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F I R S T
R E P O R T
FROM THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON
S L A V E T R A D E ;
TOGETHER WITH THE
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,
AND APPENDIX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
18 April 1848.

Martis, 22^o die Februarii, 1848.

Ordered, THAT a Select Committee be appointed to consider the best Means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final Extinction of the SLAVE TRADE.

Jovis, 24^o die Februarii, 1848.

Committee nominated:

Sir Robert Harry Inglis.
Mr. Hutt.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Edward John Stanley.
The Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Cobden.
Lord Harry Vane.

Mr. Jackson.
Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Lord John Hay.

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

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

Lunæ, 28^o die Februarii, 1848.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Bingham Baring be one other Member of the Committee.

Martis, 18^o die Aprilis, 1848.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to Report the Minutes of Evidence taken before them, from time to time, to The House.

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F I R S T R E P O R T .

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed 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 EVIDENCE** taken before them, from time to time, to The House;—

HAVE considered the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to Report the **MINUTES of EVIDENCE** taken before them to The House.

18 *April* 1848.

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Martis, 21^o die Martii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Bingham Baring.
Mr. Cobden.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Gladstone.
Lord John Hay.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

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

1. *Chairman.*] THE Committee has before it the evidence which your Lordship furnished to the West India Committee ; is there anything in the course of that evidence which you would wish to modify or observe upon ?—Nothing that I recollect.

2. Has the practical working of the system for the suppression of the slave trade, now in operation, been on the whole satisfactory to the Government ?—I should say satisfactory as far as it can be, considering the difficulties that have been encountered with reference to our relations with other countries ; by which I mean, the powers granted to us by treaties with other States.

3. You stated before the West India Committee, that about 50,000 Africans are supposed to have been landed from Africa into Brazil in the course of last year, and about 2,000 from Africa to Cuba ?—I should suppose 50,000 to Brazil, and 2,000 to Cuba, according to the accounts which we have had.

4. Are you at all aware of the number of Africans who were exported from that continent before we began to suppress the slave trade ?—I cannot say from memory ; but I should think a larger number than that, judging from statements made in debates. I do not know whether the Committee have Mr. Bandinell's book upon slave trade ; it contains a great deal of information. I think the Committee would find in it many facts which they might wish to know.

5. I have in my hand a work published by Sir Fowell Buxton in the year 1841. I observe in page 204, he states, "The late Zachary Macaulay told me a few days before his death, that upon the most accurate investigation he was able to make as to the extent of the slave trade, he had come to the conclusion that it was 70,000 annually, 50 years ago. Twenty years ago the African Institution reported to the Duke of Wellington that it was 70,000. We will assume, then, that the number at the commencement of the discussion was 70,000 negroes annually transported from Africa." Have you any reason to doubt the correctness of that assumption ?—I have not the paper here, but I think it was stated in the debates about 1793, that there were 100,000 ; but of course all those statements must be very vague, because, I presume, there was no accurate register, and there were no data from which the precise number could be collected.

6. You have no other reason for supposing that that assumption is incorrect than that the data upon which it was formed must necessarily have been vague ?—My only knowledge arises from statements made in books and in debates.

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7. Supposing

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7. Supposing then that the number of 70,000 is not very far from the truth, it would appear that the slave trade had rather increased in the course of the last year?—Increased as compared with what?

8. As compared with the number of Africans who were exported from Africa in the year 1821?—I have no means at present of making the comparison.

9. Of course if 70,000 negroes were landed in Brazil and Cuba in the course of 1847, a much larger number than 70,000 must have been taken from the coast of Africa?—Yes, larger by the addition of the per-centage that generally die in the course of the passage; and a much larger number must have been carried off from those places in the interior of Africa from whence the slaves are brought.

10. I wish to institute a comparison between those who are exported from the coast of Africa; because the assumption made by Sir Fowell Buxton, upon the authority of Mr. Macaulay, is that 70,000 Africans were exported from Africa in the year 1821. Has not the amount of that per-centage to which you refer considerably increased of late years?—I have no knowledge that it has, and I have no reason to suppose that it has. If you look to the debates which took place when the abolition of the slave trade and the regulation of the slave trade were discussed, I think it will be seen that the sufferings of the negroes in the middle passage were quite as great as they now can be, and that consequently the mortality must have been nearly equal.

11. Are you of opinion that the slaves were packed in such numbers on board the slave vessels during the time that the trade was a licit trade; that the same number were placed on board vessels of the same dimensions as now?—I should think that they were; I should think that the avarice and covetousness of man was about the same at all times, and that there was the same disposition to crowd as many as possible within the space, whatever it might have been, greater or smaller; and I think the statements made in debates, and by the Committee of the House of Commons which examined into the question, tend to confirm that opinion.

12. I have before me a communication made by Sir Charles Hotham to the Admiralty, dated the 7th of April 1847, in which he states: "On rounding Cape Lopez the character of the slave trade changes, and the speculation on the part of the Brazilian is founded on the principle of employing vessels of little value, to be crowded to excess with slaves; it is said that one arrival in four pays the adventure; here it is, therefore, that the traffic assumes its most horrid form: at this moment the *Penelope*" (that was the vessel on board which he was) "has in tow a slaver, of certainly not more than 60 tons, in which 312 human beings were stowed; the excess of imagination cannot depict a scene more revolting:" do you imagine that any such atrocity as that was perpetrated during the time the trade was a licit trade?—Yes, I do. Vessels in those times may have been larger, but I believe they were proportionably just as much crowded. I believe the system always was to put on board on the coast of Africa a larger number than the vessel could properly contain; so that, after a certain number of deaths on the passage, the number landed might be nearly the amount which the vessel might properly have held.

13. In addition to that inducement of conveying the largest number of slaves in the smallest space, which existed at that time, is there not now also the inducement to avoid capture, on the part of the slave owner?—The only effect of the naval police, that I can understand, can be to induce the slave traders to employ vessels sharper built, quicker in sailing, and more calculated, therefore, to escape pursuit; but I do not see why the method of suppression should have the effect of making the slave traders put more slaves per ton into the vessels which they employ.

14. Is not the embarkation more hurried than it used to be?—The embarkation is made by previous arrangements. The slaves are collected on a given spot near the coast, and then embarked through the surf by canoes of a peculiar construction, and the liability to interruption obliges these slave traders to make arrangements for a rapid embarkation; but I do not see what that can have to do with the greater or smaller proportion of slaves to the tonnage of the vessel.

15. On the whole consideration of the subject, your Lordship is of opinion that the slave trade is conducted now with no greater amount of cruelty than before we undertook to suppress the slave trade?—That is my opinion decidedly; an opinion founded upon comparing the accounts which we from time to time receive of the sufferings of the slaves on board slave ships, with the accounts which are upon record of the sufferings of the slaves in the middle passage, before the slave trade was actively pursued with a view to its suppression.

16. Do

16. Do not the slaves now placed on board ship under the circumstances of hurry and despatch which you have described, frequently suffer from want of water during the voyage?—I do not see what the hurry and despatch of embarkation can have to do with the supply of water during the voyage. The proportion of slaves on board, with reference to the water in store, is a matter which belongs to previous arrangement, and cannot be altered by the rapidity or slowness of the embarkation.

17. Has it not come within your Lordship's knowledge that a cargo of slaves is frequently taken on board on the coast of Africa with an insufficient quantity of water, and sometimes even with no water at all?—I dare say that frequently the supply of water falls short; and I believe that to have been the case, more or less, at all times.

18. Do you think it probable that it existed to the same extent in former times as now?—I do not see anything in the present mode of suppression that could have any effect upon those arrangements. Of course it is for the interest of the slave trader to bring his cargo alive to America; that interest is the same now that it was at any former time; and the more valuable the cargo and the greater the profit which he makes upon each slave, the greater the inducement, one should think, to bring as large a proportion of his slaves alive to the market as he can.

19. That motive must have existed at all times?—That motive may have existed at all times; but if, in consequence of the measures for the suppression of the slave trade, the profit upon each slave is greatly increased, that motive of course becomes proportionately stronger.

20. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Your Lordship has referred to the state of the slave trade at the time when unhappily by the law of England it was allowed to its subjects, and when, in point of fact, it was actually encouraged. Was there not in those days under the statute law generally, and specially under the Act known by the name of Sir William Dolben's Act, established a definite proportion between the number of slaves and the tonnage; was it not necessary also that there should be medical assistance on board the ship, and a certain quantity of water to every slave embarked; and was not the presence of those circumstances a greater guarantee for the well-being of the slaves embarked on board such vessels at such time, than can be found now when all these pre-requisites are neglected?—No doubt the regulations to which the trade was subjected, as regarded British ships, must so long as they lasted, if they were observed, have very much diminished the sufferings of the negroes on the passage; but I apprehend those British regulations were not observed by the slave traders of other countries.

21. But so far as the carrying trade of the slaves was in the hands of England, and as English vessels were subject to the English law, does it appear to your Lordship, or otherwise, that there was a greater probability of well-being on the part of the slaves under such circumstances, than when all such caution is avowedly neglected?—It seems to me that the result would have been this; that if the observance of those regulations rendered the transport of slaves in British vessels more costly than in vessels not subject to those regulations, the importation of slaves, whether to English colonies or to other settlements, would take place in those vessels which would carry them the most cheaply; that is to say, in the vessels of other countries.

22. The question addressed to your Lordship referred not to the state of the slave trade before the great agitation of that subject, in the years 1787 and 1788, took place, but principally after the passing of Sir William Dolben's Act, and before the abolition of the slave trade, in March 1807. Is it within your Lordship's knowledge that at that period, say for 10 years, the supply of negroes to the West Indies was conducted in any other than by British vessels?—I have no knowledge upon the subject; I cannot undertake to answer.

23. Your Lordship's efforts have been directed, of course, to the suppression of the slave trade generally?—Yes.

24. And your Lordship, perhaps, has no reason to fear that your efforts have been defeated, so far as relates to the introduction of one slave into one British colony?—I have no reason to suppose that any slave has been introduced into any British colony since the abolition of slavery. As the Committee will well remember probably, there was some suspicion before the abolition of slavery, that some slaves had been introduced into the Mauritius; it was a matter which was much investigated.

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25. Admitting that the number of slaves now landed on the west of the Atlantic be not greater than has been stated by your Lordship, namely, not more than between 60,000 and 70,000, have you any reason to believe that the number exported from the west coast of Africa may not have greatly exceeded that number?—The number exported will probably have exceeded the number landed, by the amount of deaths during the passage; that amount varies of course in each case according to the circumstances. I believe it has been reckoned at something between 12 and 15 per cent., but there can be no very accurate data from which that calculation can be made.

26. Have you any reason to believe that the total number exported from Africa in any one year has ever amounted to 100,000?—In any one year within what period?

27. Since the abolition by England of the traffic?—I should think so.

28. If that be so, your Lordship wishes the Committee to understand that the amount of the evil of the slave trade has diminished in the proportion which 60,000 or 70,000 bears to 100,000?—I should think so, certainly: but then in considering the effect of the measures adopted for the repression of the trade, one should not only compare the number that may now be exported with the number that may have been exported in any former year, but one must also take into consideration the proportion between the number now exported and the number which would be exported if these measures of repression were not adopted; and the Committee may form some estimate of what that number would be by looking at the profit made upon each slave, at the proportion between the cost of landing the slave on the coast of America and the amount for which that slave is sold; and if, as is stated, one cargo out of four or five gives a considerable profit to the slave trader, it is obvious that if all restrictions and impediments were removed, the number of slaves carried from Africa and landed in America would be increased in a vast proportion.

29. Then, from the vast quantity of virgin soil on the coast of America, and the demand for the productions of that soil, you conceive that if it were not for the checks to the exportation of slaves from Africa, and the importation into the western world, there would be a great increase of the horrors of the slave trade and the evils which it has been your object to suppress?—I should think the increase would be incalculable. The quantity of soil in Brazil that might be brought into cultivation if there were an unlimited supply of labour, is greater than I have any means of ascertaining; and I apprehend it is an entire mistake to suppose that any apprehension as to the effect upon social order and internal tranquillity that might be produced by a great importation of negroes, would, as a prudential consideration, have a tendency to check the importation. Each man would act for himself and with a view to his own interests, without any regard to the general effect upon the empire at large; and the evils of a great increase of negroes would not tend to check the importation, until those evils had arisen to such a magnitude as to attract the attention of the government itself. In the meanwhile there would be an immense increase in the produce of Brazil, and, of course, that increase could not fail to have its natural effect upon the interests of our West Indian colonies.

30. Colonel *Thompson*.] Supposing it should be admitted that great embarrassment and difficulty are thrown in the way of the slave trader by the system of cruising, frequently issuing in increased hardship to his slaves, will you favour the Committee with your opinion to what extent, and under what limits, that might or might not be an argument against continuing the system of cruising against the slaver?—I should not consider that as any valid argument. It may often happen that the methods resorted to to prevent a crime may prevent the frequency of the commission of that crime, but may nevertheless render the crime when committed a crime of a deeper dye. For instance, the measures resorted to to prevent robbery may now and then induce the robber to commit murder, in order to escape, as he may fancy, the punishment of robbery; but that never could be urged as a reason for relaxing the preventive measures to repress the commission of robbery. It may happen that a great number of negroes may suffer more during their passage, in consequence of the repressive system; I doubt it; but admitting it for the sake of argument, still I conceive that the amount of human suffering must in the aggregate be diminished by the discouragement which the repressive system gives to the carrying off of negroes from the interior, and to their embarkation for the purposes of slavery from the coast of Africa.

31. *Chairman*.]

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31. *Chairman.*] Your Lordship has stated that prudential considerations on the part of the governments of Cuba and Brazil, would not, in your opinion, be sufficient to prevent the importation of slaves, if the British preventive system were abandoned; that every man would act for himself irrespectively of the common good. Is it not the fact that the government of Cuba has successfully prevented the slave trade at the present time in that island?—I believe the government of Cuba have done so during the last two years. I am obliged to suppose so, because that is the only method of accounting for the great diminution in the importation of slaves into Cuba. We have not had many cruisers off the coast of Cuba, but Cuba being an island, and therefore of limited extent, it is more easy for the government to act. Still I believe the government of Brazil, if they chose to do so, might very effectually put a stop to the slave trade into Brazil; but so many persons are interested in the carrying on of that trade, from the highest almost to the lowest in the empire, that no effort is made to carry their law into execution; and I do not see in what way the removal of our naval police would in any way diminish these personal interests; it seems to me that, on the contrary, it would tend to increase them by giving greater facilities to the importation of the slaves.

