as you think would be effectual for the final abolition of the slave trade, could be concluded with Brazil unless that treaty were framed in contemplation of our abandoning the present system?—I am unable to answer that question.

714. Sir *E. Buxton*.] In answer to question 689, you say, “I consider that the government of Brazil is perfectly powerless in this matter; it is as much as they can do to keep the monarchy together; the slightest shock would dismember it.” Considering that that is the position of the Brazilian government, do you imagine if we were to make such an agreement with them as you propose, they would be able to oblige their people to adhere to any regulations which might be established?—Whatever I may say I give as matter of opinion only; nevertheless, I do not see how you are to proceed unless you enlist a proportion of the people of Brazil on the side of the government.

715. Is not the slave trade essentially a contraband trade?—I believe that according to the laws of Brazil it is so; but nevertheless the laws are useless.

716. And is not the slave trade carried on by those parties who expect personally to reap a profit from it?—The best mode of answering that question is to take Senhor Cavaleante’s opinion, as delivered in my despatch, that the Portuguese are the great gainers.

717. Do you imagine that those same parties, whether they are Portuguese or Brazilians, who are now induced to break the law, would not be induced to break the law if a new law were established by agreement with the Brazilian government?—That again is entirely an international question, on which no foreigner can distinctly speak; but having enlisted the feelings of the country on your side, the government would be more likely to be able to carry such laws as they would pass into execution far better than is now the case.

718. What is your reason for thinking that you would enlist the feelings of the country in favour of the new law which might be established?—Because

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there is a very large party, particularly amongst the younger men and men of talent, who are desirous of suppressing the slave trade; but as matters now stand they feel that they cannot move, lest they should incur the general odium of the nation.

719. What is your reason for thinking that there is a large party who are desirous of suppressing the slave trade?—I have already alluded to the opinion of Senhor Cavalcante, and the high character which he bears in his own country induces me to rely upon any information proceeding from him; and I also bear in mind conversations I have had with two or three remarkably intelligent Brazilians, of the upper class of society.

720. *Chairman.*] Do you consider that the present system adopted by this country enlists the national feelings of the Brazilians in favour of the slave trade?—Not in such strong words as those, but it enlists their opinion in favour of the slave dealers.

721. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Is it your opinion that if we were to withdraw our present treaty for the total abolition of the slave trade with the Brazils, and also were to sanction the importation of slavery into the Brazils for a fixed period, and were to require the presence of English and Brazilian commissioners at the slave marts, those commissioners to be recognized on the coast of Africa and at the landing ports in Brazil, in that case England would not be morally responsible for the continuance of the slave trade in the Brazils?—I apprehend at the present moment there is *bonâ fide* no treaty existing; you are capturing them under an Act of Parliament passed for the special purpose.

722. Are you aware that there is still a convention in existence by which the slave trade in the Brazils was to cease after 1829?—I apprehend the position of affairs to be this, that we claim a treaty, the Brazilians deny it, and that to carry out our views we have passed an Act of Parliament authorizing our vessels to capture their vessels.

723. If we were to enter into such a treaty as you recommend, sanctioning the importation of slaves, and if we were to have commissioners at the slave marts for the purpose of seeing that certain regulations were adhered to, should not we be liable in the eyes of Europe to the imputation that we were sanctioning the slave trade?—I apprehend the very reverse of that would take place; you would pass no treaty, and you would withdraw no treaty; you would allow them to load vessels for a specified and certain time; you would set an example to the rest of the world that you wished to act as becomes you, legally and quietly; and that you would not resort to the strong measure of making it piracy, until you had fulfilled the conditions of the law in that particular.

724. Whatever our ultimate object might be, in the meantime should we not be giving encouragement to the slave trade to the Brazils?—I do not think so, because you would have always at the end of your conditions the word "piracy," and the means of carrying the penalties against it into execution, which you have not at the present moment.

725. You imagine that the Brazilians would give us leave to hang their men, provided we gave way to them on other points?—I do not say that; I say that you ought to propose a measure before you resorted to stronger efforts.

726. What reason have you for believing that the Brazilians would consent to the penalty of piracy being inflicted after the expiration of the period to which you allude?—In the first place, the Emperor and all the authorities are opposed to the slave trade, and therefore would willingly come into any measure with which they could face the country.

727. As the government is at present powerless, do you not imagine that they would also be powerless at the end of that fixed period?—As I said before, I can only give my own private opinion. I have no means beyond that, having now been absent nearly three years from Brazil; but as I see no other road open to you, and as I see in the evidence of last year a desire to declare it piracy, I think it is necessary that you should take all the measures which are allowed by the law of nations, before resorting to that extremity.

728. How many years should you imagine would be necessary?—I have no idea.

729. Should you think it would be three years or 30?—I have no means of knowing.

730. Do you imagine that any short period could possibly be fixed?—I cannot answer the question.

731. Though

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731. Though you recommend that a fixed period should be provided, you have no means of informing the Committee at all whether it would be a very long period or a very short period?—I consider the trade of this country of immense importance to Brazil, and I consider the Brazilian trade of equal importance to us, and therefore I propose a measure which would conciliate the Brazilians, and which does not prevent your resorting to the extreme right, if you should afterwards think fit.

732. At the end of the fixed period?—Yes; but I do not fix the period, because I have not the means of doing it.

733. With respect to the laws for proportioning the sexes, have you any reason to think that the Brazilians would be induced to import women?—By the law which I suggest you would impose it upon them.

734. Are you aware what the proportion of women to men now is in the Brazils?—I think no one knows that.

735. Are you aware that it was stated by Dr. Cliffe that the number was only four per cent.?—My impression was that he had given no definite answer; that he had left it open.

736. Are you aware, also, that Dr. Cliffe stated that he thought if the trade were thrown open, the Brazilians would prefer to import men and work them out, rather than to import women, that they might breed slaves in the Brazils?—Dr. Cliffe's evidence, as far as I recollect, certainly tends in that direction; but I beg that the Committee will recollect that I never contemplated throwing the trade open.

737. Do you think it probable, considering that the coast of the Brazils extends over upwards of 2,000 miles, that those laws which you propose to frame would be carried into effect by the Brazilians?—The suggestions which I have offered are only offered as an alternative. The position which you now occupy should be clearly considered; the efforts of your squadron are unavailing; you do not succeed in repressing the slave trade, and I wish to see an end put, if possible, to that system, the destruction of which all England has had so long at heart. Respecting the line of coast to which the Honourable Baronet has referred, I am not competent to give an opinion; because it would greatly depend upon the strength of the government and their force in carrying out the law.

738. If the government is perfectly powerless now in this matter, do you think they would be able to enforce the law if the new law were established?—I have already said that the measure I suggest would enlist a large accession of opinion upon their side, and therefore they would be proportionably stronger.

739. Mr. E. Denison.] Your despatch may be divided into two heads; one, the condition and effects of the present system, and the other, some suggestions as to an alternative. With regard to the first, the condition and effects of the present system, I apprehend you are prepared to answer with considerable precision, and to express a decided opinion. Your decided opinion is, that the plan under which we have hitherto been acting has entirely failed?—It is.

740. And you do not see any improvement of that system of repression by force which can effectually accomplish the object which the country has in view?—With reference to that part of the question, I must take occasion to remark that I said, that in the event of a squadron being maintained, it was requisite that they should be armed with the power of destroying barracoons, and with a declaration that the slave trade was piracy; but at the same time, having recommended it, I qualify the opinion by saying, as I am no lawyer, I cannot be aware how far the Government of the country would be authorized to carry that suggestion into effect.

741. As long as the laws of other states, and the practice of other states, which we cannot control, remain as they do at present, do you see any prospect of repressing the slave trade by an armed force upon the coast?—None whatever. I beg to say, that in making this statement, I declare a thing which is painful to myself, inasmuch as I acknowledge that I failed in carrying out the object for which I was specifically sent there.

742. Do you think that keeping up a squadron upon the coast of Africa, considering the climate and many circumstances connected with the possible discipline of the crews upon that coast, is itself rather a disadvantageous employment of the British navy?—I cannot say that I think so. This subject has been constantly upon my mind. I do not think that the climate affects the discipline of the squadron, or that it is more difficult to keep a ship in a high state of efficiency

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on that station than in the Mediterranean. During the last two years it has been the practice to relieve one ship every month, and I have had the satisfaction of hearing that the state of each ship on her return home has been commended by the naval authorities. While on this subject, I may perhaps be permitted to add, that nothing can have exceeded the alacrity and zeal with which all the officers of the squadron seconded my efforts, and endeavoured to give effect to my wishes.

743. Mr. Gladstone.] In reference to the supposition that it might be possible to pursue the extinction of the slave trade by more stringent measures than the present, you have stated that it would be necessary to adopt two measures in particular: one of them the destruction of barracoons, and the other the treatment of the crews of slaving ships as pirates, in order to attain that end. You are aware that there is also an opinion strongly held in this country, that the Brazils are bound by treaty to liberate, upon our demand, all slaves who have been illegally imported into that country?—I have heard so.

744. Supposing the enforcement of that demand to be attempted by us, if it could be enforced it would be a very powerful engine wherewith to work upon the Brazils?—It would immediately amount to a declaration of war, which would bring things to a crisis.

745. Do you think it would be practicable for England, as far as you have had the means of judging of the state of opinion, not only among the subjects of this country but the subjects of other countries, to adopt those three measures; the destruction of barracoons, the treatment of slave crews as pirates, and the demand to Brazil to fulfil, under treaty, their engagement to liberate all slaves illegally imported?—Setting aside the question of law, and also setting aside the feelings of foreigners, which are greatly adverse to our present system, I consider that England is pledged, and cannot depart from that pledge, to adopt every feasible measure to carry into execution the wishes of the people at large.

746. The object of my question was to direct your attention to that very point, the feelings of foreigners. You have probably had, during your service on the coast of Brazil and the coast of Africa and elsewhere, extensive means of judging of the feelings of foreigners in regard to the suppression of the slave trade by the armed force of England?—In all probability I have had a more extended field of observation than falls to the lot of most people during the same period of time. I should say, that with the exception of the French admiral, the American commodore, and the Portugese superior authorities, all foreigners unite in the opinion that you are serving your own interests, and laugh at your philanthropic desires.

747. The opinion of foreign nations then, as far as you have had the means of judging, is an unfavourable and jealous opinion, even with respect to the means of repression which we use at present?—There can be no doubt that foreigners view our mode of endeavouring to suppress the slave trade with extreme jealousy. Non-professional members of the Committee cannot be aware of the feelings of irritation produced in the minds of all foreigners by the zeal of our officers in the execution of the particular duty required of them on the coast of Africa, and had it not been for the conciliatory demeanour of the commanding officers of foreign squadrons, more especially those of M. Montaques de la Roque, commanding the French naval forces, and his divisional officers, who always showed the most earnest desire to arrange such difficulties as, from the nature of the service, from time to time arose, I am of opinion that the most serious consequences might have ensued.

748. If there are difficulties in carrying on the present system, arising out of the opinions of the subjects of other countries, and out of the relations in which the subjects of different countries are placed, do you think there would be a great increase of those difficulties in the event of your adopting much more stringent measures; for instance, do you think the opinion of the world would be very much opposed to a rigorous execution of the law of piracy against the crews of slave ships?—I do not apprehend that you could exercise it. I consider that with the United States of America you would be brought into a hostile state of relations almost immediately; and from the circumstance of the natives of all countries embarking in those adventures, if execution were done upon any American subject, I do not consider the American Government could look on quietly.

749. Do you think that the same obstacles would apply to any determination which we might make to execute the law of piracy strictly, I will not say against all slave vessels, but against all slave vessels carrying the Brazilian flag?—The effect

effect of that would be that they would carry no flag, each person on board would appear with his papers of naturalization. Supposing that an American subject were to be executed, and that an American man-of-war were near, in my opinion she would lie alongside and open her broadside directly; that would be the result.

750. Are the Committee to understand you to mean that if the crews of slave vessels are to be treated as pirates it must be done irrespective of flag; that it would not be practicable to do it to crews under the Brazilian flag alone?—It was my duty in the despatch to lay all my opinions and feelings before the Government, and to let the law officers of the Crown, and the proper and responsible authorities, work out the rest; and when I made those suggestions I did not think it necessary to consider how they would apply; I left that to higher and more competent authorities.

751. You are not asked with reference to the bearing of the law; you are aware that there is now an Act of Parliament empowering British officers to confiscate vessels engaged in the slave trade under the Brazilian flag. Presuming an Act were passed authorizing British officers to treat all crews of vessels under the Brazilian flag engaged in the slave trade as pirates, do you think such an Act would lead to the same difficulties which you have anticipated in an answer you lately gave with regard to the enforcement of the law of piracy, or do you think we could pass such an Act, and carry it into execution?—If you are prepared to go to war with the whole world, in my opinion you will declare it piracy; but thinking it likely that the Committee might ask me some question as to the definition of the law of piracy, I took the trouble to turn to Sir William Scott's decision in the case of the "Louis," which regulates the Admiralty courts of the whole world; he gives this definition: "Piracy consisting in an unwarrantable violation of property, committed on the high seas, with pirates there is no state of peace; they are the enemies of every country, and are therefore universally subject to the extreme rights of war." In the same case, on the 8th clause, it was contended that by reason of the circumstances stated the vessel was out of the protection of any law, and liable to condemnation. Sir William Scott lays it clearly down that it is essentially necessary to have the acquiescence of the state to whom the vessel detained on suspicion of slave trading, and therefore charged with piracy, belonged.

752. Therefore I understand you to say, that if we by our law declare slave trading on the part of the Brazilians to be piracy, and authorize our officers to act towards them as pirates, we must be prepared for war as the consequence?—The natural answer of the commander of a foreign squadron, near or present at the time, would be, You have no right to execute a subject of our country; it is a violation of international law, and you must abide by the consequences.

753. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have stated that the enforcement of the stipulation with Brazil, by which it is provided that slaves who, against the municipal law of Brazil, and against the treaty with England, have been imported into Brazil from and after three years subsequently to the date of the treaty in question, shall be emancipated, would produce war between England and Brazil. If such would be the effect of England urging the enforcement of an existing treaty, what hope have you that the conduct of Brazil would be more favourable to the suppression of the slave trade under the new arrangement which you suggest?—The whole of my argument has been based, as far as Brazil is concerned, upon the absolute necessity of enlisting a portion of the feelings of the people on the side of the government; therefore I do not in any way see that the cases are apposite.

754. Do you think that the feeling of the people of Brazil, not being those who are headed by Senhor Cavalcante, would be more favourable to the suppression of the slave trade, and the emancipation of slaves illegally introduced into Brazil since the date of the treaty, when the new stipulations which you desire to introduce shall have been effected?—I understand the case to have been stated that the relinquishment of actual property held in Brazil would necessarily bring on a declaration of war with that country, whilst there is a very large party in Brazil of educated people who are greatly alarmed at the increase of the black population, and therefore, provided the feelings and rights of their countrymen were not violated, they would, it is reasonable to hope, be on our side.

755. By the relinquishment of actual property in Brazil, do you wish the Committee to understand property in slaves introduced contrary to law and con-

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trary to treaty?—I endeavoured to express the Brazilian feeling, and therefore, for the sake of facility and clearness, I made use of the word property.

756. You have stated in your despatch, in page 10, paragraph 29, that it is of essential importance to attach personal penalties to those who engage in the slave trade; will you explain to the Committee to what personal penalties you refer?—As I said before, I am not bound to consider a question of that description as a lawyer; I am bound to suggest to the proper authorities every practical means of suppressing the slave trade, and to leave nothing of any sort or description untried; but I do not apprehend that I in any way pledge myself to the success of the proposition.

757. Will you state to the Committee whether you consider the extreme punishment of death inflicted upon pirates by the law of nations is one of those personal penalties which you think ought to be inflicted upon slave dealers?—I would rather decline answering that question, because it is a subject which requires a great deal more consideration of a different character than I have hitherto given it.

758. At this moment is it within your knowledge that the law of nations authorize and require the infliction of the extreme punishment of death upon those who are found and condemned as pirates on the high seas?—After they have been legally tried before the High Court of Admiralty of the country in which they are taken.

759. Is there no instance in which a pirate seized on the high seas might legally be executed by the officers of the ship seizing him?—There may be, but I do not remember a similar case.

760. You are aware that it has been suggested by some officers of the squadron employed on the coast of Africa, that the infliction of a summary penalty on those who are guilty of the combined offences of robbery and murder, would be one of the most effectual means of suppressing the slave trade?—I am aware of it; but I do not entertain that opinion, because I do not see why you are to suppose that there are not men of sufficient courage and sufficient energy to undertake the adventure, and to risk everything they have in the world.

761. Including the loss of their own lives at the yard-arm?—Including everything. In South America we find men of all nations, of all characters, and of all descriptions, embarking in the revolutionary wars of that country, without any apparent object; therefore I apprehend that the very considerable gains offered to them by the slave trade would certainly induce them to continue it, always bearing in mind that the premium on their exertions would be very considerably increased by the additional risk.

762. Colonel *Thompson*.] Would not substantial consequences follow from declaring the slave trade piracy, although that extreme measure of hanging at the yard-arm were never put into execution?—If I were compelled to recommend one or other of the measures, it would not be the severe one; because the very severity would defeat its own purpose. I consider that if it were possible by the law of nations to transport a man, or to punish him in any way short of taking his life, the end of suppressing the slave trade would be far better accomplished than by the severity which has been before suggested.

763. Does it appear to you that talking about hanging at the yard-arm as a necessary consequence of declaring the slave trade piracy, is rather hostile to the final suppression of the slave trade than the contrary?—I think so; and the reason why I have expressed myself so earnestly in my despatch is this: a boat arrives alongside a vessel after a long and protracted chase, the men perhaps heated, exhausted, and nearly overpowered; naturally speaking, if there has been any resistance, or any firing at that boat, with their feelings roused and excited, the people would be disposed to take such summary vengeance as in all probability they would afterwards repent; therefore I should bitterly lament that any power of that description should be delegated to British officers.

764. Do you at the same time admit that without putting into execution that extreme power, useful consequences might follow from the power given, by an admission that the case was one of piracy?—I have before said that the great danger of such a declaration would be the hostile feelings which would be roused in the minds of other nations, and the certainty of danger to our foreign relations which would ensue; but as a means of suppressing the slave trade entirely apart from those considerations, I apprehend that it would have a very beneficial effect.

765. Do you see any general danger likely to arise from treating the slave trade as piracy in the case of nations who have made a special treaty with you to the effect that it shall be so treated?—The answer to that question is, that if a little bit of a nation were left out, the whole of the slave traders would sail under that nation's flag, and thus they would have a perfect right to resist; therefore it is essentially necessary that you should have the unanimous consent of all nations and all powers.

766. Without disputing whether it would or would not be very desirable to include all nations at once in such a treaty, would it, in your opinion, be a useful step towards such a consummation, to include nations, one after another, as fast as they could be got to agree?—That would not answer the purpose, because the facilities of taking out papers of naturalization in other countries are far greater than they are in Great Britain.

767. Is not it in itself an impediment and a disturbance to a trade to be obliged to carry it on under other flags?—Not to the degree that you would imagine.

768. But yet to some degree it is so?—To a very slight degree. To show, in the state of our relations now, how the question of piracy applies to the present case, I will mention an instance which has occurred. There was resistance on the part of a felucca to the boats of the "Philomel." A man or two was shot in our boats, and two or three wounded. A very considerable number of the slave traders lost their lives. The vessel was brought in to me, I being at that time at Sierra Leone; and such is the present state of our law that I was afraid to bring it into the Admiralty Court, and was forced to land the crew on another part of the coast, and to release them entirely without penalties of any description, although murder, according to our ideas, had ensued to our people; and that decision was approved of by the authorities at home.

769. Do you of your mature consideration believe it to be feasible to declare the slave trade piracy in conjunction with Brazil after certain measures which you have recommended?—Yes, because, unless I am mistaken, there would be an Admiralty Court to try vessels of all nations which were captured within the limits of the Brazilian coast, and therefore it would be feasible.

770. When you said that the efforts of the squadron had entirely failed, did you mean that they had failed to produce the entire suppression of the slave trade, or that they had absolutely produced no damage or impediment to it whatever?—I meant to say that the amount of the importations of slaves into Brazil was not materially affected by our exertions.

771. Do you mean to say that the number would not have been greater if there had been no squadron?—The effect to be produced is purely mercantile; the slaves would have been much cheaper in Brazil; there would have been a greater number imported, and the horrors of the middle passage would have been very considerably increased by the fact of the slave merchants being inadequately provided with capital for the purpose; they would therefore have sailed in smaller vessels, and the trade would have been subjected to greater horrors.

772. Am I to understand you that that would have been the consequence of the squadron having been removed?—That, I think, would have been the effect of the removal of the squadron.

773. *Chairman.*] Reverting to the subject of piracy, is not slave trading also piracy by the municipal laws of the United States?—Yes; I may cite that as a reason why it defeats itself, inasmuch as there are very few instances of a vessel equipped for the slave trade being condemned by the United States, in consequence of the severity of the law.

774. Is the penalty of death awarded to piracy by the law of America?—Yes.

775. From your experience on the coast of Africa, are you led to believe that the United States would ever allow any authority but her own to administer the penalties of piracy to her own subjects?—I should think certainly not.

776. In fact America refuses to affix to slave trading among its own citizens the essential attributes of piracy?—Not entirely; that is to say, the captain and crew of a vessel taken full of slaves, are treated as pirates, and suffer the penalty of the law.

777. But America refuses to allow other nations to consider slave traders, if American subjects, as being within their jurisdiction?—She submits to the

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general law of nations in allowing you to go on board and verify her flag, but she suffers nothing else.

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778. She will not permit her own subjects convicted of being engaged in the slave trade to be considered amenable to the law of other nations as pirates?—Certainly not.

779. Then America refuses to affix to slave trading what Lord Stowell calls one of the distinguishing features of that offence?—There is a distinction in the case, as I said before; the captain and crew of a full vessel are tried as pirates, and suffer the penalty of piracy, whereas in almost all cases the captain and crew of an empty vessel are acquitted; that is borne out very much by Mr. Wyse's letter to Lord Aberdeen.

780. Mr. Simeon.] The Committee have been informed that piracy on the high seas is no longer punishable with death by our law, unless it is accompanied with violence to life; is that your impression of the existing state of the law with reference to piracy?—I rather differ. From all I have read, lawyers themselves differ upon that point, and therefore I can hardly be supposed to be capable of answering it.

781. As a naval officer, what is your impression as to the penalty to which persons taken on the high seas in the act of piracy are by our law exposed?—I once conversed on that subject with the Chief Justice of St. Helena, and I collected from him, that notwithstanding it was so termed in the order with respect to Brazilian vessels, it did not, in the eye of the law, amount to what is termed piracy.

782. My question had reference to the punishment which would be inflicted upon those who might be distinctly termed pirates by our law?—They must first of all be convicted.

783. On conviction would they be sentenced to death?—I have known both sentences take place. I have known men transported, and I have known men hung, therefore I infer it is not absolutely necessary that they should be hung.

784. Chairman.] I understand you to be of opinion that America would never allow other nations to apply to its own subjects convicted of slave trading the penalty of piracy?—Public opinion must alter most materially in the United States before they would acquiesce in that.

785. Are you of the same opinion with regard to France?—Bearing in mind the extraordinary changes which have taken place in France in so short a period, I think any person would be very bold who would give an opinion upon what may be the decision of public men in France.

786. Looking generally to the state of the world, do you think it at all probable that any of the large maritime states would allow this country to apply the penalties of piracy to slave trading?—I should think not.

787. And if only a small state held out the whole of the design would be futile?—In the eye of the law, decidedly.

788. In the eye of practical men, if one state refused to give its adhesion to that scheme, would not the whole of your purpose be neutralized, inasmuch as all persons wishing to engage in the slave trade would assume the character of subjects of that state?—I answer the question in a qualified manner, because the strong might take advantage of the weak, as is the case now with Brazil, by the Act of Parliament which has passed, and which I have under my hand.

789. In fact, you would infer that such a universal consent as appears requisite for carrying out such a purpose is probably unattainable?—I should think perfectly so.

790. Sir E. Buxton.] Considering there is now such great difficulty in making slave trading piracy, how do you think it would be possible to make slave trading piracy after the expiration of the fixed period to which you have referred?—There is this great distinction, that in the one case you effect an engagement with a state, and by that engagement you obtain their consent, and having obtained their consent, you are authorized to carry into execution the state of the law against piracy.

791. Would such an agreement with Brazil enable us to consider slave trading piracy, if the subjects of other countries were found on board slave-trading vessels?—Undoubtedly so, because they would possess, or a law might be passed to make them possess, letters of naturalization, which I think would give you the right by the treaty over them as Brazilian subjects.

791\*. If persons without those letters of naturalization were to go on board vessels

vessels and take slaves to Brazil, should we have power to treat them as pirates? Sir C. Hotham, R.N.  
—That is a serious question; I cannot answer it. K.C.B.

792. Do not you think that the difficulty which exists in making slave trading piracy now would exist also after any fixed period to which you might refer?—There is this distinction, that a Brazilian vessel always carries on board at least two or three Brazilians, and therefore you would have the power of an immediate execution of the law over those persons.

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793. You would have the power of the law over Brazilian subjects, but not over other persons?—I have declined to answer that question, as being too serious a one to embark in.

794. Supposing, after this fixed period, persons of other nations were to take up the trade, could you give the Committee any idea whether we should be able to punish those persons as pirates?—I apprehend that, by the law of nations, every person in a Brazilian port is subject to the laws of that country and that port.

795. Mr. M. Milnes.] You have proposed that a certain arrangement should be made with the Brazilian government, by which the slave trade shall receive in a certain sense the sanction of this country for a period of years, and at the conclusion of that period, you propose that certain remedies should be put into force. Do you think that this country would come to a consideration of those questions, or be able to enforce those remedies with the same moral weight, after having permitted a transaction of this kind, which they would now?—I beg the Committee will recollect the position I filled at the time I wrote that despatch. I was called upon by the proper authorities to give my opinion on the four books of evidence which were sent out to me. I thought it neither proper nor manly to condemn everything without offering a substitute, and I thereby placed myself in the disagreeable position of a man who is certain to have a great degree of obloquy thrown upon his shoulders for doing what he has considered, according to his conscience, a matter of duty.

796. Do you think that we should be enabled to enforce those remedies as effectively at the end of that period as we might do now?—In answer to that, will the Committee be so kind as to bear in mind our present position. You are endeavouring to suppress the slave trade by means which experience has proved cannot effect it, therefore is it reasonable, and is it wise, to persevere in the employment of those means which experience has shown have failed, without looking forward to the adoption of some other system, which may attain that which all educated men and all Christians have naturally so much at heart.

797. From your intercourse with Senhor Cavalcante, and your experience in Brazil, do you come to the conclusion that the Brazilian government and the Brazilian people would be authorized, upon any sound economical grounds, to take measures to put a stop to the slave trade after a certain period, which they could not now adopt?—I have already stated my belief that by making some concession the co-operation of the Brazilian government and people might be obtained. But this is, after all, an international question, on which, as a foreigner, I cannot speak with confidence.

798. You have, therefore, no strong and decided grounds for believing that those questions would be resolved with more facility after a certain period than they would be at this moment?—I do not come here to advocate a particular plan or a particular system; I come to explain to the Committee that the measures of many governments have entirely failed. The adoption of another system is hardly my affair. I confess that on reading Mr. Bandinel's evidence, I was extremely struck with the clearness with which he stated his views, and I could not help feeling an innate conviction that without the assistance of the slave-holding state we should never effect anything.

799. Do you think Brazil will be able to offer you those facilities, and to offer you that assistance after the slave trade has been permitted by this country for a certain number of years, better than it can do at the present moment?—Whatever I may reply can be only as matter of private opinion; but the Committee probably will bear in mind that an immense importation of slaves has taken place into Brazil. You have Doctor Cliffe expressing his alarm at the state of the population, and you may therefore very naturally infer that there are a great many other persons who entertain the same feelings, and with that hope look forward to a termination of the slave trade.

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800. In the sixth ground, on which you propose that the negotiation should be opened with Brazil, you speak of destroying all the slave factories in Africa, except at the recognized ports; do you intend those recognized ports to mean the ports from which slaves shall be permitted to be exported?—I do.

801. For what purpose would you destroy the other slave factories?—In order to drive the slave trade to the ports over which you would have a supervision.

802. You think you should be able to do that?—That again is a matter for the law officers of the Crown to decide; I speak as a sailor, not as a lawyer.

803. You have been engaged, I believe, in the destruction of some slave factories?—I have.

804. Especially of the factories at the Gallinas?—Especially the factories at the Gallinas.

805. Will you state to the Committee, as shortly as you can, the circumstances of the destruction of those factories?—In January 1848 I received a despatch from the Secretary of the Admiralty, covering a letter from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, directing me to warn the chiefs at the Gallinas, that if they did not entirely put an end to the slave trade they would be severely punished. The words of the despatch were conveyed in these terms: "That Her Majesty's Government, this being the opinion of the Advocate-general, will be justified in directing hostilities to be commenced against the Gallinas, in consequence of the chiefs having refused to abide by the treaty or agreement concluded by them with Captain Denman." The Advocate-general further continues, "I think that the white slave dealers whose exclusion from the Gallinas was the principal object of Captain Denman's treaty, will not under the circumstances be able successfully to maintain an action in the courts of this country for the loss of their property." This was written in reply to three propositions which I made to the Government. The propositions were, that they should first of all send their boats up to Dombocorro and destroy the capital, which is about 18 miles distant. Secondly, that they should march by land upon Dombocorro. Thirdly, that they should take the more effectual measure of burning them completely out. To that the Queen's Advocate sent this opinion. I was not entirely satisfied with this, and I waited till there was sufficient time to receive an answer to a letter which I wrote to Lord Auckland, which answer however never arrived. We accordingly landed, the parties divided, and a few hours afterwards we destroyed every single thing there was in the shape of property, except one open shed, under which they were to take refuge.

806. Was the destruction of that slave factory efficient in stopping the trade at the Gallinas from that period?—I thought that the destruction alone would not affect it, and therefore I adopted the responsible measure of declaring the limits of the Gallinas country within a state of blockade, according to the strict sense of the word. That opinion has been confirmed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and he has expressed his approbation of my proceedings.

807. Do you believe that those measures will for some length of time stop the slave trade at the Gallinas?—From that point it will; but it will drive them, I fear, to the Bissagos Islands, which being Portuguese territory, we cannot interfere with. The Committee will remember that we destroyed the factories of the Gallinas under a positive treaty, made for a special purpose.

808. Could not a similar treaty to that which we made with the chiefs of the Gallinas territory be made with other chiefs and head men upon the coast?—I fear not; I have heard, and I believe from very good authority, that an effort was made to persuade the King of Dahomey to enter into a treaty for the express prohibition of the trade, but that Mr. Da Souza, whose name is familiar to the Committee, found out what amount we were likely to offer; that he arrived at Dahomey before our agent, and immediately offered three times as much. The consequence was, when our agent appeared, the King of Dahomey assigned as a reason for his refusal the greater remuneration he had received from other parties, and the utter impossibility he felt himself under of relinquishing Mr. Da Souza's interest.

*Martis, 1<sup>o</sup> die Mai, 1849.*

## MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Monckton Milnes.  
Mr. Cardwell.  
Sir Edward Buxton.  
Mr. Jackson.  
Lord John Hay.  
Colonel Thompson.

Sir Robert Inglis.  
Admiral Bowles.  
Mr. Simeon.  
Viscount Brackley.  
Earl of Lincoln.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Sir Charles Hotham, R. N., K. C. B., further Examined.

809. *Chairman.*] IN your examination on Friday last you gave the Committee some account of the destruction of the barracoons and factories at the Gallinas; were there any slaves in those barracoons when you landed?—On the arrival of the boats in the river all the slaves were released and driven into the bush. We remained on shore all night. On the following day a negotiation was set on foot through a neutral chief for the purpose of delivering up possession of the slaves to us, but he proposed a compromise, which in my judgment would not have reflected credit on this country; he proposed that I should give up all the goods in the factories (which were not mine to give), and that the slaves should be delivered up to me. I refused, and being aware that I could not effect their capture without greatly endangering the health of my crew, and that in all probability I should have obtained the release of but very few, I gave it up and attempted nothing further.

810. Were the slaves very numerous?—I have reason to believe that in one barracoon there were 1,000 slaves, but I am not exactly aware of the number which were at Soliman, distant 14 miles.

811. What do you imagine became of those slaves?—In all probability they would be re-bought by the slave merchant.

812. You say that you declined to hand over to the native chief the goods which were in the factory; what became of those goods?—They were totally destroyed.

813. You did not distribute them to any parties on shore, as appears to have been done on a former occasion?—I did not consider that an action of that description would reflect credit on this country, and bearing in mind my intention to declare a blockade, in its legal sense, on a certain part of the coast, thereby occasioning considerable interference with American and French ships, I thought it politic as well as honest to avoid anything which might have been interpreted to our disadvantage.

814. How far up the country had you to move your force in order to get at those factories?—The expedition proceeded entirely by water. The greatest distance would be from 12 to 14 miles.

815. Did the health of the forces suffer in consequence of their exposure on that expedition?—I did not hear that a single man belonging to that expedition was subsequently attacked with fever.

816. Do you consider that it would be possible to preserve the health of the forces employed upon similar expeditions if they had to proceed far up the country in order to attack factories?—As a general rule, decidedly not. In this case we selected the most favourable season of the year, and took a variety of precautions which the circumstances of the case offered to us.

817. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Are not the greater part of the factories which, under any circumstances, we should have to attack, almost close to the coast?—As they now stand, you have stated the case accurately. Supposing that the Government plan should refer to the destruction of the barracoons, I apprehend that the slave-dealers would immediately remove them to a distance of 10 or 12 miles.

818. *Chairman.*] You consider that a repetition of such attacks as you conducted at the Gallinas, would lead to the formation of stations and factories at points a considerable distance from the coast?—Supposing that the Government

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were to send out orders directing the destruction of all the factories and barracons, without reference to national property, I presume that the shift adopted by the slave dealers would be to anchor ships off the coast, retain their goods on board and retail them from thence, thereby avoiding the necessity of having a factory on shore, and also to obtain the protection of the flag of a nation which had not given you the power of visit or search.

819. Under those circumstances, goods provided for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade would be placed in perfect security as related to the operations of the British squadron?—I think that would be the effect.

820. Where would the slaves be placed; they would not be on board the ship, would they?—It is an entire mistake to suppose that it is necessary to detain slaves in barracons. Supposing our operations contemplated landing and marching after them, they naturally would be kept in such a state as would enable them to effect their immediate escape. The barracoon at present is valuable to the slaves, because it affords them shelter from the sun and gives them an opportunity of repose.

821. Practically is it not the habit of slave dealers to confine the slaves in the barracons while they are waiting to be embarked?—At present it is; but through the excellent look-out which they always keep, they would be enabled to release the slaves on the first appearance of our landing, and therefore it would merely end in our destroying an empty shed.

822. Is it probable that the slave dealers would place the slaves in a depôt at some distance from the coast, so as to be out of the reach of the operations of the squadron?—I should say, certainly so.

823. Would not the consequence of such an arrangement be an increased degree of suffering to the slaves, owing to the necessity of marching them at all hours of the night and day from the place of depôt to the point of embarkation?—Seeing no direct means by which you could ensure the release of the slaves, the movements to which you have alluded would add in a great extent to their misery.

824. I need not ask you whether any step, though taken for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade, which should be attended with aggravated misery to the slave, ought not to be a step undertaken with the greatest reluctance?—Sometimes it is necessary to do a little harm for the sake of effecting a great good; but, as I said before, as I do not see that the measure to which you have alluded would produce a beneficial effect; I agree in the way in which the question has been put.

825. Do you imagine that the slaves now retained in the barracons are exposed to much suffering?—That is rather a difficult question to answer, because it depends upon a variety of circumstances of which I cannot be cognizant. If an immediate shipment is effected the barracoon is a great advantage to the slave. On the other hand, it very often happens that there is a dearth and scarcity of provisions, and then the slave naturally suffers.

826. Do you know of your own knowledge any instance in which the slaves have suffered while they have been detained in the barracoon waiting for embarkation?—Whether it was produced by that cause or not I am not able to say, but I never in my life saw 14 men, being the number of slaves which we actually released at the Gallinas, embark in such a pitiable state; I allude more especially to the great debility they exhibited.

827. I presume it is an admitted fact that the slaves suffer severe hardships and are exposed to death in consequence of their detention in the barracons while waiting for embarkation?—Certainly; although I do not at all believe the report which has been set on foot in this country, and mentioned in Parliament, declaring that 2,000 slaves have been murdered at Lagos.

828. Still the evil to which I have adverted being admitted, is it not an evil which is the direct consequence of our attempt to suppress the slave trade by force?—Yes, I think it is the effect of our present measures.

829. From the observations you have been able to make on the coast of Africa, do you or do you not believe that the slave trade is conducted now under circumstances of greater cruelty than before we undertook to suppress it by an armed force?—I have no means of answering that question, but I have stated before in my evidence that the middle passage is not, in my opinion, conducted with the horrors which people generally imagine.

830. Are not the slaves now frequently hurried on board the ship with a degree

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of precipitation which prevents the possibility of adequately providing them with food and water?—That question must be divided into two parts: with regard to food and water I never heard of an instance in which there was a scarcity, because the vessel comes over to the coast loaded with a sufficient quantity of both; my answer to the other part of the question is, that the cases differ very much; as a general rule, they are not embarked, to the best of my belief, in the Bight of Benin with the precipitation to which the question alludes; I only know one instance in which an extraordinary degree of hurry has led to the misery of the slave.

831. Are not the slaves in some instances crowded on board the vessels with perfect recklessness as to the numbers which are placed on board?—Not generally speaking.

832. Did you ever know of an instance in which that occurred?—I can give one; the *Brazilencia* was captured on the 12th of October 1848; she had 703 slaves on board; 300 slaves were embarked on board the *Dolphin*, the capturing ship. By the 2d section of the Act for regulating tonnage, she had 829 men per 100 tons. The captain on being required to state why he shipped that extraordinary number of slaves, replied that they were hurried on board without any account being taken, and in his entire ignorance of their numbers. Had that vessel gone across, in all probability the mortality would have been frightful.

833. Is it probable that such a scene as that could have occurred if the slaves could have been embarked with deliberation?—Certainly not.

834. Did you ever hear of negroes being thrown overboard in the course of a chase?—There are vague rumours to that effect, but no accurate means of information have ever been within my reach.

835. Are the negroes sometimes exposed to the action of our guns during chase?—If a slaver attempts to get away and has an advantage or an equality in sailing, we are compelled to resort to the use of our guns.

836. Which is, of course, sometimes attended with the destruction of the slaves?—The object in view is generally to bring down a mast or a spar, but, nevertheless, occasionally deaths ensue therefrom.

837. According to your information, do the slave vessels commonly carry a surgeon or a medicine chest?—We always found a medicine chest on board; generally speaking, there are two or three passengers, whose duty and business are never ascertained; one of them may be a surgeon, but I never recollect a case of a man stating himself to occupy that position.

838. Generally speaking, are not those persons part of the ship's company who brought the vessel over from the coast of America?—There are three or four men described in the ship's papers as passengers, and it never appears who they are, or what their business may be.

839. Mr. *Simeon*.] Are you aware whether the drugs found in those medicine chests are of a different kind from those which are ordinarily found in the pharmacopœia which is on board our English ships?—They are usually the best drugs, and have been very often employed in our ships on occasions when medicine has run short.

840. Are there not among those drugs generally drugs of which our medical men are not usually cognizant?—I never heard that.

841. Have you ever heard that the naval surgeons on board of ships to which slaves have been transferred after capture have found a difficulty in dealing with the peculiar diseases to which the slaves are subject?—I never heard it, but I believe that the treatment of debilitated slaves is an art in itself, which requires a great deal of practice and constant use.

842. And consequently it is an art which the previous education and medical knowledge of our naval surgeons would not render them the fittest persons to deal with?—The best answer I can give to that is, that in all cases of surgery and medicine particular men are celebrated for treating particular diseases; the same rule therefore is applicable to the case which you have described.

843. Can you name any of the drugs which are peculiar to the slave ships which in our ships are not generally found?—I am not aware that there are any such drugs; I did not intend to say so.

844. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Your attention was called to the sufferings of the slaves, arising from their precipitate embarkation, and arising from the incidents of a chase. You were asked, If the slaves could have been embarked "with deliberation," could such sufferings have occurred as are referred to in the first branch of the question now addressed to you; can any article, property or men, be

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embarked "with deliberation" under ordinary circumstances, when the embarkation is a thing forbidden; in other words, is not it a necessary incident of a contraband trade, a trade prohibited by law, that the parties engaging in it cannot choose their own times, nor act with deliberation in the adventure?—Certainly.

845. The second part of the question referred to the sufferings of slaves, arising as an incident from the firing of guns in chase of the slave vessels. Is not the firing of guns in chase an incident necessarily arising, whether the vessel shall contain slaves, or shall be an enemy's vessel which it is the object of the ship chasing to catch?—I have already stated that the object which the officer commanding the ship has in view is to disable the vessel, and effect a more speedy capture by bringing down either a mast or a spar. Wherever there has been a loss of life, I wish to do the officers the justice, of stating that they have, in their official report to me, expressed the very greatest regret, and almost considered themselves (wrongly, in my opinion) responsible for the unfortunate result which took place.

846. The precipitate embarkation of the slaves, and the occasional loss of life among the slaves in a vessel chased, are therefore, in your judgment, necessary incidents in the prosecution of an unlawful traffic?—I confine my answer purely and entirely to the service on which I have been employed. I do not see how we are to effect the objects we have in view, and comply with our instructions, without resorting to means which, to a certain extent, we lament.

847. Did you ever personally inspect a barracoon?—I did at the Gallinas.

848. Do you consider that the protection which the barracoon may afford to slaves against the weather is or is not an advantage to the slave individually, but *pro tanto* an encouragement to the slave trade, inasmuch as it may enable a dealer in slaves to deliver his article to the ship in better condition?—I have always held the opinion that it is perfectly unnecessary for the slave dealer to maintain the barracoons, as connected with the exportation of slaves; and that therefore when it is asserted that the barracoons ought to be destroyed, people are very apt to forget that indirectly it is an advantage to the poor slave himself.

849. If it be an advantage to the slave, as was implied in the question last addressed to you, inasmuch as he is thereby protected from the weather, is not it also *pro tanto* an advantage to the slave dealer, inasmuch as he is enabled to deliver his article in better condition to the slave ship?—It is, naturally speaking, a convenience to the slave dealer; but I should extremely lament a system which confined itself purely and entirely to the destruction of the barracoons.

850. Without implying that the question is limited to the mere destruction of barracoons, without other measures of repression taken in connexion with it, do you wish the Committee to understand that the inference suggested by the former question is or is not correct; that exactly in proportion as the article is capable of being delivered in better condition to the slave ships from the shore, the existence of barracoons is an advantage to the slave dealer?—I cannot in my answer separate the two subjects, because if I did I should give an *ex-parte* meaning, which, in my own opinion, would be unjust. I consider that the barracoon is as valuable to the slave as it is to the slave dealer. From that opinion I cannot depart.

851. Mr. Simeon.] In a letter which has been placed before us, addressed to you by the Governor of Loanda, he states that very little good results from the burning of the barracoons unless the slaves are captured at the same time; do you coincide in the opinion there expressed?—Entirely, inasmuch as a barracoon is built of very cheap materials and run up in six weeks, and, as I again repeat it, affords great shelter and comfort to the slave, and therefore I do not see that advantage arises from its destruction.

852. Mr. Cardwell.] As the result of all the questions which you have been just asked upon the subject of the sufferings of the African race, do you consider, upon the whole, that they are increased or diminished by the measures which we take?—I think that our present system is by no means complete or answers the expectation with which it was set on foot. With reference to that part of the question wherein you draw a comparison, I am of opinion that matters would be worse if the trade were entirely thrown open, and that an increase of misery would accrue to the negro.

853. So that the withdrawal of the squadron from the coast of Africa would, in your opinion, be a calamity to the African race?—It would be a disadvantage decidedly to the negro; but in the whole of my evidence I have endeavoured to

lay before the Committee my opinions that our system is incomplete, and one which we are bound to retract, and for which we are bound to find a substitute.

854. In the absence of any particular substitute, would you continue or abandon that system which we now are pursuing?—Leaving out of account the negro's suffering, I would not abandon it, because I am unwilling to see my country descend from the high position which it has hitherto held in the eyes of the world.

855. Then your principal object in continuing the squadron would be a regard for the reputation of our common country, and not any strong opinion that the interests of the negro are promoted by it?—I consider that the actual number of slaves required by people able, under present circumstances, to purchase them, in every year reaches Brazil, and that the effect of our squadron is to remove the slave trade from one spot and to drive it to another; and therefore I consider that unless you can blockade, according to the sense in which the word has been recently accepted, the whole of the African shore, it is utterly impossible by the present system to put down the slave trade.

856. Are you of opinion, from what you have seen, that if the slave trade were carried on without the fear of a blockading squadron, there would be any great diminution of the sufferings of the negroes, either in the barracoons or in the slave ships?—In my former evidence I have stated that the effect of throwing the trade open would be to put it into the hands of men of small capital, unable to conduct the adventure on the grand scale (if I may make use of the expression) that it is now conducted on. The consequence, therefore, would be that an addition of misery would accrue to the negro.

857. Have you observed in the character of the men who have been captured that they appear to have been so exasperated against the measures taken for their repression as that they have thereby become more brutalized and cruel than they otherwise would have been?—Disbelieving the general statements of the slave captains, excepting in certain portions wherein one agrees with the other, I do not consider myself as competent to answer that question.

858. Have you had any opportunity of judging whether the wars in Africa are at all caused by a desire to feed the slave trade?—I can only speak from the information which is accessible to everybody. I have nothing to offer from that which I have learned on the coast of Africa.

859. Have you any means of knowing what the relative condition of the negro is in Africa and in Brazil?—No, I have not.

860. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Is such a state of blockade as that which we have adopted within the limits of the Gallinas country effective in stopping the slave trade as far as that country is concerned?—I declared a blockade there in consequence of an expression of opinion made use of by the Queen's Advocate-general, wherein he says that I should be justified in resorting to the rights of war. The first right of war is a blockade, and on the sentiments of his letter I acted. I consider that within the limits in which that particular blockade is declared the slave trade will be effectually suppressed, because it does not act only against the slave dealers, but it acts against the importers of merchandize with which the slave trade is fed.

