

Danish Settlements on / Gold Coast.

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Supply—Western Coast o Africa, & Danish Settlements
on / Gold Coast

(2.) Motion made & Quesⁿ proposed.

"That a sum not exceeding 24,000 l. be granted to Her Majesty, to defray
/ Charge o / Civil Establish^{ts} on / Western Coast o Africa; to / 31st day
o March 1851; also f / purchase o Stores, &c. on / Gold Coast. fm /
Mr. R. "Danish Gov."

Mr. R.
[Yorkshire. W.R.]

Mr Cobden^{sd} he shd h that it probably more in order if some Member o / Gov
hd explained / grounds upon wh / Committee were called upon to
vote this sum. It was proposed to vote 10,000 l. f / first settlements on / coast o Africa.
If 10,000 l. were all, it mt be passed over lightly, & no gr harm wd. be done, f a vote
o 10,000 l. was a small thg. indeed. The quesⁿ was, wd they extend thir Territory on / Gold
Coast o Africa? His opinion was t they hd lately hd too much o tropical possessions, &
t they wt not to extend them. He asked himself what were / grounds on wh they proposed
to extend thir Territory on / coast o Africa? Why, they hd hd a correspondence passg betw
thir Gov & / Danish Gov on / subject; & so far as he cd understand it, they were, first
o all, to extend thir oper^{ns} on / shore f / suppressⁿ o / slave trade — next, they were
to extend thir trade, & thom thir was a gen plan f / diffⁿ o / civilisaⁿ on /
Continent o Africa. Well, now, / first o these ques^{ns} was, whr they were to go on, w
increasd militay & exp^{ns}, to suppress / slave trade on / coast o Africa? He thot thir was a vry
col^{dr} gr doubt in / Country whr we sd continue / oper^{ns} we cdre now engaged in—
whr we shd carry on our oper^{ns} at sea. But here was a new plan for oper^{ns} on shore; bec
/ plan was, t we were to go on buildg forts & extendg our Territory, in order to put down
single handed what we hd failed to do in conjuncⁿ w France by sea. This plan was put
before them by Governor Winniett, in writic wh he gav before / House a loads a
Committee o / House o Lords, wh was laid before us last year. This was / evidence:—

"By any means o forming any judgment as to how far / extension o / occupⁿ
o / forts upon t coast mt be extended?— Yes: I h on one or two occas^{ns} cor-
responded w / Secretary o State on t vry subject; & it is my firm opinion t,
slavery will never be done away, exceptg by blockadg / Right o Bennis,
& buildg forts along / line o coast. It do not mean simply blockadg by
not allowg Spanish or Portuguese vessels to go thr; but I mean to say, t

* Vide Reports from Committees 1850. African Slave Trade, 5th. Report fm / Select
Committee o / House o Lords on / African Slave Trade w Minutes o Evidence,
Appendix & Index Session 1849. Vol. 18 Sess. 1850. [8th m. pressmark, S.P.R.]
Capt Wm Winniett writing upon on 30 April 1849, so far as relates to / Gold
Coast & in questions Nos 694-721. [P. 55 et seq.].

2.
"in two years, or two years & a half, by blockading / coast
thoroughly, I must do away wth slavery; bec it wd compel
King o' Dahomey to come into our views; & if they cannot do
wth English manufactured goods, & I doubt t^o in two or three
years he wd certainly come in b^o our views in respect to 1 sum
o' money. But it must be such a blockade by steamers as
not to allow anything to pass, & at / same time erectg forts w^{ch}
ten or twenty miles; some of 'em in / same shape as 1 forts on
1 coast o' Sussex, / Martello Towers."

He was reminded t^{at} there wd be many places out o' reach o' our guns; & his answer
was -

"These forts wd h^{ave} twenty, thirt^y or forty troops, w^{ch} officers, &
we shd patrol / beach, just as I do in looking out f^r smugglers
upon / coast o' Kent, & we shd always h^{ave} a lookout on / top
o' these towers, watching f^r / approach o' any vessel."

They hd always some fresh plan f^r / suppression o' slave trade. First, they hd steam
vessels, then they hd / Niger expedition wth its horrible loss o' life, & now they were
to have martello towers, wh^{ch} wd put an end to / slave trade in two years & a half,
accordg to Governor Winnett's opinion. Some persons out suppose he was exag-
geratg; but he hd / advantage o' hearg / advice o' Earl Grey, wh^o was not yet printed,
& t^o itself was a good reason f^r deferrg this vote. Earl Grey approv'd o' plan

suggested by Governor Winnett o' extendg forts along / coast. Such an opinion
wd exp^{ress}ed by Earl Grey was rather alarmg. bec he was a Cabinet Member, & it
was likely t^{at} his opinion was shared in by / rest o' Gov. body, if they cd not abolish
/ slave trade - wh^{ch} was an export smuggl^g trade by means o' steam vessels, it was

fruitless to think o' abolishg it by means o' stationary forts on land. The next object f^r
wh^{ch} these forts were to be purchased, was to extend the trade on / coast o' Africa.
Now he, as a free-trader, maintained t^{at} if they remov'd / obstacles on trade, it was
not the business to purchase land f^r / promot^on o' agriculture or trade. They hd
bet^own f^r Manchester & Liverpool in favour o' / purchase o' these forts; but he main-
tain'd t^{at} they shd not vote / money o' Taxpayers at l^{ge} to promote / interest o' part^{ic}ular
in a part^{ic}ular locality. A member o' t^{he} House who was w^{ell} largely connected wth
/ trade on / African coast hd bn mentioned in connexion wth this subject; but t^{he}
individual hd bn offer'd / Danish forts f^r nothg if he wd only hoist / Danish flag.
They hd bn told t^{at} / growth o' cotton wd be promoted by buyg these forts. If t^{hey}
were so, how was it, t^{at} w^{as} a l^{ge} portion o' / Gold Coast under the influence f^r a long
time, they hd as yet heard o' no importa^{ns} o' cotton f^r t^{he} quarter. The people o'
British Guiana stated, in a pet^{it}ion to t^{he} House, t^{at} / soil & climate o' t^{he} country was
admirably adapted f^r / growth o' cotton, & were it not f^r / obstacles thrown in its
way by / Colonial Office, t^{hey} cd grow enough f^r / entire consump^on o' /
country [Mr Hauser: hear, hear!]. He did not mean to prefer any charge agst
/ Colonial Office. What he wished to impress upon / House was this, t^{at} it was

not necessary to invest public money in / purchase o territory on / coast o Africa, w^{ch} a view to / growth o cotton, when they had Guana, Jamaica, & ^{the} West India Islands, fr a length o time, w^{ch} gett^g any cotton fr them, although they were told these places were adapted fr its growth. He maintained t they had no right to come to t House to purchase territory on acct o such a remote object, let them remove t obstacles on trade - do away wth the custom-house officers as far as possible - abolish / excuse - & by these

(40) means they wd help & encourage trade; but let them not ask t House fr money to buy territory in order to grow cotton. Then the words w^{ch} magniloquent terms used w^{re} regard to / extension o civilisⁿ & / promoⁿ o Christianity on / coast o Africa. In a letter fr Sir C. Trevelyan, dd / 12th o December, it is sd -

"My Lords concur wth yr lordship & Lord Palmerston as to / results o such an arrangement in / extincⁿ o / slave trade & / improv^{mt} o / inhabitants, wh^{ch} must be anticipated fr such a measure."

And Mr. Merivale, in writg to Sir C. Trevelyan, says -

"It is unnecessary to point out / advantages wh^{ch} must result fr / measure w^{ch} regard to / diffusion o Christianity & / spread o civilisⁿ on / coast o Africa in connexion wth / increase o British commerce. The acquisⁿ o / Danish forts & / spread o British influence will give efficiency to our policy in / territory subject to our jurisdicⁿ."