32. Is there not considerable apprehension felt in Cuba with regard to the large disproportion of the black and white population?—There have been memorials from some landowners to that effect, and there was an insurrection among the slaves three or four years ago, I think, which excited some alarm; but it was also supposed that the expression of that alarm was, in some degree, aided by the jealousy which the proprietors of existing estates felt with regard to the increased competition which would arise from any multiplication of new plantations of sugar by the introduction of more negroes.

33. If the British colonies of America could be placed in circumstances to compete successfully with Cuba and Brazil, would not that offer an effectual check to the importation of slaves into those countries?—I do not see how it could have that effect.

34. If the productions of slave-labour were no longer marketable, they would cease to be produced?—I do not see what should render them no longer marketable. It seems to me obvious that the new soil in Brazil would always produce sugar as cheaply as the exhausted soil of the English West Indian islands.

35. When you speak of exhausted soil, to what islands do you refer?—I refer without any very detailed knowledge to the islands generally.

36. Not to the island of Trinidad?—I am not sufficiently acquainted with the interior of those islands to state.

37. Nor to British Guiana, I presume?—Not to British Guiana.

38. Is not the fertile soil which you speak of in Brazil situated at some distance from the coast?—Brazil is an immense extent of country, and the quantity of land that might be brought into profitable cultivation I conceive to be immense.

39. Is not the virgin soil yet unbroken in Brazil generally placed at some distance from the coast, or from any place of embarkation of produce?—I should apprehend that there was an immense extent of land capable of cultivation, within a reasonable distance of the means of transport, so as to make the cultivation of it amply profitable.

40. Are not the facilities of transport from British Guiana considerable?—I am not acquainted with the interior of British Guiana.

41. Recurring for a moment to the subject of the cruelties which are said to accompany the present system on which the slave trade is carried on; are not smaller vessels now more generally employed than they were in former times?—Smaller vessels have till lately been more employed; but latterly, within the last year, I understand that large steamers have been constructed in Brazil for the purpose of bringing negroes over.

42. Three or four steamers have been constructed for that purpose?—Yes.

43. The trade, generally, is not now carried on in steamers?—Generally not; but it is a recent alteration which has taken place in the Brazilian slave trade. Steamers would bring, I think, 800 or 1,000 negroes at a time.

44. Is not the slave trade now generally carried on in vessels of much smaller dimensions than in former years?—It has of late years been so carried on.

45. Is not the tendency rather to diminish the size of the vessels?—The vessels taken are vessels of various dimensions; some small, some under 100 tons,

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others from 300 to 400 tons ; but quickness of sailing I apprehend to be the quality which they most aim at.

46. Has not the preventive system induced the slave trader to employ vessels of a kind very inferior in value ?—It is supposed that a practice has grown up of employing two sets of vessels ; worthless vessels to serve as decoys, and better vessels to carry the negroes ; the decoy vessel being intended to draw off the cruiser, and to be captured, leaving the coast clear for the other vessel to carry away the cargo.

47. Then are you of opinion that the inferior vessels, which have been occasionally captured by the British cruisers, were rather used for purposes of decoy than for the purposes of embarking and conveying slaves ?—It is so asserted ; I do not know on what foundation.

48. Did you ever hear of row-boats being employed for conveying slaves across the Atlantic ?—I should very much doubt a row-boat undertaking such a voyage. I think there was one case lately stated of a vessel that started as a row-boat to escape observation, with masts and sails to set up when they got beyond a certain distance ; but I should think that that could not be a frequent practice, because such a boat could not carry provisions or water to keep the negroes alive during the passage.

49. With respect to the extent of the slave trade, evidence appears to have been given before the West India Committee that the price of slaves has fallen considerably within the last few years in Brazil, and that that fall in the price of slaves has been contemporaneous with an increased demand for the produce ; does not that afford a strong argument in favour of the assumption that the slave trade of late years has increased ?—It would of itself, certainly ; a fall in price would indicate either a diminution of demand or an increase of supply, but there may be other circumstances which may have tended to that fall of price.

50. Your Lordship appears to have stated before the West India Committee that the system of naval police would never suppress the African slave trade until we had encouraged all other nations to concur with us in the stipulations under which we carried it on ; referring, I apprehend, to the right of search ?—Yes.

51. Has your Lordship any expectation that the United States of America would be induced to permit to our vessels the right of searching their vessels ?—No, I have no expectation at present that they will.

52. Then so long as any State in the world holds out on that subject, you cannot look forward to the suppression of the trade ?—We cannot look forward to the suppression of the trade without the active co-operation of that State which so refuses the mutual right of search ; but if that State employs cruisers of its own to prevent its flag from being used for slave trade, the object may be equally accomplished.

53. Then you do not think that the right of search would be essential to the effectual carrying out of the existing system ?—I think the right of search is a most essential means, because it enables the cruiser of one nation to exercise police over the flags of various other nations, instead of its being necessary to have a cruiser of each nation at each spot where a slaver may be found ; but I do not conceive that the mere refusal of the United States to concur in mutual right of search would, of itself, be sufficient to defeat the naval police if all other nations had united in the common league.

54. Supposing two such States as the United States and France were to hold out on that subject, would it be sufficient to defeat your undertaking ?—If France, for instance, having refused the right of search, or having withdrawn the right of search, were to withdraw her cruisers, and to take no means to prevent the French flag from being engaged in slave trade, I conceive the naval police of England would be entirely defeated, because the slave trade then would be carried on with impunity under the flag of France ; but at present there is a large French squadron equal to our own employed on the coast of Africa, and there is no reason to suppose that the French flag is now used to cover slave trade.

55. Have you any information of any captures having been made by the French squadron on the coast of Africa ?—They have made a few captures, but their power of capture is confined to vessels under their own flag, and to vessels under the flags of States with which they have slave-trade treaties ; which were only, I think, Sardinia, and Tuscany, and Naples ; and I am not sure whether, when they withdrew the mutual right of search with England, they continued the mutual right of search with those other smaller powers ; but they have no power to meddle

meddle with the Spanish flag, or the Portuguese flag, or the Brazilian flag, which are the great coverers of slave trade. They, therefore, can only capture two descriptions of vessels: the one, vessels under the French flag, and the other, vessels under no flag, having no papers indicating nationality, and of late the number of vessels employed in slave trade in that condition has increased.

56. Under no flag?—A number of the slave trade vessels now have no papers; by “flag” one means papers.

57. Is not a large proportion of the trade carried on under the American flag?—The American vessels, I believe, are a good deal employed in conveying to the coast of Africa equipments for slave trade. An American vessel goes from Rio, we will say, as an American vessel, with American papers and an American crew and master, and having on board certain articles essential for the equipment of a slave ship; when she gets to the coast of Africa, at a particular moment she is often sold to a Brazilian, or Spaniard, or Portuguese; one of two things happens: either she is sold in this way, and then, changing her nationality, she takes on board a cargo of slaves and starts off for America as a Brazilian, or a Spaniard, or a Portuguese; or else she merely transfers to another vessel the articles of equipment, which enable that vessel to receive the slaves on board.

58. Such a vessel, so equipped, and taking on board a cargo of slaves, would probably show the American flag?—No, they never show the American flag when they have their slaves on board, because there are a certain number of American cruisers off the coast, and by the American law the penalty upon slave trading is so severe that they do not like to run that risk; they prefer being captured under any other flag, knowing that in that case the crew would escape without any punishment, and that the worst that could happen would be the confiscation of the vessel.

59. A vessel therefore, if it hoisted any flag at all, probably belonging to a Brazilian subject, would hoist the Brazilian flag?—They hoist either Brazilian, or Portuguese, or Spanish.

60. They would not therefore be very liable to be captured by the French squadron?—No.

61. Can your Lordship state the number of captures which the French squadron have made since they have been upon the west coast of Africa?—I am not able to state that. I proposed some time ago to the French government to interchange returns of the captures, but we have not yet received any statement from them. They are not many.

62. They are very few?—They are very few. The effect of the French squadron is more to prevent than to capture; they effectually prevent any slave trade under the French flag.

63. There is this observation made by Sir Charles Hotham: “I feel confident that our advances,” meaning in the cause of the suppression of the slave trade, “will be slow, unless the government of the United States will either sanction the right of search or bring to trial their citizens who may be convicted of selling vessels on the coast for the known purpose of carrying slaves.” Does your Lordship concur in that view of the case?—I have lately instructed our minister at Washington to bring under the attention of the American government the practice of selling American vessels, with a view to their being employed in the slave trade, and request them to consider whether any law could be passed to prevent that practice.

64. Your Lordship will see that Sir Charles Hotham has no very sanguine expectation of ultimately suppressing the slave trade, so long as the United States either refuses to sanction the right of search, or permits the selling of vessels constructed in America for the known purpose of the slave trade; do you concur in that view?—No, I should not at all despair of bringing the slave trade to a very narrow limit indeed, even without a right of search on the part of America, and even in spite of her practice of selling ships for slave trade.

65. Does your Lordship expect that so long as a demand exists for the productions of Cuba and Brazil, it can be possible for us to anticipate the extinction of the slave trade in the event of our withdrawing our naval police?—I think it would be quite impossible to anticipate the extinction of the slave trade if we were to withdraw our naval police; on the contrary, I should anticipate that the slave trade would receive a most enormous increase, and that that increase would continue to be permanent, varying in amount from time to time, but settling down permanently to a quantity far greater than that which at present exists.

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66. Then the Committee is to infer that your Lordship considers our establishment on the coast of Africa for the prevention of the slave trade, a permanent establishment?—My opinion is, that if the Spanish government, and if the government of Brazil, would honestly and effectually fulfil their treaty engagements for the suppression of the slave trade, the slave trade would be practically extinct. The necessity for our extensive measures of police is created by the violation of treaty engagements by the governments of Spain and of Brazil. I apprehend that our naval police may be expected to make the trade so difficult, that in spite of the connivance of those two governments, it may no longer be worth while for their subjects to carry it on; and if our police should succeed in producing that effect for a certain time, then it would become more easy to prevail upon those two governments to have recourse to those prohibitory measures within their own territories, which would permanently put an end to the trade.

67. Here is an opinion expressed by a medical officer, in a report made to the Lords of the Admiralty, on the subject of the diseases on the coast of Africa, to which I would ask from your Lordship a moment's attention: "Admitting that the squadron should be increased until every point of the coast is guarded, and that from an absolute want of access, the export trade is extinguished, it may be asked how long would such stringent guard require to be enforced to perpetuate the cure; because if at the end of 10 years, or even 20, it were withdrawn, under the present aspect of affairs with other nations, it is but too evident the trade would be renewed with redoubled vigour." Does that concur with your Lordship's view of the subject?—I think that that reasoning might be correct, if you supposed all other things to remain the same. But if you suppose that the government of Brazil, for instance, were determined to perform its duty, and to pass and execute effectual laws, and if you suppose also the habits of the Brazilians to have altered, and the practice to have grown up of employing their capital in other pursuits, I do not think that at the end of a certain time there would be the same chance, if any, of the slave trade being renewed.

68. Your Lordship does not appear to be very sanguine that such a period will arrive when the government of Brazil will be enabled effectually to exclude the slave trade from its territories?—Certainly I cannot say that at the present moment there is any great disposition evinced; but if I had been asked 10 years ago what chance there was that the government of Cuba would have taken any steps to restrict or impede the slave trade, I could not have held out any sanguine expectations; nevertheless there does seem good reason to believe, that, for the last two years, that government has taken means to prevent and obstruct the slave trade; and, reasoning by analogy, one may hope that things may occur which may alter the disposition of the Brazilian government.

69. Did General O'Donnell take any steps to prevent the slave trade in the island of Cuba?—When first he went he was supposed to be a great encourager of the slave trade. Great efforts were made by the British Government, under the late Administration, to induce the government of Madrid to send more positive orders to Cuba. I was often told by the Spanish Minister here, in private conversation, that if those orders were imperative they would be obeyed; and there does seem reason to think, from the undoubted diminution in the number of imported negroes in the last two years, that the governor of Cuba must have taken means to prevent the introduction of slaves.

70. Mr. Cobden.] Can your Lordship say what has been the motive in Cuba, within the last three years, for diminishing or putting a stop to the importation of slaves?—No, I am really unable to assign a motive. It may have been that stricter orders were sent from Madrid to put an end to it; and if those orders were strict and in good faith, the governor would be afraid of disobeying them. I believe that in Cuba there has been a great transference of negroes from one occupation to another, from coffee plantation to sugar plantation.

71. You do not know whether it happens in consequence of the personal character of the governor for the time being?—That, of course, must have an effect; because, if the governor is sincerely desirous of putting the slave trade down, he will be more energetic in measures for that purpose; but General O'Donnell was not supposed in the outset to have any strong feeling that way.

72. If it arise from the personal character of the governor, as the governors are usually appointed for three years, will not the slave trade be liable to revive with a change of governor?—Not if the orders are the same. General O'Donnell

in the outset was thought very much to connive at the slave trade, and encourage it; latterly he seems to have altered his conduct.

73. Do you happen to know whether public opinion in Cuba is favourable, or not, to the importation of slaves?—It is supposed to be less favourable than it was, since that insurrection which took place.

74. I think your Lordship stated, with reference to Brazil, that as there was a boundless extent of fertile land and virgin soil, if the English cruisers were withdrawn there might be no possible limit to the importation of slaves; do not you consider that the limit to the importation of slaves will be the growth of capital necessary to employ those slaves upon that uncultivated soil?—Of course when anybody talks of anything being boundless, it can only be an inaccurate expression; every increase of employment must be bounded by the amount of capital applicable to that purpose.

75. I think your Lordship admitted that the price of slaves in Brazil had declined within the last few years?—I am not aware that it has so; it was stated, in a former question put to me, that it had so.

76. If that be the fact, would it not go to prove, that even with the British cruisers on the coast of Africa, there has been still a tendency to export to Brazil slaves in a larger proportion than the increase of capital?—If the price of slaves in Brazil has materially diminished, of which I am not at all aware, of course it must show either that the supply has increased, the demand remaining stationary, or that the demand has diminished, the supply remaining stationary. The Committee are probably aware, that in consequence of the operations which have been going on for the last three years in the River Plate, almost all the British cruisers have been withdrawn from the coast of Brazil, and that therefore no effective maritime police has been exercised during that period on the Brazilian coast; that may account for a somewhat increased importation of negroes during that time.

77. Your Lordship is understood to say that all classes of the Brazilians, from the highest to the lowest, are interested in the slave trade?—I believe that as a general expression that is pretty correct; either interested in it or favourable to it.