861. What is the length of coast along which that blockade extends?—The scale of the chart I have before me is too small for me to be able to answer, except from memory. I believe about 18 miles.

862. What number of vessels are engaged in that blockade?—Two.

863. Do you think that by a continuance of that blockade, and by other means consequent upon a declaration of war, you can put down the slave trade in that Gallinas country for a considerable period of time?—No; I had in view the extension of the blockade on grounds which I thought justifiable. I am not aware what decision the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has come to; if he acquiesces in that suggestion, I consider that a complete blockade will be the effect, and that the slave trade will be totally driven from the territory of Gallinas.

864. Do you believe that the application to other parts of the coast of similar proceedings to those adopted towards the Gallinas territory, accompanied with full powers from the Secretary of State, would succeed, if not in absolutely suppressing, yet in considerably diminishing the slave trade in those other parts of the coast?—We acquired the right of blockade over the Gallinas territory in consequence of a violation of a treaty made for the manifest purpose of excluding white

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slave dealers from the Gallinas. Without a *casus belli* of a similar description, you could not apply that blockade as you have suggested; neither, supposing that you had the right, would it be effectual, because you have not, by one-third, vessels sufficient for that purpose.

865. You do not therefore think that by an application of such a force as is now stationed on the coast of Africa, even with the adoption of any such means as have been suggested, any considerable diminution of the slave trade could be accomplished?—Repeating the words, “such force as is now stationed,” I do not think so.

866. Is it your opinion that that object would be approximately effected by an increase of that force?—There will be no contradiction to my previous evidence in saying, that applying your question to limited parts of the coast, you could enforce a blockade and effect your object, but not *in extenso*, as I apprehend you mean.

867. Do you suppose that the temporary application of such forcible means as that of a warlike blockade would lead the chiefs and head men of those states into a better state of mind as regards the slave trade, and to prefer the advantages of legitimate commerce?—During the period that you were carrying into effect your measures, which I will suppose to be effective, they will have acquiesced in any proposition, and in any plan which you have suggested. Remove the repressive system or the force which you were then applying, and I consider that, from the very nature of the African character, and the speculation and excitement which the trade affords, they would immediately return to slave trading.

868. Would it be very difficult to get any portion of the inhabitants of the coast of Africa out of the habit of the slave trade where it had once been established?—I do. In my despatch I have stated that on a large portion of the coast there are no visible means of introducing legal commerce. The greater portion of the slave trade comes from the Portuguese territory; the Portuguese are bad colonists, and they would throw every difficulty in the way of giving up that which is now to them an advantageous trade.

869. As a summary, therefore, of the questions which I have put to you, I will ask you this, Do you regard the suppression, or even a considerable diminution of the slave trade on the African coast as impossible to be brought about by any combination of violent and persuasive means; by violent means, I intend such as those which we have adopted towards the country of the Gallinas, and by persuasive means, I intend the introduction and the favouring of legitimate trade, as far as the Government of this country can effect such an object?—I do not see any practicable combination that you could bring about, and therefore I consider that it would be impossible.

870. You have stated that the slave trade from the Gallinas would probably take refuge in the Bissagos Islands, which, being Portuguese territory, we cannot interfere with; do you therefore believe, that however effectual our measures might be in putting down the slave trade where we could interfere, a considerable slave trade would still take place from the Portuguese territory?—Taking the eastern and western Portuguese territory in Africa into consideration, I think that that alone is capable of supplying the wants of Brazil.

871. Would it be practicable by any negotiation with the Portuguese Government to prevent this effect?—They have ostensibly set their face entirely against the slave trade; they have effected a treaty in the sense that you desired, but that treaty has never been carried out; questions have been put by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Portuguese Government requesting that the British force might be permitted to land and extirpate the slave trade by destroying the factories wherever they might find them within their territory; to this they have given a complete refusal, by saying that they will do it whenever they are pointed out by a British captain; repeated instances have been cited to them of places carrying on the slave trade; nevertheless until very recently they never would assist, or comply with the promise given by the Portuguese Government, and now that this has been carried into effect I find by the correspondence the Portuguese governor-general using his utmost endeavours to remove the officer who complied with your request, and whose conduct I consider entitled him to the highest praise.

872. You therefore fear that, whatever their promises or professions might be, they would be eluded?—From the weak state of the Portuguese Government I think an officer would rarely venture to carry out the object of the treaty.

873. *Chairman.*]

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873. *Chairman.*] Do you think, as commander-in-chief of the African squadron, you were placed in circumstances which would enable you to form a more correct opinion of the whole of our operations along the coast and the nature of the slave trade there than any individual captain commanding a single vessel could form?—An individual captain is acquainted only with that which may occur within the limits of his own station; he is not able to take a combined or extended view of the whole of the operations connected with a large extent of coast. Those sources of information are shut out from him, and it is, generally speaking, the object of a commander-in-chief to keep them within his own breast, and to impart them to no one. Therefore, separating myself from the question which you now address to me, I am of opinion that the commander-in-chief only is able to give the general information which the Committee would require.

874. If you were seeking for accurate information upon this painful question, would you rather apply to an officer like Captain Mansel, who has commanded the squadron for a certain period, or would you apply to a number of captains commanding cruisers on the coast?—I should consider that the information given by an officer who held the position of that of Captain Mansel, would be far more valuable than the opinions of individual captains.

875. Some naval officers expressed an opinion to the Committee last year, that in 1843 the slave trade was stopped, and would have been extinguished but for a despatch of Lord Aberdeen, warning the officer in command of the squadron not to attack slave factories contrary to the law of nations; from your observation of the slave trade, do you think that the slave trade could have been on the point of final extinction in 1843, or are you of opinion that Lord Aberdeen's letter could possibly have revived it?—I feel a great delicacy in answering that question, because it can only be a matter of opinion, and may be given in a sense contrary to that with which I am really impressed; still I have been always in the habit of considering that the slave trade is dependant upon the commercial wants of Brazil, and has no reference to your operations in any one way; and therefore I should say that the letter of Lord Aberdeen, although it might have had a momentary effect, generally speaking did not control the slave trade.

876. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] You have stated that the opinion of a commander-in-chief, like Captain Mansel, would be entitled to more credit than the opinions of individual officers, inasmuch as the commander-in-chief receives the reports of each officer, and therefore has the whole under his own eye. You do not wish however, it is presumed, that the Committee should understand that you throw any doubts upon the fact as stated in the evidence of the different officers who have deposed to such facts before the Committee of 1848; you merely wish to say, and the Committee to understand, that they gave such reports as came within their own knowledge only, but that you, the commander-in-chief, would have taken a general survey of the whole case?—I am very far from wishing to throw any slur or doubt upon the evidence of individual officers, with many of whom I am intimately acquainted, and for all of whom I have the highest respect. I only meant to say that it is impossible for an individual captain to take an extended view of the whole case, because the means of information from which it is to be derived, are inaccessible to him.

877. *Sir E. Buxton.*] The barracoons are chiefly used, I believe, by the agents on the coast who are stationed there to collect the slaves, and to pay for them in goods; is that the case?—They are used for the purpose of collecting and protecting the slaves.

878. When a ship arrives on the coast, all that the ship has to do at present is to take in the slaves, which are already paid for, and there is no detention in consequence of any payment?—Hitherto I do not recollect that the evidence has gone into that, but still I believe that, from whatever circumstance, there is no detention on the coast.

879. If it be true, as it has been supposed to be that the barracoons and factories are employed by the persons who collect and pay for the slaves coming from different parts, would not the destruction of those barracoons and factories necessarily throw a great difficulty in the way of those agents?—Not any material difficulty.

880. How do you suppose they would be able to carry on their business?—Because a barracoon, although a convenience, is not a necessity.

881. How do you imagine an agent on the coast of Africa would be able to collect the slaves and to have them ready against the arrival of the ship, if he had

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not some means of stowing away the goods with which to pay for them?—In my previous evidence I have said that that difficulty would be met by keeping a ship permanently at anchor off the coast, under the protection of a neutral flag, in which the goods would be deposited, and from whence they would be retailed; therefore a factory is by no means a matter of necessity.

882. Would our treaties with foreign nations allow them to have a ship permanently at anchor close to a slave mart for the purpose of supplying the goods as they were required to pay for slaves; would not our cruisers be enabled to seize them?—That again is a matter which it is hardly my province to give an opinion upon. The present state of the treaties would permit vessels to be there, and judging from the correspondence which has taken place between our minister at Washington and the government of the United States, and their apparent objection to give any increased facility for the visit and search of their vessels, or for suppressing the slave trade, I am of opinion that they would not give you sufficient power to interfere with those depôts.

883. Are you aware that, after the destruction of the slave barracoons and factories by Captain Denman, the slave traders left the Gallinas?—I see it stated so in the evidence.

884. Does not that seem to imply that the method of keeping a ship permanently anchored would, in that case at least, not have been effectual?—It became, like everything else, a question of loss and profit. In all probability they found that from some other part of the coast they could export the required number of slaves.

885. Do you imagine that, as far as the Gallinas is concerned, the destruction of the barracoons has practically put a great impediment in the way of carrying on the slave trade at that river?—If the measure, and the proposition to which I have already alluded, should be adopted by the proper authorities, I would give an answer in the affirmative.

886. Are you aware at what other points slave factories and barracoons are at present situated?—Generally speaking, yes.

887. Can you give the names of those stations to the Committee?—Beginning with the Bissagos Islands, there is the Nunez, Pongas, Shebar, Gallinas, Trade Town, Little Popoe, Whydah, Porto Novo, Badagry, Lagos, Palmerina, River-Quarra, or Brass, as we term it, Sangatanga, and the whole of the coast from the Equator to 16 degrees south.

888. You have before said that the slave trade is carried on upon the whole of the coast; do you mean to say that there are slave factories along the whole coast?—I mean that every foot of ground is available to the slave dealers, and would require to be watched and guarded by us.

889. But upon what points of that coast are the factories situated?—The factories have nothing to do with the exportation of slaves. I again repeat that every foot of ground is available, and occupied and used by the slave dealers.

890. Still I should be glad to know upon what points of that coast the factories exist?—I do not apprehend that there is an officer who belonged to my squadron during the period of my command who could answer distinctly that question, inasmuch as we could only judge by running along the coast; and many of the factories, for aught we know, may be entirely concealed by trees and other local circumstances.

891. At what distance from the coast did your squadron cruise?—An entirely erroneous statement has appeared in pamphlets and other publications on that subject, as well, I believe, as in the Evidence before the Committee. After carefully examining the records of my office, I cannot discover that there were more than nine specific orders ever given on that subject. Much was left to the discretion of the divisional officers in parts where I was not present. Wherever I was present, my object was to adapt the position of the cruisers to the movements and shifts of the slave dealers, as given by the best information; therefore no general rule was laid down or can be given on that subject. It so happened that we often found our object better attained by cruising at a considerable distance off the shore, but no particular principle was followed.

892. Admiral *Bowles*.] You cruised as near the coast as circumstances required?—Just according to circumstances.

893. Mr. *Jackson*.] Your principal object being the capture of the slavers?—Precisely.

894. Knowing the impracticability of blockading the coast, you considered it

more

more judicious to lie off at a greater distance, with the hopes of capturing the slaves, than to lay close in shore?—I always thought it advisable to frustrate the movements of the slave dealers, and prevent the local position of the cruiser being known by keeping her out of sight of the land. The habit of the slave dealers was to send canoes into the offing, in order to ascertain the exact position of the vessel, and so excellent were their arrangements that a communication was established between that canoe and the slaver, from whom the latter learned all the information she required.

895. Such therefore being the position of your ships, it was utterly impossible for you, or any of the captains under your command, to ascertain the precise places where the slave dealers had established their factories?—We could form some conjectures of their movements in the Bight of Benin, but on no other part of the coast.

896. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You do not then think that if you had had cruisers nearer in shore you would have been better acquainted with the movements of the slavers on the coast?—I consider that, comparatively speaking, it was unimportant; but I always preferred where I was present to keep the vessels out of sight of the land, and I do not think that another course would have produced a better effect.

897. Can you put in the orders which you gave as to the cruising on the different parts of the slave coast?—Yes. Here is a list of them:—

*Orders given to particular Ships.*

*Cause or Object of the Order.*

H.M.S. "Grappler," to cruise between Ambrizette and the Daude, 70 miles off shore. 6 October 1848.

To provision a cruiser and look out for a slaver of whom we had information.

H.M.S. "Favorite," Commander Murray, being in command of Sierra Leone Division. 9 February 1847.

"You may exercise your judgment as to allowing the cruiser to cruise out of sight of land, within certain limits, from time to time."

H.M.S. "Heroine," to cruise 30 miles, from 7° to 8° S. L. 31 August 1847.

No particular object.

H.M.S. "Firefly," to keep Loanda on a bearing of west, 60 miles from the shore, until relieved by "Grappler." 9 July 1848.

On information received relative to the "Providencia" slave steamer.

H.M.S. "Philomel," to keep Loanda on a bearing of west 50 or 60 miles. 28 July 1848.

On information received relative to a slaver's movements.

H.M.S. "Pluto," to cruise off Ambriz 40 miles. 11 September 1848.

To meet the flag-ship on an appointed day.

H.M.S. "Blazer," to cruise 80 miles off Ambriz. 3 October 1848.

To intercept a slave steamer.

898. *Chairman*.] Were there any general orders given as to the distance of sailing from the coast?—Not upon that service; those orders were given for special objects.

899. Sir *E. Buxton*.] It was your wish expressed, as I imagine, to your officers that they should remain at a distance from the coast?—Not as a general rule.

900. Was it the general habit of the officers under your command to cruise at a distance from the land?—Not as a general rule; there was generally a specific object in view.

901. Do you mean to say that they in general cruised near the shore?—I mean that they adapted their movements entirely to the shifts of the slave dealers. If they expected a vessel in shore, they would be there; if they expected her at a distance from the shore, they would be there.

902. During the two years and a half you were commanding on the west coast of Africa, was it generally the habit of the vessels under your command to cruise out at sea or in shore?—Their movements are always regulated by the divisional officer; without consulting the records of my office, and the tract charts, I could not answer that.

903. Did the cruisers opposite the Gallinas cruise nearer the shore than they did at other parts?—The blockade at the latter part of 1847, and during the greater part of 1848, was remarkably effective off the Gallinas; but I am not able to say from recollection what plan the divisional officer pursued, only that I remember it entirely answered the object in view.

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904. You have stated that a great part of the slaves are now exported from the Portuguese territory; is it your opinion, that if the Portuguese were to do their utmost to assist us in putting down the slave trade, they could prevent that exportation in their own country?—The Portuguese government are singularly weak in that particular part of the coast. I very much doubt whether they would have the power of so doing.

905. Is it your opinion that the Portuguese government have been honestly desirous of preventing the slave trade in the last few years?—That is hardly a question for me to answer. I am not able to answer for the Portuguese government.

906. So far as your own observation has gone, have you found them honestly desirous to assist you in putting down the slave trade?—They have always professed the greatest willingness and desire so to do, but from the weakness of their power they have not been able, or have not carried the treaty into effect.

907. I imagine, that so far as the Portuguese territory is concerned, it would be impossible by any treaties with the native chiefs to diminish the slave trade?—The Portuguese are clearly responsible for their own territory. They would allow no interference with any chiefs under their Government.

908. Mr. Simeon.] You said that the blockade off the Gallinas had completely answered its purpose; were there any circumstances which afterwards led to a revival of the trade at the Gallinas?—My impression is, that the measures adopted were not afterwards so efficacious.

909. There is an enclosure from Captain Dixon that, to the best of his belief, no vessel had escaped with slaves from the Gallinas or Shebar from the 1st of November 1847 to the 12th of May 1848; what was the date of the destruction of the barracoons at the Gallinas?—It was either February 3d or February 4th, 1849.

910. In fact, subsequently to the 12th of May 1848, from some circumstances or other, there was a revival of the trade at the Gallinas?—I learned at the Gallinas that three vessels had got away, and I felt then that the measures that had recently been pursued had not been as efficacious as those of the previous months.

911. *Chairman.*] Do you remember what Dr. Bryson states to have been the average mortality on the African station, and the proportion which it bore to other naval stations in the Mediterranean, in South America, at home, and in the East and West Indies?—I have it before me; I find in South America he gives the mortality at 7·7 per thousand, in the Mediterranean at 9·3 per thousand, at home 9·8 per thousand, in the East Indies 15·1 per thousand, in the West Indies 18·1 per thousand, and on the coast of Africa 54·4 per thousand.

912. What was the average mortality of the squadron during the three years that it was under your command?—I can only give the returns between the 14th of October 1846 and the 30th of September 1848.

913. Dr. Bryson's average is taken on a period of 21 years, is not it?—It is taken on a period of 21 years; the ratio of mortality during the period above cited, per 1,000 men, was not quite  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

914. Making it less than in the East or West Indies?—Making it less than the East or West Indies.

915. Will you state briefly and generally, by what means you were able to effect so gratifying a result?—On arriving on that station I found a great deal of mental despondency; the ships had been kept off the same place for as much as 18 months, and, perhaps, that place particularly sickly. I found that no efforts had been made to exercise and divert the mind, and, therefore, I saw that an immediate change, both moral and physical, was required. I determined, without any exception, to relieve each ship from the sickly part of her station in her turn. I also required a great deal more exercise in the squadron, and therefore excited a spirit of competition; and I stopped all the boat service up to the rivers and between certain parts of the coast. Added to this, the present authorities at the Admiralty have caused each ship to be relieved at the expiration of a period of two years, as far as was in their power.

916. Do you believe that the practice of keeping the vessels' crews in shore, employing the men in boats and in occasional expeditions on the coast, is compatible with the maintenance of their health?—It is clearly my opinion that considering the question of health alone, it is more advantageous to keep them off the coast. On the south coast, taking proper precautions and preventing the crews

crews of the boats landing, I do not consider that the service in the boats is particularly detrimental to their health; but were it attempted on the north coast, or during all the seasons of the year in the Bight of Benin, the most fatal results, in my opinion, would ensue. The north coast we consider to extend from the northern limit of the station to Cape Palmas. We used to call the station the Bights between Cape St. Paul and Cape Lopez, and the south coast from Cape Lopez south.

917. Do you remember in Mr. Bandinel's evidence a suggestion, that the British Government should occupy the island of St. Catherine, and hold it as a guarantee for the faithful execution of the treaty which the British Government considers to be in force between the two countries?—I do.

918. Should you regard that as a judicious measure for effecting its object?—I think it is a suggestion particularly well worth entertaining. It could be carried into effect without involving this country in war; it might, very probably, bring about the object which we have in view, and it is one of those measures which at all events ought not to be thrown aside without sufficient consideration. I am glad to have an opportunity of stating this, because it will prove to the Committee that I am not wedded to any particular measure, or vain enough to think that that which I stated in the despatch could be alone entertained.

919. Would you attach to your plan for extinguishing the slave trade some guarantee?—Nothing beyond what I have stated in the former part of my evidence.

920. Admiral *Bowles*.] As a final result of your evidence, I apprehend you are of opinion that the withdrawal of the squadron, under the present circumstances, would be calculated to do a great deal more harm than good, without those previous treaties and arrangements which you consider indispensable for the modification, at all events, if not for the entire suppression, of the slave trade?—I anxiously hope that the squadron may not be withdrawn, unless a sufficient substitute can be found by this Government. At the same time, I do not think that our present means are satisfactory, or conducive to the object in view, an object which all civilized men are desirous of obtaining.

921. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Captain Denman, in a memorandum which he gave in to this Committee on the subject of the suppression of the slave trade, uses these words; "To effect the suppression of the slave trade it is indispensable I consider that a consistent and uniform course of proceeding should be followed; and it is only by a well-considered system, complete in its arrangements, and carried into execution with judgment and perseverance, that this great undertaking can be accomplished;" do you agree with Captain Denman in the opinion that a uniform course of proceeding should be adopted, and that specific instructions should be sent out?—Any system having the object of suppressing the slave trade in view, must be uniform and must be consistent, without reference to the instructions which you say might be sent out.

922. Is it not a great injury to the service, that each commander-in-chief when he goes out is of course ignorant of the service, and has a great deal to learn before he can use the squadron in the most efficient manner?—Applying the same rule to all public services in general, I think so.

923. At present each commander-in-chief has his own system, and those systems differ very much one from another?—It would be impossible and highly impolitic to tie any commander-in-chief down to a particular line of conduct, although I admit that the public service, to a certain extent suffers, yet, were you to tie him down too closely, you would have no room for the exercise of his judgment and ability.

924. Do not you think that some specific instructions, as a general guide, might with great advantage be sent out to the commander-in-chief on the coast of Africa?—I have commanded that station 2½ years, and were I now ordered to draw out a set of instructions, I really do not know how I should begin; so frequently do the slave-dealers change their systems and modes of trade.

925. Your squadron, I believe, captured in two years 170 sail?—In 2½ years, during the time I commanded the station, from the best information I can collect, (inasmuch as all the returns have not yet arrived,) they captured 176 including canoes and vessels of all kinds.

926. Are you aware that the squadron in 1840 and 1841 captured 145 sail?—I think I have read it in the evidence, but I have always attached this explanation to it; admitting the great skill and intelligence of the officers who made the captures, about that time the squadron was enabled to cruise south of the line,

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and the slave-dealers had their trade to learn, they were ignorant of the mode of cruising pursued by our vessels, and therefore they gave an advantage to those particular officers which each subsequent year diminished.

927. Are you aware that in the years 1840 and 1841 our squadron consisted only of 12 sail?—I am not aware of it.

928. Can you state what the number of the squadron was?—I cannot.

929. Are you aware that the number of slaves imported into the Brazils in those years would, according to Mr. Bandinel's book, amount to 14,000 per annum?—I am not; I have never read Mr. Bandinel's book.

930. Are you able to give the Committee any idea to what amount the price of slaves would fall if our efforts to suppress the slave trade were entirely withdrawn?—I have no idea.

931. Do you imagine there would be a great fall in the price?—As a matter of opinion, I should say that it is natural that there should be a fall.

932. Can you state, from your observation at the Gallinas, what number of slaves the factories and barracoons there were calculated to export?—From the best information I obtained, the barracoons were capable of holding, at the outside, 3,000 persons; but that has no reference to the amount of slaves which they could export.

933. Colonel *Thompson*.] Will you inform the Committee what you consider to be the relative value of a steam-vessel as a cruiser on the coast of Africa, compared with a sailing vessel?—From the best recollection, I am inclined to think that I informed the late Lord Auckland that the squadron might be diminished one-third, provided he would substitute steam-vessels for the remainder.

The Right Hon. Lord *John Hay*, C. B., a Member of the Committee;  
Examined.

Right Hon.  
Lord *J. Hay*, C. B.  
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934. *Chairman*.] AS a Naval Officer and a Lord of the Admiralty, are you acquainted with the transactions of the African squadron while under the command of the late Commodore Sir Charles Hotham?—Yes.

935. Were the operations of the fleet conducted on the part of that officer with zeal, intelligence, and skill?—I have heard the Board of Admiralty, both collectively and individually, give their opinion as to the manner in which they considered the services had been performed on the coast of Africa by Sir C. Hotham, and I cannot explain that better than by reading a letter which I have in my hand, which was the last communication made to Sir Charles Hotham on his striking his broad pennant at Spithead.

936. From whom is the letter?—The letter is signed by the Secretary of the Admiralty, by the direction of the Board.

937. Will you be so kind as to read it?—“Admiralty, 12th April 1849. Sir, I am commanded by my Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, that your return to England affords their Lordships an opportunity they have much desired, of conveying to you the expression of their approval of the ability and energy with which you have conducted your late command; and it is with much satisfaction that my Lords attribute to your judgment and discretion your having successfully secured the co-operation of your foreign colleagues throughout your employment abroad. I am, Sir, Your most obedient Servant, W. A. B. Hamilton.”

938. Does the Board of Admiralty attribute the failure of Sir Charles Hotham's efforts to accomplish the mission confided to him to any deficiency on his part; are they of opinion that any duty which was confided to him was left inadequately discharged?—The Admiralty consider that Sir Charles Hotham carried out his instructions to the letter, with great judgment and zeal, and to the entire satisfaction of the Board.

939. Are you acquainted with what might have been the opinion of the late lamented First Lord of the Admiralty in regard to this subject?—I have often heard the late Lord Auckland express his opinion of Sir Charles Hotham in the most satisfactory manner, and I feel convinced that he placed the utmost confidence in his judgment during the period of his command.

940. Do you think that if it had been possible to have stopped the slave trade by such means as were confided to Sir Charles Hotham, the slave trade would have been stopped under his control?—I am decidedly of that opinion.

941. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Does your Lordship concur with Sir Charles Hotham

in the opinion which he recently stated to the Committee, that the substitution of the proportion therein stated by him of steam force for sailing force would be very desirable?—I agree with Sir Charles Hotham, and I believe that if a steam force were more generally employed on the coast of Africa it would lead to the whole of the slave trade being carried on by steam vessels.

942. Do you concur in an opinion which has been stated, that the expense of building and fitting steam vessels in the Brazils for the slave trade would be about fifteen times greater than that of building sailing vessels, or in what other proportion would you wish the Committee to understand, according to your judgment, the difference between steam and sailing vessels might be regarded?—I take the estimate of the expense of a sailing vessel to carry 350 slaves, as stated by Sir Charles Hotham, at 700 *l.* Sir Charles Hotham stated that the "Pluto" would carry about 1,500 slaves. I differ from that opinion; I think the "Pluto" would scarcely find room for more than 800 slaves; the expense of the "Pluto" would be from 16,000 *l.* to 18,000 *l.*, that is, the building of the hull and the machinery.

943. What upon the average would be the expenses of building a sailing vessel capable of containing 800 slaves?—I should think about 3,000 *l.*

944. In other words, the expense of a steamer would, in your judgment, be about six times the expense of a sailing vessel?—About six times.

945. If therefore the slave merchants of Brazil were compelled to have recourse to steam navigation in order to carry out their traffic it would involve a very large additional expenditure, and of course in proportion diminish their profits?—Certainly, it would require a larger capital, and no doubt decrease their chances of success.

946. Have you any reason to think that such increased outlay of capital on the part of the slave dealers of Brazil would discourage sufficiently such slave dealers from their enterprise as to diminish materially the competition for slaves on the coast of Africa?—I think the risk would be greater, and consequently it would considerably diminish the profit.

947. The conclusion to which your Lordship arrives is perhaps not imperfectly expressed in the statement, that you consider the employment of steam navigation by England as one of the means of diminishing the slave trade between the two continents?—I have stated that I think if you employed steamers as cruisers on the coast of Africa you would drive the slave dealers to employ steam boats for the conveyance of slaves.

948. And as a consequence of that employment involving a greater outlay of capital, it would *pro tanto* be a discouragement to the slave trade, and one of the means of suppressing it?—I think it would to a certain extent.

949. Independently of the greater prospect of success in stopping the embarkation of slaves on the coast of Africa itself?—I am not aware that that would be the case.

950. The question assumes that a steamer could steam against the prevailing winds, when of course it would be comparatively difficult for a sailing vessel to beat to windward?—I can scarcely answer that question, not being acquainted with the coast of Africa.

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*Jovis, 3<sup>o</sup> die Maii, 1849.*

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Sir Edward Buxton.  
Sir R. H. Inglis.  
Mr. Jackson.  
Colonel Thompson.  
Mr. Monckton Milnes.

Mr. Evelyn Denison.  
Lord John Hay.  
Earl of Lincoln.  
Mr. Simeon.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

The Right Honourable *Stephen Lushington*, D. C. L., called in; and Examined.

951. Sir *E. Buxton*.] YOU were employed by the Government to draw up a treaty some time ago in connexion with the slave trade?—Yes; in 1845, in consequence of the French nation becoming very much dissatisfied with the treaty  
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which allowed the British naval forces, under certain conditions, to search French merchant vessels supposed to be engaged in the slave trade, I had the honour of being employed by Lord Aberdeen to negotiate with the Duc de Broglie a treaty, which should have the effect of removing the objection felt by the French, and at the same time should not in any degree facilitate the carrying on of the slave trade. I would state that when that negotiation commenced I was perfectly well aware that the slave trade itself was not carried on by means of the French mercantile marine, or at least, if carried on by them at all, in the minutest possible degree; and therefore it became very desirable, if instead of a right of search, which was to put down an evil which might be said not to exist, something could be substituted which could have an efficient operation against the slave trade itself. Two things were necessary for that purpose; one, and the most important, was to get a public acknowledgment by the Duc de Broglie, and the French nation, of the right of British ships of war to visit, as distinguished from the right of search. That right, though always claimed by the British nation, had never been recognised, to my knowledge or belief, by other naval powers, and certainly by some it had been questioned; but having obtained from the Duc de Broglie an entire recognition of that right, it gave to the British naval forces the right of examining every vessel for the purpose of ascertaining whether it really belonged to the nation whose flag it bore; and consequently if there had been any French slave trade existing, though it might have been carried on if it was *bonâ fide* a French merchant ship, it could not be carried on under the French flag nominally unless it belonged to the French, inasmuch as the right of visit enabled you to ascertain the real character of the vessel. The second object was to obtain, as far as might be, the co-operation of the naval forces of France to act in conjunction with the British navy for the purpose of suppressing the trade. Upon this point there were several difficulties, because France had not the same treaties for the suppression of the slave trade with foreign powers as Great Britain had, and consequently it was not possible, supposing the French government ever so willing to render their assistance, to exercise the same right of search. However, it was necessary to do the best which could be done. Under those circumstances, the French government proposed, by means of making treaties with the native powers on the coast, to invest themselves with sufficient and adequate powers to make search of all vessels in the neighbourhood of the great slaving marts, and so in effect to render us assistance. Of course it became exceedingly important to ascertain as far as practicable whether any union of the naval forces of the two countries would be adequate to put down the slave trade, and therefore three French officers of great experience on the African coast came over from France, and to meet them, Captain Trotter, was summoned on the part of England, together with four other officers, also (one or two of them particularly,) of the greatest practical experience of the slave trade on the coast. We asked those gentlemen what was their opinion as to the practicability of effectually putting down the slave trade, considering the slave trade in its then state and condition, and with reference to the existing circumstances. They required several days to consider it, and having consulted the charts and deliberated probably for seven or eight days, they made a report to us that with a certain given force the object might be attained. I felt some doubts as to what would be the efficiency of the co-operation of the French force; not any doubt whatsoever of the intention of the French government to carry into execution the treaty to the very utmost of their power, nor of their desire to abolish the slave trade, but in consequence of the French cruisers not being armed with the same authority to search as British cruisers were. I therefore proposed to the Duc de Broglie a very large addition to the force which had been proposed by the naval officers of both countries, and he immediately acceded to it. We then thought that we had made an arrangement which would be acceptable to France, and at the same time calculated, as far as it was possible, to effect the object intended—the suppression of the slave trade.

952. Sir R. H. Inglis.] In your answer to the questions which have been recently addressed to you, had not you in view a convention, signed by the Earl of Aberdeen and yourself, as plenipotentiaries of the Queen on the one hand, and Count St. Aulaire and the Duc de Broglie, as plenipotentiaries of France on the other?—Yes.

953. Is not the evidence which you have referred to as having been given by Captain Trotter and four other officers, the evidence which was presented to the

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House of Commons, by command of Her Majesty, in the year 1847?—Yes; but I am not prepared to say that the copy of the Minutes of Evidence laid before the House of Commons contains the whole which took place in the examination of those witnesses; because there were several questions which I addressed to the French witnesses, with their answers, which I did not think were proper to be laid before the House of Commons.

954. Were the Minutes of Evidence now placed in your hands for the purpose of refreshing your recollection the Minutes of Evidence which, under your authority and that of the Chief Acting Plenipotentiary on the part of France, were submitted to Her Majesty; in other words, did you feel it a part of your duty to withdraw from the public notice a portion of the evidence, or did you submit the whole, leaving to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs the discretion of omitting such parts, the publication of which might be considered by him inconsistent with the public service?—We submitted the whole to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

955. In the article of the Convention, No. 2, you will see that it is stated that Her Majesty's Government undertook to station 26 cruisers, steam and sailing vessels, within certain degrees of latitude on the coast of Africa, and that his Majesty the King of the French stipulated that he also would place an equal number, namely, 26 cruisers, steam and sailing vessels, on the same coast?—Yes.

956. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Was it the opinion of the captains, English and French, of whom you have spoken, that the measures that were then proposed to be adopted would be effectual in putting down the slave trade?—Decidedly so; I took the greatest possible pains to ascertain what was the opinion of those persons who were best acquainted practically with the slave trade, and with the whole coast of Africa. I would not have consented to any treaty of this description which I thought might prove useless or mischievous.

957. Have those measures, in your opinion, been effectual or not?—I think they have not; there is always a question of degree in a matter of this description; but if I am asked whether they have been as effectual as I think we had reason to expect, certainly they have not.

958. Can you state to the Committee why it is that the measures then adopted have not been effectual, in your opinion?—With regard to the failure of the treaty, or rather the treaty not being so effective as might have been expected, I think there were several causes. In the first place, I have reason to believe that the French force, however desirous, was not able to co-operate to the extent contemplated by the French government; they did in the first instance exert themselves, and, as I have been informed, they captured several Brazilian vessels; but having no authority whatsoever to proceed against those vessels, the result was that damages to a considerable extent had to be paid by the French cruisers; and that very greatly discouraged them from those attempts. The second cause was, that though it was represented in evidence, and believed, that it would be perfectly easy to frame treaties with the native chiefs on the coast, yet it ultimately turned out that there was more difficulty in it than was expected; and the third reason, and I think by far the strongest of all, is this, that in consequence of the change of the duties, and sugar being admitted directly from the Brazils and from the Havannah, the effective demand has become infinitely increased. Now, the combined naval forces were estimated to repel a certain momentum, but when that was infinitely increased it was not to be supposed that the same consequences possibly could ensue; nor do I believe that any force whatever which it is within reasonable bounds to suppose could be stationed upon that coast, could resist the continuance of the slave trade, provided the profit on the trade were carried to a very enormous amount.

959. Is it your opinion that the Act of Parliament of 1846, by which slave-grown sugar was admitted into this country, has had the effect of largely stimulating the slave trade?—I do not entertain a shadow of a doubt about it. It is impossible to entertain a doubt about it. I use the expression, "an effective demand," by which I mean a demand which repays the growing of sugar with a large profit. That demand has been an increasing demand in England for a certain length of time, and when we admit Brazilian sugar and Havannah sugar direct, of course that must give a great stimulus to the production of sugar; and as sugar is produced in those countries not by the medium of slavery only, but

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by means of the slave trade, by imported negroes, of necessity it must give a great impulse to the slave trade.

960. Can you suggest any measure by which our squadron on the coast of Africa might be made more effective than it now is?—It is very difficult for me to suggest any measure of that description. My own opinion is, that more pains ought to be taken to form treaties with the native powers; and I think, at a very small expense, by presents to those native powers, provided they were paid with perfect and entire punctuality, which I consider to be of greater importance even than the amount, you would secure their co-operation and their assistance; and you would be able to do more than that: you would be able to carry into effect your treaties along a line of coast where at present you have difficulties; especially you would have it in your power to destroy any barracoons which might be erected. That is one of the measures, and I take it the only other measure is, what I do not expect to see, which is a reversal of the policy of allowing sugar to be imported which is grown in countries carrying on the slave trade.

961. What in your opinion would be the consequence of our withdrawing the squadron from the coast of Africa?—Those consequences would be various, some immediate and some at more distant periods of time. I think the first consequence would be a great increase of the slave trade, and I will state my reason why. I believe at the present moment this country consumes above one-fourth of the whole sugar which is made from the sugar cane in the world. I am certain that our demand is only limited by the means of the people to purchase it. As the wealth of the Continent increases, and the population increases, so must of necessity the demand for sugar increase; and when you compare how small the effective demand of the whole Continent is, compared with the effective demand of Great Britain, you must see that there is every prospect of the demand for sugar becoming every year greater and greater; and as it is clear to my mind that sugar is not likely to be produced in any country whatsoever not carrying on the slave trade, in quantities sufficient to meet that demand, at least at a price which would render it an effective demand, I think the necessary consequence is, that the slave trade would be stimulated for the purpose of supplying with slaves the Brazils and the Havana, whose territories are almost exhaustless in point of production of sugar. I believe the slave trade must be augmented for that purpose, and continue so for a time indefinitely. That is one of the consequences. The next consequence would be, that I am satisfied the legitimate trade with Africa must be diminished. I believe it to be perfectly true—there has been evidence given to that effect before other Committees of this House, and elsewhere—that the legitimate trade and the trade in slaves do not flourish together. That trade is a valuable trade, and it is an increasing trade, notwithstanding the difficulties by which it is surrounded, and notwithstanding the great losses which have taken place in life and property upon the coast. I think that trade would be greatly diminished. I think a third consequence would be, that all hopes of civilizing Africa would be at least deferred indefinitely, if not extinguished, and that it would be impossible any longer to protect the efforts of the missionaries upon that coast; for though I am well aware that you might not withdraw your squadron, but might still maintain a force to a given extent throughout the country for protection, yet my opinion is, that the inhabitants would be rendered so exceedingly savage by the renewal of the slave trade, that that protecting squadron would not enable you to carry out this benevolent purpose of christianizing the whole of that country, or any part of it. As to a fourth consequence, it is this: the total destruction of our West India colonies. Our West India colonies, I am satisfied in my own mind, having from my very earliest youth been accustomed to them, though I never was there, cannot, speaking generally, not of the whole of the colonies, compete with slave-trade sugar. I am of opinion that they can compete with sugar grown in those countries where slavery is allowed; but where men are imported and worked like beasts of burden, worked without mercy, I am satisfied the profit there is so great that our colonies could not compete with it; nor do I see that anything can be done to enable our colonies so to compete. I am of opinion that the present state of our colonies, low as it is, has not arisen, as it has been sometimes supposed, so much from emancipation, though I allow that to have had a great effect, as it has from the recent measures which have been

been introduced allowing the importation of sugar from the Brazils and the Havannah. That I think has given a death-blow to our colonies. But perhaps the Committee will allow me to explain what I mean when I use the word "emancipation." Our colonies, as every one knows, are circumstanced very variously. It used to be said that the most productive colony, or rather the colony in which the power of production was greatest, was Trinidad, the production there being taken at the rate of 17; in Demerara, 15; and in Jamaica, 9. That used to be considered the relative proportion of the fertility of land in those three separate islands. Now, when emancipation took place, no doubt immediate injury arose to the colonies. There is no doubt whatever that the same quantity of labour was not performed; and I think the reason of the same quantity not being performed was, that both parties, the friends to the negro and the agents of the planters, were equally in the wrong. I think those who called themselves friends to the negro (and I have no doubt all parties were actuated by good intentions) carried their endeavours to procure high wages for the negroes to a very extravagant extent; and on the other hand, I equally know (for I may say I know this) that the agents of the planters adopted measures to coerce labour as it were, not actually to coerce it, for they could not by punishment do that, but they acted in a manner which disinclined the negroes to go to work. On the very 1st of August, the day of emancipation, the agent of one of the largest, best, and finest estates, that of the late Mr. Archdeacon, did two things: he at once gave notice to all his negroes to quit their huts, and the next thing he did was to enter into a compact that he would employ no person except the negroes upon his own estates. It is quite evident that he thereby deprived himself of labour. Those and similar measures were resorted to; and they no doubt operated upon the productiveness of the islands. But, on the other hand, it is to be recollected that it was a temporary cause, and not operating through all the islands, because Antigua, which is an island, so far as the advantages of nature are concerned, perhaps possessed of the least, has all but doubled its product of sugar since emancipation. Then there is another thing to be considered, which would have told as another cause greatly in favour of the West India islands had they been allowed to have gone on upon their former conditions; it is this, that by emancipation you stopped the decrease of the negroes, whereas so long as slavery existed in our West India islands, beyond question the number of the negroes was diminishing; and Mr. Canning, in his speech in the year 1823, upon Sir Fowell Buxton's motion, adverted to that decrease having in his own statement diminished, to a very great extent, the estimate which had been before him, and then pointed out what would be the consequence if some measures were not adopted to stop that decrease; and I believe those best acquainted with the West India islands would now be prepared to admit, that if you had not emancipated your slaves as you did, your number of labourers would be totally inadequate even to raise your present quantity of sugar. In conclusion, upon this point, I cannot conceive how it is possible, in the present state of the West India islands, for them to compete with slave-trade sugar. I never entertained the idea since I have been acquainted with this subject, and I joined Mr. Wilberforce in the year 1806; I never did believe, and I never can believe, with certain exceptions, unquestionably, where there are great advantages, that you can compete upon equal terms with slave-trade sugar.

962. It is therefore your opinion that our colonies could not have borne the competition with the Brazils and Cuba, even if slavery had still existed in them?—I do not say that. How long they could have gone on with a diminishing power is a question of great nicety. Eventually I believe they could not, but I do not say that at one single moment that would have occurred, because it depends upon to what extent during a state of slavery in our colonies you could have coerced the diminishing number of persons to produce the same quantity of sugar, and it depends upon the price of the sugar also.

963. Is it your opinion that if our cruisers were withdrawn the horrors resulting from the slave trade on the continent of Africa would increase?—I have not a doubt about it; perhaps I ought to have added another circumstance. It is my belief that if you withdraw your cruisers it would be impossible to keep out British capital from engaging in the slave trade. I know that it has been engaged in the slave trade, even where it has been prohibited by our own laws, and I do believe it would be engaged again.

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964. Why do you think that the withdrawal of our squadron would give rise to increased horrors in the slave trade in Africa?—My answer to that is, because I think the slave trade itself would be increased, and as I consider that the slave trade under any circumstances, however mitigated they can be supposed to be, is replete with horrors, with murder and destruction, I cannot doubt that they would be increased, because how are slaves procured? In part at least they are procured by robbery, rapine, and war; therefore as you would increase the number exported, of necessity the cruelties to obtain slaves would be augmented.

965. *Chairman.*] Do you suppose that that is the condition under which slaves are procured on all parts of the coast of Africa?—Certainly not.

966. Is that the case south of the Line at all?—Yes, I think so.

967. *Sir E. Buxton.*] In what way do you imagine that British capital might be introduced into slave trading?—I believe, myself, that British capital has gone in various ways already; I believe it has gone to the island of Cuba, and that the articles which are there sent for sale have been sold at an enormous price, upon the condition of taking the chance of the adventure; the time of payment being postponed, and the contingency run by the merchant. I believe, in fact I cannot doubt at all, that to a certain extent, I will not say to a great extent, those articles indispensably requisite for the slave trade have been sent to various parts of Africa, and paid for either by bills on Spain or upon London; or if not so paid, produce received in return, but not by way of legitimate trade, it being perfectly well known that the cargo taken out was instantly to be exchanged for slaves, having been conveyed to the very ports where the slave trade was carried on, and whence the slaves were about to be exported. Speaking at the present moment, certainly for some years past I do not mean to say that I have known any instance of a British merchant being directly engaged in it, save at the Brazils, where, beyond all doubt, British merchants are engaged in it. If the Committee doubt this, there could be very easily produced proofs of the fact.

968. Do you think the withdrawal of the squadron would increase the facilities which our merchants now have for being indirectly implicated in the slave trade?—Yes; because our merchants are now afraid that their vessels shall be searched and examined, and if there were any suspicion of their being engaged in the slave trade, they would be brought in for adjudication to Sierra Leone or St. Helena.

969. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Do you think the moral effect of the withdrawal or diminution of the squadron on the west coast of Africa would be to induce other countries to imagine and to believe that England had entirely abandoned, as hopeless and chimerical, all her crusade against the slave trade, and that therefore the general opinion as to the guilt of that trade would be very much diminished?—I think so. I think that the credit which England hitherto has received among all foreign nations on account of the principle which she has maintained, and the exertions which she has made, would be lost, and it would be believed that we were treading a retrograde course.

970. Do you think that that feeling would gradually force its way into public opinion in England, and that possibly great alterations of feeling might take place with respect to the criminality of the trade?—No doubt it might give rise to a temporary alteration of feeling among some persons, because I think this subject has been so much misunderstood; I think it would give rise to an alteration of feeling among some persons, because they have considered this subject as a part and parcel of free trade, which I utterly disbelieve it to be; but if I am asked what would be the ultimate feeling of the people of England upon this point, I am so satisfied of their right feeling from beginning to end, that I never will believe, upon any consideration, that that feeling would diminish.

971. *Chairman.*] From the observations with which you have favoured the Committee, you appear to be of opinion that the Bill which passed through Parliament in 1846, was a measure almost fatal to the hopes of those who were engaged in putting down the slave trade?—Yes.

972. It gave rise to so large a demand for the productions of Brazil and Cuba, that you do not look forward very hopefully to the suppression of the slave trade, so long as that is the law of the land?—Certainly.

973. You stated, I think, that there was a large and a progressive demand arising on the Continent of Europe, for sugar?—No; I stated this, that there

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was a progressive demand in this country; that this country consumed more than one-fourth of the whole sugar consumed in the world; and that comparing the numbers in this country with the great numbers on the Continent, and the articles which they use for sugar, the demand there was limited by nothing but their inability to purchase; and that that demand would increase as their wealth was developed and their numbers augmented.

974. As the wealth and the population of the Continent increase, you think the demand for sugar will increase in something like the same proportion?—Certainly.

975. That increase in the want of sugar on the Continent would, in the course of a certain time alone, cause a demand in the markets of Brazil and Cuba equal to the demand created after 1846 in those markets by the Act of that Session; it would be only a question of time, would it?—I have no doubt of this, that the increasing demand on the Continent of Europe, it being of course an effective demand, would necessarily operate upon the growing of sugar all over the world; that would make a great demand for sugar in the Brazils and sugar in Cuba, and sugar coming from every other quarter; but when it would arrive at the precise point to which you are now directing my attention, by the Bill of 1846, I am really incapable of forming any judgment.

976. I am not asking you to fix the precise time when the demand for sugar in Brazil would attain that point; but the tendency of matters is to reach that point, in consequence of the progressive development of the population and resources of the Continent?—All other circumstances remaining the same.

977. Under those circumstances, when the continental demand reached the point we have adverted to, you consider that our efforts to suppress the slave trade by force would be ineffectual?—Whenever the period arrives that the demand of the Continent is so great as to stimulate the production in the Brazils and Cuba to a greater extent than it was before, and is now, I have no doubt the difficulty of putting down the slave trade will augment; but I do not mean to say that any effective demand will have that consequence; I mean to say this, that supposing the demand were so extensive, and at the same time gave so very large a remunerating price as to tempt the inhabitants of the Brazils to run all risks of encountering our squadron, to that extent, and to that extent only, would the slave trade be carried on.