I was embarked on a wide scheme indeed. I showed t he was right in view^s this not merely as a vote o 10,000 £. They aimed at nothg short o / civilizⁿ & Christianisⁿ / coast o Africa. But he held t they had a gr deal to do at home within a stone's throw o where they were before they embarked on a scheme o redeem^g fr barbarism / whole coast o Africa. Well, then, / quesⁿ arose - what forts were they go^g to buy fr / Danes? Were they go^g to buy / forts merely wth / territory wth / command o the guns, or were they go^g to extend / dependenc^s? I was on w^{ch} quesⁿ, & it did not distinctly appear wh^{ch} was / object in view; but / I have shd bear in mind this fact, t they had never claimed / right o sovereignty beyond / reach o the guns over those parts o / Gold Coast, where they had established themselves; & / report o / Committee o 1843 declared t to be a sound principle. If they extended the territory, they wd involve themselves in endless obligat^{ns}. But the was contained in / report an acct o a tour o Governor Winniett, in wh^{ch} he speaks o / motives wishg to offer fealty to / Queen, by giv^g him / handle and o a spear & present^g / point at themselves. He spoke o a tract o country one hundred miles in / interior, & border^g / territory o / King o Ashantee. A v^{ry} formidable tribe, possessed t country. They had engagements wth them before; & if they were to occupy this country, who was to guarantee t they (col 41) wd not find themselves embarked some fine morning in a war wth / Ashanties, as they had bin engaged wth / Caffres some two or three years ago? This was an w^{ch} quesⁿ, & shd be well considered by / I have before they sanctioned / purchase o

these forts. If they were not good to buy any territory, but merely / forts w / land under / range o dr guns, what was to be / character o dr rel^{ns} w / native tribes? Were they to be dependent on this country? But they were told t dr was a probability o raising a revenue fm / natives. He never knew a case in wh territory was to be purchased or acquired, in wh they were not told t it wd bring a revenue. But / result genly was, t it was a source o money go^{ng} out instead o com^{ing} in. If they succeeded in raising money by build^g custom-houses at / foot o these forts, he cd only say t it wd be / first time such a feat was performed. What was to prevent / people fm landing goods elsewhere, then wthin / reach o dr guns in these forts? But then / duty was to be moderate - 3d a pound on tobacco; & then they were to receive a small duty on 3,000,000 gallons o rum. If these duties were to be levied by means o custom-houses connected w / forts, / ~~the~~ trade wd be carried on in spite ~~of~~ by contraband - it wd be like / slave trade, & smuggles wd be carried on in spite o them. He exhorted / House not to trust in this revenue till they saw how it was to be raised. The estimate o expenditures on acct o / purchase o these forts was most fallacious, & he wd advise / House not to confide in it. He had bn sitting 3 of three years on / Army, Navy, & Ordn^{ce} Committee, & if he was convinced o any one thg more than ano^r, it was as to / fallaciousness o / estimated cost o dr garrisons & establishments abroad. The Civil Estimates furnished no criterion o / vast expenditure wh was go^{ng} on; & in / Army Estimates for this year dr was an estimate o 6,000 £. a year f a corps o blacks in / coast o Africa, in consequ^{ce} o / purchase o these forts. This was but / beginning o outlay. The hon. Genl Com^{dr} / London Secretary f / Colonies wd perhaps, reply t / West Indian corps wh was now dr wd be with drawn. But Earl Grey told them t it wd not be so. Stores & o^r items o expense wd be required, [col 42] in consequ^{ce} o / purchase o these forts, & it was f / purpose o guard^g agst ano^r outlet o expenditure t he exhorted / Committee to pause before they recognized / principle o extend^g dr possess^{ns} in tropical climates. He sd tropical climates, bec dr was a gr diffie betwⁿ acquir^g territory where / race wd become indigenous, so as to extend commerce & spread / principle o self-gov^{er} over / world, & taking possess^{ns} o tropical territory, where dr own race was not indigenous, where ~~dr~~ Gov^{er} must be upheld by force, & where dr was no prospect o b^g able to disembarass themselves o / responsibility o govern^g / people. When they formerly took possess^{ns} o tropical countries, they endeavored to compensate themselves f / expense o govern^g them by monopoliz^g trade. But they had now abandoned / principle & entered on a new epoch. He recollect^d t Burke, in his speeches on / American resolu^{ns}, assigned two motives f coloniz^{ns} - one, t o have a gov^{er} exclusive trade w / colonies, & maintain^g naviga^{ns} - / o^r t order^g a revenue fm them by means o taxa^{ns}. The principle o monopoliz^g trade / had bn abandoned, & / naviga^{ns} had bn thrown open to all / world. The present, therefore, was / moment when they sd to pause before they extended dr dominion by one square yard o territory in tropical climates. An^or consider^{ns} was why they shd pause before they sanctioned / purchase o these forts was, t / climate was most prejudicial & fatal to / health o white men. Use shd be

told, perhaps, of gr^t benefits to civilizⁿ & humanity in our taking steps to abolish / slave trade. But was ~~there~~ not some consideraⁿ due to our own race, to those whom we shall be sending to / coast o Africa, " / white man's grave"? Mr Lander stated before / Lords' Committee t / mortality am^g / whites on / Gold Coast was 15 per cent per annum. What did / examinaⁿ o Governor Winniett shew? -

"Do y find t / health o / white officers suffers v^y much fm / climate? - V^y much; & also did them dur^g / time y was out th^r upon / coast alone. Did y^r health suffer while y were th^r? - In / first instance; y are quite sure, on arriv^g at / Gold Coast, to be an attack o fever, what they call / "season^g." & two out o five are / average t die. After y get thro / season^g, y are comparatively safe f five or seven years, w^{ch} / exceptⁿ o

d 43]

have an attack o fever or ague. Were we justified, upon principles o humanity, in carry^g on a system wh involv'd / sacrifice o so many lives, after such repeated proof t it utterly failed in prevent^g / slave trade? It w^o be sd, / victims went out voluntarily. But was not he particip^s criminis who became party to / system - a system involv^g acts little short o suicide? He considered he w^o be as much justified in tak^g part in a direct act o homicide as he w^o be in encourag^g such an expediⁿ as / Niger Expedⁿ. He recollect'd t he denounc'd t expediⁿ at a public meet^g in Manchester as little short o murder, & he gave office to many persons by do^g so; but look^g now at / consequ^s o t expediⁿ, he sh^d duply reproach himself, if he had not loudly protest'd ag^t it; he call'd therefore on / philanthropists o / House to step in & prevent this warlike & unjustifiable sacrifice o human life. He call'd on those who profess'd / principles o humanity, as well as / political economist & / mere politician, on no ground to sancⁿ / extenⁿ o this system to / coast o Africa.

Whereupon Motion made, & Quesⁿ put -

"T a sum, not exceed^g 14,000 l. be granted to Her Majesty, to defray / Charge o Civil Establishm^{ts} on / Western Coast o Africa, to 19th day o March 1851; also, f / purchase o Slaves, &c on / Gold Coast, for / Danish Gov^{ts}."

Mr Forster [Mr M. Bennett - on - Tuesday] felt himself v^y incompetent to meet his hon. Friend / Member f West Riding as a speaker; but, on this occaⁿ at all events, he had / advantage over his hon. Friend in know^g someth^g o / matter before / House. In fact, his hon. Friend sh^d endeavour to confine himself a little more to / subjects w^{ch} he was acquaint'd, such as / corn laws & financial reform, f he never departed a hair's breadth fm them w^{ch} involv'd himself in trouble & in unfounded statements. The hon. Member had sd, / objectⁿ o purchase was / extenⁿ o our territory on / coast o Africa. It was no such ch^g. He also asserted it w^o tend to increas^e / mortality on / coast. Now, so far fm t beg / case are o gr^t objects o / transacⁿ was to lessen / mortality by enabling us to raise local black corps, offic^r o course by white officers, who w^o, however, only remain on / coast f a v^y short time, & thus to diminish / mortality aris^g fm / service o detach^{mts} o white regim^{ts} in a climate t wh

d 44]