78. And that the only chance of suppressing the slave trade altogether will be by the Brazilian government acting *bonâ fide* upon its treaties for the suppression of the slave trade?—That would be the only chance of a permanent suppression; but if by the maritime police the enterprises of slave trade became no longer profitable, if the losses were greater than the profits, self-interest would, of course, induce people to abandon a pursuit which no longer became remunerating.

79. As all parties are interested in Brazil in the slave trade, and as there is a boundless extent of fertile land upon which slaves can be employed, is it your Lordship's opinion that there is any chance of the government of Brazil acting *bonâ fide* for the prevention of the importation of slaves?—I think there is; I think that the obligation of national treaties is an obligation which, sooner or later, must be felt by governments that either respect themselves or wish to be respected by other powers.

80. Mr. B. Baring.] Does your Lordship think that the slave trade might be effectually repressed by cruisers upon the Brazilian coast?—I do not myself think that a line of cruisers, either upon the American coast or upon the African coast alone, would be sufficient. My opinion is, that you ought to have means of interception on both sides of the Atlantic. For the last three or four years, for the reasons which I have stated, though there has been an efficient squadron upon the coast of Africa, there have been but very scanty means of intercepting, on the coast of America, vessels which might have escaped the cruisers on the African side.

81. What means are there of distinguishing the slaver upon the Brazilian coast from the merchant vessel?—I apprehend that naval men would tell you that there are signs by which they can pretty clearly distinguish the one from the other; their appearance, their movements, the course they hold. A slaver seldom goes into a great port of commerce; he hovers about the coast, and makes for a comparatively small port or unfrequented place. I should apprehend that, practically, an experienced officer would have little difficulty in distinguishing a suspicious vessel from one that was engaged in open and fair trade.

82. Do you consider that those marks are so distinct as to enable our cruisers to carry on the repression without interfering with the trade of other nations, and running the risk of involving us with them?—I should think so, certainly; the

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utmost inconvenience that would arise from a mistake would be the detaining, for a very short time, a suspected vessel for the purpose of search; a very short interruption of the voyage, which would be attended with no practical inconvenience.

83. If that repression were so easy on the coast of the Brazils, could not the whole of the force be transferred there, instead of carrying it on upon the coast of Africa, and increasing the hardship to the slave who is coming across the Atlantic?—I should doubt that; the extent of coast on Brazil is very considerable, and the chances of interception are perhaps greater on the side where the voyage begins, than on the side where the voyage ends, because on the side where the voyage ends all that the slaver has to do is to dash into its port; on the side where the voyage begins the vessel must arrive, must communicate with the shore, must make arrangements for embarking its cargo, and must remain there long enough for that cargo to be embarked; therefore the time during which the vessel may be caught is greater on the African side than on the Brazilian. But then there is another consideration, which is of great importance; every vessel taken on the coast of America is taken with its cargo on board, and that cargo has undergone all the sufferings and miseries of the passage. The greater proportion of vessels captured on the African side are captured under the equipment articles, and captured before they have got any negroes on board; therefore with regard to them you prevent all that amount of suffering which would have been sustained if their cargoes had been taken on board, and conveyed across the Atlantic. The number of slaves which might have been carried by vessels taken without slaves on board, during the last 10 years, I think, by a Return (I am not sure whether I gave it in to the West India Committee), was about 190,000, according to the calculation.

84. At the present moment the equipment treaty gives us the power of seizing upon any vessel that has casks supposed to carry water for the consumption of the slaves?—There are several circumstances connected with the equipment of a vessel which, by the treaties between England and the other powers, are declared to constitute proofs of an intention to engage in slave trade; and which therefore when found to exist, separately or collectively, are grounds for condemnation. They are various; particular gratings, a quantity of casks greater than necessary for the use of the crew, particular shackles, a plank prepared for slave deck, cooking utensils, more provisions than the crew would require, and other things of that kind indicating that the vessel is intended to receive a large number of human beings, to be supported during the voyage.

85. Is not the effect of the vigilance of our cruisers upon the African coast to prevent the slavers from being supplied with that quantity of cooking utensils, boilers, and casks of water, which are necessary for the comfort of the slave during his passage?—The vigilance of our cruisers does not prevent any vessel which takes negroes on board from having these things. The vigilance of our cruisers enables them, by searching vessels which have no slaves on board, to capture them before they take their cargoes on board, and to have them condemned, if, by the presence of any of those circumstances, they are shown to be destined for slave trade.

86. But is not the effect of the vigilance of our cruisers to prevent the slave ships from being sufficiently supplied with those articles?—I conceive not. I do not see how it can have that effect. In general a vessel intended to take a cargo on board carries herself those equipments; sometimes those equipments are carried by another vessel and put on board the slaver before she takes her cargo from the shore, but she could not take her cargo from the shore and carry her cargo across the Atlantic if she had not those equipments.

87. At the present moment it is necessary for the slaver to take on board, not only the negroes, but the materials also which are necessary for the passage?—Yes.

88. The hurry of the transaction must make it much more difficult for the slaver to furnish itself properly with those articles than if the whole transaction was carried on slowly and deliberately, which would be the case supposing our cruisers were withdrawn from the coast of Africa?—I should not apprehend that that could be the case at all; those articles are easily transferred from one vessel to another, but are generally conveyed in the vessel itself. They are not bulky articles.

89. But the presence of those articles in the vessel would make the vessel liable to confiscation; whereas the absence of them allows the slaver to come into the

the port where the barracoon, is without giving to our cruisers any power of impeding her?—If she has none of those articles on board she cannot be seized.

90. And is it not a consequence that the vessels do come in without those articles on board, and take them on board only at the time when they take on board their slaves?—They must take them on board before they get their negroes on board, or afterwards; they must have them to perform the voyage.

91. At the present moment they must take them on board in a hurried and precipitate manner?—But they are not less taken on board; and whether in a hurry or not, when they are on board the result is the same.

92. With respect to the state of the slaves in the Brazils and in Cuba, is your Lordship aware whether the raw negro from Africa is more easily kept in order than the creole?—No; it is generally supposed that he is more difficult to restrain than the creole negro.

93. So that, from that consideration, it would be better worth while for the Brazilian to raise his slave than to buy him?—That would be a question of expense, but the general notion is that it is cheaper to buy and work out than to rear.

94. Do you suppose that, if the trade were legalized, it would be the interest of the Brazilian and the Cuban planter to work out and buy, rather than to rear?—I should think so. It may be a wrong or a right opinion, but the prejudice is that by importing males who can work, the produce is more cheaply raised than by importing a number of females to breed.

95. Then is it your Lordship's opinion, that if the trade were legalized, the annual supply for the cultivation of the land in those two countries would be brought over from Africa, rather than raised in the country?—That is my opinion. I should conceive that the effect of removing the naval police would be to cover the coast of Africa with slave traders, who would annually carry off to Brazil a greatly increased number of slaves; that those slave traders would, many of them, be pirates as well; that all legitimate commerce would disappear, and that the whole coast of Africa, and the interior of Africa, would become a scene of violence, of murder, and of every kind of atrocity.

96. Why should the character of that trade be more piratical than that in palm oil, or any other produce of the African coast?—Because it takes its origin in violence; and men who engage in a trade of violence, will, if they find it expedient, turn that violence to other objects. The slaver must be prepared with means to keep down the slaves that are on board; the men, therefore, must be of a different character from the men employed in conveying a quiet cargo of palm oil, which never can rise upon the crew. A crew of that sort may find it better worth while, and cheaper, to take the negroes from a weaker vessel without paying for them, than to land and buy a cargo of their own; the slave trader would prey upon the slave trader. And then habits of plunder and of violence, of course, have a tendency to apply themselves beyond the immediate object; and in that manner I conceive that these slave traders would inevitably have a tendency, at least, to become pirates as well as slave traders; if indeed there is any distinction to be drawn between the two expressions.

97. There is the same temptation on the part of the dealer in palm oil; it would be cheaper for him to seize upon a cargo for which consideration has been given, than to go into port and barter his goods for it, and procure it by legal means?—No doubt; but then everybody knows the different effect which different occupations have upon those who are engaged in them. People know the difference of habit and character between the smuggler and the waggoner who carries a cargo of legal goods. The nature of the occupation prepares the minds of those employed for acts of violence and plunder.

98. When the slave trade was legalized, were such acts of piracy committed?—I really do not like to speak to any facts which I have not a knowledge of, but I believe that such acts of piracy have occurred.

99. The slaves are collected by violence by the chiefs of the country, but no violence is required in the crews of the vessels that are to carry them away?—No violence is required on the part of the crews of the slavers; but the slaves being very numerous and being under intense suffering, there is a constant apprehension on the part of the crews that the slaves may rise and overpower them; the crews, therefore, are during the whole of the voyage in the daily and hourly employment of cruel restraint upon a number of unarmed people, for the purpose of protecting themselves against apprehended danger; that gives to those crews

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a very different habit of mind from that which would prevail if they were merely navigating a ship with a cargo of commodities.

100. Are the keepers of lunatics found to be less orderly citizens and more liable to commit acts of violence, than any other subjects in the country?—I am afraid that the records of lunatic asylums tend to give that impression very strongly. Great acts of cruelty are known to have been committed in lunatic asylums by the keepers of the patients.

101. Upon lunatics?—Upon lunatics.

102. But not upon other persons?—No; but I apprehend, that when any individual has been in the habit of committing great cruelty upon other persons, it must have a permanent effect upon the habits of that person's mind, and must make it much more easy for him to commit similar acts of violence upon others.

103. Considering the anxiety of the Brazilian nation to acquire slaves, and the interest which they would have in receiving them in the most perfect condition with regard to health, does your Lordship think that it would not be possible to make treaties with Spain, and with the Brazils, by which such regulations of the trade might be introduced as were introduced in the English trade by Sir William Dolben's Act?—I apprehend you might make any treaties that you could get the government to consent to; but I should imagine, that as long as the interest of private individuals was adverse to the observance of those treaties, you would have no better chance of having those treaties enforced than you have of the enforcement of the present treaties.

104. Would it not be the interest of the slave owners themselves to receive the slaves in good health?—If it were their interest, you would require no treaty to make them do it.

105. But at the same time, would it not be the interest of the government, in order to induce England to consent to the legalizing of the trade, to engage to carry into effect such stipulations?—I have no doubt they would make any engagement; but the making an engagement and the fulfilling it unfortunately have proved to be two very different things.

106. Has not the Brazilian government failed in the performance of its engagements rather from the impossibility of carrying them into effect against the general spirit of the nation, than from any unwillingness on its own part to act?—No. I have no notion that there would be any impossibility for the Brazilian government to fulfil its obligations; but when the very persons who are called upon to take steps for fulfilling those obligations have, if not a common interest, at all events a common feeling with the slave trader, in a country where moral principle is not very strong, of course your engagements are not strictly enforced.

107. *Chairman.*] Does your Lordship look forward to any definite period when England might be relieved from the expense at which it is now undertaking to suppress the slave trade?—It would be very hazardous to talk of definite periods; in a matter which depends upon circumstances that cannot with certainty be predicted.

108. If a British merchantman were to present itself on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of carrying free emigrants to the West Indian Islands, under existing treaties would not such vessel be liable to be seized as concerned in an act of slave trading?—No, I do not see why it should.

109. Would not the equipment of the vessel condemn it?—No; not if there were proof that the persons were not slaves, and were not to be carried into slavery. I apprehend there would be no difficulty whatever in so arranging the transaction that such vessels should be perfectly free from molestation.

110. Supposing that the vessel had the equipments, always excepting the manacles, which belong to a slave-trading vessel, would not such a vessel be liable to be seized by a Portuguese cruiser?—I should apprehend that there would be no difficulty in making arrangements by which there could be no danger of such interruption.

111. But it would require special arrangements between the two governments for that purpose?—I really have not looked at the treaty with reference to that specific question, but I am confident that that difficulty could be got over.

112. I think you stated to the West India Committee that the number of liberated Africans in Cuba was very indefinitely ascertained?—I find great difficulty in coming to any accurate calculation of their numbers, whether a few hundreds or some thousands.

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113. With respect to the number in Brazil, what may be the number there?—I should think less than in Cuba.

114. What is the condition of those persons in both countries?—Their condition is very bad. By the treaties, when a cargo of negroes is brought before the Mixed Commission they are decreed their freedom; but the government of the country engages to support them for a certain time, and to place them in a condition to be instructed in the means of gaining their livelihood. The way in which this condition has been fulfilled in both countries, but especially in Cuba, has been that those negroes have been what is called apprenticed, but in fact let out for a period of five years, either singly or in gangs, to particular persons, those persons paying down a certain sum at once for the advantage of the labour of those negroes during that period. When those five years have expired they have been re-let to somebody else, and the result has been that these negroes have not had the advantage which ordinary slaves have from the interest which a definite and permanent owner has in taking care of the animal that is to work for him. They have however, I believe, in Cuba principally been employed, not in field labour but in work about the town of the Havannah, in lamp-lighting, sweeping the streets, and things of that kind; though some, most likely, have been scattered about and let out to owners of estates.

115. Then, in fact, the condition of the emancipados is worse than the condition of the slave?—It is worse in one respect, and generally not so bad in another. It is worse in as far as nobody has the same permanent interest in them as is the case with the slave. But I should say, speaking from general impression, that the work upon which the bulk of them are employed is not that severe labour which belongs to field cultivation.

116. Has the capture of those emancipados been a source of considerable expense to this country?—The expense of capturing them was part of the general expenses of maintaining the police.

117. There was the prize money?—Yes. Of late years no captured negroes are delivered to the Spanish government of Cuba; they are now sent to a British colony.

118. Does not it seem rather a lamentable thing that this country should have entered into engagements with a foreign State, for handing over to that State, at a considerable expense to this country, free Africans, and placing them there under circumstances more unfavourable than the circumstances of the slave?—It was perhaps an error, but it was an error founded upon confidence in the fulfilment of treaty engagements. The treaties stipulated that there should be Mixed Commissions; some in the territory of one power, some in the territory of the other; for instance, one at the Havannah and another at Sierra Leone, we will say; and that vessels taken in the neighbourhood of either of those Mixed Commissions should be brought to adjudication there, and that the negroes decreed their freedom by either Mixed Commission should be located within the territory in which that commission was situated. The greatest number have been located at Sierra Leone; some have been located in Cuba, but they were the negroes taken in slavers captured off the coast or in the neighbourhood of Cuba.

119. With respect to the commission courts, how many commission courts are there now in existence?—There are courts at Surinam, Cuba, Sierra Leone, Cape de Verd, Loanda, and Rio Janeiro.