978. At the present moment the slave trade prevails?—Certainly.

979. It prevails in spite of all the efforts which this country has made to stop it?—No doubt, much more than it did antecedent to the Bill of 1846.

980. At any period?—In 1843 and 1844 I think that you will find that the slave trade was much less than it is now.

981. Might not that have been explained by some other circumstances; was not there a great depression in the commerce of the world prevalent at the time; was not Governor Valdez Governor-general of Cuba, and was not the Brazilian government taking efforts to put down the slave trade?—Nothing effective has been done whatever by the Brazilian government at any time in putting down the slave trade; something was done by Valdez, but nothing by the Brazilian government.

982. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have referred, as one of the means of suppressing the slave trade, to treaties with native powers, and you say what would still be more important than the conclusion of treaties, would be the punctual observance of them, particularly in the case of making presents, which have been stipulated to be given to the native chiefs; you regard punctuality in making such presents as an essential element in the success of the treaty: have you any reason to believe that the treaties made by the Queen's officers with the native powers on the Niger have been observed with punctuality, or at all?—I have no means of knowledge upon that point.

983. Was not one of the conditions of the treaties that vessels should come up periodically to supply them with those articles of European produce for which previously they had exchanged the bodies of their subjects?—Yes.

984. If such treaties have not been observed by the Queen of England, do you consider that the Queen of England and her subjects have any right to expect the native powers with whom such treaties have been contracted would observe their obligation and discontinue the slave trade?—Certainly it cannot be expected of any power with which a treaty is effected, that if it be violated upon one side the treaty should be kept upon the other; but I would observe

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with regard to the punctuality of delivering presents, it must be always taken in relation to the description of persons with whom you are dealing; the Africans look to punctuality as one of the most essential of all things.

985. You are aware that Lord Palmerston has laid before this Committee a list of treaties for the suppression of the slave trade concluded by Great Britain with the native chiefs of Africa, and that the number of such treaties amounts to 42; extending in date from the 23d of April 1841 to the 21st of November 1848; have you examined that list?—No; I have not seen it.

986. *Chairman.*] You consider that the squadron is the chief means of extinguishing the slave trade?—Yes.

987. Do you recollect a letter addressed by Lord John Russell, dated the 26th of December 1839, to the Lords of the Treasury, relative to the suppression of the slave trade?—I recollect the letter well.

988. Did not Lord John Russell therein state, that to repress the foreign slave trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible, even if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose, and that it was indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system?—He did.

989. Did not Parliament, in consequence, vote a large sum of public money for the Niger expedition on the strength of that letter, and the arguments relative to it?—It did.

990. What is the new preventive system which has been adopted in substitution of the squadron?—I am aware of no new preventive system which has been adopted at all, except it is the squadron being united with ships provided by the treaty with the Duc de Broglie for the prevention of the slave trade, and save and except, of course, the efforts which were made by the Niger expedition.

991. In fact, we have in 1849 gone back to that system of force which was condemned in 1839?—Certainly we have, to a considerable extent. But to speak the truth, I do not think it is quite right to take the words of Lord John Russell, as pronouncing an opinion upon the effect of the squadron, quite in such a peremptory sense as the terms of the letter conveys.

992. You are acquainted with a book published by the late Sir Fowell Buxton, entitled, "The Slave Trade, and its Remedies"?—Yes.

993. Is not it one of the chief objects of that work to show that the slave trade can never be put down by a system of force?—I do not think that that is the true drift of the book.

994. Is not that one of the chief objects of the book?—The great object of Sir Fowell Buxton, I have no doubt, was to induce Her Majesty's Government to undertake an expedition similar to that of the Niger. Sir Fowell Buxton had seen and well knew that the squadron had not been effectual to the full extent which he desired, and he doubted very much whether it could be made so effectual.

995. Does not Sir Fowell Buxton, in the course of this work, state as his opinion that force is not the means by which the slave trade can be extinguished, but that it aggravates the horrors of the slave trade?—He does so.

996. You possibly remember a great meeting which, on the 1st of June 1840, was held in Exeter Hall, Prince Albert being present; the meeting being attended by many leading men in political life, and by a very large portion of those who had taken an interest in the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes.

997. Perhaps you were present upon that occasion?—I was.

998. Was not one of the great arguments used upon that occasion by almost all the speakers, that this country had undertaken a mistaken system of policy in attempting to suppress the slave trade by force, but that the attempt at its suppression by force had very much increased the mortality and sufferings of the negroes?—My answer to that is, that I do not think that it was alleged by the majority of the speakers that the policy of attempting to suppress the slave trade by force was a mistaken policy. But it was argued by a great majority of the speakers, that the attempts made had been unsuccessful, and that the plan which originated with Sir Fowell Buxton might possibly attain that end at a less cost and expense, and certainly with a diminution of the loss of life. But I do not remember that the policy of maintaining a force upon that coast was contravened, certainly not by Sir Fowell Buxton himself, because I know he entertained the opinion to the end that the squadron ought to remain there.

999. Was not it a proposition generally laid down, that the attempt to suppress the slave trade, chiefly by means of a marine force, was a chimerical

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and cruel project?—Some of the gentlemen may have said so; but I never will admit that the general tenor of the argument of those gentlemen who supported the project of Sir Fowell Buxton rested upon any such idea as that which you have now expressed.

1000. Was not it the general notion entertained at that time that it was necessary to have recourse to a new policy?—Certainly.

1001. Has any new policy been adopted?—Not beyond that of the Niger expedition.

1002. Was that a successful policy?—Certainly not.

1003. It was, most unfortunately, unsuccessful?—Certainly.

1004. We remain, therefore, in fact, under some modifications, adopting the same system which was so strongly condemned by Lord John Russell, by Sir Fowell Buxton, and by almost all the speakers at that great public meeting?—I cannot admit that the system was condemned; I do not believe that that conveys an adequate and correct idea of what took place; but I will state this: we are pursuing the same system which was admitted by a large majority of the speakers not to have attained its object; not to have been successful.

1005. Mr. *E. Denison*.] You have stated that when you were first engaged respecting the treaty with the French, officers well acquainted with the subject from France, and British officers well acquainted with the subject, met and consulted upon the matter. You have stated that the united experience of those officers, after consulting the charts, was to the effect that a force much less than that which was ultimately proposed would have succeeded in the purpose in view?—Yes.

1006. Can you at all charge your memory with the difference between the force as first proposed and as afterwards much increased at your own suggestion?—To the best of my recollection, I increased it by either four or five ships on each side.

1007. Experience has now been obtained upon this matter. Does not that experience show how very different the matter has turned out from that which was contemplated beforehand, when the treaty was drawn up?—To a certain extent it does. But circumstances have been changed, and you have given a fresh impulse to the trade by the alteration of the duties upon sugar.

1008. You thought that there would be very great difficulty in the French force affording very effectual co-operation in the suppression of the trade, from the reasons which you have given?—Personally I did.

1009. Are you not aware that in effect it has been proved that the co-operation of the French force, in the opinion of those officers who have given evidence, has not been nearly so effectual as was proposed?—There is no doubt about it, and it was a matter of great grief to the Duc de Broglie that it was so; and prior to the French revolution, just antecedent to it, I was about to have a communication with him upon the subject, he having expressed his regret with respect to it.

1010. When you were asked about some other possible means of suppressing the trade, you mentioned, as a second means, an increased effort to obtain treaties with the natives. Has not it been shown, that with those natives, in a great degree, this question of treaty is a question of comparative profit; that if a native chief can make a profit of a certain number of thousand dollars by carrying on the slave trade, to induce him to make a treaty with you, you must bid equally, if not outbid his profit made by the slave trade?—With great deference, it is not quite so. It is perfectly true that those native powers, I mean the chiefs, not the foreign slave traders, look to acquisition and gain above everything; but on the one hand, acquisition and gain through the slave trade is a matter of the purest contingency in the world, and they would be inclined to barter for a certainty of smaller gain, an infinitely larger gain, which frequently is attended with absolute loss. By cessation of the slave trade the slave traders would lose the profitable employment of capital; not so the chiefs, if indemnified by legitimate trade and small profits.

1011. You have also expressed an opinion, that if the profit upon this trade should be very large it will be next to impossible to put it down by force alone?—I never knew in my life any trade whatever, provided the profit were large enough, that did not overcome all the difficulties of prohibition. During the time of the war, when prohibition against the introduction of British produce was enforced to the utmost possible extent, and Buonaparte had used all the

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means in his power to enforce it, by the appointment of douaniers, and other persons of that description, who were liable to capital punishment if detected in conniving at the trade, notwithstanding that, we poured immense quantities into some of the countries under French dominion.

1012. Taking the average rate of profit upon mercantile transactions, you would say that a profit, I presume of 100 per cent. after allowing for all risks, would be a very great profit?—Certainly.

1013. And that a profit varying from 100 to 200 per cent. would be a profit sufficiently great to drive all those spirits into such an adventure?—I should be inclined to say so; it is difficult to say precisely, but I should think so.

1014. You have expressed an opinion that the treaty has not succeeded, and that all our efforts have not produced the effects which you contemplated from them?—Certainly the measures pursued have not been so efficient as I hoped they would be.

1015. You have said you would not have proposed a treaty, if you could have known that it would be mischievous or useless?—My meaning was this: I was particularly cautious to obtain, from all the best sources I could apply to, accurate information as to whether a treaty would be effectual; we procured the evidence of no less than eight persons, sifted and examined it to the utmost, gave them the whole time they required to form their opinion, and they gave us a positive opinion in the affirmative that the treaty would be successful. Now I mean to say, if I had not had that evidence, I do not know that I should have proposed to the Duc de Broglie a treaty of the kind. If my mind had been satisfied that any effort by means of blockading the coast would have proved ineffectual, looking at the expense of that establishment, looking at what occasionally has been the loss of life, I should have been the last person in the world to advise the continuance of the blockade.

1016. With the experience of the efficiency of French co-operation; with the opinion of Sir Charles Hotham, that do what we may, an armed force, with our present powers, never can put down the slave trade; and seeing that with an increased demand from the Brazils and Cuba, an increased supply of slaves is carried off to meet that demand, can you now think that it is a desirable thing to continue force as our main means of putting down the slave trade?—The answer to that question depends upon a balance of consequences. I should pay the greatest respect to the opinions of Sir Charles Hotham, and the experience he has had upon the coast; but I do not know that I should go the whole length of considering them as conclusive upon this question. I began by admitting that there may not be any reasonable hope by the present course, and with the present means, if nothing else is done, of putting down the trade; yet when I consider that the consequence of withdrawing your squadron would be the almost boundless increase of the slave trade itself; and when I look at the operation which that would have upon the Continent of Africa, upon all British interests on the Continent, upon, as I think, British legitimate trade, and upon the whole of our West India colonies, operating to their entire extinction, I am decidedly of opinion that it would be desirable to continue the squadron; I mean, to continue force upon the coast.

1017. It is your opinion that with the whole of our fleet in its full efficiency, and with the assistance of the French fleet, the impetus given to the slave trade by the importation of Brazilian and Cuban sugar has enabled an increased number of slaves to be carried away from the coast?—There is no doubt whatever about it.

1018. Then would not it appear that, according to the increased demand, in spite of our fleet, the slave traders have been enabled to obtain the supply which was required?—I think it would be true that an increasing demand would cause an increasing supply, *ceteris paribus*, all things remaining as they were; but I doubt whether it is true, as to the slave trade, that the mere increase of the demand would enable the slave dealers to augment their supply indefinitely. There are so many circumstances connected with the trade which might enable them to supply a given number of slaves, and double a given number of slaves, but yet which might prevent them from carrying it on indefinitely, I cannot fix the limit, but yet I think there is a limit, which it would be exceedingly difficult to exceed.

1019. It is not too much to assume that the present system has failed of its  
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desired effect:—The present system has not attained all the ends which it was hoped and expected it would attain.

1020. Has it attained anything like the effect which you, in your own contemplation, imagined that it would attain?—It has certainly not attained one end which I contemplated and hoped it would, either the suppression or the entire diminution of the trade; but it has prevented what I conceived would have taken place if no such exertions had been made, the increase of the slave trade.

1021. Can you say that it has prevented the increase of the slave trade, when I collected from your own statement that the slave trade has largely increased under its influence, from new causes having been brought into operation?—Yes, I can with perfect safety; I fully and entirely admit that the slave trade has increased in consequence of new causes producing that effect; but at the same time, allowing all that to be so, still if there had been no squadron there the trade would have increased to an extent which no man can estimate; therefore I do say, notwithstanding the operation of new causes, I believe the squadron to have prevented an increase of the slave trade, using the word “increase” in that sense.

1022. You mean that the squadron has prevented the slave trade from being so large as it would have been without the squadron?—I mean this, that the squadron has prevented the natural increase of the trade, which would have taken place independently of the causes of the alteration of the duties, and the increased demand consequent thereupon from Cuba and the Brazils.

1023. With that reservation, it is your opinion that the slave trade has increased within the last two or three years?—No doubt the number of slaves exported, according to all accounts we have, proves that it has done so.

1024. Do you think there is any reasonable prospect of putting down or keeping within limits this trade by the application of force alone?—I am of opinion, that by the application of any force which I conceive this country could now apply to the object, looking at the present causes stimulating the slave trade, it would not be practicable to suppress the slave trade or to put a stop to it, but merely to diminish it to a certain extent; I should be glad to suggest to the Committee that I think a measure might be adopted which would aid and assist the exertions of the squadron.

1025. Will you be so good as to tell the Committee to what measure you allude?—The measure I should suggest would be this: it would be to pass an Act of Parliament subjecting to punishment the master, supercargo, and mates of every vessel detected in carrying on the slave trade contrary to treaty; and in order to prevent entirely the possibility of its being a violation of the law of nations, giving the right to every country whose subjects you might so take engaged in the trade, to demand them back again, if they thought fit to demand them, at any time.

1026. To what punishment do you refer?—Imprisonment or transportation.

1027. *Chairman.*] Would you apply the punishment before you had given an opportunity to a foreign state of demanding its subjects back again?—I should ask no questions, but proceed to punish, unless the foreign state made the demand.

1028. Would that be consistent with the law of nations?—I am not aware that it could be a violation of the law of nations, and more especially when I consider that in nearly all their treaties they have entered into stipulations with you to punish their own subjects if detected in the trade.

1029. You are proposing that this state should undertake to punish the subjects of foreign states?—Whom we take engaged in the slave trade contrary to treaty.

1030. You would undertake to apply so far the laws of this country to the subjects of foreign states?—I would.

1031. Do you think that is consistent with the law of nations?—I see no violation of the law of nations whatever, when I recollect the decision of Sir William Grant upon the subject of the slave trade, when he determined during the war, with the concurrence of the Privy Council, that every vessel captured during the war carrying on the slave trade was a good prize, unless those who claimed that vessel showed that by the laws of their own country they were entitled to carry on the trade; and he held it upon this principle, that the law of nations had now established the fact that the slave trade was generally illegal, and though it did not pretend to dictate to any particular country, it

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assumed the illegality till the country claiming had avowed that it carried on the trade.

1032. Do you recollect the case of the "Louis," tried before Lord Stowell?—I do; I was concerned in it.

1033. What did Lord Stowell hold upon that subject?—His decision did not turn on that question. The decision was as clear as daylight there; nobody could entertain a doubt what it would be; our cruisers not having the slightest right whatever to seize a French ship carrying the French flag upon the high seas, we having no treaty with France which enabled us to seize or to search, *ab initio* it was illegal. We had no right whatever, knowing it to be a French ship, to visit that ship, or to search that ship; and the restitution was perfectly right; a restitution consistent with the law of nations. But that is a totally different thing from having a treaty with Spain, which gives you a right to search those vessels, and bring them in for condemnation before a mixed tribunal, if in executing that treaty, you find persons on board any vessel carrying on the trade, to proceed against them, and delivering them up upon any demand being made. It now appears that this trade is carried on to a very great extent by vessels which own no nation whatever; that is the case to the very largest extent. There nobody could claim them.

1034. That is to say, they carry no flag at the mast-head of the ship?—And when they are captured they have no papers.

1035. Mr. *Denison*.] You are aware that our present proceedings with regard to the slave trade give rise to considerable jealousy on the part of foreign powers, and that the office of a commander of the British squadron on the coast of Africa is one of great delicacy and nicety, with regard to the commanders of other squadrons?—That question divides itself into two parts. I am not prepared to give an affirmative to the first part of the question, as to the greater number of the naval powers of Europe. I should certainly answer the second part in the affirmative, because looking at the number of treaties we have, seeing how they vary one from another, and seeing the great particularity with which the instructions are to be followed, I have no doubt that the duty of an officer commanding one of the vessels on the coast of Africa is a most arduous duty, requiring the greatest possible care and attention. I know that perfectly well, because I was desired by Lord Aberdeen and Lord Haddington, in conjunction with three other gentlemen, to prepare instructions for that purpose.

1036. You are acquainted with the feeling of the United States of America upon this point?—I think we should do injustice to the United States of America if we were to say that they are very jealous of what is fairly done in putting down the slave trade; they are particularly jealous if you adopt any measure which, by possibility, they think can interfere with their maritime rights; and if you happen to overstep due bounds, I have no doubt you would be stopped by complaints; and so you would be if in the execution of your present laws you did the same thing; but I am not prepared to say that, looking to the people of the United States, the whole body of them are jealous of our efforts upon the present occasion; I think a large proportion of them would show their approbation of them.

1037. Do you think it would meet with the approval of their government or their people if the British Parliament should pass an Act by which it should take into its own hands the power of transporting a subject of the United States who should be found on board a vessel engaged in the slave trade?—There is not the least occasion that that power should be exercised respecting the inhabitants of the United States, because whenever they are carried to the United States, the United States always take care to punish them, and have done so. Therefore I do not think it would be requisite to make or carry into execution an Act of Parliament in that respect. I am alluding more especially to the Brazilians, Spaniards, and Portuguese, with whom we have treaties.

1038. Not to France?—No, certainly not.

1039. You do not contemplate going the length of proclaiming this trade to be piracy, in the general acceptation of that term?—No; it being so exceedingly difficult to get the consent of all the powers whose consent is necessary. You cannot proclaim a crime to be piracy, except by the universal consent of all nations.

1040. You would propose to pass the law of which you have spoken without consulting foreign powers, and of your own motion?—I would, giving opportunity

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tunity to every foreign power, as a matter of right, to demand back its subjects when it pleased, before trial if it pleased, or at any time.

1041. Supposing that Government or Parliament should not be prepared to pass such an Act, would you think it still desirable, taking into account, to use your own words, the vast expense to which we are at present put, without increased power, to keep a squadron upon the coast for the forcible suppression of the slave trade?—Yes, I would keep up a squadron.

1042. Colonel *Thompson*.] A question has been raised before this Committee as to the possibility of the slave trade being declared piracy by the law of nations; will you state to the Committee in what manner you apprehend the law of nations to have originated, and by what course any particular act comes to be prohibited by it?—We consider, that independently of the writings of the great authors who have written upon the law of nations, nothing could be done to constitute the law of nations different from what it is at the present time, except by the consent of all the civilized powers of Europe and the United States. We do not consider that it would be necessary to have the consent of those which are not Christian powers; we consider that the law of nations depends upon the common consent of all the great powers of Europe and the United States. In fact, other powers have never had anything to do with the law of nations, and they do not consider themselves bound by the law of nations. In former days we did not consider South America included, because it was a dependency upon Spain.

1043. It is quite reasonable that nothing should be made binding upon all nations without the consent of all nations, but do you believe that any number of nations fewer than the totality have the power of giving a character to certain acts among themselves, by mutual treaty?—If I understand the question correctly, certainly any number of nations might agree among themselves, and give a definite character to any act; for instance, half a dozen states of Europe might, by treaty among themselves, consider and treat the crime of slave trading as piracy, but of course it would require, under those circumstances, that each of those states should enact a law for its own subjects.

1044. If five nations out of six agreed to denominate the slave trade piracy, and treat it as it has been customary to treat pirates in their mutual dealings with each other, would there be any impediment to their following such a course?—They might follow such a course, but it would not be binding upon any but the parties to the treaty; and I must again repeat, that it would not be binding so as to create it a crime by the law of this country without an Act of Parliament; it would require an Act of Parliament to carry it into effect.

1045. Have you, in your experience, ever been led to accede to such a general proposition as that there is no use in cruising against an enemy's commerce, because the increased danger would always produce increased pay and profits?—Certainly not; I never have entertained that idea.

1046. There has come palpably before this Committee such a theory or doctrine as that there is a general inutility in cruising against an enemy's commerce, because the effect of such cruising is necessarily to raise the pay and profits in the trade cruised against, from which it is concluded that no diminution of that trade can arise, inasmuch as the inducements rise with the danger. Are you able to give to the Committee any decided opinion upon that subject?—I do not entertain that opinion at all, because I think this, that in very many cases, and in very many trades, by means of your cruisers you may so augment the difficulty of carrying on such trades as to prevent any profits arising therefrom, and to extinguish the trades.

1047. Do you, on the contrary, believe that every impediment in the way of the enemy's commerce produces an effect in diminishing the amount of that commerce below what otherwise might have been the case?—I do.

1048. Mr. *Jackson*.] You stated that one of the effects of the removal of the squadron would be the destruction of the English colonies?—I think so.

1049. Will not our prosecution of our present measures therefore be now understood as proceeding no longer from a benevolent but from an interested motive?—It is very probable that that motive may be ascribed to England, as it has been hitherto in the measures which she has adopted for the prevention of the slave trade; but I think it is perfectly compatible that we should adopt strong measures for the prevention of a great atrocity, which disgraces the whole world

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and at the same time bear in view that we ought to protect our own just and legitimate trade and commerce.

1050. Looking to the results as bearing upon the price of sugar, it is a question with this country, according to the views you take of it, whether they should pay a higher price for the sugar which they consume, or continue the squadron on the coast to prevent the slave trade?—I certainly am of opinion that the diminution of price arising from the importation of sugar from the Brazils and the Havannah, though I admit that lowering the price of sugar is a matter of immense advantage to the people of this country, ought not to be put into comparison with the continuance of the slave trade, nor be a reason for diminishing any means which this country can exert for the suppression of that trade, because though I am myself, and ever have been, the strongest advocate of free trade, the slave trade I consider to be prohibited by the law of God, and a violation of all principles of justice and humanity.

1051. Do not you consider that when the country spoke out on the subject of the alteration of the sugar laws in 1846, they pronounced upon this question?—I think to a certain extent that is true; at the same time I must qualify it by saying, that I believe there was a want of discriminating consideration of the true principles of free trade and of the encouragement given to this traffic; and I do believe now, that if the opinion of the people of this country could be taken, they never would encourage, knowing what they do of this trade, its augmentation or its maintenance.

1052. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have stated in the earlier part of your examination that you can have no manner of doubt that the slave trade has largely increased in consequence of the admission of sugar from those countries, which are not only cultivated by slaves, but in which the supply of slaves is maintained by the slave trade. You have also stated that the naval force which, by the Convention of 1845, France and England engaged jointly and severally to maintain, for the purpose of suppressing by force the slave trade from Africa across the Atlantic, however adequate such force might be at the time when it was originally sent forth, is quite inadequate to suppress the slave trade under the altered circumstances of the case. The Committee infer from the statement of your opinion, that no conceivable increase of such force would effect the object. In this state of things do you, or do you not, suggest to this Committee, whom the House of Commons has appointed to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for the final suppression of the slave trade, that the best means which they can recommend to the adoption of The House would be the total prohibition of the importation into this country of sugar grown in any country in which the slave trade is practically carried on?—I think so.

1053. Mr. Jackson.] Do you think that this country, having reaped advantages in having had a large quantity of sugar at a cheap rate, and looking at the evidence which has been submitted to this Committee, particularly that of Sir Charles Hotham, in which he states that it is utterly impracticable to put an end to the slave trade by force, would be willing to go to a much greater expense than they have gone to in continuing or increasing the squadron on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of trying to put down the slave trade, which they have been unable to put down so far?—It is exceedingly difficult to answer that question, because it involves the necessity of knowing the whole bearings of this case in every way in which it may be looked at, and I cannot undertake to say, though I think I could speak for the feeling of the people in respect to the slave trade, what would be their feeling upon such a proposition worded as that is, because if I were at one and the same time to go to any body of people, and say, you have got cheap sugar on the one hand, that is a great blessing to you, but on the other hand you are encouraging the slave trade; I think I should have an answer: "Put an end to the slave trade, and let us take the consequence in the price of sugar." But if I were to complicate the question with respect to the maintenance of the squadron there, and the consequences of maintaining it, I cannot undertake to say what the answer would be.

1054. Earl of Lincoln.] You stated four consequences which you thought would result from the withdrawal of the squadron from the coast of Africa; one of those consequences you stated to be that you thought that the present legitimate trade which was carried on with the coast of Africa would be lessened by such withdrawal. I understand you to confine your supposition of the withdrawal

drawal of the squadron to its being a withdrawal for the purpose of the suppression of the slave trade, entertaining the consideration that there would still remain a sufficient force for the protection of our interests; will you have the goodness to explain, under those circumstances, in what way you think the withdrawal of the squadron for the suppression of the slave trade would decrease the legitimate trade?—In this way: I believe that the slave trade and legitimate commerce never flourish together; that wherever you have gone to a place and attempted to introduce commerce there, fair and legitimate commerce, you have found that the slave trade has defeated all your efforts; wherever you have established such fair trade, and the slave trade has come in as it were anew upon that district, you have found it has prevented you carrying on your legitimate commerce. And one of the reasons I take to be this, among many, that the large profits which are made in the slave trade, being in the nature of a lottery, attract the minds of the inhabitants and foreigners to that description of trade, and they give it a preference over the common and ordinary trade, which leads only to common and ordinary profits. The chiefs, I think, would prefer a fixed remuneration to presents.

1055. Do you apprehend that in those particular localities on the coast of Africa where the slave trade has been discontinued, and where legitimate trade has supervened, if the squadron were withdrawn, the slave trade would be revived?—I do; I am afraid it would in many parts. I believe it to be quite true as a general principle, which would operate in Africa more especially, that that is the most engaging description of trade which offers at times and seasons the highest profit, in the nature of a lottery.

1056. Mr. *Jackson*.] Can you give any particular instance in which the slave trade has driven out the legitimate trade upon the coast of Africa?—I cannot at this moment, but I have derived my information for many years upon this subject from persons who have been conversant with the trade, and have lived upon the coast of Africa for a length of time.

1057. If evidence had been brought before you, given by men who had been actually engaged in commercial pursuits for the last 10 years upon the coast of Africa, and whose opinion was to the effect, that when legitimate commerce was firmly established, if the slave trade were thrown open there would be no revival, what would be your opinion upon that subject?—Supposing that were the opinion of practical and commercial men, men very well acquainted with that trade, on whose opinion I could safely place reliance, and they stated to me that a legitimate trade had been firmly established there, and that in their judgment the slave trade would not be revived, or in any degree brought in competition with such legitimate trade by the withdrawal of the squadron, I should be inclined to place that trust and confidence in the opinion of those practical men, which would make me doubt my own, derived from the sources I have derived it from, though they are of a credible character.

1058. Mr. *Milnes*.] Have you any reason to believe that the effect of the withdrawal of the squadron would, for a time at least, produce so great a convulsion in the minds and habits of the people of Africa, that they would regard it as a public announcement that England had abandoned her attempts to repress the slave trade?—I verily believe that that would be the case, and I am certain that to a great extent that is the anticipation of the missionaries.

1059. Do you think, therefore, that even a greater exportation of slaves might take place than was required by any new adjustment of the supply and demand consequent upon the withdrawal of the squadron?—I think there would be the greatest possible readiness to increase the supply; but I think it is the demand which would govern the numbers that would be taken away.

1060. *Chairman*.] That must, under all circumstances, regulate the commercial intercourse of mankind?—In all reasonable circumstances.

1061. Mr. *Milnes*.] Do not you think that even more slaves might be brought down for exportation than would be required?—I think it is very possible that those who had to find the supply would expect that the demand would be very great, and would bring a greater number than they otherwise would have done, but when they found that the demand was not an effective demand, they would stop that supply.

1062. Mr. *Jackson*.] The demand would be limited to the amount of capital they could find to embark in the trade?—The demand would be limited to the

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amount of capital they could find to embark in the trade, and the extent of that would depend upon what remuneration could be derived from that capital.

1063. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] The Committee understand that you consider that the Niger expedition failed?—Yes, generally speaking, certainly.

1064. Did not that expedition prove, that after ascending the Delta, the Niger was a vast river, navigable for 600 miles at least, and that the Tschadda was almost equally large and navigable; did not it prove, in the second place, that the Niger was one of the greatest, if not the chief highway by which slaves were brought down from the interior to the coast; did not it prove, in the third place, that its banks were occupied by more and more civilized powers as the voyage ascended; did not it prove, in the fourth place, that those powers were disposed to a friendly commercial intercourse with Great Britain?—I believe the statement contained in the question to be generally true.

1065. Did not the expedition further prove that, however unfavourable to European life may be the climate of Central Africa, there is nothing to prevent any amount of capital being carried on by native hands with European capital?—I think a considerable amount of commerce probably might be carried on upon European capital.

1066. Did not that expedition prove that the native powers were well prepared to enter into commercial treaties and commercial intercourse with Great Britain?—I think the evidence showed that there was no disinclination on the part of the native powers to make treaties with Great Britain for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade, provided always they could secure to themselves what they considered corresponding advantages.

1067. In point of fact, did not it prove that if treaties were made with those native powers accordingly, and that if those treaties had been observed by Great Britain, a commerce might have grown up in Central Africa, conducted by native agents?—I cannot undertake to say what would have been the consequences if the treaties had been observed.

1068. Do you think, if those beneficial results have not followed in consequence of the expedition, the failure cannot be attributed to that expedition?—I am not competent to give a decided answer to what, with great deference, is too much of a speculative question. I cannot undertake to say, supposing that Niger expedition had come down safe, what would have followed from the treaties which had been made with the chiefs if endeavours had been made to carry out those treaties and to carry on the commerce: all I can say is, that I think there was a fair prospect of a legitimate commerce arising.

1069. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Do you suppose that measures might be adopted by this country to put down the slave trade in Africa by means of agriculture and commerce?—I have at various times turned my attention to that question for very many years last past, and I have not seen any means to satisfy my mind, at present at least, that agriculture could be extensively introduced; neither can I say that legitimate commerce could be introduced, to the extent of putting down the slave trade; but certain I am that those are the two best means, provided they be practicable.

1070. Mr. *Jackson*.] It has been proved, from experience, that since that expedition failed in its object when it ascended the Niger, little legitimate commerce can be carried on with the natives in the interior; you may be aware that Mr. Jamieson formed an association, and obtained a subscription of about 9,000 *l.* for the purpose of testing the trade of that country, but that in consequence of the bursting the boiler of the steamer, he thought fit to withdraw. Do you think if a colony of blacks from the West Indies were willing to emigrate and settle themselves on the Tschadda, success might attend their exertions?—I think it would be very desirable, and more especially so for this reason; I am perfectly conversant with what was done upon the removal, the voluntary removal, of a certain number of persons from Sierra Leone to Badagry, which is a country said to be under the protection of the King of Dahomey, half independent, and half not. I entertained myself great apprehensions that that might be a dangerous experiment, but I have every reason to think that they have enjoyed entire protection, and I have every reason to believe that they have gone on very successfully; they have been under the care of the Wesleyan missionaries, and I know that the Wesleyans were very anxious to send out an increased number of missionaries, in order to carry on their labours there.

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1071. It has been given in evidence before this Committee, by a medical man in the employ of Mr. Jamieson, that a considerable trade might be carried on at the confluence of the Tschadda and the Niger, in what might be termed a new article of import, shea butter; he stated that he would not have the slightest hesitation in trusting himself, with very little support, in the way of man, and remaining in that country for a considerable period of time. Would you, upon the opinion of such a man, venture to recommend the emigration of such a body as I speak of?—I certainly think it would be very desirable to make the attempt. I am looking at it in this point of view: The persons who are intended to emigrate are the superfluous population of the island of Barbadoes; they are well accustomed to every species of agricultural employment; the island of Barbadoes is the most civilized, as I believe, of all the West Indian islands; and I think such persons, under due protection, emigrating to that country, especially under the guidance of such a person as you represent, would be likely to establish themselves with considerable success; and if they did, the benefits which would be derived from such a step would be very great.

1072. Colonel *Thompson*.] Do you believe that nothing that is not now in the law of nations can ever be put into the law of nations?—Quite the contrary; I believe the law of nations may be altered by the general consent of nations.

1073. Will you describe the process by which a thing which is not now in the law of nations would be introduced into it?—It would be by negotiation with all the countries who form component parts of those states which abide by the law of nations assenting to such a measure.

1074. All at once, or in succession?—I do not think I could venture to say, safely, that the law of nations could be effectually altered without the consent of the whole.

1075. Is it necessary that that assent should be given at once, or may it be done gradually by the accession of successive nations?—No doubt it may be done gradually, provided you ultimately get the consent of all.

1076. *Chairman*.] Would it be the law of nations till they had all agreed?—No. In giving that opinion, I do not mean to impugn the judgment of the Privy Council, who held that the slave trade became illegal, because the greater number of the European powers had pronounced it to be so. Sir William Grant was the judge who pronounced that opinion, and it was acted upon by Lord Stowell. They were two of the most eminent judges who ever lived.

1077. Colonel *Thompson*.] Is it quite clear then, that if one nation after another were to assent to declare the slave trade piracy, so far as that was concerned, the slave trade would be piracy by the law of nations so soon as all the nations had agreed to that stipulation?—Not in that shape; I conceive it could only be done by all the nations agreeing to it at the same time that it should be deemed piracy, but that it could not be done by one state declaring it to be piracy according to its own law, and then another nation coming and declaring it to be piracy; but there must be something in the nature of a convention, a binding compact between all the states, in order to effectuate the object.

1078. Does that revert to the necessity of its being done all at once?—No.

1079. In what manner could it be effected in succession?—Supposing that three or four states agreed and framed a treaty among themselves, that so far as they were concerned slave trading should be deemed piracy, and they invited the co-operation of all other nations, being parties to the law of nations, one year you might have the accession of Spain, another of Portugal, another of the United States, till you came to the conclusion, and when you obtained the consent of the whole, then it would become, to all intents and purposes, a part of the law of nations.

1080. *Chairman*.] Slave trading would then be placed upon the same footing as what is now commonly understood by piracy?—Yes; but it would require a law for each individual state to punish it as piracy, because no individual state allows, whatever may be the alteration in the law of nations, that it shall trench upon its own municipal laws.

1081. Then such conventional piracy would want one of the distinguishing features of that which is commonly called piracy?—And so would everything else done by the law of nations which is not a part of the constitution of each state.

1082. Colonel *Thompson*.] Is not the natural progression towards making any act punishable by the law of nations, that particular nations, one after another,

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should agree to make it so?—I can hardly say it is the natural progression, because I am not aware of any previous case of the same kind. I think it would be a very natural mode of producing the result.

1083. There have been times when the destruction of prisoners, and working them in chains, and the subjection of captured women to concubinage, have been portions of the law of nations, or admitted by nations generally. In what manner did those practices come to be excepted from the law of nations?—By usage. It is stated in all the books upon that subject that the absolute right of a nation in war is, if they take a prisoner, to treat him as they think fit; but the more humane practice of the world has made that alteration, that no nation does it now.

1084. Did that usage, or could that usage take place all at once, or gradually?—No doubt by slow degrees.

1085. If by slow degrees a usage should arise of treating the slave trade as piracy, or in the manner in which pirates are ordinarily treated, that usage would in time, or might in time grow up into a part of the law of nations?—Certainly it might, in time.

1086. *Chairman.*] A treaty between France and England, or the United States and England, by which both the contracting powers agreed that slave trading should be piracy, would not authorize this country to punish American or French subjects as pirates?—Certainly not.

1087. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Do you suppose that the measures which we have adopted towards the Brazilians are sanctioned by the law of nations?—Yes, I do.

1088. Is it your opinion that the Act of Parliament which was passed in the year 1845, commonly called the Brazilian Act, was in accordance with the law of nations?—Yes, it is, and for this reason; I consider that the treaty made between Brazil and this country had been grossly violated by the Brazilian government; I apprehend it to be a principle of the law of nations that it gives a country which has entered into some treaty a perfect right to resort to any means it may think fit for the enforcement of that treaty. The breach of a treaty is a *casus belli* at once; and if it is a cause of war the country aggrieved may certainly apply a less remedy than war itself.

1089. Can you state to the Committee upon what grounds the persons who were convicted of murder in the case of the "Felicidade" were afterwards set free?—It would be very difficult to give an answer to that question which might not be liable to misconception, but I should say that I entirely concur in the judgment of the majority of the judges; they did not mean, as I presume, to deliver any opinion upon what would have been the question supposing that in the due exercise of the legitimate powers granted by the treaty the vessel had been captured, and then the crew of that vessel had resorted to the measures which were resorted to in that case. They did not mean to decide the question whether that would or would not have been a crime punishable as murder in this country, for, I apprehend, such point was not before them. The ground of the decision, I believe, was this: as there were defects in the powers of the persons who seized the vessel, and they had no right by treaty so to seize, therefore it became a case in which force on the part of the captured was justifiable.

1090. In that case the officer who seized the "Felicidade" had not the instructions which the treaty requires?—It was a complicated question; it was the case of a seizure by a frigate, first of ship A, and then of ship B, so that the whole matter became complicated; but there was a deficiency of instructions under the treaties.

1091. Do you imagine that a large number of the slaves now in Cuba and the Brazils are retained in slavery contrary to treaty with this country?—There cannot be a doubt about it that a very large number of slaves have been detained in the Brazils and Cuba contrary to the treaty.

1092. Do you think that those slaves are legally entitled to their freedom?—Certainly, by virtue of the compact with Great Britain.

1093. Is it your opinion that it would be possible for this country to urge upon the countries of Cuba and the Brazils the manumission of those slaves?—This country would have a perfect right to make that demand. Then always arises the question, how you are to enforce a demand of this description? I fear there is no means of enforcing it, except by resorting to war.

1094. Would it not be possible to give due warning to those governments, that unless they will manumit those slaves who have been illegally imported,

we will refuse to receive their produce into this country?—Certainly we might give that notice, and we might follow up that threat by the execution of it, having fully made up our minds that if we make the threat we would perform it.

1095. You think as they have broken their treaties with us by retaining those persons illegally in slavery, in spite of any construction which might be put upon the treaty, we should be justified in excluding their produce from this country?—I think so, certainly; I take it to be an undoubted principle that every breach of treaty gives the offended country absolute rights; but in practice and by custom the offended country always in the first instance makes a representation. If that representation is not attended with effect, the next step has generally been to issue an embargo, and in some instances to seize vessels at sea. Upon the principle of having the power to do all, you may do less than all. Therefore the treaty having been violated, it would be competent to Great Britain to make any demand which she thought fit.

1096. Do you imagine that the exclusion of the produce of Cuba and the Brazils from this market would practically be a great hindrance to the prosperity of those countries?—Yes, I think it would, because I believe the direct trade would be infinitely more profitable than the indirect trade.

1097. Do you therefore imagine that if Parliament were to make this demand upon Cuba and the Brazils, and were inclined to enforce it by the exclusion of their produce from this country, it would practically tend to induce those countries to give up slave trading?—No, I do not think it would.

1098. Do you think it would tend to diminish the number of slaves which are now imported?—No, because the slaves that we have a right to demand are these; they are slaves who have been captured by British cruisers, and which have been adjudicated upon, and sent to the Havannah, or it may be to the Brazils, wherever the case may be, and instead of being manumitted they have been made slaves afterwards, the treaty requiring that they shall be kept free. But with regard to the illicit slave trade, where there has been no capture at all we have no such demand by treaty, and it resolves itself again into the single point, You have not kept your treaty with us. Therefore I do not see that that would prevent the slave trade in the slightest degree whatever.

1099. May not we understand that there are two classes of slaves who are now illegally retained in slavery in Cuba and the Brazils?—Certainly.

1100. And that both those classes of slaves are kept in slavery contrary to the treaties which those countries have made with Great Britain?—No doubt; every importation is contrary to the treaty with Spain, there is no doubt; but then they are differently circumstanced; the one is detained in slavery in consequence of a general infraction of the treaty not to trade in slaves, and the others are detained in slavery contrary to a particular article of the treaty, which says that being so captured they shall be set free; therefore you only come back to the point, that they have not kept their treaty with respect to the other class of slaves. If you could induce Spain to emancipate all the slaves who had been unduly imported into the island of Cuba, you would go a great way to render free the whole population.

1101. Do you not suppose, if we could go so far as to demand from Spain that they should fulfil their treaty, and thereby set free a great proportion of the population, we should, practically, put a great barrier in the way of the slave trade?—I am afraid not, unless it were attended with other measures, because I think you would diminish the number of labourers in Cuba to a very large extent, and the demand of the cultivators would be augmented in consequence of that diminution; therefore unless you could stop the slave trade system, you would have a fresh demand for importation.

1102. If we could strongly enforce those claims on Cuba, would not the effect of that be to render property in slaves so insecure that people would not be disposed to import them?—No doubt it would go some way to render property in slaves insecure, but still, unless other measures were adopted, it would so increase the demand for slaves, that I think almost any risk would be run to obtain them.

1103. Mr. Jackson.] You consider it to be a question of supply and demand?—I am afraid it is.

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## A P P E N D I X.

## Appendix, No. 1.

(A.)

LIST of TREATIES for the Suppression of the SLAVE TRADE, concluded by *Great Britain* with Native Chiefs of *Africa*, as far as is known at the Foreign Office.

	Names of Chiefs, Tribes, or Districts.	Date of Conclusion of Treaties.	Name of Officer who signed Treaty.	Situation of Territory.	Extent of Territory.
1	Cartabar, Nama Comba, King of.	23 April 1841	- - H. V. Huntley, Lieutenant-governor of the Gambia.	- - District about 140 miles up the Gambia.	
2	Passels, Chiefs of - -	1 - 1842	- Lieutenant Lapidge, H.M.S. "Pantaloan."	- - Tribe inhabiting a district north of Bissao about 12 deg. north.	
3	Bolola, Rio Grande, King Soleyman.	27 Feb. 1847	- - Commander Murray, H. M. S. "Favorite."	- - District up Rio Grande, which runs into the sea 11 deg. 35 min. north.	
4	Rio Nunez, Chiefs of - -	21 - -	- - ditto - -	- - River running into the sea about 10 deg. 30 min. north.	
5	North Bulloms, King Sherbro.	29 Nov. -	- - Governor of Sierra Leone.	- - District north of Sierra Leone.	
6	Malaghia, Chief of - -	23 May 1845	- - Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Sierra Leone.	- - District in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.	
7	Fouricaria, King of - -	15 Nov. 1847	- - Governor of Sierra Leone.	- - - ditto.	
8	Baeira, Chief of - -	16 - -	- - ditto - -	- - - ditto.	
9	Kaloom Country, including River Soombah, and Dobreka and Tomba Island.	2 - -	- - ditto - -	- - - ditto.	
10	Marsamma, Chiefs of - -	29 - -	- - ditto - -	- - Inland district near Sierra Leone.	
11	Timmanees, Chiefs of - -	18 Feb. 1841	- - ditto - -	- - - ditto.	
12	Sherboro, Chiefs of - -	12 - 1848	- - Commander Murray, H. M. S. "Favorite."	- - Territory south of Sierra Leone, between that place and Gallinas.	
13	Kittam, Chiefs of - -	3 Dec. 1847	- - ditto - -	- - From Malaloo to a spot eight miles north of Gallinas.	40 miles of coast.
14	Gallinas, Prince Manna, and Chiefs.	21 Nov. 1840	- - Commander Denman, H. M. S. "Wanderer."	About 7 degrees north.	
15	Manna, Chiefs of - -	1 Jan. 1847	- - Commander Murray, H. M. S. "Favorite."	- - From Solymon River to Manna Point.	12 miles of coast.
16	Sugury - ditto - -	18 Feb. 1848	- - ditto - -	- - Between Manna Point and Cape Mount River.	- - 8 ditto, with territory extending about 75 miles inland.

## APPENDIX TO FIRST REPORT FROM THE

	Names of Chiefs, Tribes, or Districts.	Date of Conclusion of Treaties.	Name of Officer who signed Treaty.	Situation of Territory.	Extent of Territory.
17	Cape Mount, King Fana Toro, and Chiefs.	2 Jan. 1846	-- Commander Brisbane, H.M.S. "Larne."	-- About 6 deg. 45 min. north.	
18	New Cestos, King, and Prince Freeman.	11 - 1841	-- Lieut. Seagram, H.M.S. "Termagant."	-- About 5 deg. 50 min. north.	
19	Grand Sisters, Chiefs	28 Mar. 1847	-- Commander Murray, H.M.S. "Favorite."	-- River and district about 5 deg. 30 min. north.	
20	Little Booton, Chiefs	25 - 1847	-- ditto	About 5 deg. 5 min. north.	
21	Garraway, Chiefs	30 - -	-- ditto	-- River and district about 4 deg. 30 min. north.	
22	Grand Bereby, ditto	25 Feb. 1848	-- ditto	-- Town and district on the Ivory Coast, about 6 deg. 53 min. west.	
23	Drewin, ditto	26 - 1848	-- ditto	From longitude 6 deg. 30 min. west to 5 deg. 35 min. west.	-- About 60 miles of coast.
24	St. Andrew, ditto	26 - -	-- ditto		
25	Grand Lahou, ditto	28 - -	-- ditto		
26	Antonio Lehou, ditto	28 - -	-- ditto	Territories extending from longitude 5 deg. 20 min. west to 4 deg. west.	-- About 85 miles of coast.
27	Jack Jaques, ditto	29 - -	-- ditto		
28	Ivory Bay, ditto	2 Mar. -	-- ditto		
29	Aboh, Obi Osai, Chief of	28 Aug. 1841	-- Niger Expedition Commissioners.	-- Town and district near the apex of the Delta of the Niger.	
30	Egarrah, Ochijeh, Chief of	6 Sept. -	-- ditto	-- District up the Niger, beyond Aboh.	
31	Creek Town, Old Calabar River, Eyo, King of.	6 Dec. -	-- Lieutenant Blount, H.M.S. "Pluto."	-- River in the Bight of Biafra.	
32	Calabar Town, Old Calabar River.	6 - -	-- Commander Blount, H.M.S. "Pluto."	-- ditto.	
33	Bimbia, King William	7 Feb. 1844	-- Commander Earle, H.M.S. "Rapid."	-- Territory near the entrance of the River Camaroons.	
34	Camaroons, King Acqua	7 May 1841	-- Commander Blount, H.M.S. "Pluto."	-- River in the Bight of Biafra.	
35	Camaroons, King Bell	7 - -	-- ditto	-- ditto.	
36	Batanga, King William, and Chiefs.	5 July 1847	-- Commander Hope, H.M.S. "Bittern;" Commander M'Murdo, H.M.S. "Contest."	-- Territory south of River Camaroons, in about 30 deg. north.	
37	Danger or Mooney, Chiefs of.	16 - -	-- ditto	-- River to the south of Cape St. John's, in about 1 deg. north.	
38	Malimba, ditto	31 Mar. 1848	-- ditto	-- River falling into the sea in 3 deg. 38 min. north.	
39	Otondo, Chiefs of	4 April -	-- Commander Murray, H.M.S. "Favorite."	-- From 1 deg. 50 min. north to Point Campo, in 2 deg. 20 min. north.	-- About 35 miles of coast.
40	Batanga Benito, ditto	7 April -	-- ditto	-- Territory extending northward from Cape St. John to 1 deg. 50 min. north.	-- ditto.
41	Camma, Chiefs of	25 May -	-- ditto	-- From 1 deg. south to 2 deg. 24 min. south.	About 95 miles.
42	Bonny, King Pepple, and Chiefs.	21 Nov. -	-- Commander Eden, H.M.S. "Amphitrite."	-- River falling into the Bight of Biafra, apparently one of the mouths of the Niger.	