they were got ~~not~~ accustomed. The hon. Member, in support o his alleg^{ns}, had referred to Governor Winnetts Journals now, he must say, he thot those Journals were ~~not~~ silly, & regretted / Colonial Office had laid them on / Table [Oh!] Well, he wd withdraw / words "is silly," & merely say he thot they be ~~not~~ injurious. As to the arrangement itself, / hon. Member f / West Ind^{ies} wd be considered / author o / whole transacⁿ, if it had bn in consequence o / outcry raised by / financial & colonial reformers t last Year was rendered anxious to decrease by possible expense, & on comg to / Gold Coast, & findg the certain expenses w^t any revenue beg raised to meet them, adopted / present arrangement as a means o raisg some local revenue. Our settlements on / coast beg situated before these o / Dutch & o / Danish, it was impossible to come raise any revenue w^t comg to some arrangement wth them. Denmark had sustained these forts for forty years at an annual expense o 3,000 l. or 4,000 l. w^t ever derivg / slightest benefit fr them. [laughter] Yes, bec Denmark had no trade what^{er} on / coast, but England had a trade, & acted f / unity o Denmark to get rid o these forts, & to sell them to England. She therefore made proposals on / subject wh were not accepted; France was anxious to obtain / forts; but Denmark being taken a gr interest in / suppressⁿ o / slave trade, & y properly wished to put them under / care o England; & Holland haug agreed to come to an arrangement wth us fr enableg us to raise a revenue; / negotiaⁿ f / sale o / forts was finally arranged, & in this way it was now proposed to lessen / expenditure o / British establish^{mt}. In effect, / measure was one o economy, & on t ground, he was prepared to defend it. It wd at all wth be / fault o / Colonial Office if it was not so. ~~was~~ as a measure o economy or o commerce, it was one wh affected / Manchester ^{more} than any part o / country. The hon. Member f / West Ind^{ies} was mistaken if he supposed / Liverpool petitioners had any interest in / trade w / Gold Coast; & they did not possess any, & / petition set forth, t they approved o / acquisiⁿ o / forts f / sake o humanity, & as a stand ag^t / monopoly established on / coast by / French. In order to show t / people o Manchester were also in favour o / purchase o / forts, he wd menⁿ a petition t had bn presented fr / Commercial Associaⁿ o t town, to effect, t / petitioners had observed w regret t a notice had bn given by an hon. Member - alludg to hon. Member f / West Ind^{ies} - o his intenⁿ to oppose / grant, & t they were o opinion g^t advantages wd accrue fr / purchase to / handloom weavers in part, to our trade w / Gold Coast in gen, & to / natives o / country. The hon. Member f / West Ind^{ies} was completely mistaken in supposg trade cd be carried on at those forts, f then / French wd get possessⁿ o them, & in t case, we shd soon be entirely excluded. At / present moment / export o cotton goods to / coast amounted to 120,000 l. annually; & as / cost o raw material did not amt to more than 20,000 l., it was wident t trade to t coast produced an annual gain o 100,000 l. The hon. Member mt say, plausibly enough, t / Commercial Associaⁿ had some peculiar interest in / quesⁿ; but / Manchester Guardian, reflectg, as he believed, / opinions o / manuf^{cturers} more accurately than any o^r, had, in its last number, expressed its g^t surprise at / hon. Member f West Ind^{ies}'s notice, & its still g^r surprise t / hon. Members f Manchester shd support him, altho they had lately proposed / East India Co shd send out at vast expense a commisⁿ to inquire into / growth o cotton in India, wh wd last f / next ten years, while

have they offered a paltry grant likely to effect a great increase in supplies of cotton, thus
 saving / effect / raised nation / interests of the own heads / some mislaid plans of for;
 in his (the treasury) reports of fully years is respect to / credit of Africa, he must say the same /
 fresh vote he has ever seen yet was likely to be attended by any beneficial effects to /
 [46] Trade & commerce of the country. He set sum up millions £ had been completely
 known ways on / coast - drawn away by folly. He was / report of a major famine in 1815.
 we set 400,000 £, we scarcely stand for single, & much did / least good. Then the war / report of
 a major French army, we set at least 100,000 £; next the war / report of the loss of the
 £100,000 £, more million of the war / least war; then followed / least report of
 Captain Turner to Congo, which did like 180, & with a great deal of money; & lastly, come /
 major report, which was in preparation when he (the tower) came into / House in 1814.
 know £ a red and the all / 10, he had fallen / table of speaking of / noble Lord at / least of
 for in order to dissuade him from entering upon it, the spoke to / noble Lord in / Albany, who had
 received his suggestions & warnings, he did not say in / words, but a little coldly, perhaps as
 the soldiers received his funds, his duties were, at all events, neglected; reports stated, &
 his patients were, unfortunately, all fulfilled. After all these sums had been washed in
 such expenses it was for bad £ that some vote of 10,000 £; which was likely to be a great
 source, said he objected to. The London Office system did anything right; if duty-free
 years he had opposed the proceeds on / coast of Africa, but he was glad to see they were
 ready ready to turn to honorable advice, & he was surprised him fully in day vote, these forty
 had money at all to do w / acquire a country - they were mostly / laws they were
 committed vote flows. We did not inquire / people. We merely advised / matters &
 advised them in what they called the "parliament". We / content we returned / matters &
 matters of moral justice; but he was not surprised £ give part of / speech of / com.
 members of / what had been directed against / acquire a country, & it was clear
 Hon. gentleman was still / done a little on foreign companies, cut all our contracts,
 a large sum to stand isolated in / islands if he had his own way, both / com.
 members of / support / purchase of / goods, & in no of way ed he fill / people are f
 [47] self-gov, & in no of way ed he reduce / local expenditure. The hon. gentleman
 main argument £ made had been done goods putting down / state trade; but / argument only
 showed how extensively it was on / subject, & by / influence of commerce alone
 a large of coast of 1500 miles, in / numbers to longish, had been cleared of / state trade
 [48]

the fact that [48] repeated his surprise £ / Govt had not
 of some expense / object & was within a day vote. He had found a plan for millions of
 £ which was necessary to spend that sum on money, & he could understand
 £ 400,000. A day was - 50,000 £, said he voted, if it was to be voted,
 / his report mentioned let be on / day of £ a score or 2. In order £ to be paid, bills
 must be drawn on / day deposit into, & that was why to be raised. By / manufacturers

8. o this country trade for London & Liverpool. In t process / Liverpool merchants wd take care o themselves & receive th share o / profit. He sd, therefore, understood th petition in favour o this vote. But before he gave his name to it, he wished to know fm / noble Lord / Secretary o State f Foreign Affairs, or fm / Under Secretary f Colonies, whr ths 10,000 l. was to be spent in addg to our physical force, or in carryg forward t moral ascendancy thro wh they all wished to see / slave trade totally abolished? Ther was not in t House a man more anxious to see / slave trade abolished than he was, nor one less disposed to advocate / savg o money, if by a judicious expenditure o it they cd achieve t glorious object. What was t history o t trade, briefly told? Abt 200 years ago / West Indies fell into our hands, & we went to / coast o Africa f / purpose o obtaing a population o those territories wh wd cultivate / soil. In accomplishg t object wry unimaginable crime was committed, wry species o rapine & murder resorted to. At / instice o Wilberforce, & Clarkson, Buxton, & d such men, we as a natⁿ changed our views & ~~sent~~ our tactics. We sd t slavery shd no longer exist, & we announced t money shd be no object obstacle in our endeavours to suppress it. But to whom did / 20,000,000 l. wh we col 48] voted go? Not to / black men whom we hd so badly treated, & to obtain whom we hd committed such crimes. No, we paid wry shillg o it to ourselves. We paid it in / shape o compensation to / West Indies, our own people, wh was like payg it fm one pocket into ano^r. He wd just remind t House o what / Emperor o Morocco sd to Cromwell when Cromwell threatened to bombard & destroy certain cities belongg to / Emperor. "Give me", sd he, "half / money it will cost y, & I'll do it f y." So if we hd given to / African Chiefs half / money we hd spent in maintaing a squadron on / coast o Africa, those chiefs wd h bn to us tantamount to an efficient police, & wd h long since completely eradicated / slave trade. If we compensated those chiefs, & showed them t by a useful commerce they wd gain quite as much as they now did by th nefarious traffic, he was quite certain they wd embrace / one & abandon / o^r. He wished, therefore, to know what way to be done w / 10,000 l. - whr it was to be employed in / commencement o a new policy, or in / continue o / old system? If / latter, he wd vote agst it; but if it was f a fresh system, wh wd tend to / withdrawal o / squadron, he wd vote f it, let / Gov change th course; let them spend but half / amt they were now spendg, & say they were prepared to compensate wry chief fm Sierra Leone to / farthest point at wh / slave trade existed, & he was satisfied t in a few years they wd accomplish what / country so much desired, & hd already made, but in vain, such sacrifices to achieve. He hoped / Gov wd give some satisfactory explanⁿ o / vote, & not leave it's defce to an independent Member. It was not a questⁿ o 10,000 l., nor 15,000 l., nor 20,000 l., they hd to deal w, but whr they were to begin a system o wh they cd not force / end.