120. Is there one at Rio Janeiro now?—Not now; it ceased since the passing of the Act of Parliament.

121. Since the lapse of the Brazilian treaty what have those commission courts to do; what is their occupation?—Their occupation is to try vessels taken under the flags of powers with which we still have treaties. We have treaties with Spain, and with Portugal, and with a great number of other maritime powers; there are still vessels captured under the Spanish and under the Portuguese flag.

122. Which are tried before the commission courts?—Yes.

123. Vessels taken under the Brazilian flag are tried now before the Vice Admiralty Courts?—Yes.

124. Would your Lordship have the goodness to state to the Committee what were the provisions of the Act which made slave trading piracy in Brazilian subjects, by the law of this country?—It was an Act passed by the late Administration.

125. There had been an Act relative to Portugal, which served for an example?—Yes, that was the Act of 1839.

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126. What were the provisions of those Acts?—That Act contained, I think, the same provisions; it enabled British cruisers to search Portuguese vessels suspected of slave trade, to capture them if found with slaves on board or with equipment for slave trade; and it empowered British Courts of Vice Admiralty to condemn them.

127. Did it contain any provision for punishing the parties engaged on board the vessels?—No.

128. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] On a former occasion, when you were Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the House of Commons passed an Address, praying Her Majesty to take measures, in conjunction with other States, to induce all civilized powers to declare the slave trade to be piracy. Will your Lordship be pleased to state to the Committee what measures were adopted by Her Majesty in reference to that prayer?—I am not able, off hand, to state what steps were taken; but I have no doubt that we did invite other powers to pass laws in accordance with that Address.

129. What does your Lordship consider to be, after all, the most effectual remedy for the slave trade; that is to say, for its suppression?—I should think that there are two remedies: the one is to make the practice itself so difficult as no longer to be profitable; the next is to make the commission of the crime punishable on the parties who are engaged in it.

130. By what nations has the slave trade already been declared piracy?—I believe that it is only the United States and England that have affixed that name to the crime; other powers have attached penalties to persons engaged in it.

131. In the recent reform of the criminal law of England the punishment of death was withdrawn from the crime; piracy is no longer punishable with death?—Piracy which consists in slave trading is punishable with transportation; that crime which is called piracy by the law of nations is punishable with death. That is the distinction.

132. You make a distinction between the name of piracy as applied to the slave trade, and the name of piracy as applied to other crimes. Do you wish the Committee to understand that, practically, the punishment of slave-trade piracy is at present limited to transportation, even if committed against the law of England by one of the Queen's native subjects?—By an Act passed some few years ago the penalty upon slave trading was commuted from death to transportation. The Committee are aware that slave trade may be deemed piracy by the law of each and every country, as regards its own subjects; but that it is a different thing from that piracy which is a crime by the law of all nations, and which may be summarily punished by a ship of war of any nation, in regard to the subject of any nation taken on the high seas in the commission of the offence.

133. In the slave trade the combined offences and sins of theft and of murder are committed wholesale; does your Lordship conceive that the punishment of transportation can adequately repress such combination of guilt, where the profit of committing it is so large as has been frequently represented; namely, the purchase of a slave for five dollars on the coast of Africa, and the sale of such slave at the price of 60 *l.* or 80. to 100 *l.*, in the Havannah?—I should apprehend that one may conclude that the punishment of the British law has been found sufficient to prevent the commission of the crime by British subjects; because either the apprehension of that punishment, or perhaps what is equally effectual, the control of general moral feeling in England, either one or other of those causes has been so effectual that there is no reason to believe that any British subjects have of late years been concerned in the commission of that crime.

134. In a former part of your Lordship's evidence you stated that there was no reason to believe that a single slave had been imported into Her Majesty's West Indian possessions since the abolition of the slave trade by law in March 1807; will your Lordship be pleased to state to the Committee what penalties could be enforced by the law of England against those non-subjects of Her Majesty who might be engaged in slave trade, and who might be captured by Her Majesty's cruisers?—That is a grave question of international rights, upon which I do not feel myself competent to give an opinion. I apprehend the question to be, what would the Legislature of this country be entitled to do in regard to punishing Brazilian subjects, for instance, who might be found in a Brazilian slave trader taken by a British cruiser. By a law lately passed, the cruiser would be confiscated; that law did not contain any provision for punishing the subjects of
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Brazil. That question is now under the consideration of the law adviser of the Foreign Office.

135. Up to the present period the parties engaged in this combined robbery and murder would have been left free to pursue again the same courses in the same regions?—That is the state of the matter at present. The Act of Parliament empowers a British cruiser to detain, and a British court to condemn, the vessel, but does not give any power with regard to the crew.

136. What are the penalties of piracy, as enunciated by the different nations with whom the Crown of England has entered into treaties for the suppression of the slave trade, beginning with the United States of America?—I believe that the punishment is capital by the American law.

137. What is it with respect to France?—With respect to France it is a severe punishment, but not death.

138. Is there any punishment denounced by any law of Spain or Portugal against parties committing this crime?—There is by the law of Spain. I forget whether the Portuguese law is passed or not; it has been under discussion for some time; I do not at the present moment recollect.

139. *Chairman.*] Then it appears that though the Act of Parliament contains no special provision for punishing Brazilian subjects engaged in slave trading, otherwise than by the confiscation of their property, it is a matter of question whether the British Government cannot exercise some authority for punishing those Brazilian subjects as pirates?—The Act of Parliament gives no power to a British Court to adjudicate upon a Brazilian crew, or to punish them; but I have asked the Queen's Advocate whether it would be within the proper competence of the British Legislature to pass a law which should impose penalties upon the crew under any given circumstances. The particular case that led to the question being put was, the case of resistance on the part of a Brazilian crew, either at the moment of capture or afterwards, attended by injury to the British prize crew. As the law now stands there does not appear to be any power of punishing them for killing or wounding any of the British prize crew.

140. No penalty then is attached to that species of piracy?—None to the persons concerned, except the loss of the vessel to the owners.

141. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] In a case occurring on the high seas, of course there would be a penalty awarded by any of the Admiralty Courts to which the parties might be taken?—A difficult question of law arises upon that; the crime is committed in a Brazilian vessel, and upon the high seas; the vessel not having been condemned is still Brazilian property, and there is a doubt whether a British court could take cognizance of an offence not committed upon British territory, or within British jurisdiction.

142. *Lord H. Vane.*] I apprehend in any case it could only be by an infraction of or a resistance to the treaty; there would be no power, I apprehend, on the part of the British Government, of affixing the crime of piracy, except by special recognition on the part of the Brazilian government?—The treaty of 1826, with Brazil, says, that after the expiration of three years, the being concerned in slave trade by any Brazilian subject, shall be deemed and treated as piracy. By rights the Brazilian government ought to have passed a law in accordance with that engagement.

143. *Mr. Cobden.*] But the Brazilian Chambers refused, did they not?—Nothing has been done to that effect.

144. I think you stated that it was a matter of doubt whether we had the right to inflict penalties upon Brazilian subjects, but I believe it is not a matter of doubt with the Brazilian government; the Brazilian government, as I understand, maintain that we have no right to inflict penalties under that treaty?—The Brazilian government do not acknowledge the right of the British Government to have passed the law of 1844.

145. *Mr. Jackson.*] Is it not the practice when one of Her Majesty's cruisers takes a slaver, to land the crew on the nearest part of the coast of Africa that she can get to?—Not invariably, for I had within the last few days a representation that it had cost a larger sum of money than was thought right to send the crews of Brazilian captured slavers from St. Helena to Brazil.

146. Have the Government not had representations made to them of the cruelties practised upon the crews of the slavers that have been captured, by landing them upon different parts of the coast of Africa, leaving them to the mercy of the climate and of the inhabitants?—I confess I have no particular sympathy for the crews of slave traders; but the complaint has rather been that by landing them

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on parts of the coast, they have had facilities for re-engaging immediately in the slave trade.

147. Has it ever come to your Lordship's knowledge that great numbers of those poor wretches have suffered the most horrible deaths, in consequence of being left exposed on that coast, after having been captured?—I never have heard of that.

148. No representation has ever been made to the Government of that taking place?—I do not at present recollect any such representation. As I have said before, I think that they ought to be punished, and I wish that the law gave us power to punish them.

149. Must I infer from that, that your Lordship approves of the mode of punishment which I have described, namely, leaving them on the coast to perish?—I think they ought to be landed on some part of the coast, not to perish, but I should not feel any compassion if they were exposed to some degree of privation and hardship. I think it would be one method of deterring others from engaging in similar pursuits.

150. Is there any record of the number of acts of piracy which have been committed on the coast of Africa during the last 10 or 20 years?—I have no doubt that there must be in the Admiralty any reports that may have been received, or there may be some in the Foreign Office.

151. Would there be any objection to search for them, and to give a report to this Committee?—No, I apprehend none at all.

152. Your Lordship stated that in the event of the slave trade being legalized, the larger slavers would prey upon the lesser; do not you think that that would tend to exterminate the slave trade itself?—No, I do not think it would.

153. Is there a record kept of the number of slaves who have died after capture before landing?—With regard to slave ships captured, there is in each case an accurate return of the number on board when the ship was taken, and the number that have died in the interval between the capture and the landing of the cargo at the place of adjudication.

154. Is it usual to pay prize money upon the value of the vessel, or according to the number of slaves that are taken on board that vessel?—The Committee, perhaps, had better call for the regulation itself. I would rather that that should be done than speak from memory upon a matter which does not directly concern my department. It is a regulation of the Admiralty and Treasury, which I might mis-state.

155. Is the prize money paid upon the number landed, or upon the number captured; that is, do the officers and crew who capture the vessel get paid for the slaves who die between the capture and the landing?—I would rather that these questions were put to the departments that are more immediately concerned, because I might make a mistake.

156. Has it come to the knowledge of this Government what becomes of the slave after his five years' servitude is over in the Brazils?—I believe that in the Brazils, as in Cuba, they are constantly handed over from one master to another, by the renewal of the five years' engagements.

157. They are apprentices for life; virtually slaves?—They do become virtually slaves.

158. They merely go from one state of slavery to another, by being captured in a British cruiser?—That is to say that was the case, but as I have already stated, in regard to all slaves brought for adjudication to the Havannah, they are now handed over to the British Government to be transferred to a British colony, where their freedom is secured. With regard to all ships taken under the Brazilian flag, they are now taken to a British Court of Vice-Admiralty, and therefore located in a British settlement, and not in the Brazils; and I should certainly never consent to any treaty with the Brazils which should not contain a similar provision, securing that the slaves captured in Brazilian vessels, wherever adjudicated, should be handed over to the British Government, and should not be handed over to the Brazilian.

159. Sir R. H. Inglis.] It has been stated that 72,000 slaves were landed in the year 1847 in the Brazils alone (First Rep. on Sugar and Coffee Planting); it has been stated that Portugal was suffered to cover the whole Brazilian slave trade of 90,000 slaves per annum with perfect safety, from 1826 until 1839 (Brogie and Lushington Commission, p. 25); it has been further stated, that prior to the year 1839, the lowest estimate gave an importation of 60,000 slaves per annum into Cuba alone,

alone, in one year (Ditto, p. 26), without counting those landed in Porto Rico; and taking a general view of the whole slavery, Sir Fowell Buxton is understood to have stated that not less than 150,000 slaves have in the course of one year been imported in the Western World. Under such circumstances, and looking to the statement that the amount of slaves annually exported before the abolition of the slave trade was not 70,000 per annum, does your Lordship wish the Committee to understand, that so far as the numbers are concerned, the general slave trade has or has not diminished since the English Abolition Act of 1807?—I should think that the progressive development of the resources of Brazil during the period referred to in that question, must naturally have led to an annual increase in the number of slaves imported into that empire; and the Committee will recollect that until the year 1835 the slave trade under the Spanish flag was perfectly free in all parts south of the Line; that up to the year 1839 the slave trade under the Portuguese flag was equally free in all places south of the Line; that up to 1835 no Spanish vessel north of the Line could be captured or condemned for being equipped for slave trade; that up to the year 1839, no Portuguese vessel north of the Line could be molested, captured, or condemned for equipment, and unless she had slaves on board; that therefore, till 1839, the slave trade of Brazil was perfectly free south of the Line, (and her whole trade went on south of the Line,) provided it was carried on up to 1835 under Spanish, or, up to 1839, under Portuguese colours. Therefore, up to the end of 1839, the preventive police of this country was confined within a very narrow limit of space, and consequently there was no practical restriction upon the importation of slaves into Brazil, other than might have arisen from the good faith of the Brazilian government. I dare say, therefore, that the number of slaves imported into Brazil in the last ten years we will say preceding 1839, must have been very considerable, but I have no means from recollection of stating what that number might have been.

160. Have you or have you not reason to believe that the suppression of the slave trade has been almost arithmetical in proportion to the squadron employed with that object, say from 1840 to 1842, when that squadron was strong upon the coast of Africa, as compared with the period immediately subsequent, when that squadron was weakened by detachments to China, in respect of the great war then going on?—I believe that the effectiveness of the means to suppress the slave trade has uniformly varied in direct proportion to the amount of the force employed.

161. Then admitting it to be correct to state that the horrors of the slave trade have increased subsequently to the year 1807, is it or is it not your Lordship's opinion that it is still more and more the duty of England to endeavour to suppress the slave trade; and that an increased naval force, extending by signals, or by more direct communication, along the line which has supplied the slave trade, would be the duty and the interest of England in respect to the suppression of the slave trade?—I do not myself believe that the horrors of the slave trade have been increased by the methods taken to suppress it; that is my opinion; but supposing that it were so, I still think that the amount of human suffering has been diminished, even supposing that the suffering of a certain limited number of persons may have been greater than it otherwise would have been. I do most distinctly and sincerely think that it is the duty of the British Government to persevere in its endeavours to put the slave trade down. I think it would be utterly disgraceful for a country that has made such sacrifices as England has, and which has acquired so much well-deserved character as England has acquired in that cause, I think it would be utterly disgraceful to the country, from the mean calculation of a small temporary saving, to abandon the course which it has pursued. I do think that by proper arrangements, and by the combination of various means, the end may still be accomplished. I do not see any necessity for increasing the number of cruisers on the coast of Africa; I believe they are sufficient. The re-employment of a certain number of cruisers on the coast of America would greatly add to the efficiency of the police; but I look still more for success to the measures now in course of adoption on the coast of Africa, to engage the native chiefs by treaties to exert their local authority to put the slave trade down, and to give to England and to France the right of enforcing those engagements if the chiefs themselves should neglect to do so. I think that those engagements will tend to a great increase and development of legitimate traffic in Africa. The trade in palm oil has already increased of late years very rapidly; it is capable of still further development; and my opinion is, that in proportion

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as legitimate commerce spreads and increases, you will find the disposition to slave trade to diminish, especially if the legitimate commerce is protected, and if the slave trade is impeded by the means which are now in force. On the other hand, my firm conviction is, that if the slave trade were permitted to start afresh, or to increase greatly, there would be an end to all security for legitimate trade.