Foreign Office, }  
March 1849. }

## (B.)

Appendix, No. 1.

LIST of VESSELS reported to have sailed from the *Havana*, or Neighbourhood, suspected of being intended for Slave Trade, during the Year 1847.

	<i>Remarks.</i>
No. 1.—February. A vessel, name unknown, reported to have sailed in the beginning of the month from one of the neighbouring out-ports.	Probably one of the two referred to in the despatch of Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Cape de Verde Islands, of the 9th July 1847.— <i>See</i> Slave Trade Papers for 1848, Class (A.), page 197.
No. 2.—28 February. Spanish brig "Atrevida," a well-known slaver, cleared out ostensibly for New Orleans, but intended for the coast of Africa.	Condemned at Sierra Leone, December 1847.— <i>See</i> Slave Trade Papers for 1848, Class (A.), page 3. Instead of going to New Orleans, it appears she sailed hence direct to Santiago de Cuba.
No. 3.—May. American brig "Brazil" was dispatched by M. Fouade, ostensibly to Rio Janeiro, but believed to be intended for slave trade.	This vessel is also mentioned in the despatch referred to above from Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Cape de Verde Islands. It is reported here, that on her first voyage she returned to Brazil without having been able to obtain a cargo; but that she has since made two successful voyages.

## (C.)

RETURN of VESSELS which sailed in 1848, suspected of being intended for SLAVE TRADE.

March. American schooner "Swiss Boy." About this time a vessel was reported to have sailed from the city of Trinidad, and two schooners from Santiago de Cuba.

April. A vessel named the "Mariana" was dispatched hence, or the outports, and about the same time two others, named the "Trueno" and "Jacinto," all three formerly in the same trade.

May. A vessel was sent from Cabañas, which had been formerly a light ship in the harbour of New York, and sold as unseviceable.

July. American brig "Lawrence," for Cabinda.

September. A vessel, formerly the correo or mail packet ship, damaged in the hurricane of 1846, sailed the latter part of this month as the "Elvira."

1st October. American brig "T. Street."

## (D.)

RETURN of VESSELS said to have arrived during the Year 1848 from the Coast of Africa.

April. Eight hundred slaves reported to have been brought to the neighbourhood of Santiago de Cuba. Several vessels were said to have come in the spring to the south side of the island, of which it was impossible to obtain here any particular information.

July. Seven hundred slaves reported to have been brought to the neighbourhood of Cabañas; one vessel with 300 in this month; and one, the felucca "Columbia," with 150.

Appendix, No. 1.

(E.)

RETURN of EXPORTS and IMPORTS of the Island of *Cuba*, from 1828 to 1847 inclusive, in Dollars.

Years.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	Years.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	NOTE.
1828	19,534,922	13,114,362	1838	24,729,878	20,471,102	In 1847 the imports of Spain are stated to have amounted only to 29,719,701 dollars six reals, and the exports to 25,228,049 dollars twelve reals, so that according to official reports the imports and exports of Cuba exceed those of Spain.
1829	18,695,856	13,952,405	1839	25,315,803	21,481,862	
1830	16,171,562	15,870,968	1840	24,700,189	25,941,783	
1831	15,548,791	12,918,711	1841	24,630,620	26,774,614	
1832	15,198,465	13,595,017	1842	24,637,527	26,684,701	
1833	18,511,132	13,996,100	1843	23,442,096	25,029,792	
1834	18,563,300	14,487,955	1844	25,056,231	25,426,591	
1835	20,722,072	14,059,246	1845	28,007,590	18,792,812	
1836	22,551,969	15,398,245	1846	22,625,399	22,000,588	
1837	22,940,357	20,344,407	1847	32,389,119	27,998,770	

(F.)

RETURN of DUTIES and TAXES of the Island of *Cuba*, from 1828 to 1847 inclusive, in Dollars.

YEARS.	Duties, Custom House.	Other Taxes.	Total Revenue.	NOTE.
1828	- - 5,309,136	3,777,270	9,086,406	Of this Revenue, it is stated that one million and a half of dollars are applied to the Civil Service, including the Ministers and Consuls of Spain in North and South America; four millions and a half of dollars for the military; one million and a quarter for the marine; and the remainder remitted to Spain.
1829	- - 5,193,967	3,948,642	9,142,610	
1830	- - 5,027,095	3,945,452	8,972,547	
1831	- - 4,795,465	3,501,739	8,297,204	
1832	- - 4,792,178	3,645,228	8,437,407	
1833	- - 5,235,371	3,660,185	8,895,556	
1834	- - 5,098,288	3,847,446	8,945,734	
1835	- - 5,426,033	3,371,149	8,797,182	
1836	- - 5,743,793	3,523,472	9,267,266	
1837	- - 5,809,775	3,027,390	8,837,065	
1838	- - 6,098,254	3,267,656	9,365,910	
1839	- - 7,363,078	3,841,355	11,204,434	
1840	- - 7,387,498	4,281,904	11,669,402	
1841	- - 7,266,464	4,650,835	11,917,299	
1842	- - 7,383,346	4,731,496	12,114,843	
1843	- - 6,987,017	3,407,040	10,394,057	
1844	- - 7,160,631	3,329,621	10,490,252	
1845	- - 5,370,748	3,629,252	9,000,000	
1846	- - 6,232,967	4,907,811	11,140,779	
1847	- - 7,494,330	5,314,383	12,808,713	

Appendix, No. 2.

COPY of a NOTE from *H. G. Ward*, Esq. M. P. to *W. Hutt*, Esq. M. P.

MR. WARD presents his compliments to Mr. Hutt, and in reply to his note of the 3d instant, addressed to Lord Auckland, begs to forward, for the information of the Slave Trade Committee of the House of Commons, a Return of all Vessels captured by British Cruisers for being engaged in Slave Trade, from 1840 to 1848.

Admiralty, 24 August.

(No. 1.)

RETURN of all VESSELS Captured by BRITISH CRUISERS for Violation of SLAVE TRADE TREATIES, in each Year from 1840 to 1847 inclusive, which have been brought before the Mixed Commissions established Abroad under Treaties with Foreign Powers for the Adjudication of captured Slave Vessels; showing the Name of the Captured Vessel; the Date of Capture; the Sentence, whether Forfeiture or Restitution; by what Court Adjudicated; the Tonnage; and whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy, or not.
Laura - - - -	1840 : 7 Jan.	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Mark - - - -	15 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	
asp - - - -	16 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	79 $\frac{3}{4}$	
Santo Antonio Victorioso	2 April	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Octavia - - - -	3 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	59	
Eliza Davidson - - - -	4 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	187	
Republicano - - - -	12 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	73	
Mercedita - - - -	13 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at the Havana.	68	
Olimpa - - - -	18 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Portuguese Court at Sierra Leone.	(tons Spanish). From 79 to 89	
Sao Paulo de Loanda - -	3 June	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	(tons Portuguese). 57	
Maria Rosario - - - -	9 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Plant - - - -	7 July	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	226 $\frac{1069}{3500}$	
Carolina - - - -	10 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	29 $\frac{3012}{3500}$	
Diana - - - -	21 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	82 $\frac{2826}{3500}$	
Republicano - - - -	14 Aug.	- Case with- drawn by consent of both parties.	- - - - ditto - - - -	- - Brig, tonnage unknown.	
Sirena - - - -	17 "	Condemned	- - - - ditto - - - -	41 $\frac{3192}{3500}$	
Paquete de Benguela - -	29 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	56	
Claudina - - - -	29 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	80 $\frac{297}{3500}$	
Alexandre - - - -	2 Sept.	Restored	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Palmira - - - -	15 "	Condemned	- Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	90 $\frac{1035}{3500}$	
Porto Formozo - - - -	16 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	66 $\frac{1501}{3500}$	
Felicidade - - - -	5 Oct.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	64 $\frac{2977}{3500}$	
Onze de Novembro - - -	11 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	113 $\frac{867}{3500}$	
Paquete Veracruzano - -	14 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	56 $\frac{2579}{3500}$	
Gratidao - - - -	14 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	44 $\frac{2032}{3500}$	
Emilia - - - -	9 Nov.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	52 $\frac{2649}{3500}$	
Vanguardia - - - -	11 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	81 $\frac{3213}{3500}$	
Recurso - - - -	23 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - - -	69 $\frac{45}{3500}$	

## APPENDIX TO FIRST REPORT FROM THE

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy, or not.
Feliz Ventura - - -	1840: 29 Nov.	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	74 $\frac{1305}{3500}$	
Boa Uniao - - -	9 Dec.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	54 $\frac{3256}{3500}$	
Reglano - - -	10 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	48 $\frac{1421}{3500}$	
San Paulo de Loanda	11 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	63 $\frac{643}{3500}$	
Bellona - - -	14 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	61 $\frac{2311}{3500}$	
Jesus Maria - - -	29 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at the Havana.	34	
Assiceira - - -	31 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	141 $\frac{3}{5}$	
Orozimbo - - -	1841: 8 Jan.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	138 $\frac{2625}{3500}$	
Urraca - - -	19 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	64 $\frac{2155}{3500}$	
Nova Inveja - - -	20 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	77 $\frac{1111}{3500}$	
Bom Fim - - -	20 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	27 $\frac{2120}{3500}$	
Segunda Rosaria - - -	27 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at the Havana.	120	
Juliana - - -	12 Feb.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	59 $\frac{2625}{3500}$	
Republicano - - -	22 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	100 $\frac{1140}{3500}$	
Nova Aurora - - -	26 "	Restored -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	132	
Liberal - - -	31 Mar.	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	91 $\frac{281}{3500}$	
Josephina - - -	1 May	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	125 $\frac{554}{3500}$	
Firmé - - -	30 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	88 $\frac{2664}{3500}$	
Castro - - -	1 June	Restored -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	80	
Nova Fortuna - - -	6 "	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	52 $\frac{2024}{3500}$	
Flor d'America - - -	29 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	31 $\frac{3203}{3500}$	
Donna Eliza - - -	30 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	34 $\frac{2134}{3500}$	
Amalia - - -	3 July	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	88 $\frac{710}{3500}$	
Numantina - - -	2 Sept.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	66 $\frac{3305}{3500}$	
Erculos - - -	18 Oct.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	91 $\frac{2412}{3500}$	
Paz - - -	27 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	75 $\frac{3225}{3500}$	
Ermelinda - - -	27 "	Restored -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	244	
Formigo - - - (schooner-rigged boat.)	5 Nov.	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Portuguese Court at Sierra Leone.	- - Tonnage unknown; 24 ft. long; 8 ft. broad; 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep.	-- Unseaworthy (left at the island of St. Thomas).
Galianna - - -	23 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	72 $\frac{1748}{3500}$	
Convenção - - -	3 Dec.	Restored -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	128 $\frac{3}{5}$	
Presidente - - -	1842: 20 Jan.	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	79 $\frac{1837}{3500}$	
Aracaty - - -	18 Mar.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	203 $\frac{3}{8}$	
Fortuna - - -	22 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	158 $\frac{2320}{3500}$	
St. Antonio - - -	7 May	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	81 $\frac{431}{3500}$	
Desiao - - -	19 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	83 $\frac{2323}{3500}$	
St. Joao Baptisto - - -	27 June	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	63 $\frac{170}{3500}$	
Ermelinda Segunda - - -	11 July	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	271	(tons, foreign.)
Roberto - - -	11 Aug.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	86 $\frac{3}{4}$	-- Run ashore during chase, and lost.
Resolução - - -	4 Sept.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	56 $\frac{1528}{3500}$	
Quelhe Importa - - -	24 Oct.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Portuguese Court at Sierra Leone.	77 $\frac{3064}{3500}$	

SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

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NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy, or not.
Bom Fim - - -	1843 : 24 Jan.	Condemned	-- Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	62 $\frac{3289}{3500}$	
Lio - - - - -	24 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	69 $\frac{2497}{3500}$	
Confidenca - - -	17 Mar.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	149 $\frac{2277}{3500}$	
Brilhante - - -	18 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	69 $\frac{1538}{3500}$	
Esperanca - - -	29 May	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	27 $\frac{2366}{3500}$	
Andorinha - - -	13 June	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at Sierra Leone.	16 $\frac{3148}{3500}$	
Dous Amigous - - -	14 „	Restored	-- Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	-- Brig, tonnage unknown.	
Furia - - - - -	8 Aug.	Condemned	-- Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	109 $\frac{2156}{3500}$	
Independencia - - -	8 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	131 $\frac{544}{3500}$	
L'Egeria - - - -	5 Sept.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	100 (about)	-- Destroyed as unseaworthy.
Conceicao Flora - - -	14 „	Restored	- - - - ditto - - -	80 (foreign tonnage.)	
Aquia - - - - -	19 „	Condemned	-- Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	49 $\frac{1233}{3500}$	
Sociedade - - - -	20 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at the Cape of Good Hope.	191	
Prudencia - - - -	28 Oct.	Restored	-- Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	118 (foreign tonnage.)	
Loteria - - - - -	1 Nov.	Condemned	-- Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	124 $\frac{2583}{3500}$	
Temerario - - - -	3 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	87 $\frac{3263}{3500}$	
Imperatrix - - - -	12 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	46 $\frac{2380}{3500}$	
Linda - - - - -	20 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	45 $\frac{2247}{3500}$	
Helena - - - - -	29 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	80 $\frac{1707}{3500}$	
	1844 :				
Nova Christina - - -	3 Feb.	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at Sierra Leone.	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	-- Destroyed as unseaworthy.
Carlitos - - - - -	16 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	91 $\frac{3143}{3500}$	
Cuatro de Setembro - - -	24 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at St. Paul de Loanda.	300	
Mambo Mangaio - - -	12 Mar.	-- Court incompetent to decide the case.	- - - - ditto - - -	old admeasurement.	-- Boat, tonnage unknown.
Name unknown - - -	12 „	Condemned	- - - - ditto - - -	-- Boat, tonnage unknown.	
Name unknown - - -	21 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	130 old admeasurement.	
Maria - - - - -	1 Apr.	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at Sierra Leone.	324 $\frac{2204}{3500}$	
Maria Louisa - - -	3 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	60 $\frac{3213}{3500}$	
Santa Anna - - - -	4 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at Sierra Leone.	35 $\frac{395}{3500}$	
Bella Angella - - -	7 May	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at the Cape of Good Hope.	314	
Name unknown - - -	4 June	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at Loanda.	134	
Cyrus - - - - -	6 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	85	
Imperador Don Pedro - - -	23 „	- ditto -	-- Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	109 $\frac{2421}{3500}$	
Flor de Tejo - - - -	6 July	Restored	-- Mixed British and Portuguese Court at St. Paul de Loanda.	193 $\frac{1}{2}$ (foreign tonnage.)	

## APPENDIX TO FIRST REPORT FROM THE

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy, or not.
Isabel - - - -	1844 : 16 July	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	160 $\frac{1230}{3500}$	
Veterano - - - -	21 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	108 $\frac{1961}{3500}$	
Uniao - - - -	29 „	Restored -	- - Mixed British and Portuguese Court at the Cape of Good Hope.	214 $\frac{2573}{3500}$	
Constancia - - - -	30 „	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	119 $\frac{1582}{3500}$	
Aventureiro - - - -	13 Aug.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	162 $\frac{610}{3500}$	
Bom Destino - - - -	7 Sept.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	162	(foreign tonnage).
San Pedro, <i>alias</i> Marinero	13 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	99 $\frac{1474}{3500}$	
Grande Poder de Dios -	16 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	9 $\frac{1175}{3500}$	
Concepcion - - - -	23 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	40 $\frac{2473}{3500}$	
Audaz - - - -	25 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	85 $\frac{900}{3500}$	
Aventura - - - -	28 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	59 $\frac{777}{3500}$	
El No Sé - - - -	29 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	74 $\frac{832}{3500}$	
Virginia, <i>alias</i> Alerto	20 Oct.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	71 $\frac{3219}{3500}$	
Ave Maria - - - -	25 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	23 $\frac{1453}{3500}$	
Enganador - - - -	4 Nov.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	44 $\frac{3132}{3500}$	
Nova Granada - - - -	8 „	- - Left undecided.	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Rio de Janeiro.	164	(foreign tonnage).
Diligencia - - - -	16 „	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	- - Schooner, tonnage unknown.	
Clemencia - - - -	5 Dec.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	55 $\frac{181}{3500}$	
Carolina - - - -	17 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	21 $\frac{1979}{3500}$	
Esperança - - - -	1845 : 8 Jan.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	81 $\frac{2329}{3500}$	
San Antonio, <i>alias</i> Cayman.	11 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone	88 $\frac{1959}{3500}$	
Esperança - - - -	19 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	73 $\frac{85}{3500}$	
Diligencia - - - -	25 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	28 $\frac{2588}{3500}$	
Cazuza - - - -	30 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	19 $\frac{2223}{3500}$	
Sua Majestade - - - -	3 Feb.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	94 $\frac{2276}{3500}$	
Diligencia - - - -	8 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	31 $\frac{941}{3500}$	
Vivo - - - -	11 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	23 $\frac{2459}{3500}$	
Triunfo - - - -	11 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	67 $\frac{400}{3500}$	
Venus - - - -	13 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	51 $\frac{2598}{3500}$	
Atala - - - -	23 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	153 $\frac{1375}{3500}$	
Huracan - - - -	24 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	122 $\frac{1779}{3500}$	
Oliveira - - - -	2 Mar.	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	75 $\frac{3342}{3500}$	
Echo - - - -	2 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	67 $\frac{2983}{3500}$	
Pepito - - - -	4 „	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	81 $\frac{2388}{3500}$	
Dos Hermanos - - - -	25 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	69 $\frac{923}{3500}$	
Audaz - - - -	25 „	Restored -	- - Mixed British and Portuguese Court at St. Paul de Loanda.	116	(foreign tonnage).
Vinte Nove - - - -	27 „	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	59 $\frac{2684}{3500}$	
Rafael - - - -	27 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	52 $\frac{1990}{3500}$	
Minerva - - - -	17 Apr.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	41 $\frac{10}{10}$	
Donna Clara - - - -	18 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	83 $\frac{308}{3500}$	
Graciosa Vingativa	4 Mdy	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Portuguese Court at St. Paul de Loanda.	13	

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy, or not.
Conceição Feliz - - -	1845 : 6 "	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	47 $\frac{3476}{3500}$	
Mariana - - -	15 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	61 $\frac{1853}{3500}$	
Triumpho da Inveja - - -	23 May	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	53 $\frac{2654}{3500}$	
Venganza - - -	23 "	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	66 $\frac{2610}{3500}$	
Izabel - - -	1 June	- ditto -	- - Mixed British and Brazilian Court at Sierra Leone.	144 $\frac{1011}{3500}$	
Tentador - - -	3 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	57 $\frac{1100}{3500}$	
Mariquinha - - -	28 "	- - Case dismissed, functions of Court having ceased.	- - - - ditto - - -	45 (foreign tonnage).	
Suspiro - - -	16 July	Condemned	- - - - ditto - - -	116 $\frac{3324}{3500}$	
Fantasma - - -	16 "	- - Case dismissed, functions of Court having ceased.	- - - - ditto - - -	156 (foreign tonnage.)	
Gugo - - -	19 Dec.	Restored -	- - Mixed British and Portuguese Court at St. Paul de Loanda.	54 (foreign tonnage).	
Atrevida - - -	1847 : 11 Oct.	Condemned	- - Mixed British and Spanish Court at Sierra Leone.	42 $\frac{1500}{3500}$	

Foreign Office, 23 August 1848.

## No. 2.

RETURN of all VESSELS captured by BRITISH CRUISERS for violation of SLAVE TRADE TREATIES, in each Year from 1840 to 1847 inclusive, which have been brought before Tribunals of the Country to which such Vessels belonged; showing the Name of the Captured Vessel; the Date of Capture; the Sentence, whether Forfeiture or Restitution; by what Court Adjudicated; the Tonnage; and whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy, or not.
Juluis and Edward - - -	1841 : 15 Feb.	Restored -	Hanseatic Court at Bremen -	Tonnage not known.	
Louise - - -	25 "	- ditto -	Hanseatic Court at Hamburg -	- - - ditto.	
Marabout - - -	27 Sept.	- ditto -	French Court at Cayenne - -	170 $\frac{43}{100}$ (French tonnage.)	
Sansone - - -	1845 : 14 Apr.	- ditto -	Sardinian Court at Genoa - -	Tonnage not known.	
Sommariva - - -	28 Aug.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - - ditto.	

Foreign Office, 23 August 1848.

Note.—In these Returns the Tonnage is given according to British Admeasurement, except where otherwise stated.

RETURN of all VESSELS Captured by BRITISH CRUIZERS for Violation of the Statutes of 2 & 3 Vict. c. 73, and 8 & 9 Vict. c. 122, which have been brought before British Courts of Vice-Admiralty Abroad for Adjudication; showing the Name of the Captured Ship; the Date of Capture; the Sentence, whether Forfeiture or Restitution; by what Court Adjudicated; the Tonnage; and whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.
1840:					
Louisa - - -	3 Jan.	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, Jamaica -	101	
Novo Abismo - - -	3 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	150 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Pancao - - -	9 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	56	Foundered at sea.
Congresso - - -	17 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	75	
Victoria - - -	23 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Jamaica -	92 $\frac{43}{130}$	
Sandade - - -	30 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	176 $\frac{324}{3500}$	
Rio Mondego - - -	7 Feb.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	91	
Primo Genito - - -	14 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	108	
Amizade Constante	19 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	164 $\frac{1135}{3500}$	
Raimundo Primeiro	21 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	113	
Roza - - -	24 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	142	
Cabaca - - -	14 Mar.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	15	- - Destroyed by captor.
Fathe Eslamo - - -	19 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	86	- - ditto.
Zaruga - - -	21 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	-	
Dom Pedro Duque do Porto	26 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	219	
Treze de Juaho - - -	30 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Barbadoes	41	
Adelaide - - -	1 Apr.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	57	
Tentadora - - -	10 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	133 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Josephina - - -	12 May	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	
José - - -	17 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Mauritius	105	Destroyed.
Andorinha - - -	28 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	39	
Dictador - - -	10 June	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	113	
Carolina - - -	10 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	42	
Coringa - - -	12 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	119	
Boat, unknown - - -	14 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	-	- - Destroyed by captor.
Andorinha - - -	15 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	66	
Rapido - - -	22 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	188	
Pombinha - - -	3 July	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	56	
Maria Rita - - -	13 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	72	
Boat, unknown - - -	25 Sept.	- ditto -	- - - ditto.	-	
Quatro de Março - - -	7 Oct.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	211 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Rahamana - - -	23 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	171	
Amelia - - -	31 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	218 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Haidjee - - -	9 Nov.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	15	
Brigantine unknown, supposed Dous d'Outubro.	13 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	200	- - Run ashore and destroyed.
Maria, alias Maria Feliz	13 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	103	
Brigantine-schooner, unknown - - -	2 Dec.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	124	
Launch, unknown - - -	26 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	-	Swamped at sea.
Aventureiro - - -	31 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	139 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1841:					
Carolina - - -	5 Jan.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	- - Run ashore and destroyed.
Schooner, unknown - - -	18 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	100 (about)	
Luisa - - -	23 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	92 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Rapido - - -	30 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	120 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Luiza - - -	17 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	93	
Faessa - - -	1 Feb.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	8	Destroyed at sea.
Marciana - - -	8 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	64	
Liberal - - -	9 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	58	
Sandade - - -	12 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	176	
Dous d'Avril - - -	13 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	134 $\frac{14}{35}$	
Dous de Fevereiro - - -	19 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Brit. Guiana	232	
Three boats - - -	unknown	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	-	
Oito de Decembro - - -	24 Feb.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	107 $\frac{11}{36}$	
Minerva - - -	24 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	154 (foreign)	
Vinte e Quatro de Julho	29 Mar.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	132 $\frac{1923}{3500}$	
Animo Grande - - -	3 Apr.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	211	
Schooner, unknown - - -	5 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Euro - - -	14 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	69	
Venus - - -	29 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	260	
Brigantine, unknown - - -	2 May	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	116 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Margarida - - -	11 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	61	
Four launches - - -	4 to 26	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	-	Destroyed at sea.
Constante - - -	1 June	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	137	- - Destroyed by fire by her own crew.

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.
1841:					
Boa Nova - - -	13 June	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	120	
Brigantine, unknown	27 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	65	
Feliz Vencidor - -	27 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	127	
Astræa - - -	30 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	135	
Doris - - -	3 July	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	21	
Triumfo - - -	4 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	20	- - Destroyed by captor.
Gabriel - - -	6 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	248	
Brig, unknown - -	10 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	167	
Carisco - - -	4 Aug.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	59	
Bella Sociedade - -	25 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	119	
Three boats - - -	29 Aug.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -		
Anna - - -	2 Sept.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Brit. Guiana	89	
Acoriano Oriental -	30 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	64	
Conceição de Maria	3 Oct.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	150	
Deus de Fevereiro -	15 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	162	
Donna Francisca - -	20 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	22	
Two boats - - -	13 Nov.	Restored	- - - ditto - - -	11, each	- - Destroyed, unfit for voyage to St. Helena.
Schooner, unknown	18 "	Condemned	- - - ditto - - -	96 $\frac{1}{3}$	
Senhora de Bom Viagem	22 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	166	
Dous Amigos - - -	28 Dec.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	22	
Boat, unknown - - -	30 "	Restored	- - - ditto - - -		- - Destroyed by captor.
Minerva - - -	31 "	Condemned	- - - ditto - - -	110	
Feliz Triumvirats - -	31 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	123	
1842:					
Brigantine, unknown	4 Jan.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	105	
Boat, unknown - - -	21 "	Restored	- - - ditto - - -		- ditto.
Duqueza de Bragança, alias Venus.	22 "	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	227	
St. Antonio - - -	6 Feb.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	121	
Boat, unknown - - -	8 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	4	- ditto.
Ditto - - -	8 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	8	- ditto.
Ditto - - -	9 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	11	- ditto.
Diligencia - - -	13 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	97	
Brig, unknown - - -	10 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	363	- ditto.
Eugenia - - -	15 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	130	
Boat, unknown - - -	17 "	Restored	- - - ditto - - -		- ditto.
Boa Harmonia - - -	18 "	Condemned	- - - ditto - - -	80	
Balurca - - -	20 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	16	
Boat, unknown - - -	11 Mar.	Restored	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena		- ditto.
Brigantine, unknown	6 Apr.	Condemned	- - - ditto - - -	101	
Nove Irmaos - - -	9 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Brit. Guiana	100 (Portug <sup>e</sup> ).	
Africano - - -	9 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	88	
Schooner, unknown	12 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	17	- ditto.
Brigantine, unknown	12 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	75	
Jenaviva - - -	24 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	44	
Minerva - - -	28 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	15	- ditto.
Brig, unknown - - -	29 May	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	139	
Minerva - - -	29 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	111	
Marianna - - -	27 June	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	87	
San Jozé - - -	3 July	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	94	
Oito Decembro - - -	7 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	106	
Triumfo - - -	22 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	50	
Isabel - - -	1 Aug.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -		
Bella Indianna - - -	7 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	39	
Nossa Senhora da Juda	11 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -		- - Destroyed by captor as unseaworthy.
Schooner, unknown	13 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	40	
Eugenia - - -	20 "	Restored	- - - ditto - - -		
Brig, unknown - - -	21 "	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, Brit. Guiana	200	
Gentil Africano - - -	28 "	- ditto -	Vice Admiralty Court, St. Helena	144	- - Destroyed by captor.
Duqueza de Mindello	21 Sept.	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	85 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Pureza de Conceicao	7 Oct.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	19	
Se Deos Quizer - - -	10 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	23	
Amizade Feliz - - -	14 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	73	- ditto.
Princesa Dona Francisca, alias Maria Carolina.	18 "	- ditto -	- - - ditto - - -	692	- - Wrecked off Cape Mary.

(continued)

## APPENDIX TO FIRST REPORT FROM THE

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.
Three boats - - -	1842 : 7 Nov.	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	20(aggregate)	-- Destroyed by captor.
Josefina - - -	12 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	62	
Sumariva - - -	23 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	116	
Flor de Verao - - -	23 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	46	
Oriente- - - -	3 Dec.	Restored	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	166 $\frac{35}{500}$	
Maria Segunda - - -	7 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto.		
Ventura - - - -	1843 : 6 Jan.	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	129	
Furia - - - -	13 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	32	
Esperanza - - - -	4 Mar.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	- - -	-- Run ashore by crew, and destroyed by captor.
Progreso - - - -	12 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -		
Desengano - - - -	14 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	225	
San Antonio - - - -	29 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	77	-- Destroyed by captor as unseaworthy.
Roza - - - -	3 Apr.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	192	
Brigantine, unknown	3 Apr.	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	70	
Marie Louise - - -	5 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	24	-- Destroyed by captor.
Almeida - - - -	27 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	162	
Emprehendedora - - -	6 July	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	- - -	- ditto.
Defensivo - - - -	11 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	192 (foreign)	- ditto.
Brig, unknown - - -	9 Aug.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	166	
Isabel - - - -	14 „	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	- - -	- ditto.
Schooner, unknown	28 „	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	80	- ditto.
Unknown - - - -	30 „	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -		
Vencedora - - - -	6 Sept.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - -	- Captured near Rio ; unfit for voyage to the Cape.
Attrevida - - - -	23 „	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	95	
Brigantine, unknown	25 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	119	
Brig, ditto - - - -	11 Nov.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -		
Brigantine, ditto - - -	29 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto.		
Atala - - - -	29 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto.		
Zulmira (a) - - - -	18 Dec.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Brit. Guiana		
Maria Therisa (a) - - -	29 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	45	
Maria da Gloria (a) - - -	29 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	24	
Josefina - - - -	1844 : 2 Jan.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape.		
Enriquetta - - - -	2 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto.		
Schooner, unknown	3 „	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	45	
Brigantine, ditto - - -	22 „	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	52ft. long, 22ft. wide	-- Destroyed by her own crew.
Ditto - - - -	30 „	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	253 $\frac{38}{130}$	- ditto.
Ditto - - - -	12 Feb.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	151	
Ditto - - - -	19 Mar.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	- - -	-- Destroyed ; having run ashore, and been disabled.
Opio Feliz - - - -	23 June	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - -	-- Destroyed by her own crew.
Mars - - - -	4 July	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - -	
Isabel - - - -	5 „	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - -	-- Wrecked in Algoa Bay.
Brigantine, unknown	30 Aug.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	99 $\frac{95}{100}$	
Ditto - - - -	7 Oct.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	- - -	-- Run ashore, and destroyed by captor.
Schooner, unknown	20 „	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	62 $\frac{0}{10}$	- ditto.
Brigantine, ditto - - -	2 Nov.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	110	
Brig, ditto - - - -	13 Dec.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	203	

(a) These vessels were captured within three miles of the coast of Brazil ; and their capture and condemnation having accordingly been held to be improper, Her Majesty's Government ordered their restoration to their owners.

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.
Brig, supposed Alabes	1845 : 4 Jan.	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	417 (foreign)	- - Run ashore, and destroyed by captor.
Carem - - - -	5 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	95 $\frac{1}{2}$	
San Domingo - - -	19 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	58 (foreign)	- - Destroyed by her own crew.
Virginia, alias Felicidade	6 Mar.	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	- - 108 ft. long, 25 ft. broad, 14 ft. deep	- - Capsized in a squall, and lost.
Schooner, unknown	10 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	34 (foreign).	
Brig, supposed Albanex	12 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	214 $\frac{18}{3500}$	
Paquette de Monte Video	16 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape	129 (foreign).	
Dhow Messuri Kliej	3 Apr.	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	- - - -	- - Destroyed ; unfit for voyage to the Cape.
Unknown - - - -	5 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	- - - -	- ditto.
Brigantine, unknown	14 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	173 $\frac{1}{10}$	- - Run ashore, and destroyed by her own crew.
John Leys - - - -	15 "	Restored	- - - - ditto.		
Brigantine, unknown	21 "	Condemned	- - - - ditto - - - -	130 $\frac{627}{3500}$	
Dhow, unknown - -	7 May	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape	- - - -	- - Destroyed ; unfit for voyage to the Cape.
Dhow, unknown - -	24 May	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape	- - - -	- ditto.
Ditto - - - -	29 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	- - - -	- ditto.
Brig, supposed Frederico	10 June	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	- - - -	- - Run ashore by crew, and destroyed.
Brigantine, unknown, supposed Beija Flor.	5 July	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	170 (foreign)	- ditto.
Brig, unknown - -	11 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	184	
Dhow, unknown - -	30 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape	- - - -	- - Run ashore and destroyed by captor.
Africano - - - -	31 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	128 $\frac{1363}{3500}$	
Rosa - - - -	24 Sept.	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	- - 109 ft. long ; 33 ft. 2 in. broad ; 13 ft. 2 in. deep.	Destroyed.
Cacique - - - -	25 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	222	
Ligeira - - - -	30 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	120	
Brig, unknown - -	2 Oct.	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	195 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Unknown, supposed Voador	3 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	28 $\frac{656}{3500}$	
Brig, unknown - -	10 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	233	
Dhow, ditto - - -	15 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape	84 $\frac{3}{4}$	- - Run ashore and destroyed by captor.
Ditto - - - -	15 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	151 $\frac{3}{4}$	- ditto.
Descobridor - - -	21 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	127	- - Wrecked at St. Helena.
Regenerador - - -	22 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	154 $\frac{1731}{3500}$	
Brig, unknown - -	24 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	176	
Schooner, ditto - -	24 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	30	
Brig, supposed Recuperador	27 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	159	
Isabel - - - -	27 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	77 $\frac{1409}{3500}$	
Uniae - - - -	30 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	121 $\frac{1721}{3500}$	
Isabella - - - -	3 Nov.	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	97	
Dianna - - - -	10 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape	256	
Unknown, supposed Belmira	10 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	135 $\frac{316}{3500}$	
Aquila - - - -	11 "	Restored	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	108	
Polacca Brig, unknown	17 "	Condemned	- - - - ditto - - - -	- - 85 ft. long ; 25 ft. broad ; 14 ft. deep.	- - Wrecked in Malemba Bay.
Princeza - - - -	17 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	212 $\frac{194}{3500}$	
Boa Sorte - - - -	15 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	48 (foreign)	
Dhow, unknown - -	18 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape	- - - -	- - Destroyed by her own crew.
Schooner, ditto - -	22 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	145	
Espega - - - -	1 Dec.	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	114	
Eliza - - - -	4 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	237	
Magico - - - -	9 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	52	
Triumfante - - -	12 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape	- - - -	
Quatro de Março	18 "	- ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	146	- - Wrecked at St. Helena.
Brigantine, unknown	24 "	- ditto	- - - - ditto - - - -	95	- ditto.

## APPENDIX TO FIRST REPORT FROM THE

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.
	1845 :				
Eufragia - - -	25 Dec.	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	145	Wrecked at St Helena
San Domingos - - -	25 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	102	- ditto.
Esperança - - -	26 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	122	- ditto.
San Lorenzo - - -	26 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	182½	
	1846 :				
Dhow, unknown - - -	5 Jan.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	-	Destroyed.
Brig, ditto - - -	7 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	151	
Lobo - - -	15 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	126	
Emprehendedora - - -	21 "	Restored	- - - - ditto - - -	59	
Pomba - - -	21 "	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape.		
Sierra Leone Packet - - -	30 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	52	
Amelia - - -	6 Feb.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape.		
Paquete de Rio - - -	17 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	46½	
Brigantine, unknown - - -	11 Mar.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	108	
Clara - - -	12 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	125½	
Ligeiro - - -	12 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone		
Brigantine, unknown - - -	3 April	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	158½	
Gaio - - -	5 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	52	
Brig, unknown - - -	7 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -		-- Destroyed at sea by captor.
				-- 110 ft. long ; 35 ft. broad ; 17 ft. 5 in. deep ; 108 tons (foreign).	
Gabriel - - -	10 April	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	280	
Galgo - - -	20 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	294	
Caxias - - -	1 May	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	175	
Brigantine, unknown - - -	8 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -		- ditto
				-- 54 ft. 3 in. long ; 14 ft. broad ; 7 ft. deep ; 35 tons (fo- reign).	
Kentucky - - -	18 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	266 (about)	Destroyed.
Brig, unknown - - -	19 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	126	
Olivia - - -	23 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	26	
Emprehendedora - - -	11 June	Restored	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	59	
Brigantine, unknown - - -	29 "	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone		Wrecked.
				-- 83 ft. 6 in. long ; 19 ft. broad ; 10 ft. deep ; 90 tons (fo- reign).	
Segunda Conceição de Maria - - -	6 July	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	52	
Schooner, unknown - - -	6 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -		-- Destroyed at sea by captor.
				-- 75 ft. 9 in. long ; 9 ft. 2 in. broad ; 13 ft. 1 in. deep.	
Relampage - - -	8 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	147	
Constante - - -	19 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape,		
Brigantine, unknown - - -	28 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	41	
Maria - - -	15 Aug.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	69	
Vallerozo - - -	6 Sep.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	174	
Brig, unknown - - -	8 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	136	
Ditto - - -	13 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	194	
Amelia - - -	13 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	149	
Augusta - - -	13 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -		-- Sunk at sea by captor.
				-- 80 ft. long ; 22 ft. broad ; 107 tons (foreign).	
Rolla - - -	17 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	111	
Tentação - - -	24 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	163	
Isabel - - -	30 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	261	
Brigantine, unknown - - -	9 Oct.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	59	
Victoria - - -	14 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	185	
Brig, unknown - - -	17 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	195	
Bonito Porto - - -	21 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	125	
Agua - - -	22 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	148	
Electra - - -	23 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	123	
Paquete de Rio - - -	28 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	74	
Improviso - - -	12 Nov.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	232 (Brazilian)	
Brig, unknown - - -	21 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	185	
	1847 :				
Telma - - -	10 Jan.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	119½	
Constante Amizade - - -	14 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	65	
Anna e Constancia - - -	19 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	104 <sup>323</sup> <sub>3500</sub>	
Phedro - - -	29 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	92 <sup>1832</sup> <sub>3500</sub>	
Phaon - - -	18 Feb.	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape -	200 (about)	
Nietheroy - - -	26 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	153	
Saron - - -	18 Mar.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	123	
Jupiter - - -	18 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	63	
Brig, unknown, supposed Dous Amigos. - - -	19 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	415 (foreign)	-- Run ashore by her own crew, and wrecked.

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.
1847 :					
Brig, unknown	25 Mar.	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	179	
Maglioni	30 "	ditto	ditto	86	
Schooner, unknown	30 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	67 $\frac{7.6}{10.0}$	
Boonito	4 April	ditto	ditto	52	
Bahiano	11 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	83 $\frac{6.0}{3.5.0.0}$	
Schooner, unknown	17 "	ditto	ditto	35 $\frac{2.7.2.8}{3.5.0.0}$	
Felucca, ditto	17 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	80 ft. long, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad, 3 ft. 9 in. deep.	-- Run ashore and wrecked.
Justavo Primeiro	18 "	ditto	ditto	115	
Barque, unknown	24 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	113 ft. long, 25 ft. broad, 16 ft. deep; 375 tons (foreign).	-- Destroyed as unseaworthy.
Sloop, ditto	5 May	ditto	ditto	38 ft. long, 14 ft. broad, 9 ft. deep; 38 tons (foreign).	ditto.
Duas Irmaas	24 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	56	
Pito	26 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	213 $\frac{2.2.8.4}{3.5.0.0}$	
Braziliense	5 June	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	211 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Brig, unknown	12 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	189 $\frac{3.7.3}{3.5.0.0}$	
Felucca, unknown	19 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	80 ft. long, 24 ft. broad, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep.	-- Run ashore and destroyed.
Ferao	24 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	83 $\frac{2.5.1.0}{3.5.0.0}$	
Principe d'Onim	25 "	Restored	ditto	118 (foreign).	
Esperto	9 July	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	145 $\frac{1}{2}$	
São Sebastiao	2 "	ditto	ditto	54 ft. long, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, 7 ft. deep; 66 (foreign).	-- Destroyed at sea by captor.
Brig, unknown	9 "	ditto	ditto	207	
Dez d'Outubro	16 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	28 $\frac{2.9.8}{3.5.0.0}$	
Faisca	19 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	191	
Prendedora	22 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	113 $\frac{2.0.9.5}{3.5.0.0}$	
Faisca	24 "	ditto	ditto	50 $\frac{2.9.0}{3.5.0.0}$	
Romeo Primeiro	22 "	ditto	ditto	93 $\frac{1.8.5.9}{3.5.0.0}$	
Polacca Brig, supposed Nostra Senhora de la Gardia.	26 "	ditto	ditto	122 ft. long, 26 ft. broad, 14 feet deep; 260 tons (foreign).	-- Run ashore by crew, and wrecked.
Graça	26 "	ditto	ditto	91 $\frac{2.5.8.3}{3.5.0.0}$	
Esperança	30 "	ditto	ditto	69 $\frac{3.9.0}{3.5.0.0}$	
Brigantine, unknown	6 Aug.	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	69 $\frac{3}{4}$ ft. long, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad, 10 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. deep; 100 tons (foreign).	-- Destroyed at sea by captor.
Lebro	7 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	127 $\frac{1.0.5.0}{3.5.0.0}$	
Unknown	11 "	ditto	ditto	97 ft. long, 27 ft. broad, 17 ft. deep; 100 tons (foreign).	-- Run ashore by crew, and wrecked.
Brigantine, unknown	11 "	ditto	ditto	109 $\frac{2.3.7.5}{3.5.0.0}$	
Adelaide	12 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	147	
Nero	18 "	ditto	ditto	119 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Theodosia	25 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	86 $\frac{1.7.5.1}{3.5.0.0}$	
Maria da Gloria	28 "	ditto	ditto	57 ft. long, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep; 71 tons.	-- Destroyed as unseaworthy.
Phenix	29 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	145 (foreign)	-- Destroyed at sea by captor.
Maria Thereza	9 Sept.	ditto	ditto	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Astræa	9 "	ditto	ditto	159	
Schooner, supposed Fa-ceirinha.	10 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	37 $\frac{2.5.5.3}{3.5.0.0}$	
Attrevida	14 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	248	
Aventureiro	1 Oct.	ditto	ditto	113	
Schooner, supposed Maria Venus	2 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	30 $\frac{7.2.8}{3.5.0.0}$	
Venus	7 "	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Sapho	8 "	ditto	ditto	173	ditto.
Barque, unknown	8 "	ditto	ditto	105 ft. long, 25 ft. 1 in. broad, 16 ft. 2 in. deep; 300 tons (foreign).	

(continued)

## APPENDIX TO FIRST REPORT FROM THE

NAME OF VESSEL.	Date of Capture.	SENTENCE.	By what Court Adjudicated.	TONNAGE.	Whether Destroyed as Unseaworthy.
Brig, unknown - -	1847 : 9 Oct.	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	- - 100 ft. long ; 23 ft. broad ; 13 ft. 2 in. deep ; 240 tons (foreign). 312	- - Destroyed at sea by captor.
Sylphide - - -	17 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - 65 ft. long ;	- - Destroyed at
Quatorze de Novembro -	19 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	19 ft. 4 in. broad ; 9 ft. 7 in. deep. 10	Ascension.
Rey Bango - - -	27 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - 70 ft. long ;	- - Destroyed at
Heroína - - -	24 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	16 ft. broad ; 11 ft. deep ; 62 tons (fo- reign). -- 73 ft. 3 in. long ;	- ditto.
Santo Ant <sup>o</sup> Ditozo - -	3 Nov.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad ; 11 ft. deep ; 61 tons (foreign). 77	- ditto.
Eolo - - - -	6 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	170 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Izabel - - - -	7 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	152 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Brig, unknown - -	15 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - 64 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long ;	- ditto.
Boa Fé - - - -	15 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	16 ft. broad ; 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep ; 53 tons (fo- reign). 162 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Luíza - - - -	20 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - 81 ft. long ;	- ditto.
Conceição - - -	23 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	21 ft. 4 in. broad ; 9 ft. 3 in. deep. - - 95 ft. long ;	- - Run ashore, and fired by her own crew.
Brigantine, unknown, sup- posed Pampa.	26 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	26 ft. broad ; 15 ft. deep. - - 70 ft. long ;	- - Destroyed at sea by captor.
Schooner, unknown -	29 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	16 ft. broad ; 6 ft. deep. - - 125 ft. long ;	- ditto.
Brig, ditto - - -	1 Dec.	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	28 ft. broad ; 14 ft. deep. 49 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Schooner, ditto - -	1 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	78 $\frac{1110}{3500}$	
Maria Augusta - -	2 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone	95 $\frac{2334}{3500}$	
Águia - - - -	8 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	167 $\frac{920}{3500}$	
Brig, supposed Malaga -	11 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -	- - 56 ft. long ;	- ditto.
Santa Anna - - -	11 "	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena	14 ft. broad ; 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ft. deep. - - 106 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long ; 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad ; 12 ft. deep. 276	- ditto.
Gaio - - - -	16 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -		
Cidade d'Angra - -	27 "	- ditto -	- - - - ditto - - -		

Note.—In this Return the tonnage is given according to British admeasurement, except where otherwise stated.