Mr Hauser [Mr B. King sale] sd, t if he hd hesitated to rise earlier, it was bec he hd reason to expect, & / went hd pron^d his inspection not to h bn ill-founded, t two Gentlemen col 49] 1944 connected w / British trade on / coast o Africa wd address to t House observat^{ns} more

valuable than any wh he had to offer. Upon this occasion he was vry glad to hear / opinion o his
hon friend / Member of Berwick, & he had no doubt t / House wou be glad to hear what had
fallen fr him; but he confessed t he did not quite understand / speech o and^r hon. Friend
behind him, / Member of Newcastle-under-Lyme. The hon. Gentleman told / House t if they
voted / sum o money now proposed, / Liverpool merchants wd not be slow to take
advantage o such a proceedg; but what possible objection to / proposed vote cd be founded
on such a circumstance as t? If any two pos^{ns} cd be regarded as more clearly established
than any o^r, they were these; first, t Air prevailed in this country a vry gen opinion t /
Slave trade shd be abolished as speedily as possible; & / second was, t / most effectual
mode o puttg an end to it wd be / gradual extⁿ o legitimate trade upon / coast o
Africa. Now, experience had shown t wry slip wh Gr Britain took in / extⁿ o com-
merce, had / effect o limitg & curbing / slave trade; & being t truth in mind, he
cd not help expressg strong surprise at some o / speeches wh / House had heard; & he con-
fessed t no posⁿ o those speeches struck his mind as more ~~strong~~ strong than / complaint
t / present vote did not comprehend / whole o / expenditure. It surely did not profess
to do anythg o / sort, inasmuch as it made no pret^{se} to include / expenses o / Army & /
Navy employed in t port o / public service. But passg frn considerⁿ o this nature, he
wd come to / qu^{stn} before / House, & call the attⁿ to / state o t qu^{stn}. There were certain
ports belongg to / Danish Govt placed along a posⁿ o African coast to / extent o 100 or 200 miles,
& commandg one o / finest rivers in Africa, thro wh steam sh^{ps} wd be derived / great supplies
o all varieties o produce t cd be expected to exist in t part o / world; & now, in settg fairly
a legitimately to acquire possⁿ o those ports, a when they were considerg / propriety o a
vote o money fr / purpose, they were told t they were settg to acquire / sovereignty o /
50] districts in wh those ports were situated. But t was quite a mistake; & it was also
a mistake to suppose t ther existed any intⁿ o impositg taxes o any kind. No doubt
revenue, as in similar cases, wd be derived frn commerce; but it wd be revenue in /
nature o customs duties, & not at all in / form o taxes imposed by a rule^d power
upon subjects. Then, if he looked to authority & to / opinions o o^rs upon this imp^t
qu^{stn}, he wd remind / House o / petition^s wh had come before them frn Manchester & Liverpool
frn Liverpool. It wd not be reasonably supposed t / Gentlemen who signed these petitions were
pretty good judges o / extent to wh British commerce wd be carried in t part o / world, &
they were know^r t its condⁿ. They know^r it to be increasing, & they know^r also / time at wh
it had begun to increase. Now if, as he believed no one wd deny, an commerce was in usab^l
on / coast o Africa, was it not / best possible policy to extend t trade to / utmost; & he
repeated t it was to / extⁿ o commerce & to / moral influ^{ce} o England t / world must
look fr / extⁿ o / slave trade. It was hardly necessary fr him to say much more w
regard to / value & imp^t o t trade wh Gr Britain carried on w / west coast o Africa;
& sayg nothing w regard to / produce o cotton, fr wh / soil & climate were peculiarly
adapted, he wd remind / House t frn / papers then on the table they wd derive all
/ informⁿ t wd be necessary fr enablg them to form a sound judgment respectg
our trade w / African coast; but he wd not needless occupy a moment in sayg t /

Value of our exports to West coast of Africa in 1846 was 421,000 £; in 1847, 518,000 £.

& in 1848, 541,000 £. Looking, then, at present state & future prospects of our trade w Africa, he ventured to assert t/ whole amt of our proposed expenditure wd be covered by / revenue arising from our commerce, & in t/ opinion he did not stand alone, f it was one heed expressed by Gov^r Wm. Pitt. He hd always confidently believed t/ regular trade, when fairly & extensively introduced, wd b/ specially supercede / contra-band; & he cd be no doubt, if low duties were imposed upon goods legally entered, t/ whole of those duties wd be easily collected. The war of point upon wh he wd like to touch before he concluded. The King of Dahomey, who was one of / principal chiefs on t/ coast, stated, — a / statement was contained in papers on / table of / false — t he found / revenue wh he derived from / slave trade was rapidly falling away, in proporⁿ as / legitimate trade increased; t his subjects, some factories of / purchase of palm-oil hd bn established, did not pay dr tribute w/ the former regularity; t they set him at defiance; t they cheated him; & he wished / British Gov wd remove those factories. Cd it be possible he a more stronger testimony borne to / effect wh / extent of British commerce hd upon / slave trade? Then, he begged / House to remember t these forts were not to be obtained w/ view of making them military stores, but f / purpose of securing / protectⁿ of British flag to / fair trader. He did not over look / fact t/ gr loss of life on / African coast hd often bn made matter of complaint; but his answer to t was t it arose from / employment of white men upon t ste^m, & t it was now proposed to establish a local force. Fur, dr was a point to wh he desired to advert, & t was / stress t hd bn laid on / culture of cotton in Guiana, & o^r places; but they hd by the own policy brot / culture of cotton dr to its present state; & / fact of Guiana beg adapted by soil & climate f / culture of cotton, formed no reason why they mt not promote its culture in o^r parts of / world. A sum of 10,000 £. applied in / manner now proposed, wd do more service to / interests of commerce, than in any o^r mode in wh a similar amt cd possibly be expended. Upon these grounds he asked / House to consent to t wh he fully believed to be / wisest & most economical mode of contributing to / gr work of putting down / slave trade — namely, t o promote / legitimate commerce of Gt Britain w/ coast of Africa.

Colonel Thompson [Lieut. Col. T.P. Bradford] agreed w/ say^{ing} / Hon member of Revenue in say^{ing} but / o^r stringent condemnation be passed on / Colonial office; col 52] f he did, never to do right must exceed / papers of t/ office or any o^r part on a quesⁿ like this / present, he must look to his constituents. Now, he cd imagine one of his constituents say, "We are in alarm at Bradford at hearing / Gov is going to give ten thousand pounds f forts on / coast of Africa. We are afraid dr is a plan of increasing our trade & we know / danger dr is in increasing our trade. We h hd our trade increased before, & / result is, t dr is not a beggar in Bradford, nor scarcely a man who wd accept of a sentence if he wd be put to / trouble of asking f it. We h seen quite enough of t kind of thing, &