162. Whether or not the horrors of the slave trade have increased since 1807, is it your Lordship's wish that the Committee should understand that, with your views of the almost unlimited extent of soil in the Brazils suited to the production of sugar, the almost unlimited demand for such sugar, and the necessity of negroes to cultivate it, the horrors of the slave trade would have been greatly increased if it had not been for the efforts of England to suppress it?—That is my distinct and full conviction.

163. Following up that conviction, the Committee understand from your Lordship that you feel it to be the duty of England not only not to relax, but to increase all her efforts, whether by treaty or otherwise, in order to produce the final extinction of the slave trade?—That is my opinion, certainly.

164. Has your Lordship considered the question of migratory courts of judicature in reference to the slave trade?—I do not think that that has ever been brought under the consideration of the Government.

165. You are aware of the great difficulty sometimes incurred in sending up, at particular seasons, captured vessels from the Bight of Benin, for instance, to the court of Sierra Leone?—I am aware that in particular cases the voyage is long, and the negroes suffer much.

166. You are aware that great mortality has taken place in slave ships in consequence of an eight or nine weeks' voyage from the Bight of Benin to Sierra Leone?—Yes, instances of that kind have happened.

167. *Chairman.*] Are the Committee to understand that your Lordship is of opinion that it is the duty of this country to continue a system of forcible suppression at whatever expense and cruelty it may be carried on?—No; my opinion is, that there has been no increase of cruelty (that is my own opinion), but I mean to say that even if it were true that, with regard to the slaves transported across the Atlantic, some additional suffering had been incurred, still I think, although I do not believe the fact, the aggregate amount of human suffering has been much diminished by the methods adopted; and I look to the prospect that those methods, combined with others, will in the end, if not wholly abolish the trade, at all events reduce it within infinitely narrower limits than those within which it is at present contained.

168. Do not you consider that it is the duty of the British Government to seek for every attainable means for suppressing the slave trade by instruments other than those of force?—If by "other" is meant to the exclusion of force, that certainly is not my opinion; if by "other" is meant by means additional to the employment of force, I quite concur.

169. The object to be attained is the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes.

170. If that object can be attained without the instrumentality of force, does your Lordship not think it would be desirable to adopt that mode?—Most undoubtedly; if any method could be pointed out which would abolish the slave trade without the employment of force, I should think that method one which ought to be preferred, but I have never yet heard any such method suggested.

171. *Mr. Jackson.*] Is your Lordship aware of the state of the slave trade in the River Bonny at present?—I have no particular knowledge of that as distinguished from the general state of it.

172. Perhaps your knowledge generally may lead you to this, that in the Bight of Biafra very little slavery now goes on, if any?—It is possible.

173. Does not it occur to your Lordship that, as the commerce of the country has increased with the natives who inhabit the shores or the banks of the rivers flowing into the Bight of Biafra, there has been more done to exterminate the slave trade by increased commercial communications with them, than by all the efforts of our cruisers?—My belief is, that nowhere on the coast of Africa has legitimate commerce gained upon slave trade, except in consequence of the efforts of our cruisers to obstruct the slave trade; that is my general opinion, but I cannot speak with regard to particular cases without referring to documents.

174. *Mr. Cobden.*] Your Lordship has stated that it is the duty of England to suppress the slave trade; it is attributed to us by many foreign countries that

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we are interested in doing so; is it your Lordship's opinion that it is our interest as well as our duty, apart from the interest of humanity?—I think, generally speaking, with regard to national concerns, that, whatever is the duty of a country that is also its interest. Taking the more limited and narrow view of the matter, I certainly think, that as far as regards our West Indian colonies, a great injury would be done to them if the slave trade to Cuba and to Brazil were permitted to be carried on to the full possibility of its extent.

175. Do you consider that to be a part of the motive for our maintaining this force and incurring this expense?—That is no part of the motive which I think ought to influence the Government, because I think the Government ought to be influenced by higher considerations; but I think that that motive ought to be borne in mind by a class of men who are supposed now, from erroneous views of their own interest, to be endeavouring to induce Parliament and the Government to put an end to the measures for the prevention of slave trade.

176. Assuming that it is simply from motives of humanity, do you think it a legitimate mode of disposing of the resources of this country?—It has so been considered at former times. After the peace of 1815, it will be in the recollection of the Committee, that very large sums of money were paid by the willing assent of Parliament to Portugal and to Spain to induce those countries to concur in treaties for the prospective abolition of the slave trade. The people of England have for a great number of years taken a very lively interest in this question, and if it was thought to be a fitting and proper application of public money to give 20,000,000*l.* sterling to the West Indians for the abolition of slavery, I should think that from the same motive, and upon the same principles, the people of this country might think it was not an improper application of the revenue of England to put an end to a great crime, a crime of which England was one of the principal authors, and in regard to which this nation has some atonement to make.

177. Does your Lordship think that beyond the abolition of slavery in our own colonies, and giving a good example to the world, it is our duty also, by armed cruisers, and by paying subsidies to other countries, to induce them to do the same act of justice to their slaves?—"Duty" is a word of many interpretations. I do consider it to be the moral duty of this country; a duty which this country owes to itself, certainly not to any other nation. But we are not paying any subsidies at present to other countries for the purpose.

178. You consider that it is the duty of England to interfere to prevent persons in America from doing an act of injustice to natives of Africa?—I think, considering the high position which this nation holds in the world, and the effect which our example, and our conduct, and our measures, have upon mankind at large, that where we can do a great good by a comparatively small effort, it is, upon general principles, our duty not to omit the exertion.

179. Would not that principle, if carried out, lead us to interfere with other countries to put down other acts of injustice; for instance, supposing one nation abolished the punishment of death, would it not be a legitimate effort of that government to interfere with other nations, which had not done so, to induce them to follow the example?—It would no doubt be competent for the government of a country that thought the punishment of death a punishment which ought to be abolished, to use the same methods to induce other nations to make the change which have been used by England in regard to slave trade. Of course it must be remembered, that all our preventive measures are founded upon treaty compacts entered into spontaneously by other nations. We exercise no authoritative power; everything we do is founded upon authority given to us by treaties voluntarily entered into with us by other countries; and if any one government proposed to another to pass laws to abolish the punishment of death, it would be as fit and fair a subject of negotiation between government and government as the abolition of the slave trade, or any other measure tending to the interests of humanity.

180. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Will your Lordship inform the Committee whether you think that the interference of the English Government with foreign governments for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade has excited in the minds of foreign governments and nations an increased abhorrence of that traffic, and an increased desire on their part to co-operate with England in the object?—I think that the efforts of this country to engage other governments in co-operating for the suppression of the slave trade have very much tended to awaken a moral feeling in other countries upon that subject; that moral feeling has in particular countries been

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been counteracted by personal and individual interests; but I can state one instance in which the efforts of England have very much altered public feeling. Up to the year 1839 there was the strongest feeling in Portugal in favour of the slave trade, and our efforts to induce the Portuguese Government to fulfil their early engagements by entering into fresh and more specific engagements for the suppression of the trade created the greatest degree of party hostility towards England in Portugal. We held, and I think justly, that in virtue of the general engagements of Portugal, she was bound, after the expiration of a specific time, to give us, south of the Line, the same powers which we had north of the Line; she refused to do so, and the slave-trading interest in Portugal used to fill their newspapers with every sort of abuse of England, and their daily object was to counteract our measures by exciting bitter hostility to England in every class in Portugal. At last the case was such as to induce Parliament to pass the law of 1839, which gave to our courts and our cruisers by law the powers which the Portuguese Government refused to give by treaty. The result of that law was, that in 1842 the Portuguese Government agreed to conclude a treaty such as the English Government wished, and that point having been carried, and the Portuguese slave traders having been beaten in the contest which they were carrying on, that source of hostility has ceased, and at least, from the slave trade interest in Portugal, we have experienced since that time no hostility whatever. That source of national antagonism has almost altogether disappeared.

181. Do you think that our interference in this matter has tended, in the case of France, to excite an interest in this subject?—I think so. I think that the example of England must be considered as having had much influence upon public opinion in France; and it is satisfactory to see, that by a late decree of the Provisional Government, the question of the emancipation of the French slaves appears to have been already in principle determined.

182. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] In the case which has been put to your Lordship, with respect to the abolition of the punishment of death, is there not a distinction as compared with the slave trade, that in the abolition of the slave trade, England is pledged by national declarations in the face of Europe, and by treaties with many states; whereas, whether the other object be right or wrong, it is a question of municipal law in England alone, to which England has given no public sanction in respect to her intercourse with foreign nations?—Certainly, there is a clear distinction.

183. Your Lordship has justly stated, that duty and interest are always the same; even in the lowest view of the case, as referring to the slave trade, is it not the interest of England to take care that an unrestricted supply of slaves should not be permitted to the Brazils; for example, when no such supply of slaves, or no supply of slaves at all, is permitted to our own colonies?—I should apprehend that those who think that slave labour is cheaper than free labour, would of course be of opinion, that when the importation of slaves is prohibited for the British West Indies, it would be prejudicial to the interests of the owners of those islands that there should be an unlimited importation of slaves into Brazil; and as I believe the West Indians now think that slave labour is cheaper than free labour, of course they must come to that conclusion.

184. You were asked whether the blockade might not be on both sides of the Atlantic; if it were on one side only, would you or would you not prefer it to be on the African side of the Atlantic?—Most decidedly.

185. Inasmuch as the blockade on the coast of Brazil might interfere with the legitimate traffic, in a very large proportion of the ships which navigate that part of the ocean?—I think the blockade must, from the nature of things, be far less effectual on the Brazilian coast, in regard to catching vessels. It must also have this inconvenience, that the vessels you catch would be full of slaves, and therefore you would not prevent the embarking of slaves in the same way that you can do on the African coast; and also as far as stopping a ship for half an hour to look at her may be an impediment to trade, that impediment would arise more on the Brazilian side than on the African, but I take the real impediment of searching or visiting a suspicious vessel to be next to nothing if properly conducted.

186. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Have you any additional statement to make as to the number of slaves transported from Africa previously to 1807?—I have a statement upon that subject.

[*His Lordship delivered in the following Paper:*]

STATEMENT,

STATEMENT, as far as can be ascertained, of the probable Number of Slaves exported from Africa from the Year 1768 to the Abolition of Slave Trade in 1807.

In 1768 the exports from Africa had reached 97,000 annually; British, 60,000 French, 23,000; the remainder among other nations.

See Macpherson's History of Commerce, vol. 3 (Bandinel on Slave Trade, p. 63).

In 1788 there were 450,000 slaves in the British West Indies, and the annual exportation from Africa was 100,000. By the English, 38,000; French, 31,000; Dutch, 4,000; Danes, 2,000; Portuguese, 25,000 (to Brazil).

See Edwards's History of the British West Indies, vol. 4, p. 332 (Bandinel, p. 76). Part 4, No. 24, &c.

See Report of Privy Council, 1789, (Bandinel, pages 85, 86.)

In 1798 the export was 95,000; British, 55,000; American, 15,000; Portuguese, to Brazil, 25,000.

Minute of Conferences in London on Slave Trade, Feb. 1819. Part 4, No. 24, &c. p. 105.

pers presented to Parliament, p. 15. (Bandinel,

The same amount is stated to have been annually exported up to 1805.

(Bandinel, pages 122, 123, 124).

The Hon. Captain *Joseph Denman*, R. N., called in; and Examined.

187. *Chairman.*] THE Committee have before them the evidence which you gave before the West India Committee, which is now sitting; is there anything in that evidence which you wish to modify or to change?—With reference to the answer given to question 1615, before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, I there stated that I thought that a supply of emigrants to the amount of 1,000 or 1,200 per annum might be obtained from the race of Kroomen.

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188. Have you any observation to make in reference to that statement?—With reference to that statement I should wish to observe that, from looking over some memoranda, which I had not looked at when I was before examined, the number would, in the course of a few years, in my opinion, considerably exceed what I have there stated. I think it would go on gradually increasing from year to year, and would amount to a considerably larger number than I have stated in answer to that question.

189. Do you think there would be a disposition on the part of the Kroomen to emigrate to the West Indies?—I believe that that disposition may be created, and that the numbers would greatly increase in the course of a few years if proper measures were taken to induce them to emigrate.

190. Would you have the kindness to point out to the Committee upon the map the line of coast of the Kroomen?—(*The Witness pointed out the same.*) The Kroomen inhabit the coast between Trade Town and Cape Palmas; there are five Kroo towns between those limits, and the rest of the coast is occupied by Fishmen. The Kroo country runs to a considerable distance into the interior.

191. Your experience has, I think, been chiefly confined to the west coast of Africa?—To the west coast entirely.

192. The plan of suppression which you have communicated to the West India Committee would, of course, be applicable to the east coast?—Not entirely; the slave trade carried on upon the east coast has been principally from Portuguese settlements. The people on the east coast are much more barbarous than the people on the west; so much so, that no factories can be formed upon the African native settlements, upon the part occupied by the native Africans; they are obliged to go to the Portuguese colonies; and therefore, supposing Portugal to be honest, as I believe she now is, in her endeavours to put the slave trade down, it is an easier thing than it is upon the west coast.

193. Are there no slave ships from other portions of the east coast of Africa than that belonging to the crown of Portugal?—To the best of my belief there are not; but I have no personal knowledge upon the subject, therefore I only repeat what I have heard from other quarters.

194. Of course, in order to prevent the embarkation of slaves from the Portuguese settlements on the east coast of Africa, it would be necessary that the Portuguese authorities should be acting in perfect good faith?—No doubt.

195. Has their conduct hitherto been distinguished by good faith?—I believe for the last two or three years they have behaved in a manner which has been generally approved of by both Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston; that it has been all which has been desired.

196. In the last information laid before the House of Commons it is stated that

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the principal settlements of the Portuguese on the east coast of Africa have been induced, by the bribes held out to them by the slave owners, to depart from that line of integrity?—I do not mean to say that our efforts would be useless even in that case, because by a strict watch of the ports we could prevent the slave trade.