Foreign Office, 23 August 1848.

Appendix, No. 3.

— No. 1. —

Appendix, No. 3.

REPORT from Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at *Havana*.

My Lord,

Havana, 1 January 1849.

I HAVE the honour to submit my annual report on the slave trade of this place during the past year, with the usual returns of vessels that I have heard of as having arrived here from the coast of Africa during the year, and of those that sailed hence in it and in the year preceding, suspected of being intended for slave trade.

These

These returns are certainly very vague and incomplete, but as I believe the main fact is correctly stated, of so many vessels, for instance, having sailed hence during the year for the coast of Africa, the circumstance of our not being able to obtain fuller particulars of the expeditions affords a proof of the depressed state of the trade, because the more contraband it becomes, the more secret must be the operations carried on. So long as any Captain General condescended to receive fees for the introduction of newly imported Africans, the dealers cared little for the publicity attending these transactions. But as we have every reason to believe that the present Captain General Roncali, Conde de Alcoy, refuses to accept these fees, the dealers have not the same security for carrying on their trade with impunity, and are therefore obliged to be so much the more reserved.

It is but justice to repeat this of the Conde de Alcoy, as the general belief. Accordingly, the general system of the government is carried on in a manner above all imputation of former practices, but he is evidently indisposed to proceed against the trade or its abettors with that severity which would be the best means of effectually suppressing it. I refer here to the case of the two vessels which, upon my information, arrived in the neighbourhood in July last, when 130 newly introduced Africans were seized by the Lieutenant Governor of Mariel. I believe my information of two vessels having arrived correct, yet the Captain General declared in no measured terms that only one vessel had arrived; leaving the conclusion to be drawn that he had allowed himself to receive as true some statements made to him to that effect, though a proper inquiry must I think have led to a different result. But supposing only one had arrived, it was proved that it had met with a collusive reception from the local authorities at Cabanas, as was pointed out to his Excellency at the time, and no steps have been taken against those authorities, nor against the parties concerned in the adventure. The mate, who offered himself as an informer against the parties, was put into prison; but the captain, who could have given evidence of the owners, was allowed to go away in the steamer to New York, with the person Zulueta, on whose account the negroes were said to have been brought, and a considerable number of the negroes were given up to this Zulueta under the pretence of being assigned to him as emancipados.

It appears to me, therefore, that if the trade be, as I consider it, in a depressed state, the cause of this depression must be sought elsewhere than in the measures of the Government.

At the commencement of the past year it was indubitable that there was a great animation on the part of all persons interested in the trade, for its revival. A new governor was expected, and it was hoped that he would favour it more than General O'Donnell lately had done; the latter was to the last a declared favourer of it, but his later measures had disconcerted its operations, by proceedings against it, which, if they were owing to stricter orders from Spain, also answered his purpose, for by seizing the negroes or exacting a larger fee, he gained so much the more, while as he was at the close of his government, the consequences of future distrust could not affect him. It was hoped a new governor would act on another policy; and vessels were prepared accordingly to be sent as might be found advisable. Seven were sent during the first four months of the year, and four have sailed hence since; whereas in 1847 there were only three sent altogether, and in 1846 not one. After two such years, if any encouragement had been afforded the dealers, we might have expected a larger number to have been sent; and as so few have been sent, and as the new Captain General does not appear to be a decided enemy to its continuance, the conclusion seems to me to follow, that even as a contraband trade it is not one offering advantages sufficient to induce an active prosecution of it.

Having paid much attention to the subject, I am induced to think that considerable over-statements have been made with respect to this trade; 1stly, as to the numbers of Africans exported from Africa, and 2dly, as to the profits of the dealers.

1stly. It is almost impossible to obtain exact returns of the numbers exported, and many persons who have written respecting it have taken the numbers known in some one month as an average for the year, when perhaps the numbers in that one month were so extraordinarily large as to have it made them noted on that account only. In the Havana, however, this difficulty did not exist, as the dealers were so sufficiently knotted together that they had a particular place formerly of assembly, and books kept there, from which I was in 1840 able to obtain the exact numbers that had been brought in that year (the one before General Valdes arrived), and when the trade was quite free, so far as this Government could permit it.

From these books I learned that the exact number brought in that year to Havana and Matanzas amounted to 11,756; and that perfectly agreed with the returns we had been able to obtain from other sources on the arrivals of the vessels, as we reported to your Lordship at the time (*see Slave Trade Papers for 1841, Class (A.) p. 167*). As it was most convenient for the dealers to bring them here to the head quarters, whence to supply the demand, and as no difficulty whatever was put in their way in so doing, I feel warranted in saying that this number may be safely taken as two-thirds certainly of all brought in that year to the whole island.

It may be that the supply was according to the demand, and therefore the next consideration arises as to the demand. If 20,000 were brought every year, and sold at only 50 *l.* each, the sum necessary to purchase them would be a drain to the island of one million sterling per annum. Such a sum might perhaps be raised in a year for some extraordinary purpose, for investment out of capital hoarded, but it could not be paid year after year, unless there were exports made concomitantly, to compensate for such an outlay; but the

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whole exports of the island at that time did not amount to five millions sterling, and the imports of lawful merchandize as given by the Custom-house returns exceeded that sum; so that, even if we make every allowance, in supposing the value of imports over stated, and of exports the contrary, still it will be impossible to come to any other conclusion than this, that the number of Africans introduced was decreasing per annum from natural causes, of a sufficient number having been brought to supply the demand. To show how impossible it was for the island to bear such a drain, I enclose further a return of the amount of exports and imports during the last 20 years, which will present so even a balance as to put it out of the question that so large a number could be introduced year after year, as by some persons has been supposed.

If 20,000 were introduced per annum for a few years, as for investment it might be done by foreign capital, and the effects would be felt in an increase of production. This has been the fact, but meanwhile the price of the articles of production, sugar and coffee, have both fallen, so that sugar in price now is scarcely half of what it was formerly, and coffee planting has been found so unproductive as to be almost abandoned. I conceive therefore that the number of slaves had come to almost the utmost the island required, and that it would have been found continuing to decrease, even if General Valdes had not been appointed Governor, to arrest its progress, somewhat sooner than the course of events indicated. If the same number, say 20,000 per annum, had been continued to be brought, according to this supposition the price would have fallen, and then the question would be, could the dealers afford the slaves at lower prices? I think they could not, and this is the second inquiry I suggested.

2. That the profits of the trade were much overstated. All persons are apt to boast much of their gains, but the slave dealers more especially, as a triumph over the cruizers, and even the Government of England, as well as to console themselves for the discredit they could not but feel attached to their trade. Thus we hear of a few fortunate individuals who have formerly amassed fortunes in it, but of the many who have lost fortune and life in it, we hear little or nothing; yet I am satisfied that there are many such, and that on the whole the trade here has not been latterly a productive one; one proof of this is, that the insurance offices lost so much on the policies of slave vessels, that it is nearly 10 years since they resolved to take none on them on any terms whatever; but calculations may be safely made to show this from their own statements. The price of a slave on the coast may be only from 2 to 25 dollars, but the expenses of agencies and factories are necessarily great, besides those of bringing them. The more difficult is the embarkation, the more and better paid agents must be employed, and well paid to be kept faithful to their employers, when it would be so completely in their power, if they pleased to act dishonestly, to set them altogether at defiance. I have heard it said, that each slave costs the dealer a hundred dollars, by the amount of these expenses, with those of bringing them. If half are captured, then each slave landed here may be said to have cost 200 dollars, and the average price for the cargo round may not perhaps have obtained more than 400 dollars per head. This would still be an immense profit, if no bad debts were incurred, as very often is the case; but if the dealers are further liable to these, and to have a third or a half of those brought seized by the Government, or 50 dollars per head charged for the fee to the Captain-General, then the remaining profit certainly would not compensate for the risk run of utter loss.

It seems to me, therefore, that the trade is in a most depressed state, because the profits have been so much reduced as to make it unadvisable for any to engage in it, except they were persons like Don Julian Zulueta, forming themselves new plantations, and desirous of obtaining slaves for themselves at the lowest rates, and not as speculators for sale. Even if they lost two-thirds of those they had bought on the coast, they would be thus obtaining the remainder at a less price than importers by trade could afford to sell them at, taking the usual brokerage and chances of repayment into consideration.

At present there is less demand for slaves than there was at this time of the last year. The newspapers have been full of advertisements for them to be sold, or hired out in bodies for the season, whereas I have not seen one of any required, as was often the case last year, and even in the time of General Valdes. Neither has the price for slaves, or for labour, risen since the last year, and this, and the other considerations before mentioned, bring me to the conclusion that the slave trade is in a depressed state, not only on account of the blockade, but also on account of the dealers not being therefore able to afford slaves at such prices as to meet the wants of the planters at the present rates of produce. If the slave trade were again set free, and the planters could get them, as they then might, at one-third, or one-fourth of the present prices, the numbers might be taken, perhaps even 20,000, or 25,000 per annum, for some years, till the number was found sufficient to check further importations. The high price, then, is and must be a check to the trade, and the high price is owing to the blockade of the coast.

In my last annual report, dated the 1st January 1848, and a former one, I informed your Lordship that though lately a larger demand for slave labour had lately arisen, on account of the higher price of sugar, yet this demand had been met by a supply of negroes from abandoned coffee plantations, to the number then estimated of about 30,000. Since then, I learn there has been a return made to this Government of the number so transferred to sugar estates estimated at 38,000. This supply I should think sufficient for the necessities of some years to come. The extraordinary demand that arose last year, and the one preceding, for more labourers, was no doubt on the expectation of continued high prices; but with the present prospects it must abate. The calculations also formed last year of

the quantity of sugar to be made under particular circumstances, have in many cases proved erroneous, and the gains therefore have been less than what was expected.

In the year now concluded, very little rain has fallen in the island, so that the canes have proved of inferior quality, and it is supposed by many that the exports of this year, 1849, will fall even 30 per cent. below those of the past. Such being the case, as there are several estates on which they do not grind at all this season, and all from 20 to 30 per cent. less than before, the requirement of labour is so much less, and the quantity that sufficed for the last will be quite sufficient for the present. Thus then may be accounted for the fact, that there is less demand even now for labour than there was a year since, and perhaps no great demand will arise for years to come, for the same reason.

As far as can be judged, the best informed merchants seem to think, that the price of sugar will not again materially rise, and that this island has already attained the utmost that, under the present circumstances, it is likely to produce. With the present prices the planters cannot afford to give large sums for labour, and they must economise with what they have. In this they have also another supply beyond what the abandoned coffee estates afforded, namely, from the numbers formerly employed in the manufacture of tobacco and cigars. Much as has been the falling off in respect of remuneration for sugar, the fall in the tobacco trade is as remarkable. Of 20,000 persons estimated to have been employed in this city in the manufacture of cigars, it is said that half are now out of employment; and this circumstance, if it be true, and if it continue, must lower the rate of prices for labour generally, and give, if required, perhaps several thousand labourers for the estates.

The exports from Havana and Matanzas, which in 1847 amounted to 1,006,767 boxes of sugar, and 106,904 quintals of coffee, in the past year have amounted to 1,000,341 boxes of sugar, and 31,673 quintals of coffee, there being five boxes of sugar, and 22½ quintals of coffee to the ton.

In 1847 there were exported from Havana, 19,368 quintals of leaf tobacco, which was less than half the quantity exported in 1846. But in the past year the exports have fallen still further, to 13,508 quintals.

Of cigars, in 1847 were exported hence 198,268 bundles of 1,000 each, which was one-fifth more than in former years. But during the last year the exports have fallen to their former average, 150,729 bundles, with the prospect of this depression continuing.

I conclude from these facts that there is not that incentive for an increase of slave trade, existing in the higher price and call for slave labour, which would cause it to be continued against the risk of losses felt in late years. If the blockade were abandoned, and slaves procured at a quarter, a third, or even one-half the present prices, it would be renewed unquestionably to as frightful an extent as ever.

From my knowledge of this community, I feel myself warranted in saying that no other than coercive measures will suffice to keep the trade suppressed. They think much of gain, but only of present gain, and they have not the slightest scruples in carrying it on. There are a few advocates for the suppression of the trade, and a few even for the suppression of slavery itself. But these are very few indeed, and it may be doubted whether they would hold true to their opinions, in case the alternative were offered them. The great body of the people have not the slightest sense of any injustice perpetrated in the trade. It seems to me, therefore, idle to think for a moment of its being ever to be put down by other means.

In addition to the return of the exports and imports during the last 20 years, I also submit to your Lordship an account of the revenue of the island, as affording means to judge of its capabilities, and together the prospects of increase of productions and inducements to carry on the slave trade, if the planters should find it worth their while to extend their cultivations, either by a rise in the price of sugar, or what is the same thing, a lowering of the price of labour, which would follow on the slave trade being opened to them again, so that they could produce sugar at a greater profit.

In the despatch, No. 14, of 1847, dated the 9th March of that year, I gave your Lordship an account of a new estate formed by Don Julian Zulueta, which was expected to produce 10,000 boxes of sugar during the year. Of this estate, I am enabled now to give the following farther particulars: it is named the Alava, situated in the neighbourhood of Cardanas. It is formed of 60 caballerias (2,000 acres) of land, of which 33 caballerias are laid out in cane, 17 unopened, 3 arid, and 7 occupied in buildings and roads. It has three mills, each of which gives 50 pails of syrup per day, at a heat in January of eight and a half, and in March and April of ten and a half to eleven. Each caballeria gives 1,500 loads of cane; and in the last year, 1848, the produce exported was, of boxes of sugar, 5,000 white, 3,000 yellow, 312 cucurucho, 600 muscovado, and 134 small cases, total, 9,046; the number of loaves being at the rate of 2,000 to the caballeria. For these there are 28 caballerias of cane ground, and this year, 1849, they have of molasses, 1,500 hogshheads.

The body of labourers is represented to consist of 380 utiles or slaves, 35 Asiatics, and 200 creoles of 10 years and under. The last number is evidently false, and to be understood of the later introduction of slaves in July last, the cargo then brought being well known to have principally consisted of children. There are said to be on the average 25 sick in the infirmary. On the estate are 90 carts and 170 yokes of oxen, and the buildings are on the best scale. The whole lighted with gas, sufficient for 5,000 lights, but in general they use 60. The apparatus in England cost 240*l.*, and the bringing and placing it, 600*l.* It has 20 feet diameter, 12 of height, three retorts, and corresponding condenser and purifier.

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I have been led to give these details, because the former account referred to has been pronounced fabulous by one of the monthly publications of London. But it is to be observed, that there are several others in the island as colossal, one, for instance, belonging to the Conde de Penalver, another to the Condesa de Reunion, one to Don F. Diago, and others. The Conde de Fernandina has lately formed one, the Agüica, which it is said will be the largest in the island, as the works are on the most improved scale, and the annual produce calculated at 14,000 boxes of sugar.

The alava of Don Julian Zulueta this season is only calculated to produce 6,000 boxes, on account of the drought of last year; but in general years 10,000 boxes, which at 15 dollars a box would be 150,000 dollars, or 30,000 *l.* sterling per annum.

As a general computation, it is stated here in the last number of the memoirs of the Royal Economic Society of Havana, that an estate with 150 negroes, to putting it in a state to produce 2,000 boxes of sugar, may have cost its proprietor 140,000 dollars, and therefore giving a value of 40,000 dollars to that crop; and considering, that with proper management, 15,000 dollars will suffice for the expenses, a net surplus remains of 25,000 dollars, which is about 18 per cent. Could the slaves be bought at reduced prices, the profit would be accordingly greater.

From these considerations the inference seems to me, that the least relaxation of the present system of prevention of slave trade would be eagerly taken advantage of, for the prosecution of those gains, of which I have given these details.

The planters are actively intent on the promotion of their interests. They are proceeding with unremitting assiduity to obtain the best machinery, and carry on their works under the best systems they can learn. Meanwhile the Government is also aiding them, by going on with equal pace in promoting the prosperity of the island. Coals are not only admitted free of duty, but the vessels bringing them are admitted at a reduced tonnage duty. Public works on all sides are wisely carried on. New roads and bridges are in course of construction in every direction, and railroad companies encouraged and supported. Harbours are improved and opened to trade, so that both internal and coasting communications are facilitated. Three lighthouses on the coasts are now building. Public instruction is much attended to, especially a branch lately established for engineers. Better municipal regulations are also formed for public convenience; but above all, the administration of the government under the Conde le Alcoy, the present Captain-General, influencing of course every tribunal and subordinate authority, is placed in a remarkable manner on a footing, which, if it be continued so for a few years, cannot fail to give this island the fullest means of developing all the advantages it possesses.

If the slave trade were opened to them again, the people here would enter into it with an unscrupulousness in which the English colonies could not compete with them, and the ruin therefore of the latter would be complete and immediate.

The Right Hon. Lord Visct. Palmerston, G. C. B.  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) J. Kennedy.

— No. 2. —

(No. 40.)

REPORT from Her Majesty's Acting Commissary Judge, *Sierra Leone*.

My Lord,

Sierra Leone, 31 December 1848.

I HAVE now the honour to present to your Lordship my annual report on the state of slave trade on the western coast of Africa during the year just ended, together with remarks, and such information as I have been able to collect in that period.

Owing to the operation of the Acts of the 2 & 3 Vict. c. 73, and 8 & 9 Vict. c. 122, no vessel has been brought into the Mixed Courts during 1848; but a very large number have been adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court of this colony. That some of such vessels were really Spanish property, (though under the Brazilian flag,) I cannot doubt; but the now general system of destroying the ships' papers, flags, &c. previous to capture, effectually conceals their nationality. This is doubtless caused by the penal law promulgated by Her Catholic Majesty at Madrid, on the 2d day of March 1845, which law seems to have struck the Spanish slave traders with terror, for, during the last two years, only one vessel, the "Atrevida," under the Spanish flag, has been adjudicated in the Mixed Courts of Sierra Leone. The mate and three of the crew (being all who were brought here) of this vessel were, in accordance with the above-mentioned decree, sent prisoners to the Rengente of the courts of justice of the Canary Islands; but I have not yet heard the result of their trial.

It is a fact also, that many of the Brazilian slavers when captured are found without either ships' papers or flag, thereby preventing the disclosure of the names of the owners of the ship and cargo, also the master, supercargo, and officers; and as the system of trying slave vessels in the Vice-Admiralty Court does not expose the names of parties to the public, they of course prefer that to the Mixed Courts, where all the parties concerned are annually exposed in the papers laid before Parliament.

During the past year no case was brought before the British and Spanish, British and Netherlands, British and Chilean, British and Bolivian, British and Argentine, British and Uruguayan, Mixed Courts of Justice.

No slaves were emancipated by the Mixed Courts during the year.

The

The total number of cases prosecuted before the Mixed Commissions since their establishment here in June 1819, up to the present date, is 529; whereof 502 were cases of condemnation, and 27 were either withdrawn, dismissed, or restored to the claimants.

In the same period there have been emancipated by these Mixed Courts 64,625 slaves; of whom 56,935 have been registered here.

I have the honour to enclose for your Lordship's information an official copy, obtained from his Honour the Chief Justice, of a return of vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade, and adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, from the 30th of June to the 31st of December 1848, amounting to 17 vessels, which, with the 14 adjudicated in the same court during the previous half year, gives a total of 31 vessels adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone, in the year just ended, under the Acts of the 5 & 6 Geo. 4, c. 113; 2 & 3 Vict. c. 73; and the Act of the 8 & 9 Vict. c. 122.

Of the 31 vessels, 14 were captured under the Brazilian flag; 15 were without either ships' papers or colours; one under the British flag, and one under the flag of the United States.

The aforesaid captures took place in the following localities: One in the Rio Pongas, two in the harbour of Sierra Leone, one off this colony, 11 between Seabar and Cape Palmas, 14 within six degrees north of the equator, two within four degrees south of the line; and one captured full of slaves, probably on her passage to Cuba, in latitude 12 deg. 22 min. south, longitude 37 deg. 14 min. west.

Among the 31 captures, 13 had slaves on board; the other 18 cases were proceeded against for being found equipped for the slave trade.

The locality in which the 13 vessels having slaves on board were captured, is as follows: Three canoes seized, with 112 slaves on board, within British waters off this colony; nine vessels within six degrees north of the equator; two within four degrees south of the equator; and one was captured full of slaves in latitude 12 deg. 22 min. south, and longitude 37 deg. 14 deg. west.

The number of slaves so captured was 5,619, of whom 5,282 were decreed emancipation; 337 having died before such decree was passed. This dreadful mortality may be accounted for by the inhuman master of the slaver captured by Commander Sprigg, of Her Majesty's sloop "Ferret," having stowed on board his vessel, admeasuring only 167 tons, 852 men, women, and children, 127 of whom died before they were emancipated; and but for the humane conduct of Commander Sprigg, who transhipped about 300 slaves on board the "Ferret," the mortality must have proved even still more appalling.

In the course of the year just ended, two cases of a rather unusual occurrence have been adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court of this place. The first was that of the British steamer "Maid of Islay," William Cunningham Townley, master, which vessel was seized on the 25th of May, in this harbour, by Commander Dunlop, of Her Majesty's sloop "Alert," for being engaged in the slave trade, or otherwise aiding and abetting that traffic.

The "Maid of Islay" was adjudicated on the 19th day of July last, when Mr. Heddle, the acting judge, decreed that the aforesaid vessel, "Maid of Islay," her tackle, apparel, and furniture, be restored to William Cunningham Townley, the master and owner thereof; and the goods, wares, and merchandize on board the same, be restored to Messrs. Hartung & Co., the owners and proprietors of the said cargo; and further decreed the seizer's costs, and condemned the said parties in such costs accordingly.

Against this decree an appeal to a higher court at home has been made by the seizer.

In my despatch marked General, No. 34, of the 18th of December last, I had the honour of transmitting to your Lordship all the particulars I could obtain in reference to this very extraordinary case, I therefore beg respectfully to refer you to the said despatch.

On or about the 27th of September, the American brig "Laurence," Edward York, master, burthen 170 tons, was seized in the harbour of Sierra Leone by Commander Dunlop, of Her Majesty's sloop "Alert," for being found with slave equipment on board, in British waters.

The brig "Laurence" came into this harbour on the 23d of September last, her master alleging that she was making 34 inches of water per hour, and that he came into this port for the purpose of getting his vessel repaired.

On November the 25th the aforesaid American brig "Laurence," Edward York, master, was condemned as good prize in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Sierra Leone. Previous to the day of trial the master took his departure for Brazil, and I believe carried away the register of the "Laurence."

I have further the honour to report for your Lordship's information that Her Majesty's sloop "Alert," Commander Dunlop, arrived in our harbour this morning with 100 slaves on board, who were immediately landed in "the Queen's Yard."

I beg respectfully to solicit your Lordship's attention to this novel and interesting era in the history of the abolition of slave trade, because it clearly proves that a highly important change has taken place in the very locality (Bissão) where an extensive slave trade has flourished for more than 100 years, but where now, many thousands of natives are daily employed in cultivating ground nuts for shipping; and the slave trade is strictly prohibited by the powerful young King Branco, of Beomba. The notorious Cayetano, the Portuguese Governor of Bissão, has also abolished the slave trade, and is employing vast numbers of slaves in cultivating ground nuts upon the British Island of Bulama.

It appears that Commander Dunlop sent his boats into Bassão to search the different creeks that run into the River Jeba, for slavers, and that on hearing of their arrival, his

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majesty King Branco, though sick, officially applied to the commander for help, and requested him to remove to Sierra Leone all the slaves in the barracoons belonging to the two Spaniards, Don Bito (*alias* Victor) Dabreda, and Don José Vanrell;\* at the same time assuring Commander Dunlop that he, the King of Beeomba, had finally abolished the slave trade in his dominions. Thereupon the slaves in the barracoons were asked if they preferred to be then and there made free and remain, when they all declared that they wished to be taken to Sierra Leone. This was acceded to by the authorities, and the slaves were embarked on board the "Alert," and, as before stated, landed in this colony. The two Spaniards fled by land to their companions in human traffic on the Rio Pongos, where the notorious Spanish dealers in slaves, Senior Pellegrin and Don Paul Fabre reside; also the native slave dealers, Mrs. Lightbourne and Mr. Allen.

The Rio Pongos may now be considered the sole mart for the slave trade to the northward of Sierra Leone.

I have only heard of two slavers having escaped with slaves on board from the Rio Pongos during the year 1848, and I believe they were both owned by Spaniards.

I have the pleasure to report to your Lordship that by order of the French Government all the slaves in Senegal and Goree have been emancipated. This highly interesting event cannot fail to produce important effects upon the natives of the neighbouring kingdoms, and to convince them that Great Britain and France are determined not only to suppress the slave trade, but also slavery itself, in every part of their dominions.

Already agriculture, upon a most extensive scale, is in progress among the natives living between this place and Gambia; rice and ground nuts are the chief articles cultivated. The ground nut trade has for several years past formed a highly important and valuable branch of export trade. The demand for ground nuts from France, Hamburgh, and America, far exceeds the supply. I earnestly hope that the spirit of agriculture and commerce, now happily manifesting itself among the natives, is the sure dawn of brighter days for benighted Africa.

With the only exception of the Rio Pongos, I consider that we have now no export slave trade between Cape Blanco and Sierra Leone, a distance of coast of upwards of 600 miles.

Before concluding my report, I beg respectfully to make a few remarks on the suggestions promulgated by certain parties in reference to the withdrawal of the British squadron on this coast for the suppression of the slave trade.

For more than 30 years I have taken a lively interest in the cause of abolition, and my present position in Her Majesty's service, together with a residence of many years in Africa, enable me to state, for your Lordship's information, an opinion gained by actual experience and observation upon the present progress of the cause of the abolition of the slave trade, which I humbly trust may induce some of those who entertain the mistaken views of advocating the withdrawal of the squadron to pause ere they sanction a measure so utterly ruinous to millions of the human family.

It is my firm belief that in nine or twelve months after the withdrawal of our squadron, the whole of Western Africa, from Cape Verde to Benguela, would present a scene of cruelty and devastation too fearful to contemplate; all the progress of Christianity, civilization, and commerce would be annihilated; in a word, Western Africa would, in the course of a year or two, be rolled back to its worst pristine savage condition; the coast would become the resort of the most degraded renegades and pirates of Brazil and other nations.

If our merchants entertain a hope that the trade of palm-oil, gold, ivory, ground-nuts, hides, wax, &c. will continue to exist after the withdrawal of our squadron, I fear that they will be wofully disappointed. The thousands of palm-oil carriers and agricultural labourers would instantly be kidnapped and carried on board slave vessels; after a time the remaining natives would avoid the coast as they would the locality of a plague.

In my humble opinion this dreaded calamity can only be evaded by a strong treaty with Brazil, similar or more stringent than that with Spain. Your Lordship has doubtless noticed the excellent effect of the penal law of Spain, dated the 2d of March 1845, upon the Spanish slave-traders; since its promulgation, upwards of two years ago, we have only had one vessel under Spanish colours brought before the Mixed Courts of Sierra Leone.

I would also venture to remark, that hardly any squadron, however vigilant, and none could be more so than the present, would alone effect the total abolition of the slave trade on this coast, unless it be supported by a zealous, honest co-operation of the Brazilian and Spanish governments.

In my opinion, the concluding part of this great undertaking can only be brought to a successful termination by applying gentler means and strict enforcement of treaties before the squadron is withdrawn from this coast.

The Right Hon. Lord Visc. Palmerston, G. C. B.  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) James Hook.

\* Jose Vanrell was formerly master of the Spanish schooner "Atrevida," condemned in the Mixed Courts of Sierra Leone, on the 8th of December 1847.

— No. 3. —

(No. 131.)

REPORT from Vice-Admiral *Dacres* to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

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Sir,

"President," Simon's Bay, 4 September 1848.

It is with great pleasure that I enclose herewith, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter from Commander Morris, of Her Majesty's ship "Arab," who has lately returned from the Mozambique Channel, stating that the slave trade is believed almost to be entirely suppressed from the Portuguese territories on the east coast of Africa. From information obtained at various times from the officers employed in the Mozambique Channel, I was led to believe that owing to the many discouragements the slave-dealers had experienced by the frequent captures of vessels arriving on the coast for the purpose of receiving slaves; the close manner in which those places from whence the slave-trade was principally carried on has been watched by our cruisers, and the discountenance which has been given to the traffic by Captain de Valle, governor-general of Mozambique, and Major Campos, lieutenant-governor of Quillimane, the slave trade from the Portuguese territories on the east coast of Africa was decidedly on the decline; an impression which is thus so satisfactorily confirmed by Commander Morris's report.

In addition to the beforementioned letter, I enclose another communication from Commander Morris, detailing his proceedings in the suppression of the slave trade in the Mozambique Channel, between the 18th February and 11th June last. In this letter I beg to draw their Lordships' attention to paragraph 7, wherein Commander Morris alludes to a visit which he made up the Angoza River, on which occasion he was visited by some natives from the shore, who evinced every disposition to be on friendly terms; a circumstance which is somewhat remarkable, as these people have never before shown any symptoms of the kind, but, on the contrary, have always received the visits of boats from Her Majesty's ships off this place with great reserve, and frequently in a hostile manner.

5. I have also to draw their Lordships' attention to the statement of Commander Morris in this paragraph, that he is satisfied no slave trade was going on from Angoza, which he alludes to in the second and third paragraphs of his other letter, and wherein he also states that from the severe lesson the people at this place received by the attack made upon them by the boats of the *President* and of the *Eurydice* in November last (as reported in my letters of the 18th November 1847 and the 25th of the same month, Nos. 168, 169), he believes that it is not likely the slave trade will be resumed in this quarter.

6. There was every reason to believe that Angoza was one of the most notorious slave depôts on the coast, and the defensive position the people thereat had assumed, and the sense they entertained of their ability to resist any interference in their unlawful pursuits, had encouraged them to engage in slave trade transactions to the greatest extent. The result therefore of the measures I adopted to remove this evil and to suppress slave trade from Angoza, as now appears by Commander Morris's report, is most gratifying, and I trust that the occasional visit of a ship of war off Angoza will effectually deter these people from engaging in future slave transactions, and that they will be finally induced to turn their means and attention permanently to legitimate commerce.

H. G. Ward, Esq.  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *James Dacres*, Vice-Admiral.

(No. 13.)

Sir,

H. M. S. Arab, Simon's Bay, 2 September 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday (No. 7,) respecting my opinion with regard to the slave trade in the Mozambique; and in answer I have to state, that from the information kindly given by his Excellency the Governor of Mozambique, and the Lieutenant-governor of Quillimane, as well as from information derived from other sources, in frequent conversations with other residents, that I believe the slave trade has been almost suppressed in that quarter, and that during my cruize of five months not one slaver appeared off the coast. My reasons for forming this opinion are grounded on what I heard from all who had an opportunity of judging, that while the former governors of the Portuguese settlements in the Mozambique, not only connived at, but facilitated the escape of slave cargoes (receiving large bribes for so doing), the present governor-general, who was formerly in the English service, not only opposed it strongly himself, but has removed the authorities on the other part of the coast who aided it, appointing those who support his views only; and he has assured me that it is impossible the traffic in slaves can be carried on without the connivance of the Portuguese authorities, and from what I have seen of the coast I fully coincide in his opinion. Also the Lieutenant-governor of Quillimane, in a conversation with Mr. Gallagher, surgeon of this ship, (who generally accompanied me, and whom, from his speaking Portuguese, had many opportunities of eliciting information), stated that almost all the inhabitants at Quillimane were employed in the slave trade, and had been aided in it by his predecessor, who, on his hearing he was superseded, fled with a cargo of slaves shortly before the present governor's arrival.

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arrival. Since he arrived, he has apprehended two slave agents, who had been purchasing slaves for the prize taken by the "Brilliant" off Quillimane in December last, the captain and the two supercargoes of which prize were at Quillimane on my first arrival there. The captain and one of the supercargoes were Portuguese, the other supercargo a Frenchman connected with a French mercantile house, considered respectable at Rio de Janeiro.

These men were immediately ordered to quit the place. He also stated that the traffic could not be carried on without his knowledge; and that, if his life was spared, he was confident he would be able to prevent any further trade in the river, formerly the principal place on the east coast for shipping slaves from. This statement he made while he supposed he was on his deathbed, suffering from coast fever; and from the general character I heard of the present Portuguese authorities being opposed to the traffic, and from the vigilance exercised by the British cruisers, I believe the trade is all but stopped; nor can it be renewed, unless by a change of the present governors for those who were disposed, as formerly, to aid in it.

The only place where slaves can be shipped from the coast, where there is not a Portuguese authority, is Angoza River, and from the severe lesson they lately received from the boat expedition under your command, I do not think it likely to be renewed. When I visited that river with the boats of Her Majesty's brig under my command, on the 29th of April last, there was not the slightest appearance of slaving going on there.

H. G. Ward, Esq.  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) W. Morris,  
Commander.

(No. 11.)

Sir,

H. M. S. Arab, Simon's Bay, 11 June 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that on the 18th of February (the day after my last communication with you by Her Majesty's ship Nimrod), I sailed from Mozambique, and proceeded for Angoza; I went inside the Angosh Islands, and looked well up the river, but saw nothing; I then proceeded to Quinging's River, which I also examined, as well as the Primeira Islands; after which I left for Quillimane, where I anchored on the evening of the 23d February (off the bar).

On the morning of the 25th I went myself in the pinnace up the river, for the purpose of gaining information, and to recover the letters that were left there by this ship and Her Majesty's ship Nimrod. Having communicated with the governor, who seemed well disposed, and anxious to give all the information in his power respecting the slave trade, and after making every inquiry, I left the next morning to return to the ship, and get on board before sunset. At daylight on the 28th I weighed and proceeded off Luabo, looking well up that river, and the branches of the Gambier.

On the 7th of March, having observed a brig anchor up the river Sofala, I anchored, and next morning sent the boats to ascertain what she was, as well as to communicate with the governor, who represented her to be a lawful trader between that port and Quillimane; she had nothing on board that would show that she was employed in slave trade. I weighed the next day, and continued to cruise both in mid-channel, and occasionally looking up the river, but did not see a sail. On the 13th of April I anchored at Mozambique, being then very short of provisions, particularly salt meat and bread; finding no arrival from the Cape, I purchased from an American barque, at a reasonable price, a quantity of salt meat and flour, and procured such other articles of provisions as could be had on shore, which would enable me to keep my station until a man of war might arrive with further orders from you. Having completed water and refitted the ship, I again proceeded to cruise on the 24th; on the evening of the 27th I anchored off Angosh, and on the morning of the 29th I proceeded in the gig, accompanied by the pinnace manned and armed, up the river, for the purpose of making myself acquainted with the bar and river, as well as to observe if there were any slave vessels there at that time; as I had information from the Governor-general of Mozambique that the "John de Castro" Portuguese man-of-war would be in that neighbourhood, I could therefore give every information and assistance in bringing them out.

We proceeded close to the town, but saw no vessels, except one dow laden with corn, and four others on the beach, two of which were undergoing repairs. When close up to the town a boat manned with Arabs came off, and appeared disposed to be friendly, which feeling was met reciprocally by us; I gave them my name, and that of the ship under my command, and sent by the chief my compliments to the sultan. On this occasion I took with me Mr. Green, the master, for the purpose of sounding and making the necessary observations of the course of the river. I succeeded in getting on board the gig by half-past six on that evening, but the pinnace could not cross the bar before the next morning, which she then did. Having quite satisfied myself there was no slaving going on there, I weighed the next morning, and proceeded between the Angosta and Primeira Islands; I anchored off Tago, and examined that island, having heard that there were occasionally slaves landed there to be ready for embarkation, but we saw no barracoons, or any symptoms whatever.

On the morning of the 5th of May we observed a brig at anchor inside the Bar of Quillimane. I immediately sent the boats to examine her, and anchored the brig. The boats returned in the evening from the brig, which proved to be the Leon, the same vessel

we boarded a month before going into that port (a lawful trader); she was then on her passage to Mozambique, to dispose of the remainder of her cargo (which was a general one). We heard that no man-of-war had been off there since we left. I can safely rely on the information I received, that no slaves had appeared off that part of the coast.

On the 7th we weighed and proceeded to cruize to the southward, going close off, and looking up all the rivers between that and Delagoa Bay; and continued cruising until the 23d May.

Getting then short of provisions, I proceeded agreeably to your orders for Simon's Bay, where I arrived at twenty-five minutes past nine, p. m. of this day.

I have, &c.  
(signed) W. Morris, Commander

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— No. 4. —

EXTRACT from a REPORT, dated Zanzibar, 24 October 1848, by Captain *Anson*, of Her Majesty's Ship "Eurydice," to Vice-Admiral *Dacres*.

AT Mozambique I placed myself in communication with his Excellency the Governor, who informed me that all slavery had ceased long ago, and that two vessels had shown themselves off Angoza for the purposes of traffic; that the natives had repulsed them, saying they would have no dealing with them; that they wished to be on good terms, and not again to embroil themselves in a fight.

His Excellency de Valle, is much pleased at the result of the lesson the Angoza people received last year, and says that he feels sure that the whole trade will be stopped for some time to come in his dominions.

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— No. 5. —

(No. 197.)

REPORT from Vice-Admiral *Dacres* to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"President," Simon's Bay, 1 December 1848.

HAVING this day given up the command of Her Majesty's ships and vessels on the Cape of Good Hope station, I have the honour to submit my final report of the slave trade from the coast of Africa within the limits of the said command.

My last report, dated 4th September last, No. 131, conveyed to their Lordships the gratifying intelligence that the slave trade from the east coast of Africa might be supposed to be on the decline; and indeed from the communications from Commander Morris enclosed, it may be believed that the traffic had entirely ceased on that part of the coast, in the neighbourhood of Quillimane, &c., from whence it was formerly actively carried on.

I have not received any subsequent report on the slave trade in the Mozambique Channel since the date of Commander Morris's letters, but I have every reason to hope that this information will be confirmed by future reports from officers employed in the suppression of the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, and that the pleasing prospect now held out of the entire suppression of this detestable traffic therefrom will be eventually realized. The causes which may be believed to have led to the decline of slave trade on the east coast of Africa, are as follows:

First. The improved integrity of the high Portuguese authorities lately employed at the principal governments on the coast. I have, on more than one occasion, brought to their Lordships' notice the very laudable example which appears to be set to the different Portuguese functionaries on the coast of Africa by Governor-general de Valle, of Mozambique, and Governor Campos, of Quillimane, both of whom appear to be moved by the most sincere desire to discountenance slave trade from the Portuguese territories in every possible manner, and who really deserve the thanks and best wishes of every well-wisher to the cause. Exposed to a pestiferous climate, with the most slender allowances from their government, their inducements are great indeed to swerve from the path of rectitude, and avail themselves of means which offer so temptingly of enriching themselves, and escaping from the dangerous and irksome service on which they are employed, temptations which few of the Portuguese governors have hitherto been enabled to resist. The praise, then, which is justly due to Captain de Valle and Major Campos, is great, and it is to be hoped that they will persevere in their present upright course, and which cannot fail to be the main instrument in suppressing slave trade from this quarter.

Secondly. The occasional captures which have been made on the coast during the period of my command, and the vigilance of the blockade generally maintained thereon by the cruisers. From all the information I have been able to obtain, I have been led to believe that the number of vessels which have been captured during the period of my command

Appendix, No. 3.

have been nearly two-thirds of the number which have visited the coast for slaving purposes. Besides two Arab dows, captured by the "Mutine," the vessels taken consist of the "Amelia" ship, prize to the "Mutine;" the "Kentucky" brig, burnt in the Angoza River, on the approach of the boats of the "Cleopatra," on the 18th of May 1846; the "Constante" barque, of American build, but under Brazilian colours, captured by the "Cleopatra"; the "Improviso" Brazilian barque (American bottom), also prize to the "Cleopatra"; the "Phaon," new brig, under Brazilian colours, prize to the "Brilliant," and the "Alzira" Brazilian ship, also captured by the "Brilliant." Besides these the American barque "Lucy Penniman," was interrupted in her illegal pursuits, by being conducted out of the Angoza River, by the "Cleopatra," under the peculiar circumstances reported in my letter of the 6th July 1846, No. 116. The "Majoun," American brig, was seized by the Portuguese officers in the Angoza River, on the occasion of the expedition thereto of the boats of this ship, and the "Eurydice," in November 1847, and a brig, name unknown, was chased by the "Cleopatra" into Lorenzo Marques, where she was seized by the Portuguese authorities in the Angoza River, on the occasion of the expedition thereto of the boats of this ship, and the "Eurydice," in November 1847; and a brig, name unknown, was chased by the "Cleopatra" into Lorenzo Marques, where she was seized by the Portuguese authorities, and afterwards navigated to Mozambique by the "Cleopatra," for condemnation, under the circumstances reported in my letter of the 6th of July 1846, No. 110. The "Nova Alliança," and "Duas Irmaos," were also captured by the "Brilliant" and "Conway" respectively, on their passages to and from the Cape of Good Hope, the latter near St. Helena. Reverting to the first named captures, the practice of employing American vessels on voyages to the coast of Africa, when on the necessary arrangements being completed they are turned into slave vessels, has been frequently brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government by Her Majesty's minister at Rio de Janeiro, &c. This practice, it is believed, has been general with all the vessels which have lately resorted to the east coast of Africa on slaving voyages. The vessels arrive thereon, with American colours, under which they remain, until the slave cargo is prepared, and other arrangements for receiving the same completed; a simulated register accounts for the future crew as passengers, and when all is ready, the American colours are hauled down, the former captain and crew probably repair on board some other vessel (an accomplice in the transaction), and the slaver ship starts with her cargo, either under Brazilian colours, or with none at all. Sometimes it is found convenient to change the colours before the completion of the final arrangements, and hence the capture of the "Constante," "Improviso," and "Phaon," all of which were of American build, but under Brazilian colours. It is also customary for a vessel to be dispatched to the coast, the captain of which is a kind of agent, furnished with a certain amount to purchase and arrange slave cargoes for vessels, afterwards to arrive on the coast. This vessel will remain many months, and even years, thus employed, until the funds are exhausted, when she winds up, by receiving a cargo of slaves herself. From information obtained, there was little doubt but that the "Amelia," "Constante," and "Lucy Penniman," were vessels of this description; both the "Amelia" and "Lucy Penniman" were known to have been on the coast a long time; all three were capacious vessels, and capable of holding a large number of slaves. The capture therefore of the two former, and the interruption to the latter vessel, were very satisfactory, and no doubt prevented the expatriation of nearly 2,000 slaves, besides disheartening the slave dealers to a great extent. The "Phaon" was a new American clipper, and reputed to be a very fast sailer; a slave cargo was in waiting for her, it is believed, at Luabo, and hence her capture was very fortunate. I have, I trust, exhibited in a satisfactory manner to their Lordships, that though the captures of slave vessels have not been so numerous during the period of my command, those which have been made, and, I might add, but for the protection given to them by the American flag, might further have been made, have been very effective, and I have no doubt, greatly assisted in the decline of the slave trade from the east coast of Africa.

The third cause which has doubtless assisted in the decline of slave trade in the Mozambique, is the expense incurred by the slave dealers in supporting a large assemblage of slaves on the coast, when the immediate embarkation of them is interrupted, and which has, I am led to believe, been particularly felt by the slave dealers at Angoza, by the destruction of the "Kentucky," and withdrawal of the "Lucy Penniman," as before alluded to, and the seizure of the "Majoun," in November 1847. It was known that for these vessels nearly 2,000 slaves had been assembled at Angoza, and were on the eve of embarkation, but for the timely interruption given to the same. Nothing, therefore, could have been more opportune than the measures which were taken, both on the occasion of the ascent of the river by the boats of the "Cleopatra," and the attack made on this most notorious slave depôt, by the boats of this ship and the "Eurydice," as reported in my despatch of the 25th November 1847, No. 169. The panic which this salutary chastisement produced, not only at Angoza itself, but for a great distance along the coast, was extraordinary, and accompanied as it was with a severe pecuniary loss to the slave agents at Angoza, and involving them also in considerable embarrassments with the native chiefs, who received payments for the slaves they provided on shipment thereof, was of incalculable benefit in disheartening the slave dealers, and also the chiefs at and in the neighbourhood of this most notorious slave depôt, in the pursuit of their inhuman traffic; and will, I fondly trust, be the means of inducing these misguided people to turn their means and attention to lawful commerce, for which the Angoza River offers many and great advantages.

Fourthly. Another cause which may be supposed to have assisted in the decline of the slave trade is the disastrous effect which has been produced on the agricultural interests of the country, in the neighbourhood of Senna and Teta, by the large levies of slaves which have so long been made therefrom, and which has so deprived the agriculturists of the means of labour as to occasion the neglect of large tracts of country formerly under cultivation, and from which the chiefs and owners derived considerable emoluments. In August 1845, Dr. Peters, a German naturalist, writing to Captain Wyvill, of the "Cleopatra," from Senna, stated "that he had made several excursions through the country, even beyond the frontier of the Portuguese possessions; nothing can be imagined more miserable than the state of the country. Slave trade has ruined those who thought to profit by it, and the most beautiful and richest ground lay uncultivated; for they are deprived of those whose natural constitutions make them alone capable of labour under such a climate, whose poisonous influence will always offer an invincible hindrance to European colonization." Here there is a very sufficient reason for the persons in this neighbourhood having turned their attention to legitimate commerce, and I sincerely trust that the doctor's statement will be in every way corroborated, and that the people generally in those parts will eventually turn their means and attention permanently to lawful traffic, to their final and complete abandonment of slave trade.

In my letter to their Lordships of the 6th July 1846, No. 111, I reported that the Governor-general of Mozambique had, by directions from his Government, withdrawn a permission which he had issued to Her Majesty's cruisers, to enter such ports, &c. in the territories of Her most faithful Majesty where there were not any competent authorities (Portuguese), and to seize vessels found therein engaged in slave trade. And in my letters of the 28th December 1846, No. 202, and 11th June 1847, No. 104, I earnestly represented to their Lordships the evils of such a measure, and the probability of its adding fresh stimulus to the slave trade. It has been, therefore, with the greatest pleasure that I have been furnished by Rear Admiral Reynolds with a copy of the protocol of conference, held on the 12th August 1847, between the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and Portugal, by which the prohibition to our cruisers to enter the ports, &c. in question has been removed; and I am convinced that such will be of the greatest benefit in suppressing the slave trade from the east coast of Africa.