& we beg, Oh may be no more". He had sd f he cd imagine one o his constituents say g this, but he cd not imagine any more; bec individuals were subject to aberrations o wickedness, but communities were not. He wd, therefore, vote f any reasonable expenditure, wh mt lend to / developm^t o / trade by wh his constituents were to flourish. But he saw few reasons why g^t Britain must lose no opp^s o increase her commercial power. He had some time ago had occⁿ to represent to t House, t dr was a quarter in wh a spirit intensely hostile to g^t Britain was arising. He had no wish to speak unjustly o America; but dr were two seeds struggl^g dr, / seed o / men who went out frm us & o whom / old world was not worthy, before whom he shd rejoice to see all heads bowed & all standards bowed in reverence; & dr was / seed o our negro-children - men who had given, & were evry day giv^g, proof o / incompatibility o slavery w all political & social morality - men who had sd "will be thoe our good", to a g^r extent than had bn elsewhere witnessed in / world - & who hated England as / mother & patroness o freedom wh was dr enemy, & had swan in dr own inflated language - / proof o / animus wh would them, whate mt be / chances o its execⁿ - within 1 life o children was born to substitute " / modest stars & stripes", f / "flam^g bursts wh t floats our Windsor Castle." And it was clear enough, t within / time specified, strength wd not be want^g f / trial, if England did not use / time in increase^g her own strength by / means wh nature o Providence

l 53) put within her reach. The plan o America, at this moment go^g on unchecked, was to cover / western world w slave States to be component parts o her own power. If England, therefore, did not play off free Asia & free Africa ag^t slavish America, / time wd come when / American wd spit in her palaces. Meanwhile / chances were in favour o England; f dr was an English principle at work as well as an American. The English principle was to unite all races & bloods under / name o Englishman. Read, De Foer's descripⁿ o a True-born Englishman, & see wht any harm cd be done by / introdⁿ o black Englishmen. The Horse Guards Blue did not object to a horse bec he was black; & why shd a citizen be objected to bec o / same acct? In Africa, as in Asia, we had men imperious to / influence o climate, ready to amalgamate w us, & to do our best; & if we did not find / men able f our purposes ready made, we must make them. Forty years ago he had endeavored to lay / foundatⁿ o a Cadet's School, in Africa, where / sons o Africans o influence shd receive such an educaⁿ as is givⁿ to midshipmen in / gun-room o a line-o-battle ship; it was v^y likely his successor put it down, but it was not diff^r to see / us t mt be made o such a Com. system. He had often wondered how long it was before Tubal Cain, who was staid to be / first blacksmith, found out he cd use an iron^g material to hold his metal, & so save his own fingers f^r his harm. Just as imperfect policy was it, f a European mtⁿ going to exert th^{em} in Africa, not to find out t dr was an ind^l ready made, f^r tropical man, - no had only to be employed, or if not now fit f / employ^m, to be made so. The time was over when people pretended to doubt o capacity o African. If European, / sea, & / death, were / best stocks o / human family, / African undoubtedly came next, & wanted w^lg but try^g, to prove / goodness o his blood. Africa, in fact, appeared to be stretch^g out

• Thomas Percival Thompson - Son o Suva Leone 1805-10
vide Greatly History o Suva Leone pp. 48-49. wh^y he gives an acct^t of Col Thompson's distinguished career. His successor at S.L was Columbine.

fm D.N.B.

12. her hands to St Britain, if they were free or feeble prejudices thro' to oppose a sum^m; or a gain
sell any / natives o t country was, t / highest honour & good fortune t at his feet
of them, wd be to become English citizens. For all these reasons, he wd run / with a whole
nt include him for his constituents, f 500 f / 100,000 l. [25].

Mr Wm Gibson, [At Hon. Tom. Manchester] sd, tbr was one part o / ex plan^m o
his hon. Friend / under Secretary f / Colonies wh was not clear to his mind. & wh he tho'
hd an imp^t bear^g on / matter in hand. It was t a 18c revenue was to be derived. Now,
Somebody must pay this 18c revenue. It was sd also t / tariff^s o duties wh was to be inferred
hd bn submitted to somebody who hd approved o it & th^t "somebody" was sd to be a
merchant connected w t trade. Now he did not think t / tariff^s o duties was to be
approved by a part^r merchant interested in t trade. But / ques^m was who were they gog to
tax? why, these v negroes f whom they expressed so much sympathy. His hon. Friend /
Member f Berwick, sd these ports were / into t part o Africa. Then what were they
gog to do? They were gog to place themselves at these ports, w^o any right, & to collect
a tribute on / articles t were brot into t country f t popula^m, & this tribute they told
them was f / benefit o t popula^m. And then / hon. Gentleman told them they were gog to
Christianise / popula^m. They were always told th^t was / object. He doubted if much
was they wd. The only th^g they wd do wd be to make these negroes pay more f
thr rum & tobacco & all f / benefit o British Exchequer. He did not like economy
at / expense o those wh they hd no right to tax. He wanted to know from
what source this right sprang. It was sd t it was all f / benefit o our merchants
trad^g w Africa; but wd impos^g a duty on British manufactures gog into Africa
extend our trade? He must say, if we were to h these ports it wd be more creditable
f us to pay / expense o them, than to defray it by tax^s / negroes. On these
grounds he shd vote f / Amend^{mt}.

Mr Cardwell [Mr E. Lutwiler] sd, t no doubt any duties wh cd be raised upon
/ import o rum or o articles wd go in aid o annual expense o / ord^r establish^{mts}; & if any
new establish^{mts} were required, it wd then be applied in aid o / additional expense th^g
incurred. But / ques^m now was, wh they shd apply a sum o 10,000 l, once f all, f /
col 55] purchase o certain guns & o munitions o / full value o 10,000 l, now lay^g & lay
in certain Danish ports on / western coast o Africa, / surrender o these ports be^g
made to us, at / same time, entirely gratuitous; & wd they be do^g a wise, or an unwise
th^g, in accept^g t jurisdiction? He hd before him a map o / ports in ques^m, for wh it
wd be seen t down to / equator, slave trade was only in / Right o Benin; in o^r
wards t / impediment to / legitimate trade o St Britain, namely / slave trade, existed,
only in / Right o Benin. Along / Gold Coast we hd had a succession o ports from time
immemorial; & immediately adjoining / Danish ports, at / further east, was a lagune, on
internal navig^o, wh was a gt bar^r o / slave trade. The King o Dahomey, who
derived a considerable revenue from / slave trade, had actually invited us to establish
a port at / point intervening between this lagune & / Danish ports. Now, f / hon.
Gentleman / Member f West Rid^g & / n^r hon. Gent^l o / Member f Manchester,
wd say, "Abolish / whole o / cost o African expenditure, spend noth^g upon /
Ports on / Gold Coast, & do not spend anyth^g upon ports in / territory o King o

Dahomey", altho t a denial wd be contrary to / report o / Committee o 1842, it wd at least be
consistent in itself, & h / sensible o common sense. But / Amendment sd "keep up yr expenditure
upon / Gold Coast, tho it offers no impedim^t to / slave trade, but do not fill up / hiatus between those
these establishments & / Danish forts; & altho / Danish Gov is willing to give them up f^r nothing, do not
spend 10,000 l. once fall upon a purchase wh wd make yr territory complete, & yr oper^s effectual."
But / right hon. Gent: / member f^r Manchester objected to place a tax upon imports fm / interior o
Africa. On this point, he cd only say he was surprised to hear such a doctrine fm Gentlemen who
were peculiarly / advocates o financial economy, & who objected to say them, how^r unimportant,
in / miscellaneous estimates. Was them / benefit o / argum^t - "do not tax / natives o Africa",
they shd not forget t / Gov wd h provided f^r / necessary expenditure o / establishments by a moderate
56] tax on / natives; but t, in order to please / financial economists, they insisted upon having
6,000 l. f^r / purpose left in / estimates. Let him, how^r ever call attention to another consideration - /
effect o / slave trade upon / legitimate trade, wh / commercial representatives o England were
about to promote. A fertile country ~~of the~~ & a lge populaⁿ, not upon / coast but in /
interior - how was it they did not consume Manchester goods? Prec in / interior / country
was a scene o war & rapine, in order to keep up / slave trade. It cd not on t acct be t a
seat o industry. It was in under how, t / people looked upon / English as th^r friends, & / persons
w whom they most desired to trade; but if th^r was only a slave trade, they must live by / slave
trade, bec they cd not cultivate along w it those products wh were legitimate objects o commerce,
Manchester cd not manufacture f^r them, nor Liverpool carry f^r them, unless / slave trade
were put down. But if we carried our jurisdictⁿ along / coast, th^r cd be no slave trade
in t lge & fertile internal region, bec th^r wd be no facilities f^r export. The same effects
wd follow th^r as had taken place in / North o Africa. The serv^t / slave trade had bn
abolished, 22,000 tons o British shipping were employed last year, tho previously when
/ traffic was carried on, not a single British vessel cd be found th^r. Such had /
state o / case, was it th^r t / Commercial Association o Manchester & / African Associaⁿ
o Liverpool shd h presented petitions to / House t their money shd be expended? If
Liverpool merchants were not slow in taking advantage o dis trade, whose articles,
he wd ask, were they exporting? Why, those v^y articles wh / constituents o / hon
Gent^l / member f^r Manchester were so usefully employed in manufactures. The quesⁿ,
too, had bn adverted to, wh we cd not obtain fm t part o Africa a supply o cotton
f^r our own manufactures? He had often heard in t House descriptions o / extreme
impce o finding new sources o supply f^r our cotton manufactories; indeed / English
language cd hardly go too far in expressing / extreme impce of finding a new &
independent supply o cotton. The Chamber o Commerce o Manchester, in a memorial
of 57] to / Gov, dt. January 10, 1850, speaking o / late Mr Duncan's visit to Dahomey,
sd "An increase in / sources o supply o raw cotton is a matter o impce". It yielded
not, th^r sd, in impce to / impce a plentiful supply o food, & he argued w them. Now, he had
bn informed t already th^r had bn an import o cotton into this country o a ~~the~~ most encourag^d
quality. The way g^r reason to expect / highest advantages f^r this cause; & this exp^{er}iment
alone justified him, in / positⁿ he had / honour to hold, in votg t / sum o 10,000 l. in /
circumstances under wh it was asked, shd be voted by / House. Mr Duncan added, sd /