197. You propose, by means of a vigilant and unremitting blockade, and by means of treaties with the native chiefs, to extinguish the slave trade; do you think you could ever so completely extinguish the slave trade by such means as to prevent the exportation of slaves from the coast of Africa so long as there exists a demand for the tropical productions?—I have not the slightest doubt that the slave trade may be suppressed by the means which I have pointed out in the memorandum printed in my evidence before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee, which, as it has been published, I should wish to put in as evidence before this Committee; it is a memorandum which was placed in Lord Aberdeen's hands in the latter end of 1843, and upon which a general system was adopted, which came into force at the end of 1844. With reference to that memorandum, I should wish to say that I stated to Lord George Bentinck that I did not wish to give in that memorandum without consulting the Foreign Office and the Admiralty, and that he insisted upon its being given in, stating that he had authority to call for any documents he pleased from any quarter.

198. Do you think that it would be possible to extinguish the slave trade by those means without constantly maintaining your system on the coast of Africa?—I believe that by the system which I proposed, especially if followed up by the destruction of the slave factories, the slave trade might be entirely exterminated. I do not mean to say that it would not spring up again if things remained as they are now, but I contemplate, as the final termination to the traffic, the declaration by the civilized world of its being piracy, which there cannot be a question that it is, according to all the principles upon which the law of nations is founded.

199. Then you consider that if the states of the civilized world were to declare slave trading an act of piracy, you might withdraw the cruisers, and abandon the system which you recommend, consistently with the extinction of the slave trade?—I think that, after a certain time, the slave trade would become perfectly extinct; that no one would incur the penalties and perils which the commission of acts of piracy would involve, and that the slave trade would become absolutely extinct.

200. Do you venture to look forward to any definite period within which the slave trade could be extinguished by the operation of such means?—As regards the period at which foreign nations may be induced to agree with England to declare it piracy, of course I cannot pretend to point out at what period it may occur; but it seems to me that the case is so extremely clear that the world cannot resist it much longer. I think that what has operated to prevent other nations from as yet coming into those views, has been principally the extent of the slave trade; and there has been a fear that if it were declared piracy, England would found upon it a universal right of search, under the pretence of supposing vessels to be slave vessels. But when the slave trade is reduced to a small amount by other measures, I believe that there will be little or no difficulty in getting the maritime nations to agree to declare it piracy.

201. You would have then the states of the world to declare slave trading piracy as against all other nations?—I believe it would be quite sufficient to get the maritime powers to agree to such a declaration. I do not think it would be essential to get those powers that have no fleets and no navies or commerce to do so.

202. At present does not Great Britain treat slave trading as piracy, with regard to its own subjects, and with regard to the subjects of Brazil?—She treats it as piracy, with respect to her own subjects, but, unfortunately, not with respect to the subjects of Brazil, although under the treaty she would have been perfectly justified in doing so; because it is expressly declared in the treaty with Brazil that Brazilian subjects shall be deemed and treated as pirates, who may carry on the slave trade.

203. Was it not so declared in the Act of Parliament?—It was so declared in a convention with Brazil, which was embodied in an Act of Parliament in 1827. The Act of Parliament which was passed recently justifying the capture of Brazilian vessels, did not contain any clause rendering the crews liable to be treated as pirates when captured. We have captured scores of Brazilian vessels, and no
single

single person found on board any one of them has been brought to trial. The Brazilian law does not make them pirates, but it makes it a penal offence. The law which we passed went to the seizure of their vessels, and the condemnation of their vessels, but not to the treatment of those who are taken in them as pirates.

204. Then I understand that you contemplate a period when the United States of America would consent virtually to the right of search?—No; I do not put it in that way. We do practically exercise the right of search already with regard to America, and so we do with regard to France, under the convention with France in the year 1845; that convention recognised the principle that we claimed, and which America had before disputed, of the right to visit any ship where there was reason to doubt her nationality, to verify her flag.

205. The right of visit?—The right of visit to verify the flag.

206. But not the right of search?—They have distinguished between them; but by all the old principles which used to govern the world they were considered identical; it is quite a new distinction. But the effect of that is that we now have the authority of France; before we stood alone upon it; we have now the authority of France enabling us to verify the flag by the papers of any suspicious ship which we meet. The effect of that is, that if you go on board an American vessel, and see that she is a slaver (no search is required to see that), she becomes at once subject to seizure; because America having made the slave trade piracy by her law, it is a well-known fact that no such thing exists as an American slaver; and therefore the very fact of seeing her to be a slaver would make the inference so strong that she was not American, that you would be entitled to act upon the supposition that she was Spanish, Portuguese, or Brazilian.

207. Would the power of visit alone enable you to observe those appearances on board a vessel which you consider *prima facie* evidences of slave trading?—I think so.

208. Are you of opinion that the slave trade has diminished in extent upon the coast of Africa during the last seven years?—No; I think there has been some increase, comparing the present period with seven years ago; in 1841 and 1842, owing to the destruction of the slave factories, the slave trade was reduced to a very small amount; at Gallinas alone an annual export of 12,000 was cut off.

209. On the subject of the cruelties which attend the slave trade, you have heard the opinion of Lord Palmerston; does your experience lead you to concur entirely with Lord Palmerston upon that subject?—My opinion is, that there is certainly more cramming in smaller vessels than there used to be; but I believe that that is more than compensated by the voyages being so much shorter, owing to the fast-sailing vessels now employed upon the traffic.

210. That the suffering, though more intense, is of shorter duration?—It may be more intense, but it is of shorter duration. And another observation which I should wish to make upon that subject is this: as to the argument that if the slave trade were left unmolested, interest would be sufficient to render it more humane, I should wish to ask why was Sir William Dolben's Act passed if that were the case; why was it necessary to regulate it, and to limit the number of slaves to be carried, if interest would be a security for the same thing being done.

211. Do you think that the existence of that Act is any proof that the slave trade was carried on at that time under circumstances of equal cruelty as at present?—I think the slave trade was carried on under circumstances of equal cruelty. The sufferings have been in some degree aggravated, I believe, by the fleetier class of vessels now used; but what I mean to say is, that that Act is a sufficient proof that interest was not a security for any humanity upon the part of the persons then carrying on the traffic.

212. Generally speaking, the owner of a slave ship would have the same interest in the preservation of his cargo that the drover of a herd of oxen would have in conducting his beasts to market?—It is perfectly impossible to make a slave voyage a healthy voyage. All the evidence showed during our slave trade, while it was unmolested, that the sufferings were enormous and the mortality very great indeed, and such must always be the case. Any one who has been on board a slaver and has seen human beings, under any circumstances, crammed together as they are and must be, cannot suppose that this traffic can be unattended with great mortality. In my own case I was four months on board a particularly large and roomy slaver, and I can speak from my own experience of the sufferings which were there incurred.

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213. Under the best of circumstances the slave trade must be accompanied with acts of great cruelty?—Under the best of circumstances, it is abhorrent to humanity in every step of its progress.

214. Still there are degrees of suffering?—There are degrees of suffering; and my opinion is, that in some degree the sufferings are increased by the sharper vessels used.

215. Have the sufferings ever increased with regard to the circumstances under which the slaves are put on board, the necessity of embarking a great number of slaves in a few hours?—I think that, as far as my experience goes, the equipments when once put on board may as well be full and sufficient as the contrary, because any amount of equipment at all sufficient to ship slaves subjects the vessel to capture, just as much if it is scanty as if it is ample; and therefore I do not see why there should be any diminution in the quantity of water, for instance, or any other of the conditions necessary for a slave voyage, in consequence of our measures.

216. Does it not occasionally occur that where a vessel has not taken a full quantity of water on board and a favourable escape with the cargo presents itself, the vessel takes its cargo on board and puts to sea, although not in a state to sustain its cargo for the voyage?—They take on board their equipments first; people would not ship on board slaves that they could not feed; and I believe the much more common event is, for a vessel to ship half her cargo of slaves and go away with a full complement of water than the contrary. It is important to observe that the first operation is to take on board all the equipments and all the provisions; they do not take on board the slaves until afterwards, or sometimes they take them both together, and then they are proportioned to each other.

217. I believe the practice now exists of embarking the slaves without laying the slave deck?—I was in a slave ship myself that had no slave deck.

218. Does not that aggravate the sufferings of the slaves?—Yes, I should think it did.

219. Can you give the Committee any information with respect to the average proportion of those who perish during their voyage?—I believe that the average in our hands has recently been small.

220. After capture?—After capture; but I beg to observe that if the measures suggested in my memorandum, upon which the squadron is now supposed to be acting, are carried into effect, they go to the prevention of the embarkation of slaves, and in consequence of those measures having been adopted in some degree, very few slaves are captured after embarkation; if carried fully out, none would be embarked.

221. Then is the Committee to understand that the system now adopted on the coast of Africa is in accordance with the suggestions which you have placed before the Admiralty?—The facts are stated in my evidence before the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting. Lord Aberdeen adopted that memorandum as the basis of the system which he established upon the coast of Africa when he was in office, at the end of 1844, and that is the system which I believe is still nominally in force upon the coast of Africa.

222. Is it really in force?—My opinion distinctly is, that it never has been carried out in the spirit in which I recommended it to be acted upon. I should wish to quote a passage in this memorandum, which I believe is a point which has not been fully acted up to; it is in page 153 of the First Report of the evidence taken before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee; it is the ninth paragraph from the top, and it is to this effect: "The capture of slave vessels is entirely secondary to the great object of preventing the embarkation of slaves; cruisers should therefore never leave open a slave port even for an hour, for the purpose of chasing vessels. Not only in such cases have many cargoes been embarked by other slave vessels arriving during the absence of the cruiser, but not unfrequently the very vessel chased has doubled her pursuer in the night, and, returning to the depôt, carried off her slaves in security." I believe that that has never been carried into effect, and I believe the evidence of the officers that you may have before you, who have been employed upon the coast since that time, will show that although individual officers may have acted upon those views, the instructions have not been such as to tie and bind them down to that course of proceeding.

223. Do you think that the suppression of the slave trade can ever be effected under the system as it is now practically carried out?—I do not see any reason why this recommendation of mine should not be carried strictly into effect. I only express a doubt as to whether it has been so carried out. If it is carried out strictly I am perfectly satisfied that with the force now employed the slave trade can be put an end to, and I am also perfectly satisfied that anybody who will read that memorandum, and give his mind to that memorandum, will agree, as will every naval officer who has ever been upon the coast, in saying that that plan will succeed and that no other can succeed; that that is the sole manner in which a naval force can be employed with advantage in suppressing the slave trade.

224. It will effectually prevent the exportation of any slaves from the coast?—Exactly.

225. How long do you imagine it would be necessary to keep up that preventive system in order properly to extinguish the slave trade?—I believe that in three years the slave trade would be put an end to by the course which I have suggested.

226. Do you think that the slave trade could be put an end to finally at the expiration of three years if the demand for slaves still existed on the coast of America?—I believe that the slave trade would be put an end to finally as regards the power of exporting slaves, whatever the demand might be across the water.

227. Will you be so kind as to explain that answer which you have given. In what would the difficulties consist of renewing the slave trade after the squadrons were withdrawn?—I believe in the first place that the result of the measures which I recommend would be to establish a very important commerce in Africa itself, which would in the course of time be so profitable that the Africans would discover the great blunder of slave trade, and would then learn their true interest. That would be one security. Another security that I should expect to accrue, would be, that the civilized world would declare the slave trade to be, what it is upon every principle of the law of nations, piracy. At the present moment every slaver that crosses the sea is, according to general principles, a pirate and nothing but a pirate. In every instance she must be violating the laws of her own country, because the law of every civilized country condemns slave trade as a crime. In every instance she is detaining 300 or 400 people chained in her hold without any shadow of authority to do so; she is committing an act of force and of violence totally unauthorized. Now one broad definition of piracy is, that any act of force committed upon the high seas by an unauthorized ship not strictly for self-defence, is an act of piracy.

228. To turn for one moment to the subject before adverted to, do you think that in the course of three years, or in the course of 20 years, the civilizing effects of commerce would extend so deeply into the heart of Africa as to extinguish the disposition on the part of the chieftains in the interior to sell slaves?—The chiefs in the interior, however they may wish to carry on slave trade, must depend upon the demand on the coast, that is evident; but it seems to me that the treatment of the traffic as piracy would be the great security against its resumption, and until that state of things was arrived at by the consent of nations it would be undoubtedly necessary to keep a certain force upon the coast, and indeed in any case our commerce there must be protected.

229. I suppose the slaves are supplied chiefly from the interior?—The slaves are supplied almost entirely from the interior.

230. However desirable it may be, and most desirable it unquestionably is, to promote a commercial intercourse on the coast, I suppose the influence of that commerce would not extend very far into the interior, except after the lapse of considerable time?—I believe it would extend very far; there is already a very considerable amount of commerce in the interior of Africa, which is brought down to the coast at parts with which I am acquainted.

231. On what extent of line of coast in Africa would it be necessary to establish this commercial disposition?—At all places where the slave trade now exists.

232. What may be the extent of that?—I am not prepared to state the number of miles, but when people talk of a blockade of 4,000 or 5,000 miles of coast, it is an entirely erroneous statement. The slave trade is limited to certain particular points, which are well known; it is equally blocked out from other points which are well known, and the whole amount of coast where the

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slave trade exists, instead of being 4,000 or 5,000 miles, may be more correctly stated at 400 or 500.

233. I presume when a person speaks of 4,000 or 5,000 miles, he must include the east as well as the west coast?—Probably; but if you take the west coast of Africa, you will find it 3,000 or 4,000 miles.

234. Between what points on the west coast of Africa is the slave trade carried on?—There is no slave trade to the northward of the River Gambia, nor at Liberia, nor on the Kroo Coast, except at one spot, nor on the Gold Coast, nor in the Bight of Biafra, nor on the coast between the Cape of Good Hope and 16° 30' south latitude.

235. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] Are the places at which slaves embark fixed and settled, or are they variable in different parts of the country?—In order to carry on the slave trade under the present treaties, it is necessary to have very large depôts for the purchase of slaves; there are storehouses, there are barracoons, so that the people from the interior may know where to bring their slaves to, and in short it is from large establishments whence the trade is carried on, and those are not easily moved; they are at points which are well known, and if they are established at new points we can soon ascertain the fact; moreover, it is essential to success that they should be close to the coast.

236. Does it require considerable preparation and arrangement for the purpose of fixing upon any one of those spots from which to embark slaves?—It requires long arrangement, and an establishment which it occupies a very considerable time to form before the slave trade can commence to any large extent.

237. Then is the Committee to understand that one of the modes of operation which you consider likely to be most successful, is to permanently watch those slave factories, for the purpose of preventing any slaves from being embarked?—Precisely.

238. And that you consider that it is comparatively unimportant if you leave unwatched the other parts of the coast where those slave factories are not already established?—I consider it comparatively unimportant; no doubt it is necessary to keep a certain surveillance to take care that slave trade does not spring up.