In my letter of the 28th December 1846, No. 202, I informed their Lordships that I had furnished each of the commanding officers under my orders with a copy of a letter from Captain Hamerton, Her Majesty's consul at Zanzibar, representing that his Highness, the Imaum of Muscat, did not consider the ports in his dominions to be places of refuge, or as neutral ports, for any foreign vessels carrying on the slave trade; I did not, however, feel it expedient to issue to the commanding officers any definitive orders to act in a matter involving, as it did, a subject of national interference, until the same had been referred to Her Majesty's Government, (which I had no doubt Captain Hamerton had done); I beg therefore to remind their Lordships of this circumstance, and also to call their attention to the laudable feeling thus evinced by the Imaum to suppress slave trade from his dominions, reflecting as it does so much credit on that liberal prince.

Turning now to the other side of the Mozambique Channel, I have to refer their Lordships to the gratifying results of the visits of Commander Brown, of the "Geyser," to Boyanna and St. Augustin Bays, and to the successful treaties which he has concluded with King Raboukie at the former place, and Prince William at Dartmouth River, both of which chiefs have bound themselves not to engage in slave trade, from their territories, and copies of which treaties accompanied my letter to their Lordships of the 21st of November last, No. 178. Although there was no reason to believe that slave trade has been carried on from the west coast of Madagascar during the period of my command, still the engagement of these chiefs by formal treaties to abstain from slave trade transactions is very satisfactory, as it is impossible to calculate what future interests may arise, which may induce them to resort to such means of aggrandisement. The early appointment of a British agent or consul at Boyanna and St. Augustin Bays, is now much to be desired, in order to secure the advantages which have been thus gained, and effectually bind these chiefs to a faithful adherence to their engagements. In the early part of the year, I received information that slave vessels were in the practice of making their voyages to and from the western coast of Africa, a few degrees to the south of St. Helena, and which was in some degree corroborated by the captures made by the "Brilliant" and "Conway," alluded to in the former part of this letter, one of which vessels was taken in latitude 28° 46' S., longitude 5° 20' W. With the view, therefore, of interrupting some of these vessels, in May last I stationed the "Nimrod" to the southward of St. Helena for some weeks; Commander Belgrave did not succeed in capturing any slave vessels, although he chased some of a suspicious character. But I have no doubt the appearance of a ship of war in that part will be circulated amongst the slavers, and prove a subject of embarrassment to them in selecting that track for the future. The fact, however, of the slave vessels following this route is, I think, sufficiently established, as to render it extremely desirable that a ship of war should be for some time stationed to the southward of St. Helena, but as the squadron on the Cape of Good Hope station is now barely sufficient to look after the wide interests required of them to the eastward of the Cape, I would submit to their Lordships that one of the vessels on the western coast of Africa be detached from that station, and placed under the orders of the Commander in Chief at the Cape, to cruise in the neighbourhood of St. Helena accordingly.

Appendix, No. 3.

In conclusion, I have to acquaint their Lordships that although the gratifying prospect of the entire suppression of slave trade from the east coast of Africa is very promising, it appears to me that for some considerable time none of the measures now maintained for its suppression should be relaxed. The constant appearance of vessels of war on the coast, and the frequent visits to the different Portuguese ports will be necessary, not only to deter the persons who formerly engaged in the slave trade from resuming their nefarious traffic, and which immunity from interruption might induce them to attempt, but also to keep the Portuguese authorities on the alert, and stimulate them to a faithful discharge of their duties, upon which so much of the success of the cause of the suppression of slave trade depends.

The "Nimrod" not being furnished with foreign slave-trade warrants, which renders her less efficient as a cruiser, I have made arrangements to appoint her to the duties of Mauritius, for which she is better qualified, and to station both the "Brilliant" and "Eurydice" in the Mozambique for the suppression of slave trade. By this there will be two active and zealous officers, with fast-sailing ships, employed upon that duty, and the best means of the squadron will be employed to hasten the final suppression of slave trade from the east coast of Africa.

H. G. Ward, Esq., M.P., &c. &c. &c.  
Admiralty.

I have, &c.  
(signed) J. Dacres,  
Vice-Admiral.

— No. 6. —

(No. 7.)

LETTER from Her Majesty's Commissary Judge, *Havana*.

My Lord,

Havana, 26 January 1849.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have not heard of any vessel having been despatched hence, suspected of having been intended for slave trade, since my despatch, No. 64 of 1848, dated the 20th of last month. Of those despatches hence during the last year there are accounts here, I am informed, of three having been captured, and it is said that the vigilance of the cruisers is so great on the coast as to leave little hope of escape. They report that the cruisers are arranged within 20 miles of each other, and almost in sight, along the places of resort, so as to form a complete blockade. As there is no particular demand for slaves, the dealers are therefore again obliged to discontinue further thoughts of their trade.

One vessel, however, has arrived during the month, but I understand it only brought about 50 slaves, having been chased off the coast before they could get the remainder on board. It came to the south side of the island, but to what part or to whom I cannot learn, and I have no doubt that the cargo has been at once taken on private account, and so, not coming into the market, may not be more heard of. A planter who was in the city three days since, reported that he had been offered some of them.

Mr. Crawford has shown me copies of the correspondence he has had with the captain-general of this island respecting some evidently newly-introduced Africans, who were brought to this city on the 6th instant, in the rail-cars from San Antonio, who are said by the captain-general to have been a portion of those seized in July last. But if, as he maintained, there were then none brought except those of the felucca "Columbia," we know that those consisted almost entirely of children, whereas those brought on the 6th instant were remarkably tall strong young men. The captain-general therefore again appears to me to be allowing himself to receive any account the parties please to give him, without inquiry into the fact, with a view to arrest or punish such proceedings.

I am glad to have to add, that this government have ceased putting on board the hulk, formerly the "Romney," any more persons coming from places where cholera exists. It is still, however, used for fumigating goods brought in vessels from such places.

The Right Hon. Visct. Palmerston, G. C. B., M. P.  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) James Kennedy.

EXTRACT from a REPORT, dated 20 January 1849, presented by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies.

I HAVE the greatest satisfaction in being able to announce that the abominable traffic of slaves has ceased to be carried on under the Portuguese flag (Documents No. 8, 9, and 10), owing as much to the strict observance of the positive orders of the government by the Portuguese consuls in foreign countries, and by the colonial authorities, as to the good services of the Mixed Commissions and Court of Prizes, and of the active and incessant persecution of our cruisers on the African coasts, whose zeal has been repeatedly praised by the British Government (Documents No. 11, 12, and 13).

## Documents referred to in the above Extract.

(Translation.)

(No. 8.)

COPY of a paragraph from the Letter No. 10, from Joao Baptista Moreira, the Portuguese Consul-general in Rio de Janeiro, dated 28 April 1848, to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

I CAN assure your Excellency most positively that slaving expeditions from this port to any part of the coast of Africa are, under our flag, wholly extinct; and that no vessel shall leave this place, even when laden with a legitimate cargo, without my being perfectly assured that the Portuguese name shall not suffer the least prejudice by such illegal as well as criminal speculations.

(Correct.)

Foreign Office, Lisbon, }  
20 January 1849. } (signed) *Antonio Joaquim Gomes d'Oliveira.*

(No. 9.)

Illustrious and Excellent Senhor,

IN pursuance of my duty I have to inform your Excellency that the brig "Bom Successo," Captain Joao Maximiano Pitta, Ouner, Manoel Jose Constantino, of Loando, from which place she arrived in ballast, on entering this port on the 18th instant was visited on the part of this Consulate, and no signs having been found of her having been engaged in the slave trade contrary to the decree of 10 December 1836, I have no suspicion attaching to her; all her papers and despatches are perfectly regular, and she sailed from that port on the 24th day of last month. I have very great satisfaction in making the above communication to your Excellency, and still greater in being able to state that in this province the smuggling of slaves has for a long time ceased.

God preserve Your Excellency.

Portuguese Consulate in Pernambuco, }  
29 April 1848. } (signed) *Joaquim Baptista Moreira,*  
Consul.

To the Illustrious and Excellent Duke of Saldanha,  
&c. &c. &c.

(Correct.)

Foreign Office, Lisbon, }  
20 January 1849. } (signed) *Antonio Joaquim Gomes d'Oliveira.*

(No. 10.)

EXTRACT of a paragraph of Letter No. 16, dated 20 August 1847, from Joaquim José da Costa Portugal, Portuguese Consul in Bahia, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During the two years that I have held this Consulship not a single negro has arrived in the district appertaining to it, in a ship under the Portuguese flag; this I am able to certify to your Excellency.

(Correct.)

Foreign Office, Lisbon, }  
20 January 1849. } (signed) *Antonio Joaquim Gomes d'Oliveira.*

(No. 11.)

British Legation at Lisbon,  
15 September 1848.

Monsieur le Ministre,  
I HAVE received the instructions of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to communicate to your Excellency the despatch, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, by which his Lordship has been informed of the destruction of a barracoon at Benguella Velha by the Portuguese naval forces employed in the suppression of the slave trade.

Appendix, No. 3.

Her Majesty's Government have received with sincere satisfaction this proof of the activity of the Portuguese squadron, and of the good faith of the authorities by whom its proceedings are directed.

I take this opportunity of repeating to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration and esteem.

His Excellency Sen. J. J. Gomes de Castro,  
&c. &c. &c.

(signed) *G. H. Seymour.*

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Enclosure in No. 11.

My Lord,

Loanda, 24 April 1848.

WE have the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 15th ultimo the crews of Her most faithful Majesty's ships of war, *Relampago*, *Ninfa e Constituição*, cruising off *Benguella Velha*, were landed at that point for the purpose of going through and examining the different barracoons there situated. On this occasion they found one 80 feet in length, and 45 in breadth, in which there were considerable quantities of beans, Indian corn, mats, 20 muskets, and a great many iron collars for slaves; and considering these articles to be a clear proof that the barracoon was intended for slaves destined for embarkation, the officer in command determined on setting fire to the barracoon, the existence of which is declared in the official report of the commandant of the Portuguese naval station to be in contravention of the treaties and of existing instructions.

The barracoon was said by the neighbours to be the property of *Manoel José Constantino*, but it was found completely deserted, the parties belonging to it having fled on the first approach of the naval force.

We have, &c.

The Viscount Palmerston, G.C.B.,  
&c. &c. &c.

(signed) *George Jackson,*  
*Edmund Gabriel.*

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(No. 12.)

Monsieur le Ministre,

Lisbon, 16 September 1848.

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of the note which your Excellency did me the honour to address to me on the 9th instant.

The resolution of the ministry, relating to the destruction by powder of all vessels taken at *Loanda*, like any other demonstration of a fixed purpose of putting an end to an odious traffic, will, I am confident, be received with great satisfaction by Her Majesty's Government, and I beg to offer to your Excellency my warm thanks for being enabled to make them so agreeable a communication.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration and esteem.

His Excellency Sen. J. J. Gomes de Castro,

(signed) *G. H. Seymour.*

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(No. 13.)

Monsieur le Ministre,

British Legation at Lisbon, 26 Dec. 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency a copy of a letter which was addressed on the 20th July last, by the Commodore of Her Majesty's squadron on the West Coast of Africa to *Senhor da Cunha*, late governor of *Angola*, on the occasion of his relinquishing the command of that province.

In communicating this paper to your Excellency, I am instructed by Viscount Palmerston to state, that Her Majesty's Government highly appreciate the energy and good faith which has distinguished the administration of that high-minded and meritorious officer.

I avail myself of this opportunity to repeat to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration and esteem.

His Excellency the Viscount de Castro,  
&c. &c. &c.

(signed) *G. H. Seymour.*

Enclosure in No. 13.

Sir,

Penelope, St. Paul de Loanda, 20 July 1848.

UNDERSTANDING that your Excellency will shortly relinquish the government of this colony, I do myself the honour to request your Excellency to accept my thanks for the cordial co-operation which you have been pleased to render in all matters connected with the suppression of the slave trade.

The assistance which your Excellency has invariably afforded to the cruizers of Her Britannic Majesty calls for my sincere acknowledgments; the resources of the port have been placed entirely at their disposal, and their wants supplied as far as circumstances permitted.

It will be my duty to make Her Majesty's Government acquainted with these services, and I am satisfied that they will be highly gratified with the loyalty and sincerity with which the representative of Her most faithful Majesty has carried out the desire of the two governments, and thankful for the ready aid granted to their ships.

I have, &amp;c.

(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

His Excellency P. A. da Cunha,  
&c. &c. &c.

(1.)

MEMORANDUM showing, so far as can be ascertained at the Foreign Office, the PRICE of SLAVES in *Cuba* and in *Brazil* in 1847 and 1848, and the Price in former Times, before the Maritime Police, under Treaties and Acts of Parliament, became effective.

YEAR.	PRICE.	AUTHORITY.
CUBA:		
1821 (a) -	100 dollars; say 20 <i>l.</i> -	Bandinel on Slave Trade, p. 288.
1847 -	- From 450 to 500 dollars; say 100 <i>l.</i> to 120 <i>l.</i>	-- Captain Matson. (See Report of Committee of House of Commons on Slave Trade, 1848, Nos. 1494, 1495, 1496.)
1848 -	-- About 400 dollars; say 80 <i>l.</i> (b)	-- Mr. Kennedy's Despatch of 1 January 1849, read by Lord Palmerston to the Committee, 19 March 1849.
BRAZIL:		
1821 (c) -	100 dollars; say 20 <i>l.</i> -	Bandinel on Slave Trade, p. 288.
1847 -	About 50 <i>l.</i> - - -	-- See Report of Committee of House of Commons on Slave Trade, 1848, Nos. 4103, 4104, 4106, 4686, 1866, 3358, 3510, 6570, and 5493.
1848 -	Not known.	

(a) No statement of price between 1784 and this period can be found; but it is to be presumed that the small naval force employed under the inefficient treaty of 1817 could not have much affected the slave trade of Cuba up to this time.

(b) Estimated price that a newly-imported slave would fetch.

(c) The slave trade of Brazil was almost wholly unrestricted in 1821. The treaty of 1817 with Portugal did not prohibit slave trade from the coast of Africa south of the Line to Brazil.

Foreign Office, 24 March 1849.

(2.)

LIST of SLAVE VESSELS captured in the Years 1847 and 1848 by Her Majesty's Cruizers employed in the Suppression of the Slave Trade (so far as is known at the Foreign Office).

Name of Vessel.	Date of Capture.	Sentence.	By what Court Adjudicated.	Tonnage.	Number of Slaves Captured.
1. Telma - - - -	1847: 10 January	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	119 $\frac{1}{2}$	
2. Constante Amizade -	14 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	65	
3. Anna e Constancia -	19 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	104 $\frac{823}{3500}$	
4. Phedro - - - -	29 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	92 $\frac{1822}{3500}$	
5. Phaon - - - -	18 February	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape.	200 (about).	
6. Nictheroy - - - -	26 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	153	
7. Saron - - - -	18 March -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	123	
8. Jupiter - - - -	18 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	63	
9. Brig, unknown (supposed Tres Amigos).	19 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	415 (foreign).	
10. Brig, unknown (supposed Rey d'Aquiton).	25 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	179 - -	517
11. Taglioni - - - -	30 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	86	
12. Schooner, unknown -	30 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	67 $\frac{76}{100}$ - -	317
13. Joanito - - - -	4 April -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	52	
14. Bahiano - - - -	11 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	83 $\frac{620}{3500}$	
15. Schooner, unknown -	17 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	35 $\frac{2728}{3500}$	305
16. Felucca, unknown -	17 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	80 ft. long, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. brd., 3 ft. 9 inches deep.	
17. Gustavo Primeiro -	18 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	115	
18. Barque, unknown -	24 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	375 (foreign).	
19. Sloop, unknown -	5 May -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	38 (foreign) -	214
20. Duas Irmaas - - - -	24 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	56	
21. Tito - - - -	26 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	213 $\frac{2084}{3500}$	
22. Braziliense - - - -	5 June -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	211 $\frac{1}{2}$	
23. Felucca, unknown -	19 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	80 ft. long, 24 ft. brd., 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep.	
24. Ferao - - - -	24 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	83 $\frac{2519}{3500}$	
25. Brig, unknown - - - -	12 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	189 $\frac{3373}{3500}$	514
26. Principe d'Onim - - -	25 -	Restored	- ditto - - -	118 (foreign).	
27. São Sebastiao - - -	2 July -	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	66 (foreign).	
28. Esperto - - - -	9 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	145 $\frac{1}{2}$	
29. Brig, unknown - - - -	9 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	207	
30. Dez d'Outubro - - -	16 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	28 $\frac{298}{3500}$	57
31. Faisca - - - -	19 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	191	
32. Prendedora - - - -	22 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	113 $\frac{2095}{3500}$	608
33. Faisca - - - -	24 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	50 $\frac{280}{3500}$	
34. Romeo Primeiro - - -	22 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	93 $\frac{1852}{3500}$	
35. Polacca Brig (supposed N <sup>ra</sup> Sen <sup>ra</sup> de la Gardia).	26 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	260 (foreign).	
36. Graça - - - -	26 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	91 $\frac{2583}{3500}$	447
37. Esperança - - - -	30 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	69 $\frac{320}{3500}$	220
38. Brigantine, unknown -	6 August -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	100 (foreign).	
39. Lebro - - - -	7 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	127 $\frac{1050}{3500}$	189
40. Unknown - - - -	11 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	340 (foreign).	20
41. Brigantine, unknown -	11 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	109 $\frac{2475}{3500}$	374
42. Adelaide - - - -	12 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	147	
43. Nero - - - -	18 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	119 $\frac{1}{2}$	
44. Theodosia - - - -	25 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	86 $\frac{1457}{3500}$	
45. Maria da Gloria - - -	28 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	71 (foreign).	

Name of Vessel.	Date of Capture.	Sentence.	By what Court Adjudicated.	Tonnage.	Number of Slaves Captured.
1847:					
46. Phœnix - - -	29 August	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	145 (foreign).	
47. Maria Thereza - - -	9 September	ditto	ditto	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	
48. Astrea - - -	9 -	ditto	ditto	159	
49. Schooner (supposed Faceirinha).	10 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	37 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{5}{8}$ $\frac{3}{8}$	265
50. Atrevida - - -	14 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	248	
51. Aventureiro - - -	1 October	ditto	ditto	113	
52. Schooner (supposed Maria)	2 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	30 $\frac{7}{8}$ $\frac{2}{8}$ $\frac{0}{8}$	237
53. Venus - - -	7 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	180 $\frac{1}{2}$	
54. Sappho - - -	8 -	ditto	ditto	173	
55. Barque, unknown - - -	8 -	ditto	ditto	300 (foreign).	
56. Brig, unknown - - -	9 -	ditto	ditto	240 (foreign).	
57. Atrevida - - -	11 -	ditto	Mixed British and Spanish Court, Sierra Leone.	42 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{2}{0}$ $\frac{0}{0}$	
58. Sylphide - - -	17 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	312	
59. Quatorze de Novembro -	19 -	ditto	ditto	65 ft. long, 19 ft. 4 in. broad, 9 ft. 7 in. deep.	
60. Heroína - - -	24 -	ditto	ditto	62 (foreign).	
61. Rey Bango - - -	27 -	ditto	ditto	10 - - -	60
62. St. Antonio Ditozo - -	3 November	ditto	ditto	61 (foreign).	
63. Eolo - - -	6 -	ditto	ditto	77	
64. Isabel - - -	7 -	ditto	ditto	170 $\frac{1}{2}$	
65. Brig, unknown - - -	15 -	ditto	ditto	152 $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{2}{8}$	
66. Boa Fé - - -	15 -	ditto	ditto	53 (foreign).	
67. Luiza - - -	20 -	ditto	ditto	162 $\frac{1}{2}$	650
68. Conceição - - -	23 -	ditto	ditto	81 ft. long, 21 ft. 4 in. broad, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ft. deep.	
69. Brigantine, unknown (supposed Palma).	26 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	95 ft. long, 26 ft. broad, 15 ft. deep.	1
70. Schooner, unknown -	29 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	70 ft. long, 16 ft. broad, 6 ft. deep.	
71. Brig, unknown - - -	1 December	ditto	ditto	125 ft. long, 28 ft. broad, 14 ft. deep.	
72. Schooner, unknown -	1 -	ditto	ditto	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	
73. Maria Augusta - - -	2 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	78 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{0}$ $\frac{0}{0}$	
74. Aguia - - -	8 -	ditto	ditto	95 $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	747
75. Brig (supposed Malaga) -	11 -	ditto	ditto	167 $\frac{0}{3}$ $\frac{2}{0}$ $\frac{0}{0}$	852
76. Santa Anna - - -	11 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	56 ft. long, 14 ft. broad, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ft. deep.	
77. Gæo - - -	16 -	ditto	ditto	106 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad, 12 ft. deep.	
78. Cidade d'Angra - - -	27 -	ditto	ditto	276	
TOTAL of Slaves Captured in 1847 - - -					6,594
1848:					
1. Umbelina - - -	1 January	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	191	
2. Pedreira - - -	4 -	ditto	ditto	114 (foreign).	
3. Alzira - - -	5 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, the Cape.	423 (foreign).	
4. Maria Constancia - -	12 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	66 (foreign).	
5. Leopoldina - - -	14 -	ditto	ditto	156 (foreign).	
6. Felucca, unknown - -	14 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	49 $\frac{3}{8}$ $\frac{5}{8}$ $\frac{3}{8}$	
7. Unknown Brigantine -	16 -	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	95 ft. long, 26 ft. broad, 13 ft. deep.	
8. Sao José - - -	21 -	ditto	ditto	124 (foreign).	
9. Sylphide - - -	24 -	ditto	ditto	132	
10. Adelaide - - -	25 -	ditto	ditto	140 $\frac{1}{2}$	
11. Schooner, unknown -	26 -	ditto	ditto	35 ft. long, 8 ft. broad, 3 ft. 9 in. deep.	
12. Importador - - -	1 February	ditto	ditto	117	
13. Schooner, unknown -	8 -	ditto	ditto	40 ft. long, 8 ft. 10 in. broad, 3 ft. 9 in. deep.	48

## APPENDIX TO FIRST REPORT FROM THE

Name of Vessel.	Date of Capture.	Sentence.	By what Court Adjudicated.	Tonnage.	Number of Slaves Captured.
14. Brigantine, unknown	1848: 9 February	Condemned	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	103 ft. long, 27 ft. 3 in. brd., 12 ft. 9 in. deep.	6
15. Pagaseira	10	ditto	ditto	unknown	
16. Monarcha	13	ditto	ditto	94 ft. long, 27 ft. broad, 15 ft. deep.	
17. Gentil Africano	18	ditto	ditto	316 $\frac{1}{2}$	6
18. Brigantine, unknown	24	ditto	ditto	85 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, 21 ft. brd., 12 ft. 2 in. deep.	
19. Constancia	28	ditto	ditto	78 ft. long, 22 ft. broad, 14 ft. deep.	6
20. Maria	7 March	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	78 $\frac{1327}{3500}$	
21. Flora	13	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	179 (foreign).	403
22. Dois Amigos	14	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	78 $\frac{1480}{3500}$	
23. Nereide	20	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	101 $\frac{1}{4}$	354
24. Cazualidade	22	ditto	ditto	248 $\frac{19}{4}$ (old admeasurement).	270
25. Flor do Marium	22	ditto	ditto	149 $\frac{3}{4}$ (old admeasurement).	
26. Guahyba	24	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	87 $\frac{164}{3500}$	522
27. Venus	24	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	113 (foreign).	
28. Vigilante	25	ditto	ditto	74	275
29. Zeféro	31	ditto	ditto	180	
30. S <sup>o</sup> Francisco de Boa Fé	2 April	ditto	ditto	74 (foreign).	275
31. Princeza Dona Isabel	3	ditto	ditto	149	
32. Mercurio	7	ditto	ditto	218	522
33. Bello Mequellino	22	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	140 $\frac{200}{3500}$	
34. Secundo Andorinha	24	ditto	ditto	64 $\frac{1641}{3500}$	501
35. Meltemao	1 May	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	95 $\frac{1}{2}$	495
36. Aurora	1	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	35 $\frac{1376}{3500}$	
37. Temerario	3	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	128	250
38. Josephina	4	ditto	ditto	67 (foreign)	
39. Maria Candida	5	ditto	ditto	41 (foreign).	275
40. Paquete do Cabo	11	ditto	ditto	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	
41. Anna Carolina	11	ditto	ditto	130 $\frac{65}{4}$ (old admeasurement).	529
42. Santa Cruz	14	ditto	ditto	100 ft. long, 26 ft. 9 in. brd., 12 ft. 3 in. deep.	
43. Triunfo de Brazil	19	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	41 $\frac{1}{10}$	529
44. Schooner, unknown	22	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	94 ft. long, 21 ft. broad, 9 ft. deep.	
45. Maid of Islay	25	Restored	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	86 $\frac{74}{4}$	529
46. Pharfao	31	Condemned	ditto	99 ft. long, 25 ft. broad, 14 ft. deep.	
47. Castro 3 <sup>o</sup>	10 June	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	81	529
48. Pensamento	14	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	247 (foreign)	
49. Brigantine, unknown	18	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	86 ft. long, 26 ft. broad, 13 ft. deep.	529
50. Traga Amelias	19	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	63 $\frac{76}{10}$	
51. Marianna	20	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	112	529
52. Thereza	22	ditto	ditto	207	
53. Bella Maria	22	ditto	ditto	131	529
54. Curioso	24	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	89	
55. Andorinha	28	ditto	ditto	90 ft. long, 22 ft. broad, 15 ft. deep.	303
56. Secundo de Sulho	2 July	ditto	ditto	70 $\frac{10}{10}$	
57. Brigantine, unknown	5	ditto	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	92 ft. long, 23 ft. 8 in. broad, 11 ft. deep.	527
58. Brig, unknown	7	ditto	ditto	236	

Name of Vessel.	Date of Capture.	Sentence.	By what Court Adjudicated.	Tonnage.	Number of Slaves Captured.
59. Oceano - - -	1848: 9 July -	Condemned -	Vice Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	143	
60. Saphira - - -	11 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	172 $\frac{1}{2}$	
61. Filicidade - - -	15 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	152 $\frac{1}{6}$ - -	379
62. Feliz Sociedade - - -	18 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	75 ft. long, 20 ft. broad, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep.	
63. Nova Roza - - -	28 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	152 (foreign).	
64. Polka - - -	5 August -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	165 - - -	29
65. Alert - - -	10 -	- ditto -	Vice Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	97 $\frac{1}{10}$	
66. Tentador - - -	19 -	- ditto -	Vice Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	68 ft. long, 23 ft. 1 in. broad, 10 ft. 11 in. deep.	
67. Gaia - - -	23 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	83 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, 23 ft. 9 in. broad, 12 ft. deep.	
68. San Francisco - - -	27 -	- ditto -	Vice Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	53 $\frac{5}{10}$	
69. Barque, unknown - - -	31 -	- ditto -	Vice Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	103 ft. long, 25 ft. broad, 17 ft. deep.	
70. Louisa - - -	4 Sept. -	- ditto -	Vice Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	68 $\frac{4}{10}$	
71. Brig, unknown - - -	6 -	- ditto -	Vice Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	196 - - -	427
72. Achilles - - -	7 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	208 $\frac{2}{10}$	
73. St. Antonio Triunfo - - -	10 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	58 $\frac{3}{10}$ - - -	288
74. Schooner, unknown - - -	15 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	92 ft. long, 23 ft. 4 in. broad, 12 ft. 6 in. deep.	12
75. Raspate - - -	17 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	95 $\frac{2}{10}$	
76. Josefa - - -	18 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	137	
77. Bem Destino - - -	19 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	174	
78. Phenix - - -	3 Oct. -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	168 $\frac{1}{2}$	
79. New Packet - - -	4 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	82 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, 23 ft. broad, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. deep.	
80. Gerardo - - -	5 -	Not reported -	not reported - - -	not reported.	
81. Andorinha - - -	12 -	Condemned -	Vice-Admiralty Court, Sierra Leone.	32 $\frac{1}{10}$	
82. Braziliense - - -	12 -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	165 $\frac{2}{10}$ - - -	703
83. Quatro Andorinha - - -	5 Nov. -	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	75 $\frac{5}{10}$ - - -	388
84. Meteoro - - -	21 -	- ditto -	Vice-Admiralty Court, St. Helena.	121	
85. Bem Successo - - -	25 Dec. -	Not reported -	not reported - - -	not reported.	
86. Vengador - - -	not reported	- ditto -	- ditto - - -	- ditto.	
Total of Slaves captured in 1848 - -					6709

*Note.*—The list for the year 1847 is believed to comprise the whole of the captures made during that year. That for the year 1848 is taken from the Returns of cases adjudicated by the Mixed Commissions and the Vice Admiralty Courts, up to the 31st of December last. But these Returns do not comprise all the cases captured within the year. Three of the vessels named in the list were captured in 1848, but had not been adjudicated up to the 31st of December. There may probably be some few other captures of the same nature yet to be reported.

Foreign Office, 28 March 1849.

## Appendix, No. 4.

Appendix, No. 4.

COPIES of DESPATCHES received by the BOARD of ADMIRALTY from Commodore Sir *Charles Hotham*, K.C.B., on the subject of the SLAVE TRADE, since the Report of the Committee on Slave Trade in the Session of 1848.

Admiralty, }  
17 April 1849. }

J. H. HAY.  
Chief Clerk.

— No. 1. —

(No. 223.)

Sir,

"Penelope," Loanda, 25 June 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit the reply of his Excellency the Governor-general of Angola to my letter, dated 23 November 1847,\* conveying their Lordships' instructions, that the officers in command belonging to this squadron should notify to the Portuguese authorities the existence of barracoons, with a request that the forces of that nation should be employed in their destruction.

One Enclosure.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure in No. 1.

TRANSLATION.

Palace of the Government of Loanda,  
20 June 1848.

Illustrious Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's despatch, dated from Ascension, on board the "Penelope," 23 November 1847, by which your Excellency gave me notice that you had received instructions from the British Admiralty to order the cruisers under your command to notify officially to the Governor-general of Angola, and to the Portuguese cruisers on this coast, every information relative to the existence of barracoons, or establishments intended for the slave trade, situated in Portuguese territory; in consequence of the orders having been given in virtue of notes which had been passed between the minister plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty at the Court of Lisbon and Señor Ildefonso Leopoldo Bayard, suggesting first, that they should take efficacious means to prevent the building of barracoons in the Portuguese territory; and lastly, asking if there would be any objection to orders being given to the Governor-general of the province of Angola, and the commander of the naval station, to order them to destroy such barracoons as the British cruisers might officially report as existing for the purpose of slave trade, whenever the persons charged with that service, and who must always be Portuguese, should find in such barracoons either slaves or articles known to be used in that service; and that, although it would be more than probable that I should be informed of the intentions of the Government of Her most faithful Majesty before the despatch of your Excellency should reach me, and that, therefore, I should be prepared to receive any notification which might be made to me in that sense, still the communication with Europe being uncertain, your Excellency thought fit to forward to me the extracts from the despatches before-mentioned, being fully convinced that I should enter into the spirit of the instructions, and act accordingly.

And, finally, your Excellency says, that this arrangement between the two governments in some degree advances the measures for the final extinction of the traffic on this part of the coast, and that your Excellency would give instructions to the commanders of the cruisers under your orders to consult me in all cases, whether of certainty or suspicion, your Excellency feeling certain that on my part I should employ on all occasions such means as are within my power to obtain the end in view. In reply, I beg to state to your Excellency:—

1. That on the 14th of last September I received orders from my Government relative to burning the barracoons, much in the same tenor as your Excellency's despatch; nor is this the first instance of the determination of Her most faithful Majesty's Government.

2. That

\* Transmitted in my letter, No. 344, dated 23 November 1847.

2. That I shall always be ready to co-operate with your Excellency in the extinction of the slave trade. Appendix, No. 4.

3. That the destruction of the barracoons on this coast is of old date; for since I have been charged with the command, whether of the squadron or province, many have been burned between the river Dandy and south of Benguela; the last instance at Old Benguela, on the 15th of last March.

4. That I think it right to observe to your Excellency that very little good results from the burning of those barracoons, unless the slaves are captured at the same time, which has not yet been the case, because the injury done to the slave trade is trifling, the barracoons being constructed of cheap material, and easily built: the slave dealers then carry them back into the interior, where they are all either out of reach or in inaccessible places, and comparatively more secure.

5. Notwithstanding all those reflections, whenever it was possible, the orders of Her most faithful Majesty on this subject have been rigidly executed, and in a manner satisfactory to the wishes of Her Britannic Majesty.

6. That I thank your Excellency for the opinion which you have expressed relative to the loyalty with which I have executed the treaty made between our two Governments; would that my co-operation therein could have been more efficacious.

7. And, finally, that I hope the zeal which now impels me may never fail, and that I may continue in the consideration and esteem of your Excellency.

God preserve your Excellency, &c.

(signed) *P. A. da Cunha,*  
Governor-general.

Illm<sup>o</sup> Exm<sup>o</sup> Sen<sup>r</sup> Sir Charles Hotham, K.C.B.  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief,  
Her Britannic Majesty's Naval Forces,  
West Coast of Africa.

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— No. 2. —

(No. 231.)

Sir,

“Penelope,” Loanda, 30 June 1848.

I REQUEST you to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that since the 14th of October 1847 to the date hereof, being a period of 8 months and 18 days, the squadron under my command has, so far as I have received advices, captured 65 slave vessels, amounting to 9,168 tons, and containing 4,745 slaves.

2. During the previous 12 months, the total number of captures amounted only to 57 vessels and 4,822 slaves.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Charles Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

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— No. 3. —

(No. 243.)

Sir,

“Penelope,” St. Paul de Loanda, 19 July 1848.

I REQUEST you will lay before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the accompanying statement of captures made by the squadron under my command, between the 14th of October 1846 and the 13th July 1848, a period of 21 months.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Charles Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

*One Enclosure.*

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Enclosure in No. 3.

STATEMENT showing the Number of VESSELS Captured by Her Majesty's Squadron on the WEST COAST of AFRICA, on the ground of being engaged in the Slave Trade, during 21 Months, between the 1st April 1844 and 31st December 1845, and for the same period between the 14th October 1846 and 13th July 1848.

1st April 1844 to 31st December 1845—21 Months.

(Squadron under the command of the late Commander Jones.)

96 vessels condemned for being engaged in the slave trade.

5,965 slaves released.

0.48.

T 3

14th October

14th October 1846 to 13th July 1848.—21 Months.

(Squadron under the command of Commodore Sir Charles Hotham.)

131 vessels condemned for being engaged in the slave trade.  
11,214 slaves released.

Difference in favour of the present squadron :—

35 vessels.  
5,249 slaves.

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

— No. 4. —

(No. 298.)

Sir,

“Penelope,” in Elephant Bay, 17 August 1848.

1. I REQUEST you will lay the accompanying letter from Commander Dixon, of Her Majesty's sloop “Rapid,” before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

2. After the opinion delivered by Captain Denman before the Sugar and Coffee Committee, that proper principles are not pursued by this squadron in their endeavours to suppress the slave trade, I feel that I am not needlessly troubling their Lordships in requesting you to lay before the Board the opinion of an officer who for some time commanded the Sierra Leone division.

3. Should it be necessary to pursue this subject any further, I can without difficulty procure sufficient evidence to overturn remarks which appear to have been made without due reflection.

4. In the meantime I may add, that Commander Dixon's informants are the slave dealers themselves and the neighbouring chiefs, who, to obtain their annual stipend, are deeply interested in the suppression of the slave trade.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 4.

Sir,

Her Majesty's Ship “Rapid,” 1 June 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that to the best of my belief no vessel has escaped with slaves from the Gallinas or Shebar, from the 1st of November 1847 to the 12th of May 1848.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Edw. Dixon,*  
Commander, late Senior Officer, Sierra Leone  
Division.

Commodore Sir Chas. Hotham, K.C.B.,  
Commander-in-Chief.

— No. 5. —

(No. 299.)

Sir,

“Penelope,” in Elephant Bay, 17 August 1848.

In the evidence given before the Sugar and Coffee Committee, Captain Denman says, “that as long as the principle is not adopted of blocking up the points of embarkation we are doing nothing effective to the suppression of the slave trade; and also that proper principles have not been acted upon by the squadron on the coast.”

Had these opinions been preferred by any other person I should not have thought it advisable to offer an explanation; but when a grave assertion is put forth by an officer generally considered to possess much information on matters connected with the slave trade, I feel it incumbent on me to solicit their Lordships' indulgence whilst I endeavour to lay the subject before them, detail the configuration of the coast, and the different modes employed in the exportation of slaves.

If circumstances compelled the dealers to ship from particular ports and harbours nothing would be more easy than to anchor the cruisers off the depôts, and extirpate the trade. But the very reverse of this takes place. Along a large part of the coast rivers and lagoons run parallel with the sea; these waters may be considered the railways of Africa; by them slaves are transported from point to point, and shipped, not at any fixed place, but according to the position of the cruiser.

Where this facility does not exist the slaves are treated like post-horses, and run from spot to spot; the chiefs of the several tribes through whose territories they pass receive a gratuity, conditional on their rendering every assistance, and providing for their wants.

In

In order to show the natural advantage which the west coast of Africa offers to this description of traffic, I have caused a chart to be constructed, and the course of the internal waters inserted in it.

In the margin I have set forth the line of country where the slave trade is actively conducted, and if the whole distance is divided by 24, it will give 91 miles for each cruiser to watch.

Now will any man in his senses believe that a ship assisted by her boats can guard 91 miles?

In the month of February, during a full moon, and the finest season of the year, Captain Eden proved that the time which elapsed between the departure of a cruiser until she was out of sight was only ten minutes, and the experiment was made under the most favourable circumstances, and not during the harmattans and fogs which prevail during five months of the year.

It is a fallacy to suppose that the French render us any assistance; they are generally in harbour, or, if at sea, confine their visits to their own ships. Since October 1846 they have not detained a vessel on suspicion of being engaged in the slave trade.

If the merits of the plan pursued since I assumed the command are to stand upon their results, and a comparison drawn with the past, the balance will be largely in my favour. Commodore Jones's squadron, during 22 months, commencing 1st April 1844 and ending 31st January 1846, captured and condemned 100 slave vessels, with 6,515 slaves on board.

Sir Charles Hotham's squadron, during 22 months, commencing 14th October 1846, and ending 13th August 1848, has captured and condemned 143 slave vessels, with 11,700 slaves on board.

Equally satisfactory has been the health of the squadron; the deaths have been in the proportion of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the number of invalids have been reduced three-fourths.

I am aware that many people believe the demand for slaves to be increased in proportion. I have no data whereon to offer an opinion, but I know from good authority that during the month of May or June 10,000 slaves were landed at a port near Rio, not from the west coast of Africa, but from Mozambique.

This information, which Commander Hope received from a dealer at Loango, is corroborated by the master of the "Feliz Sociedade," captured by the "Contest," who assured Commander M'Murdo, "that the slave trade upon the west coast of Africa would be quite at an end were it not assisted by the very large importations from that of the east, where all the vessels of large tonnage are now sent;" which, I presume, means that the dealers at Rio were compelled to resort to the Mozambique Channel for the purchase of slaves; and this statement is again confirmed by the slave dealers at Quicombo. Thus the havoc committed by the cruisers of this squadron is acknowledged by three different parties.

Their Lordships will observe that I have confined this despatch entirely to the question of keeping the cruisers under sail off the coast, or placing them off a particular place at anchor.

To the plan I have pursued Captain Denman informs the Committee, that in part he attributes the increase of the slave trade. It is for their Lordships to draw their own conclusions; to their decision, be it what it may, I am ready to bow, but I am not disposed to follow the dicta of an officer who is believed never to have been stationed in the Bight of Benin, or on the south coast, and to have gained his information from what he saw on the north coast, from Cape Roxo to Cape Palmas, being only one-third of the whole station. And when I find that, excepting the years 1837 and 1839, the squadron on the west coast of Africa has captured, in 12 months, a greater number of slaves than the ships of all the other squadrons put together, I trust their Lordships will not think that I am taking too much to myself in declaring, that I believe the arrangements hitherto made to have been as complete and satisfactory as circumstances would permit.

I have, &c.

The Secretary of the Admiralty.

(signed) Charles Hotham,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

— No. 6. —

(No. 319.)

Sir,

Penelope, St. Paul de Loanda, 30 September 1848.

1. ON the arrival of the new governor-general, Adriaõ Accaço da Silveira Pinto, the senior officer in command, Manoel Thomaz da Silva Cordeiro, took occasion to inform me that he had received the most stringent orders from his government not to chase or capture any vessel fitted for the slave trade, if she should be beyond the distance of three miles from the Portuguese territory. And upon my requesting to be informed what course he intended to pursue, in cases where the slaver was seen within the three miles, but succeeded in crossing the line of demarcation before her capture, he acquainted me that the capture, according to the opinion of the crown lawyers in Portugal, would be illegal; and that the commanders of his cruisers would be instructed to desist from the chase on their arriving at the prohibited point.

2. The effect that must ensue from this instruction is very evident. The Portuguese officers are discontented, and will no longer attempt the capture of vessels fitted for the slave

Appendix, No. 4. slave trade; and it may be presumed that henceforth they will pursue the traffic with impunity.

3. There is a very common impression that the governor-general of Angola is furnished with instructions to relax the stringency with which the treaty has heretofore been carried out; and if this is not the case, it is supposed that the arrangements depending upon him will no longer be efficacious, or afford much obstruction to the traffic.

4. Vessels owned by Portuguese will be sailed under Brazilian colours; and in a short time I make no doubt that they will sail at night from the port of Loanda.

5. I am told that the tone of the officers about the governor-general is in ridicule of our previous efforts, and the non-efficiency of the system in general. At present, nothing has occurred which would justify a representation to him; but their Lordships may depend, that if a favourable opportunity presents itself, I shall immediately profit by it.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

— No. 7. —

(No. 336.)

Sir,

“Penelope,” St. Paul de Loanda, 16 October 1848.

1. I REQUEST you will lay the accompanying letter from Her Majesty’s Vice Consul at Loanda, before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and inform their Lordships that the part of the coast alluded to by Mr. Brand extends from the River Congo to Benguela.

2. The state of the European mercantile world has, unquestionably, operated in checking the sale of slaves in Brazil; at the same time, I am intimately convinced that the activity of the cruisers has dealt a heavy blow to the slave trade, and rendered the losses of the dealers unusually great.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

One Enclosure.

Enclosure in No. 7.

Sir,

Loanda, 16 October 1848.

I BEG to acquaint you that I recently had some conversation with a person, resident in this city, intimately connected with the slave trade, who complained very bitterly of the severe losses which the slave dealers had lately experienced, and stated to me that, besides the ruin of several individuals, the prospects of the traffic generally was in a most deplorable condition.

This statement he declared was founded not only upon his knowledge of this place, but also upon information to be fully relied on, which he had received from the Brazils.

I have thought it well to make this known to you, as the person who informed me referred to the matter in connexion with the numerous captures made by the squadron under your command.

Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *G. Brand*,  
British Vice Consul in Angola.

— No. 8. —

(No. 354.)

Sir,

“Penelope,” at St. Helena, 1 November 1848.

WITH reference to your despatch, No. 207, dated 17th July 1848, covering a letter from Her Majesty’s Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the minister at Lisbon, suggesting that the British squadron on the coast of Africa would cheerfully co-operate in the destruction of the barracoons or slave factories at Ambriz, I have the honour to transmit the copy of a letter which I addressed to the officer commanding the Portuguese squadron on the west coast, tendering the services of Her Majesty’s cruisers for the same object, and his reply.

Their Lordships will observe that M. Cordiero declines the assistance of our vessels, and informs me that he has made an arrangement for the entire destruction of the barracoons at Ambriz, and entertains no doubt of complete success.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

## Enclosure 1 in No. 8.

Sir, "Penelope," St. Paul de Loando, 9 October 1848.

IN the conversation which I had the honour of holding on board the "Dito de Julho" yesterday afternoon, you were pleased to inform me that the instructions you had received from the minister of marine at Lisbon directed you to cause to be at once destroyed any barracoons which the British cruisers may officially acquaint you as existing for objects of slave trading, whenever the persons charged with this service, and who must always be Portuguese, may find in such barracoons, slaves, or even any goods which may be proved for the purpose of the traffic, and you were also pleased to intimate your readiness to fulfil the letter of the instructions, whenever such a notification should be made.

I have now the honour of acquainting you, that several barracoons employed for the purpose of the slave trade exist to the south of this city. I will particularly mention Cape St. Bias, the south of the Coanza, and Punto Longo. There are also to the north, large establishments at Ambriz and Mazula.

It would afford me peculiar satisfaction to have it in my power to acquaint my Government that their destruction had been effected in accordance with the wish of the two Governments, and yesterday I received with great pleasure your assurance that such was your intention.

Our respective instructions appear to prohibit the co-operation of the British naval forces, but it is my duty to place them entirely at your disposal, and to express our readiness to act in any way you may desire.

I transmit the copy of my orders relative to this service, and avail myself of this opportunity to assure you that it affords me great satisfaction to co-operate with any officer who appears to have the suppression of the slave trade so much at heart.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Charles Hotham.*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

To Captain Cordeiro,  
Commanding Her most Faithful Majesty's  
Squadron, West Coast of Africa.

## Enclosure 2 in No. 8.

## TRANSLATION.

Loando, on Board the Corvette "9th of July,"  
of Her Most Faithful Majesty, Q. B. G.,  
10 October 1848.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a despatch which your Excellency forwarded to me, under date 9th October, as well as copies of four notes which had been exchanged between the Governments of Her Britannic Majesty and that of Her most faithful Majesty my august Sovereign, relative to the burning of the barracoons, in which the wicked contrabandistas concerned in the infamous slave traffic place their unfortunate victims, as well as the prohibited articles with which they relentlessly torture the unhappy human race.

In fulfilment of my duty I am to signify to your Excellency that I was already acquainted with their contents, and that they are entirely in accordance with the orders of the Government of my august Sovereign, because it is there explicitly settled by agreement of the Governments of the two nations, of the oldest alliance, in virtue of which I have the honour to to your Excellency that the destruction of the barracoons on Portuguese territory can only be effected by the subjects of the said august Sovereign. And notwithstanding that I have the best grounded hopes of success in the destruction of the barracoons, it would have given me the greatest satisfaction that these, my most sanguine designs, should have been happily conducted under the auspices of your Excellency; but the positive orders which I have already transmitted are in this one thing diametrically opposed. I avail myself of this opportunity to repeat the protestations of my greatest esteem and most respectful consideration, being

Your Excellency's most obedient, &c.