14. Chamber of Commerce, & there were then twelve ships taking in palm oil, where, only three years ago it was rare to see three vessels, two of which would be slave ships. Then it was said that the influence of the talented & persevering member, a charter act early be procured by a co-undertaker of African Agricultural Co. He must of course leave African Co. & its prospects in hands of the Hon. Secy; but he hoped he had amply justified / Note he was apt to give. The right hon. Secy objected to / policy of an armed squadron upon / coast of Africa, & to pulling down / slave trade by an armed force at sea. He (Mr Cardwell) did not enter upon the question, but he was reminded / House that we had had forty years upon / coast of fifty years, & that fifty years there had been no slave trade there. It had been said that British name was hated, but / King of Dahomey would not give a passport to any but / English, & he implored us to send him missionaries. If we wished to extend our commerce w / interior of / continent of ~~South~~ Africa, & to promote objects which it was yet not to be effected by armed force but only by pacific means; if we wanted to suppress / slave trade, & to diffuse Christianity, he did see no possible objection to / vote.

Mr V Smith [Mr. Hon. R.V. Northampton] was glad that Gov had made the treaty of / purchase of these ports conditional on a vote of the House; he only acquiesced / question had not been submitted in a legal form, namely, when we shot, by which purchase or conquest, extend our colonies to / of utmost. We were not to lay down a rule of establishment or invade in any quarter of / globe [col 88] & expend a vast amount of money, for / sake of extending Christianity - / principle laid down in / report. It was remarkable that most of our attempts to spread Christianity in Africa had failed; even at / Cape of Good Hope / Governor stated such to be / case. It was said they would extend / moral influence of England; but nothing more was meant than impress / natives w / an idea of our great prowess. Fear was expressed that / French would get hold of these ports, & he saw no reason why they should not. The arguments in favour of the purchase by England, would equally apply to all / ports, Dutch, & so, upon / African coast. He should be glad to hear when / possession of these ports would diminish / cost of / African Squadron; if so, he would support / vote; but on this point / report gave no information. It was said / purchase would make our territory complete; but it did not be, unless we possessed / whole coast. The Dutch & / French were equally anxious w / ourselves to put down / slave trade, & perhaps / Danes were not less so. Their / purchase did not be justified on / ground of its being necessary for / suppression of / slave trade. The idea seemed to have originated w / the member for Berwick, who had thereupon put himself in communication w / notable Lord / Foreign Secretary & / Danish Gov.

Mr Forster said, it was quite incorrect to say that he had made any offer to / Danish Gov; they had applied to him in / first instance.

Mr V. Smith said, we might as well be asked to purchase / French & Dutch ports, if we were not content w / co-operation of those nations in suppressing / slave trade. He was entirely opposed to / projects of extending our colonies by any means; & he hoped / Gov would not attend to any suggestion for manufacturing districts in / extension of colonies w / view of extending trade. He hoped they would be warned by what had taken place in ~~the~~ ^{the} West Indies. The great difficulties arose

from / unlimited extentⁿ o our colonies in all parts o / world; — / Cape o Good Hope
was a notorious miske o this; & in all those distant colonies / military expendi-
ture was most excessive. It was no doubt a vry flattering notion to be continually
[59] addg little ports to our territory, w / views o makg it complete; but he must
protest agst such unwarranted extenⁿs, & shd vote agst / Moⁿ
/ Sir E. Buxton [Sir E. n. Essex, S.] murmured in / impropriety o extendg our possⁿ
all our / world; but / effect o / proposed purchase wd be, not to increase, but to diminish our expenditure
on / coast o Africa. A revenue wd be raised by taxg / inhabitants; & he was surprised to hear / right
hon. Member f / Manchester, & d^{ts} near him, object to a colony defrayg its own cost. If, by a moderate
outlay, we cd increase our commerce, in Africa, / money wd be well spent. Our present colonies thr
were d^{ts} near those o / Danes & / Dutch; so much so, t it hd bn impossible to raise revenue for them, or
to give security to / trade. By addg / forts in quesⁿ, both objects wd be accomplished. As to /
supply o cotton, it was surely worth 10,000 l. to try / experiment wher it cd not be obtained fm t
coast.

Mr C. Amstey [Mr T. C. Youghal] sd, / object o this vote hd bn vry diffly stated by /
hon member f / Liverpool, & by d^{ts} authorities as competent on / d^{ts} side. The hon. Gent. sd it was
merely to form a nucleus f / spread o Christianity & wisdom in America Africa; then Baronet
opposite, / member f South Essex sd it was to form a new colony wh shd produce a revenue. He
wished to know wher this vote wd be taken as a substitute f t most objectionable one in
support o / African Squadron. So long as we hd settlements on / coast o Africa we must h
a squadron thr f / the protecⁿ; but / idea o puttg down / slave trade by / acquisiⁿ o these
ports was most vain & illusory. The possessⁿ o these territories was but temporary, & / time
wd come when / civilized African wd be able w^t / interfere o / white man, to administer /
affairs o his own ports. He, on this ground, objected to / extenⁿ o such possessions, & to /
establishm^t o wren pacific factories wher they were conducted by / Gov.

Mr Bright [Mr J. Manchester] wd oppose / vote on behalf o / tradg community wh he
was supposed to represent. He doubted wher thr was, in / history o any country in / world, anythg
[60] so contrary to / dictates o Christianity, as thr conduct w regard to thr colonies. W regard to / trade,
they were assured t they were now gog to take a step wh wd vry likely afford a new source
o supply in cotton to / Lancashire merchants, & an increased number o customers f /
produce o / manufacturers, how he wd not h / merits o this vote to be judged by any with
t / Commercial Assocⁿ wh h expressed in its favour. The Chamber o Commerce in
Manchester did not support it. Mr Duncan hd bn furnished by t Chamber w ~~some~~
cotton seeds o various kinds to take out to Africa; but he believed t / chamber hd
received a vry small amt o cotton in return. He protested agst / Chamber o Commerce
beg quoted in favour o / proposiⁿ before / House. If t proposition ^{was put} before them
f a decⁿ, it wd be rejected by a lge majority. The proposition put him in mind o / English
factories in India abt two centuries since. It was then pretended t thr intercourse
was to be o a mere pacific nature; but since t they hd discovered t India hd bn conquered by
/ nations themselves under / dictⁿ o / pay o English Gov. He understood t it was / intⁿ
o / Gov to establish a black corps; now he wd not be astonished if they were, after / example

16. o/king o Dahomey, to raise an army o black women. The Gov were seeking to establish / principle t it was necessary f them to possess a lge port o / west coast o Africa, in order to keep down / slave trade. Was it not / wish o / Gov to become possessed, in / cause o next ten years, o a lge port o / continent o Africa? If such was the intent it was a pity t they did not state it more fully to / House. This quesⁿ involved a much higher consideration than / gain o some thousands o pounds to be procured as duty on rum & tobacco. The Gov had not always shown themselves so exceedingly anxious to procure cotton f / American manu- facturers. When a Moⁿ was made, some time ago, f a Commission to inquire into / state o / growth o cotton in India, / Gov opposed / Moⁿ. The fact was, t they did not care one strand
col 61] abt / growth o cotton in India or Africa. It was always in them a political quesⁿ, & / Squadron was maintained at / expense o / country, & in spite almost o Parliament was kept up by repeated threats o resignation on / part o / Gov, & what was worse, a dissolution o Parliament. The interests o / Gov in / growth o cotton was never seen until they had in hand a project o t kind; but when any proposⁿ was made for / benefit o / Manchester & Liverpool merchants, / Gov took-poned it, & allowed / Directors o East India Co to debate to them / course wh they were to pursue. He repudiated, on / part o those whom he represented, any connexion betw / cotton trade & its interests, & / project before / House. He rose f / purpose o remonstrating agst / proposⁿ t / cotton trade had any thing to do w^t it, & as the was not / slightest probability o the getting fifty bales o cotton f / next fifty years if such a measure were agreed to, he wd support / Moⁿ o / hon Member f / West Riding o Yorkshire.