239. Will not that then limit the necessary exertions of the cruisers to a very small portion of the coast?—To a very small comparative portion of the coast.

240. Can you state to the Committee, as the result of your own experience, an alteration in the habits of the people where the slave factories have been destroyed, and the slave trade has been withdrawn, either by the means of cruisers or by treaties entered into with the chiefs?—The principal place that I can speak with respect to is the River Bonny. When I first served upon the coast of Africa, in the years 1834 and 1835, the River Bonny was the favourite station for the cruisers. If the commodore wanted to do a particular favour to any officer, he stationed him off the Bonny, because the Bonny was the stronghold of the slave trade at that time. The consequence was, that the Bonny was constantly watched, and, being a river, every vessel could be seized coming out; and, in fact, for a course of years no slave vessel escaped capture. The slave trade in that river was a losing concern, and was therefore abandoned. At the present moment there is no slave trade in the Bonny whatever, and there is an increase of the palm-oil trade and other trade, in proportion to the diminution of the slave trade.

241. In point of fact, the legitimate trade has superseded the former illegitimate slave trade?—Precisely; the slave trade having been put down by the cruisers in the first instance.

242. Do you consider that that legitimate trade would not have been established, if it had not been for the exertions of the cruisers upon the coast?—I have no doubt that the legitimate trade, instead of increasing, would have decreased, had the slave trade been unmolested.

243. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Then you consider the presence of a naval blockade to have been essential to the existence of legitimate commerce in the quarter of Africa to which you now call the attention of the Committee?—There was legitimate trade co-existent at that time with the slave trade. They existed together, but the increase has been in proportion to the destruction of the slave trade there. The legitimate commerce that has replaced slave trade has been sufficient to keep the slave trade down ever since; for during the whole time that I was on the coast last, there was no cruiser ever stationed at the Bonny. There was a vessel in the neighbourhood that occasionally visited the Bonny and other places to see what was going on.

244. Assuming that the slave trade has continued, even if it have not increased in other parts, do you attribute such continuance or such increase to a neglect of that provision in your memorandum, which requires a daily and almost hourly watching at some given points?—I am absolutely satisfied, that had that part of my memorandum been carried out to its full extent (and the whole thing turned upon it), the slave trade could never have continued, and still less have increased.

245. A reference has been made to a memorandum drawn up by yourself, about the end of the year 1844, and addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; that memorandum has been laid upon the table of The House in the Report of another Committee; have you a copy thereof, and will you lay it before us?—I have.

[*The Witness delivered in the following Papers:*]

My Lord,

United Service Club, 22 February.

The memorandum which fell into your Lordship's hands, when I was examined before the Sugar Committee, was not brought down by me with the intention of being produced in the course of my evidence.

I had been asked for it in a totally different quarter, where I intended to call and leave it after I left the Committee.

As, however, it has been printed by the Committee, it is necessary that I should point out to your Lordship a material point in which it differs from that which was laid before Lord Aberdeen, and which was the foundation of the system which has been called that of blockade.

In the memorandum to Lord Aberdeen, the force I recommended as adequate was 24 sail, inclusive of six steamers, which on more mature consideration I was of opinion would be sufficient to carry into effect the plan I proposed. Your Lordship will observe, the copy in the hands of the Committee states, "six steamers and 24 sailing vessels." In other respects the memorandum, though not an exact copy, to the best of my belief, is substantially the same as that adopted by Her Majesty's late Government.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Jos. Denman.*

The Right Honourable Lord George Bentinck.

MEMORANDUM on the Suppression of the SLAVE TRADE.

To effect the suppression of the slave trade it is indispensable 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. Uniform system necessary to success.

Every effort should be directed to prevent the embarkation of slaves; after slaves are embarked the motives for the prosecution of the traffic continue unchecked, for the African slave merchant is indifferent as to the fate of the negroes for whom he has got his price, and when a vessel has once got clear of the land, the chances must ever be greatly in favour of the success of the voyage; but even if five such vessels out of six were captured, the enormous profits of the successful vessel would more than cover the losses incurred by slave dealers by the capture of the other five. All desultory efforts therefore against such a traffic must be of necessity ineffectual, especially as the guilty parties, in the great majority of instances, are subject to no punishment beyond the forfeiture of the property embarked.

Even however supposing for a moment that these reasons did not show the inutility of the employment of a force on the west shore of the Atlantic for the suppression of the slave trade, the impossibility of examining more than a very small proportion of the vast number of vessels met with in those quarters, the great inconvenience to foreign trade, which nevertheless would be caused by the number of vessels searched, to say nothing of the invidious character of such a system of surveillance on the coasts of civilized states, would alone be sufficient ground for preferring Africa as the scene of operations.

But the absolute inefficacy of the desultory cruising of a few ships on coasts like those of Brazil or Cuba, several thousand miles in extent, on every point of which the slave dealer is regarded as a benefactor, and where the authorities vie with the inhabitants in aiding and abetting his crimes, is sufficiently obvious.

On the African coast the case is very different; the haunts of the slave trade are well known, and the limits of the range of coast available for the removal of slaves from each slave depôt for the purpose of being embarked in security, are generally clearly defined by the neighbourhood of hostile tribes, European settlements, or natural obstacles.

For these reasons the squadrons on the coast of Brazil and Cuba can never be of essential service in suppressing the slave trade, even though they were increased tenfold.

Every vessel employed in the suppression of the slave trade should be stationed on the coast of Africa, and the very idea of assailing the traffic on the western shores of the Atlantic ought to be at once abandoned.

For this object a single cruiser on the coast of Africa would be of more service than the whole of the West India and Brazilian squadrons, and yet near one half of the force nominally employed in putting down the slave trade is at present stationed in these quarters.

Squadrons off Cuba and Brazil totally ineffective for the suppression of the slave trade.

All the force employed in suppressing the slave trade should be stationed on the coast of Africa.

The force used in suppressing the slave trade stated in Parliamentary Returns to amount to 58 vessels.

Force required to suppress the slave trade on the western coast of Africa.

The following observations apply to the slave trade carried on from the western coast of Africa, and the measures recommended, if fully carried into operation, would, it is confidently believed, in a very short time reduce the traffic to an amount comparatively insignificant, and effect its complete suppression at no remote period.

The force employed on this service should consist of not less than six small steam-vessels and 24 sail of the fastest sailing cruisers, rendered more efficient for the climate by increased sails, and furnished with boats adapted for the service.

With regard to expense, it may be remarked that no expenditure can be so extravagant as that which, for the want of a trifling increase, promises to last for ever without fulfilling its object, when, by an additional effort, the object may be obtained, and the expense, after a comparatively short interval, rendered no longer necessary. But there is strong reason to believe that the force employed in this service, now scattered over the world, would be more than sufficient, if concentrated in the only quarter where its services can be effectual; and unless all feeble and desultory efforts in remote quarters, futile attempts which can only aggravate the horrors of the traffic without materially diminishing its amount, are abandoned, and it is resolved to grapple with the slave trade on the coast of Africa, the attempt at suppression had better be at once and for ever given up.

The following are the objects to which the efforts of the squadron on the coast of Africa should be directed:—

First. To keep the slave depôts unremittingly secured from the access or escape of slave vessels.

Secondly. The negotiation of treaties with the native chiefs for the abolition of the slave trade.

Thirdly. The breaking of slave factories, whether by virtue of treaty or under other circumstances rendering their destruction justifiable.

These may be termed the direct means by which the slave trade may be put down; other means, which may be described as indirect, will be hereafter referred to.

Division of the coast.

Before, however, entering more into detail with respect to these proceedings, it may be useful to observe that the west coast of Africa is so greatly extended, the inhabitants of such different characters and institutions, and even the climate in different parts so various, that it is highly important that on every district of the coast, 500 or 600 miles in extent, there should be a divisional senior officer readily to be referred to on all occasions, and who should be authorized to act as opportunity offered and circumstances might warrant in opening negotiations, in carrying into effect treaties already concluded, and in suppressing the slave trade by such other means as might present themselves, in accordance with the general principles laid down by Her Majesty's Government.

It should be the constant duty of these officers to regulate the movements and arrange for the supplies of the section of the squadron committed to their charge respectively by the senior officer in command, to whom they would be immediately responsible for the due execution of the service entrusted to them.

The senior officer in command on the west coast of Africa should be in a steam-vessel, or permitted to use those under his orders, for the purpose of enabling him to move rapidly from point to point, and thus to exercise a practical control and superintendence over the execution of the service in all quarters within the limits of his command.

Depôts of provisions and coals should be established at Cape Coast or Accra, and at Fernando Po, or at one of the islands in the Bight of Biafra; as the success of the measures proposed altogether depend on the power of sustaining the system of prevention unremittingly, the convenience of obtaining supplies is obviously of great importance.

Watching slave depôts.

The parts of the coast from whence the slave trade is prosecuted are well known, and the force proposed would be sufficient to occupy at the same time all those from whence the traffic is carried on to any considerable extent.

It is not sufficient to stop up the mouth of a river, or to watch a particular port; the whole coast must be occupied wherever slaves can be moved from the depôt, to meet the slave ship and evade the cruisers; the limits of such districts, as has been already stated, may generally be clearly ascertained.

The system to be pursued is that of blockade, close, vigilant, and unremitting; but this, of course, can only be applied to vessels which Her Majesty's ships possess special power to intercept, by virtue of treaty or otherwise.

On the other hand, it may be assumed in practice, that all vessels actually carrying slaves for traffic, or equipped for that purpose, may be intercepted by Her Majesty's ships; as whatever the ostensible character of such vessels, no instance has been known for several years of one not proving really to belong to Spain, Portugal, or Brazil, the only nations to whose territories cargoes of slaves can be directed, and all parties to treaties which every one of Her Majesty's ships on the coast of Africa is authorized to carry into effect.

Already adopted by me on the coast between Cape Verde and Cape Palmas. On my station I provided against this evil by timely reliefs and supplies; the result was signal success at Gallinas and New Cestos.

With the pressure of this system the activity and energies of the slave trader increase; and so perfect are the arrangements in parts where it has been already partially adopted, that a single hour from the arrival of the slave vessels suffices to embark a cargo of slaves, and to commence the return voyage.

But where the system has hitherto been pursued there has been no organized plan of furnishing Her Majesty's ships with supplies, and after three months' effectual service the cruiser was always compelled to abandon her station for supplies of wood, water, and provisions, generally involving an absence of at least three weeks. During even a single day of that period the slave dealers might possibly ship as many slaves as would cover the losses of a whole year. They, moreover, could always pretty accurately calculate the periods at which supplies would be required.

It requires close observation, assisted by local experience, to perform these duties effectively and to baffle the various shifts which the slave dealers resort to. An intimate knowledge of the winds and currents, which differ greatly in different parts, as well as the creeks, rivers, &c., is indispensable, and it is therefore very desirable that cruisers should not be removed to distant parts without urgent necessity, especially as, during passages, their services are entirely thrown away.

The capture of slave vessels is entirely secondary to the great object of preventing the embarkation of slaves; cruisers should therefore never leave open a slave port, even for an hour, for the purpose of chasing vessels. Not only in such cases have many cargoes been embarked by other slave vessels arriving during the absence of the cruiser, but not unfrequently the very vessel chased has doubled her pursuer in the night, and, returning to the depôt, carried off her slaves in security.

The steamers should be employed in keeping the squadron supplied with provisions, or in relieving the cruisers for the purpose, so that the several stations may be unremittingly maintained.

It may be said that the slave trade will only be driven elsewhere, but the fact is that its course cannot be changed without great expense and discouragement, and long before anything like a compensating trade could be established elsewhere the first would be altogether put down, and the cruisers disposable to crush the new attempt in the bud.

There will be cases in which vessels destined ultimately to carry slaves will arrive at the slave depôt without equipment subjecting them to capture, and it may in some instances, especially in rivers, not be possible to seize them between the period of their receiving their equipments on board and embarking their cargoes of slaves. In any event, however, the capture of such vessels may be reduced to a certainty on their attempt to escape with slaves. In the Bonny River, once the most successful haunt of slave trade, experience has shown that the zealous efforts of active and vigilant officers must annihilate the traffic, even under such circumstances.

This system, wherever vigorously carried out, would be undoubtedly sufficient to put an end to the slave trade, though perhaps not to eradicate it; but this result might be greatly accelerated, and completely effected, by obtaining the co-operation of the native chiefs.

Many opportunities will probably occur, during the operations recommended, of convincing the native chiefs of the desire of Great Britain for their welfare and improvement, and no occasion should be lost of conciliating them and obtaining their confidence.

Should the character of the place be such as to make it desirable to enter into negotiations, it should be signified to the chiefs, at the commencement of the operations, that they can never more carry on the slave trade; that on concluding a treaty containing certain conditions for the abolition of that traffic, the Queen of England will grant them a valuable present. This notification may be left to work upon them while the lesson of the impossibility of prosecuting that traffic is in operation.

It will be generally found that a very few months will render the native chiefs eager to negotiate. In some cases the natives may be doubtful. The utility, however, of treaties must be unquestionable, provided they contain a clause to the effect that Her Majesty's forces shall be empowered to put down slave trade by force, if it be resumed contrary to their stipulations.

In all cases the presents should be delivered at the time the treaty is signed. Immediately afterwards, it will be necessary to claim the liberation of the slaves held for exportation, and the destruction of all the buildings and implements exclusively used, or adapted for use, as implements of slave trade, demands that must, if necessary, be enforced. With respect to the other stipulations, a reasonable time must be given for their fulfilment.

After the conclusion of a treaty one cruiser must be left to watch over the conduct of the chiefs, and to report all the circumstances that may occur to the divisional senior officer.

Great discretion will be required in carrying the treaties into effect, and it will be proper to abstain from excessive rigour in enforcing any stipulations that may have been disregarded short of the establishment of, or continuance in slave trade, in regard to which the powers of the treaty should be carried out to their full extent, taking the utmost care to inflict not the slightest injury to the legitimate trade, if any should exist.

It seems also that where slave dealers have been guilty of any insult or injury to the British flag, Her Majesty's forces will be justified in rooting them out through the medium of the sovereign authorities of the country in which they are located, and who must of course be responsible for such outrages committed in their territories.

The common practice of making slaves of the people of Sierra Leone affords frequent opportunities of this description; in such cases it is the bounden duty of all British authorities to rescue them, and to enforce the abolition of the slave trade, of which they have been victims, as the only effectual means of preventing the recurrence of such an outrage, and of obtaining adequate satisfaction for the monstrous wrong committed against Great Britain.