(signed) *M. T. Da Silva Cordeiro,*  
Commanding the Naval Station.

The Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir Charles Hotham,  
Commander-in-Chief of the Squadron of Her Britannic Majesty,  
on the West Coast of Africa.

Enclosure 3 in No. 8.

INSTRUCTION for the Commander of the Brig "Mondego," Captain Lieutenant  
*Francisco Izidero Guimaraes.*Loando, on Board the Corvette, "8th of July,"  
of Her Most Faithful Majesty, 13 October 1848.

1st. You will to-day, the 13th of the present month, profit by the first opportunity and sail from the port of Loando, in the brig under your command, and in your quality as cruizee, examine all the most noted places on this coast, included between Ambriz, the Dandy, Magula and Magula Grande, and Magula Pegueao, using the utmost zeal and diligence in your search, and landing (in the quietest way possible), if you should discover barracoons containing proof of their being used in the infamous slave traffic, conformably with the decree of 10th December 1836, which I subjoin; and having ascertained that there is proof of their participation, you will proceed as the Government of Her most faithful Majesty has thought fit to direct in the despatches of 22d May and 1st July 1847, a copy of which is also transmitted.

And as soon as this important service may be concluded, you will return to the port of Loando, and inform me of the manner in which you have executed this important commission, being a superior officer in whom, according to the recommendation of the Government of Her Majesty, I deposit my entire confidence.

I enjoin upon you to obtain the most satisfactory results possible in the service you are to execute. I expect from your intelligence and sailor-like abilities, of which you have given on all occasions the fullest proof, that this important service may be so concluded as to enable me to report it favourably to the Government of Her most faithful Majesty.

In this commission it is also your duty to observe the faithful execution of the treaty of 3d July 1842, which expressly determined the abolition of the slave trade in the colonies belonging to the Portuguese Crown, with which documents you are furnished, as well as the other resolutions of our Government in that particular; it is also important that you should recollect and fulfil the punctual execution of the despatch, dated 29th May 1846, the true copy of which is also attached, remembering that you are responsible for the detention of vessels on this coast, whose nationality is not English, and who may be acting in contravention of the treaty of 3d July 1842, whenever you may not be able to prove before the competent tribunal of prizes in the proper and legal manner, that the vessel was detained within the line of boundary, which is a distance of three miles from the shore.

You will begin your operations at Ambriz, landing at night, so that you may be able to prevent the retreat into the interior. I equally call your attention to any small boats, such as canoes, launches, &c., and who might be able to warn the slave dealers at Ambriz and the Dandy. I besides remind you that the greater part of these small craft are to be found within the three miles.

In Loando, on board the corvette "9th of July" of Her most Faithful Majesty, the 14th October 1848.

(signed) *M. T. da Silva Cordeiro.*

— No. 9. —

(No. 359.)

Sir,

"Penelope," St. Helena, 1 November 1848.

1. THE anxiety which the House of Commons has shown during the last session to arrive as well at the nature of the service on the West Coast of Africa, as of the results obtained in suppressing the slave trade, induce me to depart from the rule which has hitherto been considered applicable to all agents of the public service, and request their Lordships to permit me to reply to an assertion made by Commander Matson, in a pamphlet styled "Remarks on the Slave Trade and African Squadron," and which, I see, has already run through two editions.

2. I am in no way desirous that my remarks should have publicity, or go beyond the walls of the Admiralty, but I think their Lordships are entitled to require from me the fullest and most complete explanation on every point connected with the peculiar service on which the squadron under my command are employed; and that I, on my part, coveting the largest share of their Lordships' approbation, am not deviating from the rules of propriety and discretion in bringing such subjects to their notice.

3. Commander Matson says, page 31, "I believe he has removed the vessels to a greater distance from the coast, and has forbidden the employment of boats on detached service; this latter restriction must certainly have crippled the exertions of the squadron."

4. I request you to inform their Lordships that his statement is, generally speaking, inaccurate, as the two enclosed general orders issued to the commanders of the cruisers, the first on the 3d of November 1846, the second on the 21st January 1848, will show.

5. I interdicted boat service in rivers, because humanity required it. Their Lordships will not have forgotten the result of the Wanderer's boat excursion up the Pongos, or the number of lives which it cost.

6. I also interdicted boat service on the line of coast between Cape Palmas and the river Gambia, because the service they could perform was in no degree adequate to the risk; but this

this is only on one-third of the station, and there is no prohibition to the employment of boats on any other part of the coast; on the contrary, consistently with discipline and health, it has rather been encouraged.

7. I am quite aware that officers of more experience of this service might have managed matters better; but it should be borne in mind that I had difficulties to encounter unusually great, and that there were obstacles which required both time and patience to remove.

8. And I trust that the return of vessels captured, empty and with slaves, (during the last 12 months 100 vessels, and 7,000 slaves), will show that with whatever faults we may be charged, inactivity, at all events, cannot reasonably be included in the number.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 9.

EXTRACT from the General Standing Order Book, Chapter 1st, Article 2, dated the 3d November 1848.

THE boats are never to be employed in the rivers during the sickly season, nor at any period unless some extraordinary emergency should occur, and the fulfilment of the public service render it imperatively necessary.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 9.

EXTRACT from the General Standing Order Book, Chapter 1st, Article 2, dated the 21st January 1848.

THE boats are never to be detached from the ships stationed on the line of coast between Cape Palmas and the river Gambia, except in pursuit of a suspected vessel actually in sight.

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— No. 10. —

(No. 378.)

Sir,

“Penelope,” Ascension, 4 December 1848.

1. I HAVE the honour to refer you to my despatch of the 1st instant, No. 355, and request you will be pleased to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that I have received intelligence announcing the destruction of the slave factories and barracoons at Ambriz and Mazula, by the commander of Her most faithful Majesty’s brig of war, “Mondego,” in consequence of instructions given by M. Cordeiro, commanding the Portuguese naval forces on the West Coast of Africa.

2. The value of the property consumed by fire at Mazula is estimated at 2,000 *l.* sterling.

I have, &c.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

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— No. 11. —

(No. 395.)

Sir,

“Penelope,” at Ascension, 5 December 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 265, dated 30th September 1848, with a copy of the Evidence taken before, and of the Report made by, the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which has been sitting during the recent Session of Parliament, for the purpose of considering the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave trade, and desiring me to transmit to you any remarks thereon that I might think fit.

Their Lordships will no doubt have observed that the evidence of the several witnesses, and especially of the naval officers, is conflicting and contradictory; and were I to attempt to criticise and compare their opinions, I should be led into a discussion tedious in itself and, probably, difficult for their Lordships to understand. I therefore propose to confine myself to a statement of the modes and shifts at present adopted by the slave traders, detail the configuration of the coast, and offer some general remarks on the difficulties which present themselves in the attempts hitherto made to suppress the slave trade.

But, as the subject is intimately connected with the condition and prospects of the Brazilian empire, as the means which that government possess to enforce a prohibitory law cannot be left out of the account, I trust their Lordships will not consider that I am exercising an undue discretion in extending my observations beyond the limits given in their

Appendix, No. 4.

instruction, and including in one despatch the opinions which I have formed on this important question.

I have already transmitted to their Lordships a chart explanatory of the facilities offered to the dealers, in transporting and shipping slaves, on different parts of the coast. The course of the internal waters is also inserted; and in the margin I have set forth the line of country where the slave trade is actively conducted. If the whole distance is divided by 24, it will give 91 miles for each cruiser to watch.

Generally speaking, there are no established points for shipment. Information is conveyed by neutrals and canoes to the vessel waiting off the coast, of the exact position of each cruiser, and arrangements are then made for the further operations. The quantity of provisions and water carried by our vessels is perfectly well known; and if circumstances are not propitious, she waits off the coast until the man-of-war is compelled to quit her station; then makes her point, and in two hours receives a full cargo. In the Bight of Benin this precaution is considered unnecessary. The trade from Lagos and Whydah is conducted by vessels in every way superior to our sloops of war; and the practice latterly has been, to steer direct for their port, ship their slaves, and take their chance, feeling sure that the probability of success is greatly in their favour.

To show their confidence I must mention two anecdotes.

On the capture of the "Gentil Africano" by the "Styx," on the night of the 18th of February, Captain Chads inquired of the master why he did not use greater exertions. He was told, "the night was so dark, I took you for a brig; in that case there was no occasion to hurry."

By a recent letter, I am informed that a full slaver came down the Congo, and ran boldly past the "Pluto" steamer, laying at its mouth, in the certainty of an escape.

From Cape Lopez to Little Fish Bay there is not a foot of ground untrod and unoccupied by the slave dealers; the slaves are run from point to point, and it is within these latitudes that the great shipments for Rio de Janeiro are made. The class of vessels hitherto employed has been of an inferior construction; a certain number are sent across, and if one out of five escapes, a fair profit is divided amongst the proprietors of lottery stock. It appears however that this system is undergoing a change; latterly, the vessels captured have rivalled those sailing out of Bahia. The dealers at Gallinas, Shebar, and in the north formerly supplied the Havannah trade; during 1846 and 1847, few, if any slaves were exported from those parts. The accounts of this year, I fear, will show that Brazilian vessels have been chartered for Cuba and Porto Rico. The slave, like any other marketable commodity, is chosen for his merits; the residents at Bahia prefer the Lagos and Whydah negro, for sedan chair carrying and agricultural purposes; but as domestic servants, they give the preference to the Congo. The inhabitants of Cagnabac, and those islands, abhor slavery, and generally commit suicide. The best-tempered and most manageable negro is imported from the Congo.

Embomma is the grand focus of the slave trade nearly all the blacks exported between Mayumba and Benguela Velha come from here.

Supposing that 50,000 slaves were imported last year into Brazil, I should imagine that 10,000 sailed out of the Bight of Benin, for Bahia; and 39,000 taken from the south and east coasts, for Rio de Janeiro and the southern provinces. I doubt whether one cargo for the Brazils left the Gallinas or Shebar; but possibly 1,000 from the Pongos, Nunez, and Bissagos islands. These numbers naturally regulate the distribution of our cruisers. At present, to watch and guard the coast, we have nominally 24 cruisers, being one for each 91 miles; in reality, never more than 22; and deductions are again to be made for ships recruiting at St. Helena, negotiating treaties, or employed in the protection of our trade.

Boat service has always been sanctioned on every part of the station, except from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas; there, humanity required that men should not be exposed to the effects of a pestilential climate; the losses from this cause, in 1847, amongst the boats' crews of the "Siren" and "Wanderer," called loudly for remedy.

No assistance has been given by the French; they cannot, legally, capture Brazilian vessels, and appear to decline interfering with those who are unfurnished with papers.

Independent of the facilities offered by the topography of the coast, great assistance is obtained through the medium of neutrals. The Americans and Sardinians are the principal movers; their vessels bring the cargoes required for the purchase of slaves, with an additional master and Brazilian crew; their water is stowed, and slave deck laid under the legitimate cargo, and every preparation made for the shipment of slaves; the papers are correct, and they anchor off the ports, and there remain until the cruiser is either led off by chase, or compelled to quit her station for water, seize their opportunity, shift the flag, and sail under a Brazilian master; the same vessel frequently repeats this trick, the sail being only nominal, unless capture should ensue. So long as this is allowed, I am of opinion that the entire suppression of the slave trade by our present means is impracticable.

Neither do I think that a blockade of this extensive coast is feasible; the question is independent of local knowledge; it is one on which old and experienced seamen are most competent to decide; it is summed up in few words; whether it is possible, with a squadron of 24 vessels, or even say 48 vessels, to blockade or guard a line of coast 2,195 miles in extent. I am confident that, viewing the subject with the eye of a seaman, and laying aside other feelings, the captains in Her Majesty's navy would, by a large majority, decide that it is impracticable.

If a strange sail is descried from the mast-head after two o'clock p. m., and endeavours to escape, there are very few, if any, vessels in Her Majesty's service who can chase her sufficiently

sufficiently to continue the chase after dark; therefore the captures by sailing ships, are to be made between daylight and two p.m., being eight hours out of the 24. During the night, even with a full moon, the distance commanded in this climate is very small; and the known position of the boats having been conveyed to the slave vessel, she runs in and ships at such an hour as may enable her to obtain an offing before daylight. In the harmattans and fogs a cruiser may accidentally stumble on a slaver; but during that season the wind is generally light, and a chase would be protracted.

Supposing that we employ steam vessels, they will of course do the same; and anything like a blockade will be more difficult than it is now; steam against steam, taking into consideration the length of the nights and the absence of the steam cruiser for coals, will afford additional advantage to the slave trade.

For the sake of argument, we will admit that success is obtained; that they are compelled to leave their present haunts, still I cannot satisfy myself that the slave trade would be put down; what is to prevent it being transferred to the coast north of the French settlements? Formerly Goree was one of the largest marts; or from little Fish Bay to the Cape of Good Hope; there is no difficulty about water; by digging in the sand a supply can be obtained, or it can be conveyed by negroes employed in the domestic trade.

I say nothing about the east coast, because I have never visited it; but I am persuaded that there is no idea more fallacious than the supposition that the abode of slave trade is limited.

In some of the proposed resolutions stress is laid upon the extension of legitimate commerce; but it appears to me that sufficient consideration has not been given to the paucity of African produce; some say, "Suppress the slave trade and establish legitimate commerce," and the Bight of Benin and Gold Coast are cited; wherever there is produce the conclusion is valuable; but where the supply is small, the question is more difficult.

The Portuguese are the great culprits, and the trade is most active between St. Paul de Loanda and Little Fish Bay. The quantity of palm and ground-nut oil grown in their possessions is inconsiderable. Their exports are gum, ivory, enchelle, bees'-wax, and hides. Valuable copper is found near Ambriz, but not in sufficient quantities to form an article of commerce. On this point Mr. Tobin's evidence is extremely important; therefore there is not a sufficient quantity of produce to exchange for manufactured goods, and slaves are substituted.

The labour attending the cultivation and manufacture of palm oil and ground-nut oil is comparatively trifling, and there is a speedy return; but no one will voluntarily lock up his capital and cultivate coffee, sugar, and tobacco, for which the land is admirably adapted, when he can get a quicker profit on slaves. Besides, there is a great uncertainty and competition attending plantations; and hitherto, wherever it has been tried, the experiment has been unsuccessful.

The Portuguese are bad colonists; their aim is to make a sum of money, and return to Europe as quickly as possible, and no one thinks of establishing himself permanently in Africa. I fear but little increase of trade can be expected in Angola.

A great stress is laid upon the conclusion of treaties with the native chiefs. As a means of forcibly destroying barracoons or factories, it is an important auxiliary; but no chief will enter into such an agreement who is interested in the traffic; therefore, in reality but little good is obtained. The plan under which we have been hitherto acting has entirely failed; it matters little whether we keep our ships in shore or allow them to cruise, it never could succeed; it is a point to be decided by seamen, and requires neither African experience or local knowledge. Hitherto, with a large expenditure of money and good arrangements, we have never been able to guard the shores of England, and prevent the entry of contraband goods; and why should we expect better results abroad?

I am persuaded that if we blocked the whole coast, slaves would be conveyed by canoes at night to a vessel 40 or 50 miles from the land; do what we may, an armed force, with their present powers, never can put it down.

It appears that some of the Committee were of opinion that a general declaration on the part of Europe and the United States that slave trade is piracy, would materially tend to its final extinction.

I observe, also, that it has been suggested, to "authorize the cruisers of any nation, sailing under its recognized flag, to inflict summarily such punishment upon the captain; or, if not ascertained, upon any three other persons serving in any ships found with slaves on board."

I anxiously hope that the clause may never form part of our sea code of laws, and that it may never fall to the lot of a British captain to perform so unworthy a duty.

Apart however from this, should be considered the effect which a declaration that the slave trade is piracy would have upon its continuance; there is no doubt that it would tend to check it; but England must be prepared to maintain her present force, it will bear no diminution; she must be prepared to watch the coast of Africa from Tangiers to the northern boundary of the Cape of Good Hope; arrangements will be made to provide slaves in other parts of Africa. She will obtain complete success for one year, being the time required to enter upon the new system, after that the ramifications of the slave trade will have extended to quarters where legitimate commerce is at present flourishing; it cannot be considered otherwise than a question of pounds, shillings, and pence; as we augment the difficulties, so will the price of the slave rise and the profits increase, for men will always be found willing to embark in any adventure offering excitement and gain. Nevertheless I consider, that if the cruising or blockading system is to be maintained, it is of essential importance to attach personal penalties to those who engage in slave trade; and this should be accompanied by powers to the officers in command to destroy factories containing goods belonging to parties

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known to promote the traffic, without reference to a treaty with the native chiefs, attaching to him the responsibility of proving that the owner or proprietor abetted the slave trade.

I have already said that the consideration of the best means of suppression cannot be taken alone, it is intimately blended with the future prospects of the Brazilian empire; and the friends and promoters of civilization and commerce are bound to identify the two subjects, and not hastily rush on to a measure in principle tending to retard its advancement, disunite the empire, and establish anarchy and confusion. Brazil is vast and disjointed; at present little more than the sea-coast is inhabited; and it differs from other countries in the variety of its productions and temperature. Over the most fertile parts the heat is excessive, and prevents European labour; it enervates and degenerates the constitution of the Brazilian, and renders the cultivation of the country dependant on the negro, who alone in that climate is physically able to endure exposure to the sun.

The cottons of Pernambuco, the sugar and coffee of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, are brought to the market by black labour; and it may safely be asserted, that without this aid, the whole country would become a wilderness.

To expect the Brazilian government unconditionally to suppress the slave trade, is to look for an impossibility; their decree would be the signal for raising the republican flag in Pernambuco and Bahia, who now connected together by a frail thread, would break it rather than submit to ruin.

But the case would be different if we met them half way, and instead of saying, "we will compel you forthwith to put slavery down," placed ourselves in their position, and negotiated with their interests and feelings in view as well as our own. There is reason to hope, that if time were given to Brazil to establish a proportion between the sexes, and prepare for the abandonment of foreign slavery and the institution of domestic, according to the principle observed in the United States, that a satisfactory negotiation would be effected; with the state of our West Indian colonies before their eyes, they never can consent to any immediate relinquishment of foreign slavery. With our present proceedings the nation at large are dissatisfied; but I entertain a confident belief that there is an important party, particularly amongst the younger men, who have the same desire as ourselves.

At present our proceedings unite the whole population against us; it is not unreasonable for them to dislike the seizure and condemnation of their vessels by a friendly power. The mass see the results, and do not inquire whether it is according to treaty or by force of arms.

I think a negotiation might be opened with Brazil on these grounds:—

1. To sanction the importation of slaves until a fixed period.
2. To require them to frame laws proportioning the sexes, regulating the number to be carried, according to the tonnage, &c., and generally for the ease and comfort of the negroes.
3. To require the presence of English and Brazilian Commissioners at slave marts to be fixed, and recognized on the coast of Africa and at the landing ports in Brazil.
4. To pass a law awarding the penalties of piracy to any Brazilian vessel found on the high seas without government papers.
5. To declare, that after the fixed period slave importations shall cease, and its further prosecution be considered piracy; and that a systematic breach of treaty would be visited by a blockade of their principal ports.
6. To destroy all slave factories in Africa, except at the recognized ports. The time appears to be arrived when some such scheme as this would be accepted. In the year 1846 I had a conversation with Senhor Cavalcante, then minister of marine, and one of the ablest men in that country; he expressed these opinions: "You cannot expect us to assist England, or consent to stop the trade, whilst you are seizing Brazilian vessels, insulting our flag, and illegally condemning them. Do not think I am in favour of the slave trade. I do not possess one slave on my property. I wish to see it suppressed. It does not do the Brazilians good; the Portuguese manage it, and are the great gainers." Senhor Cavalcante represents an important section of the people, and had no interest in saying what he did not think. Of all countries, England is most concerned in the welfare of Brazil, whether on account of her commerce or the establishment of monarchy and regular government. English capital is largely employed in that empire, and invested in its funds; and if, by a postponement of a few years, we can establish our desire—extinguish foreign slavery, and at the same time avoid giving a blow dangerous to that country and liable to produce a dismemberment—I think that it is advisable that the alternative should be offered before we resort to stronger measures, the end of which no man can foresee.

Without desiring to disparage the great question of slavery suppression, I consider that the civilization and happiness of the Brazilian empire are equally important. I would hesitate to endeavour to extirpate slavery on the ruin of a young and rising nation; and I would afford time for her to consolidate her institutions, and establish the natural proportions of sexes.

I have been led on by the nature of the subject further than I had intended, but before I conclude this despatch I must take occasion to mention the pleasure I have derived in reading the encomiums passed by the late Mr. Macaulay on my predecessor, the late Commodore Jones. The records of the station show the anxiety and great zeal put forth in the service of the public; he endeavoured to fulfil his instructions to the letter, and paid the penalty of his assiduity with his life.

H. G. Ward, Esq.

I have, &c.  
(signed) Charles Hotham.

## Appendix, No. 5.

## SLAVE TRADE IN WESTERN AFRICA.

Mr. Consul *Rendall* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

Appendix, No. 5.

(No. 6.)

British Consulate, St. Antonio, Cape Verds,  
19 December 1848.

My Lord,

I READ lately with much concern a great deal of matter inclining to an approval of the immediate withdrawal of the British squadron from the coast of Africa, but I was much gratified, at the same time, in the perusal of the printed slave correspondence issued during the last sitting of Parliament, in which the successes of the squadron, and the abolition question generally, are ably set forth, and as these matters appear to be progressing most favourably, I trust there may be no existing cause for believing that Her Majesty's Government intends to withdraw any one of the ships employed in that particular service.

I, however, have my fears respecting the course that will be deemed the most proper to be pursued in this matter, because I believe the existing slave-trade agitation emanates from a powerful, or I may say, at this period, desperate class of individuals, *i. e.* the advocates of slave trade; and, besides, the principal subject they have chosen for agitation is of very considerable importance, in fact, it is an appeal to the humanity and good feelings of the people of England; but the subject in all its bearings does not appear to be well understood. I have put the matter under three heads, although the decision upon the first must decide the whole question.

1st. In respect to the sufferings of the slaves during the Middle Passage, from their crowded and neglected state.

2dly. In the belief that the acts of the British squadron increases the misery of the slave, from its inefficiency to put down export slave trade, and that, consequently,

3dly. The cruising British squadron is considered to entail a very heavy and useless expense upon the mother country. I beg, therefore, your Lordship's permission to make a few observations in reference to this interesting subject.

I regret to be obliged to admit, to the fullest extent, the sufferings endured by the slave in the Middle Passage; this evil has unfortunately existed too long, and narrated too often, to be at this date doubted. It is, however, a great mistake to ascribe all this existing misery to the system pursued by the English squadron to put down the export traffic. Did not the same evils exist, the same loss of life, the same crowding of the hold, the same scanty supply of provisions and water, the same amount of sickness, filth, and stench in the slave ships of Spain and Portugal (which includes Brazil) at the period when they were quietly carrying on the slave trade without any annoyance from English cruisers, and keeping their dealings within the limits of treaties? Most certainly it was the case, and the facts can be proved by a reference to the records describing the state of the first prize slave vessels brought into Sierra Leone belonging to those nations. I was an eye-witness to such scenes in the early stages of the abolition, and had plenty of opportunities of observing the state in which these vessels were always found, and can therefore speak to the facts I have stated. The same miseries, therefore, having existed during a period of legitimate trade, it is not surprising that the same evils should accompany the same trade when carried on under a system of contraband.

To elucidate, however, this question further, I will suppose that the miseries of the Middle Passage were the natural consequence of the English squadron's measures, and therefore it was deemed necessary to relax some of the existing regulations, to admit a free exportation of the African, under an impression that by so doing matters during the passage would be improved thereby. To do so, however, would be committing a sad mistake, because in such a case 100 slaves would be then shipped where only one now takes place, consequently 99 more per cent. of misery would be added in marching to the coast, and in the kidnapping and warfare which always prevail upon an increased demand for slaves, and which, when summed up, from cruelties, from starvation, from thirst, and from fatigue, would amount to far beyond anything that now exists in the Middle Passage.

To charge the acts of the British squadron with the miseries existing in the Middle Passage because, forsooth, the traffic is contraband, is incorrect, the same evils having existed almost to the same extent when the slave trade was legitimate, and therefore of long standing. It is, however, a great and unfortunate evil that the African should be doomed to a life of continual toil, privation, and misery from the period of being torn from home and the ties of youth, to an instalment upon some sugar plantation in America. I know not which epoch of that transition is the one in which he suffers the most, and although Her Majesty's Government are not in a position to interfere in his behalf to ameliorate his condition during the Middle Passage, they can nevertheless effect an immense deal for him before embarkation, and after crossing the Atlantic. The princes, chiefs, and head men in Africa would no doubt listen to any suggestions made to them, and an appeal to the Spanish and Brazilian Governments might have a good effect.

Appendix, No. 5.

The efficiency, however, of the British squadron's proceedings must be judged by the present actual state of the slave-trade question. What does the printed correspondence tell us upon this subject? We learn that the English squadron is acting in concert and perfect harmony with the fleets of France, America, and Portugal, by open warfare against the abominable slave dealer; that they have made prizes in extent not known at any former period; that France has wholly and for ever abolished the slave trade, and that the natives upon the banks of the Senegal and Gambia will soon become strangers to the horrors of slave trading, because the white people of their neighbourhood no longer hold or deal in human flesh. Portugal has already done much, and is willing to do more, but is quietly waiting the decision of England in respect to the agitation in question. The harbours of Cuba and Porto Rico no longer swarm with slave ships; one or two during the last 12 months are as many as can be named; Spain is also anxiously waiting the result of the present agitation. Brazil is the only nation now pursuing this infamous traffic; but I am informed that her losses have already been so heavy that she would at once give in and cease the trade, but she has hopes in the agitation also, and therefore holds on for a longer period. It also appears that treaties are being made very generally with the native powers in Africa, and the most pleasing results have already begun to show. The ground-nut is cultivated to an incredible extent; the people of the noted slave haunts of Catcheo, Bissas, Rio Grande, Nunez, and Pongos (places north of Sierra Leone), are devoting their time and means to the important subject of agriculture. A republican government has been declared south of Sierra Leone, which embraces a very large tract of country, and I have no doubt, my Lord, that other independent governments will come into existence, effecting much good in the abolition of slavery. I was informed the other day of three Portuguese vessels being at anchor at Sierra Leone in the pursuit of legitimate commerce. I think, my Lord, this fact speaks volumes in favour of the measures adopted for slave abolition, as within the last six years the harbour in question was nearly filled with the same flag, prizes to English men-of-war, on account of slave dealing. In the face, therefore, of even the few facts I have quoted, no argument can remain good touching the non-effective state of the English squadron; and the conclusions to be drawn must be, that as they have effected so much, there can be no doubt of their final and, I would say, early success.

The withdrawal, therefore, of the British squadron from Africa cannot be pleaded on the score of humanity, or for the want of success; some more plausible reasons must be assigned. Should, however, such an event unfortunately take place, the consequences without doubt will be lamentable indeed. I have no hesitation in stating my belief to your Lordship that the whole line of that coast will swarm with slave dealers and pirates; that all the good which has been effected in that unfortunate country will be lost, and a state of lawless anarchy exist not to be described; in fact, outrages will be committed of the blackest dye, whilst terror and dismay will have seized the whole land.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *John Rendall,*  
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.

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### Appendix, No. 6.

Barbados, 9 April 1849.

Appendix, No. 6. To *William Hutt*, Esq., Chairman, and Others, the Honourable Gentlemen appointed a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the best Means of extinguishing the Slave Trade.

ADDRESS of the *Barbados African Colonization Society*, under the Patronage of his Excellency Sir *William Macbean George Colebrook*, K. C. B., Governor-general of the Windward Islands, &c. &c. &c.

Vice-Patrons:—The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Barbados, &c. &c. &c.; the Right Honourable Sir R. Boucher Clarke, K. C. B., Chief Justice of the Islands of Barbados and St. Lucia; the Honourable John Sealy, Her Majesty's Attorney-general; the Honourable Grant E. Thomas, Member of Her Majesty's Council; the Honourable Thomas J. Cummins, Member of Her Majesty's Council; the Honourable Charles Packer, Her Majesty's Solicitor-general; the Honourable John Thomas, Speaker of the Honourable House of Assembly; Bryan T. Young, Esq., Member of the Honourable House of Assembly; the Reverend Richard Rawle, Principal of Codrington College, &c.; the Reverend Thomas Clarke, B. A., Rector of St Michael's Parish.

Gentlemen, may it please your Honours,

The committee of the Barbados African Colonization Society, recently established in this island, being desirous of disseminating their views and aims as extensively as possible for general information, take the liberty to present you this address, and respectfully to solicit your attention to the Synopsis which accompanies it.

The undertaking of this society is one which they confidently hope will commend itself to the favourable consideration of the philanthropists of every clime and degree, and especially

cially to a body of British legislators, assembled for the philanthropic purpose that you are. To assist in arresting the progress of the slave trade, that fearful combination of every crime and aggravation of every misery; to extend the blessing of Christian instruction amongst the partially enlightened or wholly benighted tribes along the coast, and in the interior of Africa; to encourage legitimate commerce, and create, or nourish where it already exists, a taste for British manufactures, and the requirements generally of civilized life; to promote a direct intercourse with these colonies, opening up new means of employment for their artisan population, new sources of public revenue, and, where needed, a regular supply of labour by free immigration at the least possible cost, and upon the only natural and most solid basis, a diffused knowledge of its advantages;—these are among the objects of the society; and these they presume, on calm and deliberate consideration, to flatter themselves are not of improbable attainment, if they should but succeed in enlisting in the cause that co-operation and support, without which their own earnestness of purpose must necessarily be unavailing. The committee therefore, in submitting their undertaking to your consideration, take leave respectfully to solicit your favour in recommending in your Report to the House of Commons their project for aiding in the suppression of the slave trade, and introducing civilization into Africa.

Appendix, No. 6.

*Anthony Barclay*, Chairman.  
*Charles Phipps*,  
*E. W. Archer*, } Secretaries.

## SYNOPSIS.

The more we consider the circumstances that have attended the forced transfer of numbers of the African race to this hemisphere, and the events which have marked their history to the present time, the more seriously are we impressed with a conviction that it was in the design of the Almighty Governor of the universe, in permitting this great wrong, that their descendants, reared within the circle of civilization, and acquiring a practical knowledge of its usages and arts, and of the truths of the Gospel, should in due time be His efficient instruments in the regeneration of their fatherland. Everything seems to point to this end. And the impression is not without confirmation on a review of the attempts that have been from time to time made to effect the object by other agencies, and their signal failure, on the admission even of the parties themselves by whom they have been made.

See Appendix (A).

With respect to the slave trade itself, that frightful accumulation of crime and misery, not only have the means hitherto employed to put it down completely failed even to check it, but, on the most unexceptionable testimony, the employment of those means has tended very greatly to aggravate its horrors, if not to increase at the same time the number of its victims. The vast sacrifices that have been made by the British Government of valuable treasure, and more valuable life, on the African coast, have had no other effect than this; and since human wit can devise no other similar means that shall promise to be attended with better results, it would seem that philanthropy has no alternative left it but to abandon the cause altogether, making no other effort to rid the world of this almighty evil, or at once to slide into the course which a wise Providence has, to all appearance, appointed for the purpose, and colonize the western coast of Africa with her civilized descendants from these colonies and America.

See Appendix (B).

In advancing colonization as probably the most, if not the only effectual means of putting down the slave trade, independently of the abolition of slavery, and of eventually civilizing and christianizing Africa, we would not be understood as being either unmindful of the valuable labours of missionaries of the various churches to the latter end, or indifferent to those labours. It is, nevertheless, not too much to say, that unassisted by other means, missionary exertion, how earnest soever, and with whatever degree of devotedness and self-denial (and none can be more alive than ourselves to the extraordinary manifestation of these qualities in numberless instances), can scarcely be expected to effect the object before us, in the present social organization of that vast continent, without an unbroken series of miracles, day after day, which it would be irrational to look for, and which, indeed, no church, at the present day, would think of embracing in its estimate of means. Colonization would not exclude missionary labour; but, on the contrary, would give it greater efficiency as part of a system directed to the same end. The Gospel teacher would be all the more efficient a labourer with a civilized and Christian community in his immediate neighbourhood, than he can ever hope to be entirely surrounded by barbarous tribes, having little in common with him save the mere externals of humanity. And we apprehend that it is not the humble and pious devoted missionary who will be disposed to look with a jealous or unfriendly eye at the promoters of colonization, but the man-stealer, the fraudulent factor, the grinding trader, the petty tyrant, and the bloated sensualist, to each and all of whom unhappy Africa now affords a facile field and a ready victim.

The native chiefs, and the people generally along the coast, are not unfavourable to colonization, and evince every disposition, on the testimony of missionaries and travellers, to cultivate legitimate commerce and encourage the arts of civilization, were but facilities offered for the purpose. Many of them are engaged in the slave trade, only because the growing desire for European goods can be satisfied by no other means at present. When questioned by the missionaries on this subject, "European goods," they have said, "are in great demand with us; you tell us that it is out of the line of your calling to supply us with them; we are therefore constrained by our necessities to get them from the slave traders,

Appendix, No. 6. traders, who will only let us have them in exchange for men, and we barter men with them in consequence. Now, if you would either trade with us yourselves, or encourage some of your people to come and trade with us, we would not sell men." Equally pointed and conclusive is the evidence abundantly furnished in missionary reports of the disposition of the native African to listen to the preaching of the Gospel, if he can be secured from the ravages of the slave trade.

See Appendices (C), (D), and (E).

The climate along the coast, and in the interior, as far as penetrated, offers no impediment to our enterprise. Uncongenial as that climate is to European constitutions, and destructive of European life, it has no terror for men of African descent, born and nurtured in tropical climes. On the testimony of Dr. Randal and Dr. Mechlin, and hundreds of others, with some of whom, in the present day, we have personally conversed on the subject, it is "in no material respect different from that of the West Indies generally," whilst the soil, by the accounts of all travellers and missionaries, is "the most fertile in the world." And according to the same authorities, a proprietary right to any quantities of this highly prolific soil may be easily and cheaply acquired by purchase from the native chiefs, they having frequently offered large tracts to the missionaries, and in the case of the American Colonization Society sold an extent of territory nearly six times the size of this island for 35 *l.* sterling, about 168 dollars.

See Appendix (F).

Should the Barbados African Colonization Society obtain the patronage and support, as they trust they will, of philanthropic friends in the mother country, and of their brethren and others in these colonies, they would soon be able, under God's blessing, with the plentiful materials around them, to establish a colony on the coast, that would most probably be but the beginning of a series of similar settlements immediately productive of considerable advantages to British manufactures and to commerce generally, and tending, eventually, to the regeneration of their fatherland and the glory of God.

*Anthony Barclay*, Chairman.  
*Charles Phipps*,  
*E. W. Archer*, } Secretaries.

#### PLAN OF OPERATIONS.

##### Section 1.—The Raising of Means.

Article, No. 1. By a subscription amongst ourselves of one dollar each per annum, and gratuities to any amount.

2. By circular appeals to our brethren and friends in this island and the sister isles.
3. By a specific appeal to public liberality in this island through the clergy, and all philanthropists individually.
4. By powerful appeals to the African Civilization Society of London, and our philanthropic friends throughout the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.
5. By encouraging the formation of auxiliaries in this island, and throughout the West Indies generally.

##### Section 2.—Appropriation of Means.

Article, No. 1. In engaging a certain number of competent individuals to proceed to the western coast of Africa to select an eligible place for the formation of a settlement.

2. In the obtainment of the said settlement.
3. In the transport and location of colonists.
4. In the providence of the necessary means of support for the said colonists until they can procure the means of subsistence from the soil.
5. In the erection of suitable dwellings, a compendious storehouse, a hospital, a place of worship, and other necessary buildings.

##### Section 3.—Local Operations.

The Security of Person and Property is to be effected—

Article, No. 1. By treaties of amity with the native tribes, and judicious regulations for our internal government.

2. By a well-regulated system of militia.
3. By the division of certain allotments of land amongst the settlers, on the condition of their rendering such services as they may be capable of to the State, for three days in the week, for the space of 12 months, and the employment of the remainder on their respective allotments.

4. By an association of labour for the cultivation of such lands as the proprietors may not immediately be enabled to cultivate, and the equitable division in every such case of the amount of the proceeds amongst the cultivators and the proprietors, after the deduction of the necessary colonial expenses.

5. By the offer of fair wages to such of the natives as may be disposed to engage in the business of agriculture, and affording them every necessary instruction and encouragement therein, as well as holding out inducements to as many of them as may feel disposed to settle amongst us, and become incorporated with us as citizens.

##### Section 4.—Commerce.

Article, No. 1. By making arrangements with our friends in Great Britain and in the West Indies for the purchase or barter of our exportable productions.

2. By

2. By the purchase of such European goods as will meet with a profitable market amongst the native tribes, and affording British merchants facilities for availing themselves along with ourselves of said sources of profit.

Section 5.—Internal Regulations, Civil Rights, &c.

Article, No. 1. The security of every settler in the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and immunities of British subjects and citizens of a free state.

2. The adoption of a form of civil government adapted to the security of the aforesaid political advantages.

Section 6.—Religious Instruction, &c.

Article, No. 1. The appropriation of a certain portion of the colonial funds for the maintenance of the Established Church of England in our community, the support of a system of education in accordance with the same, and the establishment of mission stations, as far as circumstances will permit, among as many of the surrounding tribes as may be disposed to receive the Gospel, until, by the blessing of God, we shall be enabled to extend the like establishments into those states and kingdoms on the banks of the Niger that have already expressed their desire to receive Christ, and their willingness to put down the slave trade.

Section 7.—Charitable Arrangements.

Article, No. 1. The provision of such medical attendance as may be available, and necessary support to such of the colonists and their children as may be unable to procure such assistance for themselves.

2. The due support of the widows and children of such of the settlers as might have been unfortunately called away by death while engaged in the service of the colony.

By order.

23 August 1848.

*Charles Phipps,* } Secretaries.  
*E. W. Archer,* }

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop in the Chair.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That the influence of superstition and ignorance on the minds of the native Africans, though confessedly great, is nevertheless not so formidable an impediment to the moral and religious improvement of Africa as the nefarious slave trade.

2. That the most efficient means of stopping the slave trade and civilizing Africa is colonization, combined with religious instruction.

3. That the most competent agents for this undertaking are the descendants of Africa, who, having been born and reared in civilized communities, possess the necessary qualifications for imparting a knowledge of the truths of the Gospel, and the arts of civilized life, to their unenlightened brethren on the coast of Africa.

4. That the great number of intelligent descendants of Africa in this island is the strongest evidence that they, above all other inhabitants of the West Indies, could (without any detriment to the several interests of their country,) engage in the enterprise of establishing a colony on the west coast of Africa.

5. That impressed with these facts, our united and unceasing efforts be directed to the all-important object of christianizing and civilizing the benighted inhabitants of the continent of Africa.

6. That, although this committee have already appealed to several of their philanthropic friends in England, it is nevertheless highly expedient that they should, at this period, use their efforts to move to their assistance the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as all the philanthropic and missionary societies, whose aid is considered indispensable in the present undertaking.

7. That the benevolent and important objects which the society have in view, give a just claim to the sympathy and aid of the friends of religion and humanity, and inspire them with the hope that the public appeal which they have made will not be without the desired effect.

20 November 1848.

*Charles Phipps,* } Secretaries.  
*E. W. Archer,* }

## APPENDIX REFERENCES.

## (A.)

“It would appear, indeed, as if in the year 1843 we had yet to begin to set about this work, as if we had now to call on the moral and intellectual energies of Africans, whether they are to be found within the precincts of the West Indies, of the United States, or of Africa herself, to supply the great desideratum so long required—a native African agency. True it is, we have not discharged our debt to Africa; but it would seem as if the finger of Providence were now pointing to the emancipated population of the old and new world, and calling through them upon us to help Africa in the development of her own resources. Hitherto we have been permitted to make great advances in our explorations of that continent, and to gather a large amount of knowledge in the department of geographical science, as well as to lay the foundation for future missionary operations by means of any effective agency, and ‘will the British nation, after forfeiting the lives of so many of her noble and intrepid sons in discovering the highway to her very centre, now stop short? Will not the blood of Park, of Clapperton, of Oudney, of Houghton, of Laing, (we may add, alas! of Bird, Allen, and many other gallant men, whose fate is chronicled in the pages of African discovery, as having fallen in its cause),—will not their blood cry shame upon us if we do? I will not believe that my countrymen are so dead to their interest, or to their duty,’ as to neglect so favourable a concurrence of opportunities as I shall next proceed to unfold. Will the British nation, I repeat, now that an agency purely African may be speedily created, refuse to employ the ready means for its preparation and employment in the great work of wiping out the awful responsibility which it has been shown to have contracted?”—Letter to the Lord Bishop of London, by the Rev. J. M. Trew, page 35.

## (B.)

“We recommend, further, the re-occupation of several of the forts, such as Appollonia, Winnebah, and Whydah, abandoned in 1822, when the government was handed over to the committee of merchants, and the reconstruction of others, on however small a scale, on other similar points. In some cases the climate will be found not worse, in others better, than on other parts of the coast of Africa; but this evil may be very much mitigated, if not entirely removed, by the employment of such Europeans only as are already inured to a tropical climate, and of British subjects of African descent, who, we believe, may now be found either within our African settlements, or our West India colonies, fitted for almost every branch and grade of service. We look upon such establishments as of high importance, not for the extension of territory, but of that control over the slave trade, and wholesome moral influence over the neighbouring chiefs, which we have described as having been exercised by the existing forts, and which is much needed at those places to which we particularly alluded, as well as others.”—Report from the Select Parliamentary Committee on the West Coast of Africa, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 5 August 1842. Appendix (LL), page xciii.—Report of the Committee of the African Civilization Society, Exeter Hall, 21 June 1842.

## (C.)

“A reference to the colour of the sufferers shows that this calamity has fallen almost exclusively on Europeans. The entire lists of deaths from the river fever, it is important again to observe, does not include a single coloured person. The pernicious character of the climate, therefore, creates no insuperable obstacle to settlements; since not a doubt has yet been suggested of the possibility of procuring coloured labourers and agents. Providence appears, indeed, to have specially favoured the plan of settlements, not merely by the recent emancipation of British negroes in the West Indies, including among them many who derive their parentage from the central regions, but by exciting within these liberated, and comparatively enlightened sons of Africa, a deep and growing anxiety to become personally useful in the present work.”—Report of the Committee of the African Civilization Society: Operations Abroad, p. 26.

## (D.)

“These are, then, among the means to which we may hereafter look forward for success. If our attempts to introduce civilization and Christianity into Africa by means of Europeans are unsuccessful, let us endeavour to effect our object by means of persons of African blood (hear). But, above all, let us not despair of the ultimate accomplishment of our object (hear). If we are defeated in one mode, let us try another; let us vary our means; let us acquire fresh information; let us consider of fresh enterprises, in new directions. But, above all, let us not doubt that the spirit of universal emancipation, and sanctified by the spirit of the Christian religion, will ultimately attain the happiness and salvation of millions of our fellow-men (loud cheers).”—Extract of Lord John Russell’s Speech, as published in the Report of African Civilization Society, 1842, p. 67.

## (E.)

“As further proof, if such were needed, of the utility of employing coloured persons in Africa, it may be mentioned, that the black troops at Sierra Leone, on an average of 18 years (from 1819 to 1836), have sustained an annual loss of but three per cent., and at the Gold Coast,

Coast, but two per cent., whilst the white troops at the same post, during the same period, have died at the annual rate of 50 or 60 per cent."—Appendix (O), Report of African Civilization Society, 1842, page xxxii.

Appendix, No. 6.

(F.)

"The population of Barbados has been computed to consist of 130,000 souls; the surface of the island covers 106,500 acres, which gives 782 persons to the square mile. Sir Charles Grey considered the population, after the census taken in 1844, to consist of from 133,000 to 140,000 souls."—Schomburgk's History, p. 87.

"Sir Charles Grey also observes, that the descendants of Africa in this island are in all respects the most favourable specimens of their race which exist, and the most full of promise for the future."—Speech to the Legislature. See Schomburgk's History, p. 503.

## Appendix, No. 7.

(No. 57.)

Appendix, No. 7.

LETTER from Sir Charles Hotham to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Penelope," Sierra Leone, 13 February 1849.

1. In my despatch, No. 32, of 1848, dated 20th January, I requested you to inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that Commander Dixon, of Her Majesty's sloop "Rapid," had, in compliance with their Lordships' instructions, notified to the chiefs of Gallinas, "that if they did not entirely discontinue and put an end to the slave trade, the British Government would be compelled to use the means at its disposal to force them to do so."

2. Their Lordships replied by enclosing a copy of the Advocate-general's opinion, pronouncing, "That Her Majesty's Government will be justified in directing hostilities to be commenced against Gallinas, in consequence of the chiefs having refused to abide by the treaty, or agreement, concluded by them with Captain Denman." The Advocate-general further continues: "I think that the white slave dealers, whose exclusion from the Gallinas was the principal object of Captain Denman's treaty, will not, under the circumstances, be able successfully to maintain an action in the courts of this country for the loss of their property."

3. Armed with the opinion of Her Majesty's principal legal adviser, I determined to enforce the terms of the treaty, as soon as the season of the year and the state of the surf on the beach would enable me with prudence to land a force sufficiently overwhelming to prevent opposition.

4. On the 3d instant I assembled the ships named in the margin, off Gallinas, and with their boats, under the charge of their commanders, containing a force of 300 men, passed the bar at 7.30 a.m., and landed at Dombocorro, took possession of it, and the neighbouring factories and barracoons, and planted sentinels to guard the property. In the meantime Captain Jones, with the boats of the "Penelope," pushed on to the Solyman factories, established within the limits of the Gallinas boundary; these, three in number, were, with the goods they contained, as well as the village of Dreesing, known for its intimate connexion with the slave trade, totally destroyed. He returned to Dombocorro at 7 p.m. on the same evening, having met with no resistance beyond an occasional straggling fire from the bushes on the side of the river, by which a native prisoner was wounded. Commander Murray also conducted a party to Mineh, and destroyed the factories and barracoons which it contained.

5. On the following morning, the 4th instant, the three large factories in the vicinity of Dombocorro were, with the goods which they contained, entirely destroyed; and at 1 p.m. on the same day, Dombocorro itself, with all its contents, was burnt to the ground.

6. By sunset, on the 4th, the force returned to their respective ships, without a single casualty of any sort or kind, or appearance of fever.