Sir De L. Estlin [Major Gen Sir De Lacy, Westminster] believed t / cotton merchants were in / fault o it. He believed also t they had a gr^d deal o culpability to redeem, as also com- plicity to atone f; & therefore, f his part, on / part, tho tho quesⁿ were connected w / quesⁿ o / African Squadron, wh it was not, he was prepared to take any degree o obtain t intⁿ result fm votes in / favour o it. He believed t / acceptⁿ o this small territory wd be highly bene- ficial to commerce, whilst / whole expense o maintaining it wd not exceed some £1,150l. per annum, to be paid by a small duty upon rum. He believed / result wd be, by increased commercial intercourse, to lessen / necessity o maintaining / expense o / African Squadron; & on these grounds he was prepared to support / vote.

Mr Hull [Mr W. Patonhead] agreed w / views expressed by / hon Member f / West- Riding, & looked upon this proposⁿ to purchase these forts as andⁿ o these costly & abortive experiments by wh / people o this country had been so long deluded into / imaginⁿ t they were magnanimously suppress^d / slave trade. F 30 years toger they had pursued / game by no o means. They had made treaties enough, & had undergone sacrifices enough, to
col 62] secured / most perfect success to the policy, if success by such means cd by possibility be obtained; but what was / result they had arrived at? They had arrived at t conclusⁿ wh / Duke o Wellington & Sir Canning arrived at in 1822 - t it wd be unwise f / cause o humanity if none o these experiments had been undertaken. This hon. Friend / Under Secretary f / Colonies told them, t altho they had failed on o^r occasions, yet upon this they were abt to be successful. He had no doubt b^t hon. Friend was sincere in his belief, but the

had on persons who were as honest as himself, & not less sagacious, who had predicted success on all one of those experiments. They had, however, failed, & he could perceive no reason why they should think it this would succeed. It was so, that on a certain part of coast of Africa they had put down / slave trade, but had they diminished / slave trade itself? Was it not more as if we as it were had done? And was it not carried on under circumstances of as great horror as ever it was? It was not six weeks ago when our most eminent merchant of Liverpool informed him, & produced a letter in collaboration of his statement, that / slave trade of Brazil was now as active as on any former occasion, & that never till now were slaves valued at so low a price in / markets of Brazil. What, then, was / value of the blockade policy? After 30 years of great exertions, all they had done was to force / slave trade to shift its quarters, & to break out with greater violence elsewhere. They were going to purchase these parts; were they prepared to erect martello towers along / whole coast-line of continent of Africa? His hon. Friend / Under Secretary of Colonies was too sagacious to undertake any such proceeding. Then he begged to tell his hon. Friend, that unless he was prepared to hermetically seal / whole coast of Africa, it was of no use to occupy one or two more points on the immense line of coast. He was himself convinced thoroughly convinced, that if / House passed this vote, they would not put down / slave trade; but that they would embark upon a system of territorial aggrandisement & national expense of which no man living could foresee / extent.

Viscount Palmerston; [Tisbury] I cannot but think that this question has arisen to in / course of discussion to a magnitude of much disproportioned to its real importance. [col. 63] We are told that this is / beginning of a great extensive system of increasing our colonial possessions; my hon. Friend who has just spoken entertains that apprehension. Another Gentleman thinks that this is / commencement of establishing in Africa a dominion commensurate with that which we have obtained in India. I cannot partake in these apprehensions. The only person, as it appears to me, who has really stated any practical views on / subject, is my hon. Friend / Member of Gateshead, who has just spoken; & who, always - I believe I am not misrepresenting my hon. Friend - he is not an enemy to / slave trade - (Mr. Hutt: I am sorry to interrupt / whole Lord.) allows me to explain. What my hon. Friend thinks ought to be done is, that there should be an agreement between this country & Brazil, by which we should consent to a regulated & limited system of slavery. I hope I do not misrepresent my hon. Friend.

Mr. Hutt: The noble Lord does misrepresent me; but I have already made one speech, & I am afraid / House would not have patience to hear a second.

Viscount Palmerston: I thought I was borne out in saying that my hon. Friend maintained that we ought to cease all forcible attempts at putting down / slave trade. I am sure his arguments in public, & I venture to say that he won't contradict me when I state that his private opinion is, that / best policy this country could adopt was to consent to a limited & well-regulated amount of slave trade on / coast of Africa. (Mr. Hutt: Hear, hear!). If my hon. Friend does not intend to, I beg his pardon, & I retract it. My hon. Friend, at all events, has stated that our attempt has failed; that after a long course of endeavours to put down / slave trade, we have utterly failed in that attempt; & that / slave trade is just where it was when we began in 1815. But what was / attempt made in 1815 for / purpose of putting

16. down t trade? what was / utmost endeavour wh / Powers o Europe w^d make, f t
purpose? They shot t at the / outset / best plan was to put an act to / slave trade
so far as / south o / line. Well, / slave trade is / accepⁿ o a small portⁿ o / coast between
Whydah & Lagos, has practically bn put down. Therefore it is contrary to / fact to
say as t England - in conjuncⁿ w, a not in opposiⁿ to, all /^r Powers o Europe - is
a misrepresentation to say t we h not to a gr^d degree succeeded. My hon. Friend has
stated t / slave trade o Brazil is as extensive now as it w^d was before our attempts
to suppress it. I beg to assure my hon. Friend t he is mistaken as to t fact. The acct
o / importsⁿ o slaves into Brazil in 1849 shows t / numbers fell short o / importsⁿ
in 1848. My hon. Friend, also, is quite mistaken as to / price o slaves having fallen in /
markets o Brazil; on / contrary / price has bn considerably augmented. But any one who
knows not what is really go^g on, wd suppose fm what has bn sd dur^g this discussiⁿ t /
quesⁿ is wh^r this country sh^d acquire some vast extent o territory in Africa to be
obtained at some enormous amt. Why, / whole quesⁿ is this - wh^r we sh^d accept fm
Denmark a trad^g port, or fort, as it is called, on / coast o Africa, occupied by a few
black soldiers, f / purpose o support^g / interests o commerce, & o affording security to our
merchant ships, & by / possessⁿ o these ports protect^g t commerce fm / jealousy a activity o
rivals? If Parliamt were to refuse to sanction this acquisiⁿ, there is no doubt / acquisiⁿ will
pass into o^r hands, I am sure those who know / details o / African trade must be well
aware o / inconvenience & prejudices arising to our merchants fm / too close a neighbourh^o
o jealous commercial rivals. The way in wh^r this quesⁿ arose is this - I through fort
stated to / British Gov, thro its Minister in this country, t they hd a certain staⁿ, or certain
ports, on / coast o Africa, wh were o no use to them, inasmuch as they hd no commerce o
any magnitude by wh those ports m^t serve as channels; t they were anxious to hand
them over to some friendly Power; & t, know^g / interest wh England, in common w
Denmark, had taken in / suppressⁿ o / slave trade, & know^g also / increas^g commerce
we are carry^g on in Africa, they were willing to make over these staⁿ to England,
provided only t we wd pay f / systemals wh were there at / time & wh were valued
at 10,000 l. A more handsome friendly & handsome offer our / part o any
country was never made; & a more unwise refusal never cd be made to a
col 65] handsome offer than / refusal wh this House is now called upon to make to an
offer so made. We all know t it is o^r defect to please every body. One day we
are told t it is o / utmost impce to / manufactur^g interest o / country to obtain a
supply o cotton; & we are asked, at gr^d expense, to send a commisⁿ to India, wh
cd not report f a gr^d length o time, & wh wd by possibly end in no useful result
what^r; & now, here, when we are offered 3 or 4 trad^g staⁿ upon a constⁿ infinitely nearer
where a supply o cotton is known to exist o where, w o^rdy care & manageⁿ t, we wd
be sure to obtain a l^ge supply, I House is called upon not to acceptⁿ / offer, & thereby to
forego what appears to be a most likely method o obtain^g a supply o cotton. The hon.
Member f Manchester seems to treat this prospect o a supply as a matter not likely to
turn out advantageously; but / specimens wh our Duncan sent home, is one, I understand