It is impossible for me to speak too highly of the exertions of the officers, or good conduct of the seamen and marines. Captain Jones conducted the service intrusted to him entirely to my satisfaction. Commander Murray rendered me, in a variety of ways, essential service; and the behaviour of the men was beyond all praise. Surrounded by temptation of every kind, I did not hear of a case of inebriety or plunder. In short, I met with the same support which has characterized the commanding officers of the African squadron since my arrival on the station.

7. The operations already described were complete as far as they went; still they only checked the slave trade: left there, in one year it would again break forth with increased vigour. It was evident that something more was required to extirpate the slave dealers, and destroy their profits, and this I hope to effect through the medium of a blockade in its legal sense.

The Advocate-general says, "It will be competent to Her Majesty's Government to direct that all the means allowed by the law of nations may be used in carrying on the war." The first of these is clearly the right of blockade. I have therefore notified,

Penelope.  
Favorite.  
Sealark.  
Waterwitch.  
Bonetta.  
Dart.  
Pluto.

Appendix, No. 7.

according to the form already transmitted, the existence of the blockade between Solyma Point on the south, and Cazeo on the north, lat.  $6^{\circ} 57' N.$ , long.  $11^{\circ} 35' W.$ , and lat.  $7^{\circ} 5' N.$ , long.  $11^{\circ} 45' W.$ , and I have the pleasure of informing their Lordships that the commanding officers of the French and American forces have expressed their satisfaction at the adoption of an intelligible measure, likely, in their opinion, to fulfil the object in view.

8. The enclosed answers to a form of questions submitted to the several commanding officers immediately after their return to their ships, as well as the journal of the pilot (Mr. Parker) many years a resident in this country, and intimately acquainted with the affairs of Gallinas, will, I hope, satisfy their Lordships that there was abundant proof of slave trade in each factory; and that the goods they contained were destined to be exchanged for slaves, and were landed for no other purpose.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,  
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

## SCHEDULE of ENCLOSURES in the preceding Letter.

NO.	DATE.	FROM.	TO.	SUBJECT.
1	1849 : 4 February	Commander-in-Chief	- - - - -	- - Questions put to Commanding Officers, &c. relative to the Gallinas.
2	- -	Mr. Parker, Pilot	Commander-in-Chief	- - Journal of Operations at Gallinas.
3	6 February	Captain Jones	- - - - ditto	- - Answers to Questions referred to in Enclosure No. 1.
4	5 -	Dr. Munro	Captain Jones	- - Surgeon's Report on the Negroes taken at Gallinas.
5	5 -	Commander Murray	Commander-in-Chief	- - Answers to Questions referred to in Enclosure No. 1.
6	5 -	Lieutenant Royer	Commander Murray	- - Report on a Slave taken at Gallinas.
7	5 -	Commander Monypenny	Commander-in-Chief	- - Answers to Questions referred to in Enclosure No. 1.
8	5 -	Commander Quin	- - - - ditto	- - - - ditto.
9	5 -	Commander Haswell	- - - - ditto	- - - - ditto.
10	5 -	Lieutenant Forbes	- - - - ditto	- - - - ditto.
11	5 -	Lieutenant Hill	- - - - ditto	- - - - ditto.
12	5 -	Lieutenant Jolliffe	- - - - ditto	- - - - ditto.
13	5 -	Lieutenant Purvis	- - - - ditto	- - - - ditto.
14	5 -	Mr. Parker	- - - - ditto	- - - - ditto.
15	4 -	King John Fortune, &c.	- - - - -	- - Declaration on the part of the Chiefs of Gallinas.
16	8 -	Commander-in-Chief	Commander Monypenny	- - Order respecting the Blockade of Gallinas.
17	4 -	- - - ditto	The French Commodore	- - Information of the Blockade.
18	4 -	- - - ditto	- - The American Commodore.	- - - ditto.
19	10 -	Dr. Munro	Captain Jones	- - Notifying death of three negroes, referred to in a letter of 5th instant.
20	19 -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - Examination of Down, a liberated African, taken at Gallinas.
21	19 -	- - - - -	- - - - -	- - Examination of Pepper, a liberated African, taken at Gallinas.

(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 1.

Appendix, No. 7.

## MEMORANDUM.

"Penelope," Gallinas, 4 February 1849.

You will answer, to the best of your recollection, the following questions, adding any information you may have gained tending to elucidate the nature of the trade, whether legal or illegal, conducted at Gallinas.

- 1st. In the different slave factories which you visited, was there any evidence tending to prove the exportation of slaves?
- 2d. Did you see either slave irons, shackles, forelocks for fastening shackles, iron for making shackles, handcuffs, chains, slave coppers, casks filled with water, &c.?
- 3d. Did you see any country produce to give in exchange for goods imported?
- 4th. What is your general opinion on the trade of Gallinas?
- 5th. On entering the barracoons, did you see "poo-poo tubs," or other furniture connected with the slave trade?
- 6th. Did you converse with any resident, or receive information, on the mercantile operations of Gallinas?
- 7th. Did you see any slaves; if so, in what factory?
- 8th. Did you see or hear of any slaves escaping into the "bush," on the morning of our landing?
- 9th. Did any proprietor or agent of a factory relate to you, on or about the 3d of February 1849, the number of vessels that have escaped since December 1848?
- 10th. Were the goods found in the factories generally those employed in the purchase of slaves?

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

One copy of the above sent to the undermentioned persons; viz.

Captain Jones	}	"Penelope."
Commander Haswell		
Lieutenant Purvis	-}	
Commander Murray,		"Favorite."
Commander Monypenny,		"Sealark."
Commander Quin,		"Waterwich."
Lieutenant Forbes,		"Bonetta."
Lieutenant Hill,		"Dart."
Lieutenant Jolliffe,		"Pluto."
Mr. Parker, Pilot, &c.		

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 2.

Her Majesty's Ship "Sealark," at anchor off Gallinas River,  
Saturday 3 February 1849.

At six a. m., boats from Her Majesty's steam frigate "Penelope," Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, k. c. b.; Her Majesty's ship "Favorite," Commander Murray; Her Majesty's ship "Sealark," Commander Monypenny; Her Majesty's ship "Water Witch," Commander Quin; Her Majesty's brigantine "Bonetta," Lieutenant Commander Forbes; Her Majesty's brigantine "Dart," Lieutenant Commander Hill; Her Majesty's steam vessel "Pluto," Lieutenant Jolliffe, entered the bar of the Gallinas River, and proceeded up the river, being ordered by Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, k. c. b., to take the boats of Her Majesty's steam frigate "Penelope" up the River Solymán, Captain Jones in command. We proceeded up the river, and at 11 a. m. sighted the barracoons of Don Chrispo Pablo and Don Miguel. At 1 p. m. landed at the barricade of \_\_\_\_\_, and cut through the stockade; entered the town, but found out all of the slaves had been removed to another town belonging to one of the chiefs, as one of the natives being taken prisoner stated that Don Chrespo Pablo and Miguel had over 1,000, as Chrespo Pablo had only shipped slaves in a small felucca, amounting to only 236, as all their vessels had been captured by the cruisers, and to my knowledge that firm has lost six vessels within the last seven months. Most of those slaves are prisoners from the Manah country, as the natives are at war with the Manah tribe. I was ordered by Captain Jones, of the "Penelope," to endeavour to induce some of the natives to come to us, but none of them would; and as soon as the town and barracoons was set fire to, they fired several muskets at the party. The place was burnt, and we embarked to cross over to Chrespo Pablo's factory and another barracoon. As we had not water enough for the boats when we first went up, the natives opened fire from the bush, and I think, from what I understood, that some of the Spaniards were with

Appendix, No. 7.

them. One of the natives detained was wounded, and one of the "Penelope's" men slightly; they kept firing until the boats were out of musket shot. On landing at Summer Island, Don Chrespo's main establishment, all the Spaniards had fled into the bush with the slaves, and some had gone up in large boats and canoes to a town, I understood, named Sodaro, 16 miles higher up the River Suliman, owned by a chief named Shafer Dohmah. Found two Brazilian sailors that had been landed from the "Maria," a Bazilian brigantine the "Pluto" had captured; they also confirmed the statement the natives had given. I saw large boilers, forelocks, plank, large casks, and chain and collars there, and great quantities of rice; also goods and other furniture connected with the slave trade; also saw boats and canoes that I understood had been employed in shipping slaves; also two boys, one marked H. and the other W., which boys stated that they were slaves of Don Chrespo Pablo, but had made their escape from the main party, and were picked up in a canoe trying to get to us. They stated that both barracoons were full, and also stated that a few had been shipped lately in a felucca, and that Chrespo Pablo sometimes flogged his slaves so that they died next day, for an offence. And I also saw all proof in the establishment that the slave trade was actually carried on there. After burning the barracoons at Summer Island, we were informed that a large cutter or schooner boat was on a small island, which had been to the Brazils once with 40 slaves, and returned, and that Chrespo Pablo was having her lengthened to go to Brazils again. Went to the island and found her; burnt her, and all the articles belonging to her. Came down the river, and landed at a barricade called Suliman, on the point built on purpose to ship slaves from, as it is not more than 300 yards from the sea and about 50 from the river, and a very smooth surf in the dry season; every one of the inhabitants fled, and it was set on fire. Embarked in the boats, and came down the river; landed at Dombocorro Point, where Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B., was quartered; one of the largest slave barracoons at the Gallinas, and has been destroyed before by Captain Denman. Saw there slave irons, coppers, poo-poo tubs, mess kids, rice, round bar iron for making shackles, and an immense quantity of furniture and goods connected with the slave trade; and also was informed by one of the residents in the establishments that a large brig and a schooner had taken over 1,000 slaves from the establishments since the 10th of December 1848, and during the rainy season in 1848 the agent had shipped off three cargoes of slaves, and had lost also three vessels that had been captured; and that was only 170 slaves carried in the bush from the barracoon when the boats entered the River Gallinas; and I was informed by the same resident that the barracoons at Camarsuro, Tindo, Tambahyah, Denah, and Jaykilly had upwards of 1,500 in them; that slaves were plentiful in the country on account of the numerous petty wars that were going on in the neighbouring territories, and that on an average about 2*l*. was paid a head for them; and that a steamer and another vessel was expected here soon to embark slaves on board, and that other establishments would very soon be going on, as the slaves are considered the best on the coast; and that all the slaves did not go to the Brazils, but a good many were carried to the island of Cuba and Porto Rico. Many British subjects have been sold and shipped from this place; trying to get back from Sierra Leone to the Cosor country; they are made prisoners and sold again, after having been once liberated. The territory of Gallinas is about 12 miles long, and about 30 or 40 in depth in the interior; being so very small, and very sandy, it yields scarcely enough for the inhabitants; most of the supplies of rice come from the Sherbro and Kittam country. All slaves shipped to the north-westward of Gallinas are carried there to ship, as an opportunity sometimes occurs there when Gallinas is too closely blockaded. The chiefs of Gallinas are as follow:—

Prince Maner, son of the late King Shaker, John Shafer Rodgers, James Rodgers, Acina Rodgers, Jamy Portuwallah, Shafer Parmar, Shafer Dormar, Barrah Bongor, at the town of Caza. The chiefs of Gallinas have generally from 500, some 1,000, and some as many as 5,000 domestic slaves, but seldom sell them, as the supply of slaves from the interior is always plentiful.

Sunday morning King John Fortune, Sandee Shabkee, son of the late king, was deputed by the chiefs to come down and treat with Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B., and informed the Commodore that the chiefs had acknowledged that they had done wrong in allowing the slave trade to go on in their territory, and deputed them to say that they would deliver the slaves, and send them on board of any of Her Majesty's ships that Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B., might appoint to receive them, as they would send them on board without any hope of recompense; accordingly, the agreement was drawn up and signed by the chiefs deputed to treat with Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B., the barracoon was burnt, and all the boats returned on board with several of the slaves belonging to the different barracoons of Gallinas, some in a most shocking condition, merely skeletons.

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit you the following journal.

I am, &c.

(signed) W. A. Parker,

Pilot and Interpreter of H. M. S. "Sealark."

Sir Chas. Hotham,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

The foregoing journal was signed by Mr. Parker in our presence, and he declared the same

same to be a just and true account of the proceedings at Gallinas on the 3d and 4th of February 1849. Appendix, No. 7.

(signed) *Wm. H. Haswell.*  
*Wm. Hickman.*  
*Rd. Purvis.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 3.

H. M.'s Steam Frigate "Penelope,"  
6 February 1849, off Gallinas.

Sir,

IN compliance with your memorandum of the 4th instant, I herewith transmit you answers to the questions therein contained, as follows:—

Q. 1. In the different slave factories which you visited, was there any evidence tending to prove the exportation of slaves?—A. Yes, both at Akinta and Dombocorro there was every arrangement indicating an organized system for carrying on the slave trade.

2. Did you see either slave irons, shackles, forelocks for fastening shackles, iron for making shackles, handcuffs, chains, slave coppers, casks filled with water, &c.?—At the Akinta factory I saw a quantity of small round iron, such as is used for making neck shackles; coppers were erected in the outbuildings for cooking large quantities of food, 10 casks capable of holding 100 gallons of water, and about 10 others capable of holding 30 gallons, were filled and ready for use.

3. Did you see any country produce to give in exchange for goods imported?—One tusk of an elephant.

4. What is your general opinion on the trade of Gallinas?—Entirely devoted to carrying on slave trade.

5. On entering the barracoons, did you see "poo-poo tubs," or other furniture connected with the slave trade?—In the barracoons at Akinta, poo-poo tubs containing recent human excrement, and other indications of the place having been hurriedly and recently vacated.

6. Did you converse with any resident, or receive information on the mercantile operations of Gallinas?—Not from any authentic source worth quoting.

7. Did you see any slaves; if so, state in what factory?—Two boys, of about the age of 14, escaped from the factory at Akinta, Summer's Island, and 12 others at Dombocorro, viz. two men, two women, seven boys, and one girl.

8. Did any proprietor, or agent of a factory relate to you, on or about 3d February 1849, the number of vessels that have escaped since December 1848?—I had no conversation with any agent or proprietor of a factory.

9. Were the goods found in the factories generally those employed in the purchase of slaves?—At Akinta the stores were principally filled with tobacco, spirits, and gunpowder.

I have also to bring to your notice the surgeon's report on the state of the slaves brought on board the "Penelope."

Commodore Sir Chas. Hotham, K. C. B.,  
Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *L. T. Jones,*  
Captain.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore, and Commander-in Chief.

Enclosure, No. 4.

Sir,

Her Majesty's Ship "Penelope," 5 February 1849.

IN compliance with your directions, I have examined the negroes who came on board from Gallinas on the 4th February, consisting of two men, two women, nine boys, and one girl.

The two men and one of the boys were in a state of extreme emaciation and debility, the men, apparently, in the utmost degree compatible with existence; they are quite unable to move their own limbs, or to help themselves in any way. Their weight is stated on the subsequent page, compared with that of two healthy Kroomen from the adjoining coast, of the same respective heights, from among those now employed on board this ship, taking the first who were found of the required height.

I have, &c.

To Captain L. T. Jones,  
Her Majesty's Ship, "Penelope."

(signed) *John Munro, M. D.,*  
Surgeon, Her Majesty's Ship Penelope."

Appendix, No. 7.

HEIGHT OF NEGRO FROM THE FACTORY.	WEIGHT.	WEIGHT OF KROOMEN OF SAME HEIGHT.
5 feet 7 inches - - -	67 lbs.	145 lbs.
5 feet 5 inches - - -	59 lbs.	150 lbs.
4 feet 5 inches (boy) -	36 lbs.	No Krooman of that height.

(signed) *John Munro.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

## Enclosure, No. 5.

Her Majesty's Sloop "Favorite," off Gallinas,  
5 February 1849.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to reply to the questions addressed to me in your order, dated yesterday, the answers being numbered as the questions to which they refer.

1st. The factories which I visited on the 3d and 4th of February 1849, were at Dombocorro, and at Tineh, farther up the Gallinas River. The factories were supplied with goods for the purchase of slaves, such as rum and tobacco, and there was no sign of any native legitimate produce, which, supposing the trade carried on to be other than the slave trade, would have been collected for export.

2d. At Dombocorro, I saw irons, and quantites of rod iron at both places for making shackles, a length of light iron chains; in one store there were a great number of water casks, some full and some empty; there were two slave coppers at Dombocorro, a number of slave mess kids, and I saw one of the "Penelope's" men carrying down a number of handcuffs, found on the premises.

3d. There was no country produce whatever collected, as if in return for goods imported.

4th. My opinion of the trade carried on at Gallinas is, that it has been the foreign slave trade, and nothing but the foreign slave trade. Large quantities of goods were imported; I have seen them landed by French, American, and Sardinian vessels. These goods were exchanged for slaves, which slaves were shipped whenever opportunity offered.

5th. On entering the large barracoon at Dombocorro, on the morning of the 4th, I saw a number of "poo-poo" tubs, which had been very recently used; the floor of the barracoon was partially planked over, and one end partitioned off for the women.

6th. The information which I received from a person living, I believe, as an agent at Dombocorro, was translated to me from the Spanish language by yourself at the time it was spoken. This person was called Don Benito, and I certainly understood that he did not attempt to disguise that he was there for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade. Once, when you were not present, he said to me in French that he was endeavouring to establish a trade in palm oil.

7th. I saw only a few slaves, which in the course of the two days were brought into Dombocorro.

8th. I did not see any slaves escape into the bush as we approached the factories, but I heard Lieutenant Hill hail you to say that he did. I examined a slave boy, which had given himself up to Captain Jones, who distinctly declared that the slaves from two large barracoons were driven away into the bush, some in fetters, on the approach of the "Penelope's" boats to the factories in the Solyman River, on the 3d of February.

9th. You translated to me from Don Benito's Spanish, on the 3d of February, that he then speaking in our presence informed you that three vessels had very lately gone away full of slaves from Gallinas.

10th. The goods found in the factories generally were those desired by the natives of this part of Africa, principally bale goods, tobacco, rum, and gunpowder.

11th. I was senior officer in the northern division from October 1846 to February 1848; during that time I never heard of a vessel receiving a legitimate cargo at Gallinas.

I have, &amp;c.

Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.  
Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c. &c.(signed) *Alexander Murray,*  
Commander.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

## Enclosure, No. 6.

Sir,

Her Majesty's Ship "Favorite," 5 February 1849.

IN compliance with your order that I should transmit a report of the examination of the boy brought from Don Chrispo's barracoon, I beg to inform you that he stated that he came from Prince Manna's town, and had been two years in Don Chrispo's barracoon, and had become one of the domestic slaves of that establishment.

He could not tell what number of slaves were in the barracoons; there were some in chains, and some with collars on their necks.

He had seen slaves flogged, and had himself been so; but never heard of any having been fired from a gun.

I have, &amp;c.

(signed) *Alfred Royer,*  
Lieut. Her Majesty's Ship "Favorite."

To Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.,  
Commander-in-Chief.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

## Enclosure, No. 7.

Sir,

Her Majesty's Ship "Sealark," Gallinas,  
5 February 1849.

IN answer to your memorandum of the 4th instant, I have the honour to report,  
1st. That in both the factories which I visited, viz. Commosorn and Sigary, there was strong evidence tending to prove the exportation of slaves.

2d. That in both factories were found slave irons, forelocks for fastening shackles, and chains in small quantities; but I did not see any slave coppers, or casks filled with water.

3d. That in neither of them did I see any country produce of any description to exchange for imported goods.

4th. That in my opinion the export trade of Gallinas is mainly, if not exclusively a slave trade.

5th. That in the barracoons which I visited I did not see any "poo-poo tubs," or furniture, except the cane seats or beds that run round the walls, but there were several large tubs under a shed.

6th. That I was not able to obtain any information on the mercantile operations of Gallinas.

7th. That in the factories of Commosorn, I found 13 slaves, and in the neighbourhood of Sigary four more were found in the bush by the Kroomen of the "Penelope" and "Sealark."

8th. That I did not see or hear of any slaves escaping into the bush on the morning of our landing, but the barracoons at Commosorn had evidently been very lately inhabited.

9th. That I understood the person in charge of the factory at Commosorn, on or about the 3d of February 1849, to say that three vessels had escaped during this year.

10th. That the goods found in the above-named factories were chiefly spirits, gunpowder, arms, cloths, &c., which I have always heard were generally employed in the purchase of slaves.

11th. That I cannot recall to my recollection my ever having heard during the time I have been senior officer in the northern division of a vessel receiving a legitimate cargo at Gallinas; the master of the steamer "Maid of Islay" did state to the boarding officer of the "Sealark," Lieutenant Didham, on the 13th of May 1848, the morning before he was taken by Her Majesty's sloop "Alert," that he was coming into this place to take in cargo, but I have every reason to believe that that statement was untrue.

I have every reason to believe that there is a considerable traffic carried on by canoes through the Sherbro, between Gallinas and Sierra Leone, in articles of native produce, and some ivory and gold dust, but that there is very little, if any export trade by sea, except the slave trade.

I have, &amp;c.

(signed) *William B. Monypenny,*  
Commander.

To Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.,  
Commander-in-Chief.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Appendix, No. 7.

Enclosure, No. 8.

Her Majesty's Sloop "Waterwitch,"  
Gallinas, 5 January 1849.

Sir,

IN reply to your order directing me to answer certain questions tending to elucidate the nature of the trade carried on in Gallinas, I have the honour to inform you, with reference to your first question, that I consider that there was evidence, in the slave factories that I visited, tending to prove the exportation of slaves.

Secondly. In the factory at Dindo, which I had possession of, I saw a slave copper, a slave chain 20 fathoms long, and forelocks for fastening shackles.

Thirdly. The only produce that I saw of the country was eight tons of rice in an outhouse, but which certainly was not meant to give in exchange for goods imported.

Fourthly. My opinion is, that the trade of the Gallinas in general is connected, directly or indirectly, with slave traffic.

Fifthly. I saw at the store at Dindo articles in the shape of poo-poo tubs, but then appropriated to other uses, as they were half filled with flour and calavances; they were perfectly new. I saw besides in the barracoons at Dindo a quantity of mats made of split bamboo seized together, which struck me as being intended as beds for the slaves. In the same barracoon there was a space portioned off, with a kind of fireplace, and a large cast-iron kettle; the floor had the appearance of being trampled upon by a large number of people at no very distant period. There were a number of oars in store, besides a large boat under a shed, and two or three larger canoes than usual. The kitchen, in an outhouse, appeared to me much too large for any people that we saw there. I did converse with a Portuguese resident, who called himself Don Juan Paredes, but he appeared to have no information to give in regard to any mercantile operations at Gallinas; he had been captured only a few weeks before by Her Majesty's steam vessel "Pluto," in the brigantine she last sent up for adjudication to Sierra Leone.

Seventhly. I saw some slaves at Dombocorro, but I believe they had been brought down the river; I saw also others, which Lieutenant Forbes was bringing down the branch of the river between Dindo and Dombocorro.

Eighthly. I did not hear of any slaves escaping from Dindo into the bush on the morning of our landing, but I did receive information that slaves had been sent away from that place, about a month ago.

Ninthly. The man mentioned before, Don Juan Paredes, spoke generally of some vessels having escaped, but particularly a felucca that had got away with 230 slaves, about a month ago; he seemed unwilling to give much information on the subject.

Tenthly. I think that nearly all the goods found in the factories were of the kind generally employed in the purchase of slaves.

Sent in the original  
letter.

I have the honour to enclose you a paper, with apparently a plan on it, and some writing, which may possibly be of use in getting information by it.

I have, &amp;c.

(signed) *Richard Robt. Quin,*  
Commander.Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.,  
Commander-in-Chief.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 9.

Her Majesty's Ship "Penelope," at Gallinas,  
5 February 1849.

Sir,

IN reply to your memorandum dated the 4th instant, I have the honour to submit the following answers to the interrogatories therein contained, viz:

Q. 1. In the different slave factories which you visited, was there any evidence tending to prove the exportation of slaves?—A. In the two first barracoons I visited on the 3d instant, Djouring (said to belong to Don Miguel) and Summer's Island (Don Crespo), there were the remains of fires in several of the buildings, and they all bore evidence of having been a very few hours, perhaps immediately before, occupied by slaves. The number and extent of these buildings, the peculiar manner in which they are fitted, the large quantities of rum, rice, tobacco, powder, &c., in the different factories, together with the fact of there being few staple commodities in the country to give in exchange for these articles, convinces me that the traffic in slaves is the only business conducted between the natives and foreign residents at Gallinas.

2. Did you see either slave irons, shackles, forelocks for fastening shackles, iron for making shackles, handcuffs, chains, slave coppers, casks filled with water, &c.?—Yes, I saw iron slave shackles, handcuffs, &c., slave coppers, &c., aguardiente, rice, flour, &c. and water casks filled.

3. Did you see any country produce to give in exchange for goods imported?—No.
4. What is your general opinion on the trade of Gallinas?—Traffic in slaves.
5. On entering the barracoons, did you see “poo-poo tubs” or other furniture connected with the slave trade?—Yes, at the two places mentioned in my answer to Question 1, and also at Dombocorro.
6. Did you converse with any resident, or receive information on the mercantile operations of the Gallinas?—No.
7. Did you see any slaves; if so, in what factory?—Yes, we captured two boys in a canoe, escaping from Don Crespo’s factory, one branded with W. on his breast, the other with H. on his back.
8. Did any proprietor or agent of a factory relate to you, on or about 3d February 1849, the number of vessels that have escaped since December 1848?—No.
9. Were the goods found in the factories, generally those employed in the purchase of slaves?—Yes. It is right that I should mention, that a Portuguese informed me, after I had taken him into my boat from Summer’s Island factory, that on the morning of the expedition entering the river, about 1,000 slaves were marched away from that place to the opposite side of the island, and embarked in canoes to some distant barracoon, and the two boys mentioned in my reply to question No. 7, can confirm this statement.

I have, &c.

Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.,  
Commander-in-Chief.

(signed) *W. H. Haswell*,  
Acting Commander.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 10.

Her Majesty’s Ship “Bonetta,” Gallinas,  
5 February 1849.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to lay before you the following answers to your questions:

- Q. 1. In the different slave factories which you visited, was there any evidence tending to prove the exportation of slaves?—A. Every evidence requisite, as the following will prove.
2. Did you see either slave irons, shackles, forelocks for fastening shackles, iron for making shackles, handcuffs, chains, slave coppers, casks filled with water, &c.?—Slave irons, shackles, forelocks, handcuffs, I saw; and was told by an agent, that vessels arriving without water could not be supplied, they having no convenience at the factories.
3. Did you see any country produce to give in exchange for goods imported?—There was no country produce for exportation, but a well-stored granary for the subsistence of the slaves.
4. What is your general opinion on the trade of Gallinas?—Entirely a slave trade, without any disguise; vessels under American, the Italian, Bremen, Hamburg and Portuguese flags, land goods, but export nothing.
5. On entering the barracoons, did you see any “poo-poo tubs” or other furniture connected with the slave trade?—I did not observe any poo-poo tubs, but in the factory at Comasuro, belonging to Don Pablo Alfarez, was a barracoon arranged like a barrack-room, with sleeping places all round, in which were the remains of fires, mats, rags, leavings of food; in short, evidence of a large number of people having been confined there.
6. Did you converse with any resident, or receive information on the mercantile operations of Gallinas?—Don Jose Luiz, who left Gallinas on the 2d of February, spoke to me openly of the slave trade, and argued many points about it, stating his belief that the only way to put a stop to it, would be to open the trade, which would ruin the slave merchant; the presence of the cruisers causing the profit to be enormous. The agent at Comasuro also spoke of the trade, and neither appeared even to wish to disguise that they were slave merchants.
7. Did you see any slaves; if so, state in what factory?—At the factory of Comasuro, there were several slaves in the most horrible state of emaciation, being in my opinion the few of a gang who were too ill to be driven to the bush.
9. Did any proprietor or agent of a factory relate to you, on or about 3d of February 1849, the number of vessels that have escaped since December 1848?—The agent at Comasuro, stated that a felucca had escaped with 370 slaves, and the natives told me three had escaped, viz., a brig, brigantine, and a felucca.
10. Were the goods found in the factories generally those employed in the purchase of slaves?—The goods were those invariably employed, viz., arms, powder, spirits, salt pans, tobacco, cloth, &c. I visited Senjee-Manna, a stockaded town belonging to Prince Manna, and in his house found slaves, slave irons, powder, spirits, and 30 stand of arms; I destroyed the arms, powder and spirits, took 12 slaves, and several pairs of irons. The town of Mina, destroyed by Commander Murray, was in my opinion a slave depôt and had all the

Appendix, No. 7. articles used in the slave trade in the different houses. The agent of the factory destroyed by Commander Quin was captured by me in July last, in a slave schooner, the "Andarinha."

To Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.  
Commander-in-Chief.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *F. E. Forbes,*  
Lieutenant Commanding.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Charles Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 11.

Sir,

Her Majesty's Brigantine "Dart," Gallinas,  
5 February 1849.

IN compliance with your memorandum, directing me to answer to the best of my recollection the following questions, adding any information I may have gained tending to elucidate the nature of the trade (whether legal or illegal) conducted at Gallinas, I beg leave to answer the questions accordingly:

Q. 1. In the different slave factories which you visited was there any evidence tending to prove the exportation of slaves?—A. Yes, I saw a quantity of slave irons, plank for slave decks, slave tins, and rice for feeding slaves.

2. Did you see either slave irons, shackles, forelocks for fastening shackles, handcuffs, chains, slave coppers, casks filled with water, &c.?—Yes, I saw slave irons, shackles, forelocks for fastening shackles, iron for making shackles, and slave yards.

3. Did you see any country produce to give in exchange for goods imported?—None whatever.

4. What is your general opinion on the trade of Gallinas?—That there is no trade but in slaves.

5. On entering the barracoons, did you see "poo-poo tubs," or other furniture connected with the slave trade?—Yes, I saw "poo-poo tubs," slave tins, and plank for slave decks.

6. Did you converse with any resident, or receive information on the mercantile operations of Gallinas?—Yes, I conversed with a man that had been resident there nine years, and who had factories belonging to him, and he told me that there was no mercantile operations at all, the only trade was in slaves; that the natives were too lazy even to grow rice for their own consumption.

7. Did you see any slaves; if so, state in what factory?—Yes, I saw slaves in the factories called Dumbocoro and Comosoon.

8. Did you see or hear of any slaves escaping into the bush on the morning of our landing; if so, describe the full particulars?—Yes, when pulling up the river I observed a great number of slaves escaping from the barracoons of Dumbocoro into the bush; and from what I saw at the other barracoons I have no doubt a great many escaped, from the dirty state the slave yards were in.

9. Did any proprietor or agent of a factory relate to you, on or about the 3d of February 1849, the number of vessels that had escaped since December 1848?—Yes, the proprietor of the Comosoon factory told me that three vessels had escaped with slaves, one only 20 days ago.

10. Were the goods found in the factories generally those employed in the purchase of slaves?—Yes, I saw no goods except those used for the purchase of slaves. I beg further to add that I have known the Gallinas for a long period, and constantly landed there, and have never seen anything except slaves exported, and nothing imported but goods for the purchase of slaves.

To Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.  
Commander-in-Chief.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *Edward Hill,*  
Lieutenant and Commander.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Charles Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 12.

Sir,

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel "Pluto," off the Gallinas,  
5 February 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your order of the 4th instant, and in compliance therewith, I beg to answer, to the best of my recollection, the questions undermentioned relating to the slave trade, &c. at this place:

Q. 1. In

Q. 1. In the different slave factories which you have visited, was there any evidence tending to prove the exportation of slaves?—A. I saw no evidence of the actual exportation of slaves.

2. Did you see either slave irons, shackles, forelocks for fastening shackles, iron for making shackles, handcuffs, chains, slave coppers, casks filled with water, &c.?—I saw some few slave irons, a quantity of iron for making shackles, slave coppers, and casks filled with water.

3. Did you see any country produce to give in exchange for goods imported?—None.

4. What is your general opinion on the trade of Gallinas?—Almost entirely in slave dealing.

5. On entering the barracoons, did you see “poo-poo tubs,” or other furniture connected with the slave trade?—I saw a quantity of these tubs and other furniture for slaves, with evident marks of their having been recently used.

6. Did you converse with any resident, or receive information on the mercantile operations of the Gallinas?—None whatever.

7. Did you see any slaves; if so, state in what factory?—None except those captured.

8. Did you see or hear of any slaves escaping into the “bush” on the morning of our landing?—Yes, I heard of a quantity.

9. Did any proprietor or agent of a factory relate to you, on or about the 3d of February 1849, the number of vessels that have escaped since December 1848?—No.

10. Were the goods found in the factories generally those employed in the purchase of slaves?—Yes.

To Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.  
Commander-in-Chief.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *W. Kynaston Jolliffe*,  
Lieutenant and Commander.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 13.

Her Majesty's Sloop “Penelope,” Gallinas,  
5 February 1849.

Sir,

AGREEABLY to the directions contained in your memorandum of yesterday's date, calling on me to answer the following questions relative to the nature of the trade conducted at Gallinas, &c., I have the honour to state, in reply to

Q. 1. In the different slave factories which you visited, was there any evidence tending to prove the exportation of slaves?—A. Yes, large canoes, and at Jim Town there was a boat of about five tons burthen, which, I was informed, had on one occasion conveyed slaves to the Brazils.

2. Did you see either slave irons, shackles, forelocks for fastening shackles, iron for making shackles, handcuffs, chains, slave coppers, casks filled with water, &c.?—I saw slave irons, shackles, handcuffs, chains, a large quantity of casks filled with aguadiente; and I also found slave coppers and bolts stowed away under the casks in the stores at Dombocorro.

3. Did you see any country produce to give in exchange for goods imported?—No.

4. What is your general opinion on the trade of Gallinas?—That the slave trade is carried on very extensively.

5. On entering the barracoons did you see “poo-poo tubs,” or other furniture connected with the slave trade?—I saw poo-poo tubs and planks, from the smell of which I should judge that slaves had just left the place.

6. Did you converse with any resident, or receive information on the mercantile operations of Gallinas?—No.

7. Did you see any slaves; if so, state in what factory?—I saw slaves, who were brought in from the bush.

8. Did you see or hear of any slaves escaping into the bush, on the morning of our landing?—I saw a large number of people leaving the factory at Dombocorro; they evidently appeared to be slaves, and I heard from a slave woman (by means of an interpreter) that the slaves had been driven to a town about three miles up the river.

9. Did any proprietor or agent of a factory relate to you, on or about 3d February 1849, the number of vessels that had escaped since December 1848?—Yes, that three vessels had escaped since the 10th of December 1848.

10. Were the goods found in the factories generally those employed in the purchase of slaves?—They consisted of trade cloth, gunpowder, aguadiente, &c.

To Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B.  
Commander-in-Chief.

I have, &c.  
(signed) *R. Purvis*,  
Flag Lieutenant.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Appendix, No. 7.

Enclosure, No. 14.

H. M. S. "Sealark,"

5 February 1849, at anchor off the Gallinas River.

Sir,  
 IN answer to your memorandum, dated the 4th instant, I have the honour to report to you:—

1st. In the factories that I visited, viz., Juring, Summer Island, and Domborcoro, there were evident proofs of the purchasing and exportation of slaves.

2d. In the different barracoons visited by me, I saw chains, slave irons, and forelocks for fastening shackles, poo-poo tubs, mess kids, boilers, and iron bars for making slave irons, casks, leagers for containing water.

3d. I saw no produce of the country to give in exchange for the immense quantity of goods in the factories.

4th. My general opinion of the Gallinas is, there is no other trade but the slave trade, as I lived there one year and saw no other trade, and am acquainted with all the chiefs of Gallinas; having been in Africa 22 years, I have never known any other trade there but the slave trade.

5th. On entering the barracoons, I saw poo-poo tubs, containing filth, and other furniture connected with the slave trade.

6th. I conversed with a few of the residents of Gallinas, and found that the slave trade has increased threefold within the last year. I saw two slaves that run from Don Chrespo's barracoon, marked H and N, and speaking their language, they informed me that two barracoons were full in Summer Island, which had been taken into the bush at the appearance of the boats in the River Solyman, and, from the best of my judgment, I suppose they would hold at least 500 hundred each; I also understood from some of the residents that Don Chrespo at Summer Island and Juring had lately shipped slaves in a felucca, and Don Lewis and Benito had shipped slaves from the barracoon at Domborcoro in two vessels, one a brig, and the other a schooner; I also saw slaves brought in from the bush, belonging to the factory at Domborcoro and Jindo, and I inquired of them what had become of the rest, as these were in a most shocking state, merely skeletons, and could not follow the rest, and were left behind.

7th. I was informed by one of the Spaniards living in Domborcoro that three vessels had escaped since the 10th of December 1848.

8th. The goods that I saw in the factories are such as are given for the slaves, and I was informed that the agents had more than 3,000 slaves trusted out, to be paid in three months, as that is the way in which they get the slaves; some of the chiefs take the goods on credit, and send them into the interior for slaves, which are caught generally in war, and sold.

9th. I have known the Gallinas for many years, and have never known any other trade there but the slave trade.

10th. From the information received from different natives belonging to the Gallinas that at the time the boats entered the bar there was in the different barracoons about 2,500 or 3,000 slaves, including the barracoons up the Solyman River, and I have seen supplies of goods come through the River Sherbro and Boom Kittam from Sierra Leone, and sold at Gallinas for cash, but no African produce can be obtained in return for goods, as the territory is too small, only 12 miles in length and 30 depth.

I have, &amp;c.

Commodore Sir Chas. Hotham, K. C. B.,  
 Commander-in-Chief.

(signed) *Wm. A. Parker,*  
 Pilot and Interpreter.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
 Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 15.

KITTAM, John Siacca, son of the late King Fortune, voluntarily declares that the measures this day adopted by Commodore Sir Charles Hotham and the destruction of the barracoons, are right and proper; that on the part of the chiefs of Gallinas he is empowered to say that they have erred and done that which is wrong; that they have violated the treaty concluded by Captain Denman, and merit punishment.

That unconditionally, and without any reserve, without hope of reward, of any sort or kind, they promise to deliver up the slaves to any officer appointed by the Commander-in-Chief, within four days from this date (February 4), and that Sir Charles Hotham positively

tively refused to enter into any compromise for the sake of liberating the slaves, now laying in the bush, and released from the several factories and barracoons on the first appearance of the boats in the Gallinas waters.

Appendix, No. 7.

Dombocorro, Gallinas, 4 February 1849.

(signed) *King John* × *Fortune*.  
his  
mark.

(signed) *John* × *Shaicah*.  
his  
mark.

(signed) *Charles Hotham*,  
Commander-in-Chief.

(signed) *W. A. Parker*,  
Pilot and Interpreter, Her Majesty's Steam Ship "Penelope."

(signed) *Alex. Murray*,  
Commander, Her Majesty's Ship "Favorite."

(signed) *Thos. L. Gordon*,  
Interpreter.

(signed) *Edwd. Hill*, Lieutenant,  
Commanding Her Majesty's Brig "Dart."

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

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Enclosure, No. 16.

By Sir *Charles Hotham*, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Commodore of the First Class, and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Ships and Vessels employed, and to be employed on the West Coast of Africa, &c. &c. &c.

THE orders under which you are acting provide for all the common duties required in the Northern Division, excepting in what may relate to the new state of affairs connected with Gallinas consequent on our recent operations.

On the part of Her Majesty's Government, I have declared war with that country, the limits of which are comprised between Solyman Point on the south, and Cazeo on the north, lat. 6° 57' N., long. 11° 35' W., and lat. 7° 5' N., long. 11° 45' W., and I intend to exercise all the rights allowed by the law of nations in carrying on the war.

With that view, I shall give official notice of the establishment of a blockade of the Gallinas to the authorities of the neighbouring powers, and commanders of squadrons or ships on the West Coast of Africa; and you will avail yourself of every opportunity to notify the existence of a blockade to the commanders and masters of all vessels passing the interdicted territory.

You will not interfere with men-of-war, or prevent their communicating with Gallinas; but you are to inform the masters of merchant vessels that the blockade has been established, and that it is forbidden to pass the line of the blockade, or communicate with the shore; and this warning will be noted, as far as possible, in the logs of the vessels in question.

As the trade of Gallinas has been proved to be connected with slave exportation, and the goods imported used for that sole purpose, you will make no difference between vessels of any nation boarded, with any description of cargo.

Vessels that persist in endeavouring to violate the blockade, you will prevent, if absolutely necessary, by force, forwarding a full account of the transaction, in duplicate, to the Admiralty, as well as to the officer commanding this station.

You are not to send any vessel to a Vice-Admiralty Court, either at Sierra Leone or elsewhere; in this particular the blockade differs from the system generally pursued.

The utmost temper and forbearance are required; a high responsibility devolves upon you, and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty will not sanction any act of violence which could by temperate measures have been avoided.

Given on board the "Penelope," at Gallinas, the 8th day of February 1849.

To *W. B. Monypenny, Esq.*, (signed) *Charles Hotham*.  
Commander of Her Majesty's Sloop "Sealark."

By command of the Commander-in-Chief.

(signed) *W. Hickman*, Secretary.

(True copy.)

*Charles Hotham*,  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Appendix, No. 7.

Enclosure, No. 17.

Commodore,

"Penelope," Gallinas, 4 February 1849.

I do myself the honour to inform you, that in consequence of the continued violation of the treaty concluded with the chiefs of Gallinas by Captain Denman, in 1840, for the suppression of the slave trade, I have declared war with that country, and established a blockade, with a sufficient and effective force, between Solyman Point on the south, and Cazeze on the north.

I request you will be pleased to give public notice of this blockade to the French authorities on the West Coast of Africa, and to the masters of French vessels calling at Goree.

Lat. 6° 57' N.  
Long. 11° 35' W.  
to  
Lat. 7° 5' N.  
Long. 11° 45' W.

I have, &amp;c.

(signed) *Charles Hotham,*

To the Commodore Commanding  
the French Naval Forces on the West Coast of Africa,  
&c. &c. &c.

Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

(True copy.)

*Charles Hotham,*

Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 18.

Sir

"Penelope," Gallinas, 4 February 1849.

I do myself the honour to inform you, that in consequence of the continued violation of the treaty concluded with the chiefs of Gallinas, by Captain Denman, in 1840, for the suppression of the slave trade, I have declared war with that country, and established a blockade, with a sufficient and effective force, between Solyman Point on the south, and Cazeze on the north.

I request you will be pleased to give public notice to American citizens trading on the West Coast of Africa.

Lat. 6° 57' N.  
Long. 11° 35' W.  
to  
Lat. 7° 5' N.  
Long. 11° 45' W.

I have, &amp;c.

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*

To Commodore Bolton,  
Commanding the United States' Naval Forces  
on the West Coast of Africa, &c. &c.

Commodore and Com.-in-Chief.

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*

Commodore and Commr.-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 19.

Sir,

H. M. S. "Penelope," 10 February 1849.

I BEG leave to acquaint you, for the information of the Commander-in-chief, that the three negroes (two men and a boy) referred to in my letter of the 5th current, died between the mornings of the 8th and 9th, from their extreme state of exhaustion and debility, accompanied with dysentery.

I have, &amp;c.

(signed) *John Munro, M. D.,*

To Captain Lewis T. Jones,  
H. M. S. "Penelope."

Surgeon, H. M. S. "Penelope."

(True copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*

Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Enclosure, No. 20.

Sierra Leone, Freetown, 19 February 1849.

THE examination of Down, a liberated African, taken this day before me, Robert Armstrong, Police Magistrate for this colony.

Thomas Ogoo, a Cosso man, and constable of this colony, being sworn as interpreter.

Deponent Down saith, I was a slave, and lived with my owner, Don Crispo, at the Gallinas. The barracoons were burnt; I ran away to the boats of the big ship. A man told me that if I went to Englishmen, they would make me free. Ran away the same day the big ship arrived. Saw great many slaves, men, women, and children, in the barracoons.

I was

I was brought from Cosso about four years ago, by a black man, who sold me to the Spaniard, Don Crispo. I know Pepper; some time ago he was put in a vessel with many other slaves.

She was chased by an English vessel of war; it was about a year ago. Saw Pepper taken off to the slave ship; the people were taken off in large boats.

The slave ship was out about four days; returned, and was driven on shore; the slaves from her were put into the barracoon at Gallinas. Don Crispo buys slaves, and sells them to the Spaniards. There is a little vessel now building close to the barracoons at Gallinas. She belongs to Don Crispo, and is to carry slaves. Some people at the Gallinas fired at the people of the big ship.

(signed) *Down* <sup>his</sup> ×  
mark.

Taken before me, at Freetown, the 19th day of February 1849.

(signed) *Robert Armstrong,*  
Police Magistrate.

(Copy of a copy.)

(signed) *Chas. Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

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Enclosure, No. 21.

Sierra Leone, Freetown, 19 February 1849.

THE examination of Pepper, a liberated African, taken this day before me, Robert Armstrong, Police Magistrate for this colony.

Thomas Ogo, a Cosso man, and constable of this colony, being sworn as interpreter.

Deponent Pepper saith, I was a slave at Tindo, or Summer Island.

The barracoon belonging to Don Crispo was a large long building, divided into two parts, one full of men, the other of women.

They were chained together.

Frequently chained together, and flogged with a big whip, made of thick rope; sometimes they got three dozen lashes.

A short time ago I saw a smoke from a barracoon a little way off; it was so near that a person could hear another speaking, if he called out loud.

A Gallinas man told me if I went to Englishman, I should be free. Another boy and I got into a canoe, and went to the English boat.

I left the barracoon when the sun was overhead, and when I got to the boat it was very little down.

The barracoon from which I ran away was afterwards burnt; I saw it burn; it belonged to Don Crispo.

Slave irons were taken out of the barracoon and put on board the Devil ship, big steamer.

About a year ago I was put on board of a slave ship by Don Crispo; the vessel was full of slaves; she was out about two days chased by an English ship of war, ran ashore, and broken up. No one drowned, but some people died on board.

I was then taken to a town; do not know the name of it. I was chained by the leg.

Don Crispo came and took me back to his barracoon at Tindo, which is in the Gallinas.

I know the town Drening; it belongs to Schaffa Rogers; there are slaves in that town.

*Pepper,* <sup>his</sup> ×  
mark.

Taken before me, at Freetown, the 19th day of February 1849.

(signed) *Robert Armstrong,*  
Police Magistrate.

(Copy of a copy.)

(signed) *Charles Hotham,*  
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

REPORT

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON THE

SLAVE TRADE

TOGETHER WITH THE

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,

AND APPENDIX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,  
24 May 1849.

[Price 2 s. 6 d.]

308.

Under 28 or.