would to be exceedingly good. I may mention also, that Mr. Boscawen has gone out to Dalmeida, for
/ double purpose & intention, to conclude an arrangement, such as my hon. Friend beheld me
that one of the best modes of suppressing / slave trade, by which pecuniary allowances for a limited
period were to be offered to / chiefs, on condition they should abstain from carrying on / trade; &
also for / purpose of collecting specimens of cotton, & procuring a large supply for this country. Had
all these objects, which you are anxious to put down / slave trade with the cost which certain persons
judge grudge, & to form additional openings to / commerce of this country w/ interior of Africa —
a country whose territory offers inexhaustible resources, for commerce; or which are anxious
to secure / extension of Christianity & civilization amongst / quarters of Africa — an object to which surely
/ almost impregnable may be attached — all these ends, I maintain, will be promoted by /
acquisition of these trading stations, which fill up / gap in / line of communications we already possess,
& which may be obtained at a very trifling expense.

Mr. Hutt: The noble lord below me, in defence of his own cause, has thought it necessary
to state that I had, at some place & time, advocated a qualified system of slave trade. Now,
I distinctly deny to either here or anywhere else, to have held such an opinion; & I had only to request the / noble lord, if
ever he should be advised to repeat such a statement, will be prepared to mention / time & /
place. This is no person in this House who looks on / slave trade with glib heart-felt horror
than I do. It is because I look upon / slave trade as one of the greatest all human crimes that I am
most anxious to repress it; & although I do not doubt / honest sincerity with which / noble lord is
carrying forward his views, I must tell him since he has challenged me on / subject that I do look
upon him as one of the principal most practical promoters of / slave trade now existing. I had only
one remark further to make. The noble lord stated that I was entirely mistaken in saying that
slaves had fallen in price in / markets of Brazil. . . . A gentleman, who is one of
the first merchants of Liverpool, & who gave me permission to make use of his name when I
repeated / statement, assured me not six weeks ago, in London — & he kept / letters in his hand
which he had just received by / last Rio packet confirming his statement — that at no previous period
had slaves been offered for sale at a lower price in / markets of Brazil, & that was after 30 years
of attempts to put down / slave trade, when you had a force on / coast of Africa & in / W. I.
employed on this service greater than at any former period.

Viscount Palmerston: If my hon. Friend wishes me to state time & place, I can
only say I was under / impression that at an interview I had with him in / Foreign Office, he
stated to me that in his opinion there was a natural tendency of labour to flow from Africa
to America, & he wished me to consider & weigh well in my mind whether it would not be
possible to come to an arrangement by which a certain limited amount of slave trade might be carried
on in Brazil, subject to arrangements which might be made under / passage less prejudicial &
injurious. If he says I am mistaken, I will at once admit that I was so, but that was my
impression.

col. 67.] Mr. Hutt: I had not / slightest doubt that / noble lord had not / least intended to mis-
represent me when he rose a second time to repeat his statement. I thought I made /
statement which / noble lord has now imputed to me; he utterly misheard me. He quoted me /

20. honour o an interest w hom at / F. O., here we'd had some discuss on / subject, & 9
then pointed out to him my opinion, & was much as it was almost im possible, under
existing acts, to prevent / influence o slaves into Brazil, it wd be advisable t, in
concord w Brazil, we shd adopt some system similar to t by wh we are now
supplyg our own W. I. colonies w free labour; & t if Brazil cd be supplied w
free labour, it wd more effectually put down / slave trade than all / efforts we are now
making. Sir, t was my statem^t, & wd.

Mr Hume, [Mr J. Maitland, &c.] sd, a more xtyg discuss had not taken place within
his recollⁿ. O / advocates o measure no two had agreed as to / grounds on wh it deservd
support. The noble lord / Foreign Secretary sd, t for year 1815, / efforts made to put
down / slave trade had bn completely successful, why, if / aidce taken before / two Houses
was to be relied upon, so far fm t beg / case, / number o slaves transported to America
had bn doubled & was tribled. The noble lord's reasong was v singular. He sd, "The Danish
Gov^t had made a v liberal & handsome offer, & will I refuse it?" why, what was / fact?
The Danish Gov^t, after keepg up dese forts at an expence o fm 3,000 l. to 5,000 l. a year, had
offred them to an individual merchant, on / condn t he shd hoist / Danish flag - an offer
wh he was too prudent to accept. As to expectg a supply o cotton for a district where its
posdr wd not extend beyond / range o the guns, it wd be madness. Had fm. members
considered what they were asked to purchase? They were asked to buy 8 forts, O these,
/ first, Christiansburg, was a place o considerable extent, amountg 40 guns. This was
represented as a factory, along w it was a martello tower o a burial ground. The 2^d
forts were nearly all in ruins, & they wd no doubt be asked f grants o money to repair
60] them. In fact, / country was asked to take upon itself an enormous & untenable
expence. The intermediate distces were to be so studded w forts t it wd be
impossible f a native to land wt permisⁿ. Tho 6,000 l. was put down as / pay o
men, it must be recollctd t t sum did not include either / commissarial or /
stores: 1500 l. had it appeared, already bn expended for / purposes.

Mr Muntz [Mr G. F. Rivington] wd like to know what a stranger in /
gallery wd think they had bn abt all night. Instead o 10,000 l., he must h thot they were
discussg / merits o 10,000 l. at least, why, / sum they had bn talkg abt was beneath their
consideraⁿ. It was merely / quesⁿ o layg out 10,000 l., t was before them; it was / begg o
a property, & if this country had not obtained possesⁿ o t property, some o undoubtedly wd,
w respect to / taxes derivd fm / natives, abt wh / Mr. Member f Manchester was
so anxious he (Mr Muntz) thot t t was only carryg out / principle o / Gov^t o /
Manchester school themselves t w^t colony shd pay its own expences. When they
recollctd t petⁿs fm Manchester & / port & o places in favour o these settlements, wher
they were calld forts o commercial staⁿs they cd not but be satisfid t f a small
amt they were meetg / wishes o a lge porⁿ o populaⁿ o country by their maintenance.

Sir W. Molesworth [Southey] sd, t this was not a quesⁿ o 10,000 l. but
a quesⁿ o / system o a certain system t was beg carried on on / coast o Africa. The
arguments in favour o t course were chiefly drawn fm / memorials o certain

merchants in Liverpool & Manchester, asking / 900 to extend / trade & commerce from wh they derived their profits. by an increase of expenditure on o / packets o / people o this country. Now, what had been / amt o this trade & commerce as compared w / annual expenditure to / country on acct o it? The papers on / Table o / House showed t / civil & military expenditure on Sierra Leone, Cape Coast Castle, or Freetown, was 55,000 l. in 1846; 69] or / same year / imports from Gt Britain amounted to 146,000 l. Therefore, if every 146,000 l. worth o goods sent to Africa by these merchants, / people o England were to h to pay 55,000 l. He had objected to / corn laws on / ground t they took money out o / packets o / people to put it into / packets o / bondholders; & on / same principle he objected to put 146,000 l. into / packets o Manchester merchants at / expense o 55,000 l. to / people o England. For these reasons, wth reference to / quesⁿ o slavery, he shd give his cordial opposⁿ to this Moⁿ. Three years ago he had moved to / House t our establish^{ts} on / coast o Africa shd be reduced; & if any hon. Gen^l. proposed to stop / vote on acct o these establish^{ts} he shd be ready to support him.

The Committee divided:— Ayes 42; Noes 138; Majority 96.

list o / Pages

... .. [include Gibson, Gladstone,]

Tellers Robden & Bright.

Original Question put & agreed to;

House resumed.