These measures, however effectual at the time in putting down slave trade, would be nevertheless of little avail, were it not for those influences which operate by civilizing the people of Africa, to which we must trust for the ultimate extirpation of the traffic, and which already afford essential aid to the more direct efforts. The first advance in civilization commences with the decrease of the slave trade; as invariably springing up to supply its place begins the cultivation of the soil, and the slow but certain growth of industrious habits. Hand in hand with legitimate commerce, which commences only with

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the export of produce, come the labours of the missionary; and, lastly, we may look to the Africans of Sierra Leone, emancipated by us from bondage, as likely to afford most important assistance.

These people, liberated by Her Majesty's ships from slave vessels, amount to near 40,000, and they are generally imbued with a deep sense of the inestimable benefits they have received from Great Britain. One very remarkable feature is the strong desire and hope they universally entertain of returning to their native land, and by them might be disseminated intelligence and information; and in the communication with the interior which may be opened by their means, the effects of the confidence they would inspire in the purity and beneficence of the views of Great Britain, it would be probably difficult to over-estimate.

It is impossible to conceive anything more calculated to make a deep and enduring impression in softening and elevating the minds and habits of a barbarous people than the testimony which every liberated African must convey to his fellow-countrymen.

For the several objects of extending legitimate commerce, of opening opportunities to the missionary, and of affording protection and assistance to the liberated Africans returning to their own countries, it would be of the greatest service to establish a few posts at different parts of the coast, which might be supported at a trifling expense without a single white person being required, and placed under the superintendence and control of the senior officer or the governor of the nearest colony.

The points most favourable for such establishments between the Gambia and the Congo appeared to be Bulama, an island of very great commercial importance, to which settlers from the Gambia and Sierra Leone would resort in great numbers. Cape Mount, Dix's Cove, Whydah, or Badagry, and one of the Amboises, if possible, Fernando Po, or one of the larger islands in the Bight of Biafra, should be obtained, which would however require a larger establishment.

But the measures which may indirectly assist the suppression of the slave trade involve so many considerations, that it would be out of place to enter into the subject more at large. Every step warranted by the law of nations that tends to contrast the safe and certain advantages of lawful commerce with the precarious existence and destructive consequences of slave trade, cannot fail to produce beneficial consequences. On the other hand, even while adopting strong measures for the suppression of the latter, the operations must be conducted with humanity, and every means taken of convincing the natives of the entire justice of the proceedings; and that the motives by which Great Britain is actuated in her efforts to suppress the slave trade are, the improvement, welfare, and happiness of the people of Africa."

246. Mr. Gladstone.] Do not you think that, as by stationing cruisers at several ports on the coast where the slave trade is now established, you destroyed that trade in those ports one after another, there would be a progressive multiplication of them in other parts of the coast, as the stimulus of gain acted upon the minds of men, and as they found themselves precluded from giving effect to it in the old channels?—The memorandum which has just been put in would explain the further measure growing out of the first, which I recommend, and that is the destruction and uprooting of the slave factories.

247. If places of embarkation should be found in other parts of the coast, where the trade could be carried on, and new factories established, you would then pursue the same plan and establish steamers afresh?—Precisely; I believe that the measures which I have referred to would make the slave trade a losing concern, and far from wishing to establish other factories, they would, as in the year 1842, abandon their factories in despair. In the year 1842, after the Government's approval of the destruction of the Gallinas slave factories had been known, and after it had been followed up by the destruction of the Cabenda slave factories, in many parts of Africa the factors had actually abandoned their slave trade, and had given up the whole thing in despair, when unfortunately the opinion of the Queen's Advocate, quoted in Lord Aberdeen's letter, which was published in the Evidence before the Committee on the West Coast of Africa, in 1842, became public; they re-established their factories and began the slave trade again. Officers will before this Committee state those facts. Captain Butterfield himself can state the fact from having met the people.

248. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You consider that the first great object, irrespective of the measures suggested in your memorandum, would be the universal declaration that the slave trade is piracy?—Precisely.

249. Your second object would be to watch the coast in respect to every port where you had reason to believe that slaves might be embarked?—I should like to put it into another form. Instead of letting the slave trade be carried on, instead of letting slaves be put on board ships, and then taking the chance of picking them up again, like taking the cork out of a bottle, and then running about the room to pick up the liquid again, I would put the cork in the bottle and keep the liquid

liquid there: I mean I would prevent the embarking of slaves. Thus you stop the slave trade from the interior of Africa, which flows down to answer the demand, and so you stop that which you can by no other means, in my opinion, assail at all. If you cruise upon the west shores of the Atlantic, that is to say, upon the coast of America, my opinion is, that you can make no impression whatever upon the slave trade.

250. In reference to your answer with respect to piracy, would you wish the Committee to understand it as your opinion that there should be some corporal penalty attaching to the individual who might be found engaged in such piracy?—That is my opinion. And with reference to the statement which has been made, or questions which have tended to show that the slave trade has not been regarded by this country fully as piracy, because the punishment of death has not attached to it; upon that subject I should wish to observe that piracy upon the high seas is no longer punishable with death by our law, unless it is accompanied with violence to life; therefore there is no power in that argument, I think.

251. Would you recommend to the Committee, as one of the measures which you think essential or desirable, that there should be a universal right of search with respect to vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade?—I believe that it is essentially necessary; but I believe that at the present moment practically it exists. Speaking as a practical man, and having served on the coast, I think that practically we have that right of search to the extent which is desirable.

252. Would you suggest also to the Committee, as another essential point in the treatment of the slave trade, that there should be negotiations with native powers, authorizing the Queen's naval forces to break up any barracoons or other depôts of slaves which may be found upon the coast of Africa?—That forms a prominent subject in the memorandum which has been laid before the Committee.

253. And the introduction of commerce you would regard as subsidiary, but following in the course of nature the other remedies?—Precisely, and as the most powerful ally of the country in putting an end to the slave trade.

254. But not only as in itself not all-sufficient, but not even as the first measure to be taken?—Not only not all-sufficient, but totally incapable of competing against the slave trade, taking the nature and habits of the African chiefs, unless the slave trade is put down by the strong arm.

255. Mr. *Simeon*.] Do you believe that the punishment attached to piracy by the existing law would be sufficient to counteract the inducement offered to the slave trade?—Amplly sufficient.

256. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] What has, generally speaking, been the character of the crews of the slavers?—They are the greatest scoundrels on the face of the earth. They are accustomed, in their daily course of life, to commit murder, and to regard human life as of no more consequence than the lives of pigs or dogs.

257. Generally speaking, are they that class of men who might become pirates or might be guilty of any atrocity?—I think it answers itself. When men are in the habit of treating human beings in the way that they do treat them, and when also they are already violating the laws of their own country, which must be the case in every slave voyage, then piracy, in its general sense, is an easy step, the only check is the fear of punishment.

258. Mr. *Jackson*.] Do you know of your own knowledge that any of those men have been pirates, or have become pirates, after being engaged in this trade?—I know that previously to 1817, previously to the employment of a considerable force in the effort to suppress the slave trade, the coast swarmed with pirates.

259. From your own experience?—No.

260. Is it not the practice when you capture a slaver to put the men on shore immediately?—I will state what my practice was: my practice was to land the crew of a slaver at or in the neighbourhood of a slave factory, so that they could easily reach it.

261. How, then, is it possible for you to form an opinion, being in possession of those men for a few hours or a few days, of what their private character is?—I can judge of them by their acts, as the crew of slave ships.

262. Without reference to that, from your practical knowledge on the coast, and your own personal observation, what have you seen to induce you to draw the conclusion that those men would commit murder if they had the opportunity?

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—I can

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—I can quote one instance, which I think shows their character. In the correspondence laid before Parliament, with reference to the slave trade——

263. I wish to confine you to your own practical knowledge?—If you confine me to my own practical knowledge, I can speak of cases of resistance made to boats that were lawfully employed in the detention of slavers, and lives lost.

264. That is in self-defence?—Yes, as would be the resistance of a pickpocket when apprehended lawfully.

Jovis, 23^o die Martii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Bingham Baring.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Gladstone.
Lord John Hay.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.

Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

The Honourable Captain *Joseph Denman*, R. N., further Examined.

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265. *Chairman.*] YOU stated that the plan for suppressing the slave trade, of which you had handed a memorandum to Lord Aberdeen, and which had generally received the sanction of the Government, had not been thoroughly carried out?—Yes, I stated that it had never been carried out.

266. Will you explain to the Committee in what respect it has not been carried out?—I think in the former answer I stated the particular point in which it had not been carried out. It is, that it has not been explained to officers, and laid down in a manner that was essentially necessary, that the great object was not the capture of slave ships; that the capture of slave ships was entirely secondary to the great object of the *prevention* of the embarkation of slaves.

267. Is the Committee to understand that the plan which has been practically adopted has rather tended towards the capture of the ships than the prevention of the embarkation of the slaves?—Exactly so. An essential part of the principle which I laid down was, that there should be a perennial watch upon the slave factories, a constant unceasing watch, so as to prevent the access of equipped vessels to those depôts; if vessels came without equipments, to keep that constant watch upon them that they could not be equipped without being instantly seized; and still less that any vessel could come and ship a cargo of slaves and carry them away. The view which I had was to *prevent* the slave trade upon the coast of Africa.

268. It has been stated, no doubt very unfairly, by the authorities of another State, that the British officers on the station do abstain from preventing the embarkation of the slaves, with the view of obtaining prize-money for the capture of vessels after the slaves are on board; do you imagine that that reproach is at all justified by fact?—I should wish to enter rather at large upon that subject. I believe that the charge is totally without foundation; but at the same time I believe that the absurd state of the bounties, with reference to the plan that I recommended, lays officers open to this imputation. In the first place it is to be observed, that the object which I proposed, as I said before, was to prevent the embarkation of slaves. Now the bounties reward the capture of a vessel, equipped and without slaves on board, by a certain bounty upon her tonnage; they reward the capture of a vessel taken with slaves on board, by so much per head upon the slaves that are found in her. The reward for a vessel full of slaves is five times as great as that for the same vessel, when empty; so that the consequence is, that if an officer should have neglected his duty, and allowed a vessel to ship her slaves, and afterwards should capture her, the bounty would be five times as great as if he had captured her before. Now that state of the bounties is
totally

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totally opposed to the view which is the main principle of my memorandum ; and that, no doubt, is one element tending to mislead officers, because, when an officer sees a very high reward offered for one thing, and a much lower reward offered for another thing, it is natural (the principles on which he is to act not being clearly and fully explained to him) for him to suppose that the Government wish him to do that thing which they reward most highly.

269. Could the prevention of the embarkation of slaves be effected without considerable exposure in boats?—I believe it might be.

270. What alteration would you suggest in the practical operation of the squadron?—At the present moment, under the idea of its being more healthy, the squadron has been removed to a distance from the coast; instead of lying at the slave factories, and keeping a constant watch upon those slave factories, to prevent the equipment of ships if they came out unequipped, to prevent the voyage of the slaver to the place where he is to get his human cargo, the cruizers are now removed to a distance from the coast; therefore vessels lying in shore without equipments can find many opportunities to equip at their leisure, and the consequence is that the slave trade has sprung up to a considerable extent.

271. When you speak of a distance from the coast, what distance do you refer to?—I am speaking of about 10 miles; a distance which renders it perfectly impossible for the captain of a man-of-war to know what is going on in shore.

272. The vessels, I suppose, are now cruising?—They are cruising.

273. You would like anchored vessels?—I would not limit them to anchor; what I say is, that you must keep such a constant surveillance over every slave factory that no slaves can be shipped from it. If you can capture vessels without leaving the ports open for the shipment of slaves, well and good; do it and you do your duty; but it is not your duty to capture vessels, if in the course of their capture you leave the slave depôt open for others to embark slaves from.

274. Would not the plan which you propose necessarily require a great many more vessels to be employed?—The number which I stated in my memorandum to Lord Aberdeen was 24; I limited it then to the lowest possible amount, and I made that statement with reference to the existing state of the slave trade and the existing state of the sugar duties. I beg to observe upon the subject, that when the French and English Commission sat with reference to the new treaty with France, at that time a great many naval officers were brought together to give evidence upon the subject; they all entirely concurred in my views; the only difference was, that they recommended that 30 sail of vessels should be employed instead of the number that I recommended.

275. By both nations?—No, by England; they did not give any opinion as to the French; they only stated upon general grounds what the number of British vessels would be that were necessary to carry out the principles which I had laid down.

276. When you speak of the number of vessels composing the squadron, do you speak with reference only to the west coast of Africa?—Only to the west coast of Africa. My recommendation naming 24 vessels as a sufficient number, was made almost immediately after a statement had been laid before the House of Commons of the number of cruizers then employed in the suppression of the slave trade; and the number in that statement was 58, so that my more efficient plan was also with a very great reduction of force.

277. Were 58 vessels employed upon the west coast of Africa?—No; in the suppression of the slave trade in different parts of the world.

278. That comprised, I presume, not only the vessels actually employed in the suppression of the slave trade, but every vessel which carried a licence to visit?—I do not know; they were all nominally employed, and returned as being employed in this service.

279. When you speak of 24 vessels, do you imagine that they would be sufficient to suppress the slave trade in all parts of the coast of Africa, including the eastern coast?—No, not including the eastern coast. That 24 was in reference to the then state of things, and referred only to the western coast; some increase may be necessary under present circumstances, since the impetus which has been given to the slave trade by the Act of 1846 for the equalization of the sugar duties.

280. Have you any further observations to offer to the Committee on the subject

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ject of the plan of which you have furnished us with a memorandum?—I should wish to observe that the plan was first carried into effect at the time when Commodore Jones was in command of the squadron.

281. In what year was that?—The very latter end of 1844. I suppose it hardly came into force fully until 1845. Commodore Jones entrusted the suppression of the slave trade, in the south part of the coast, to the Portuguese squadron, which was one cause of the increase of the slave trade.

282. And the Portuguese squadron was employed to watch the Portuguese possessions?—Yes; the British vessels were removed.

283. You stated, when you were examined on Tuesday last, that it would be an important auxiliary to the suppression of the slave trade, if the maritime nations of the world were to treat the traffickers as pirates?—Exactly.

284. Do you mean for each nation to treat its own subjects as pirates?—No.

285. For all nations to treat those concerned in the slave trade as pirates; as common enemies of human society?—I mean it to be treated as piracy by the law of nations, by the agreement of the great maritime powers.

286. Do you imagine that such a universal confederacy as that is at all likely to be carried into effect?—I do not think that a universal confederacy would be necessary; I think it would only be necessary for France, England, and America to agree, all three nations being now interested also in the suppression of the slave trade.

287. You think that that is essential?—For the ultimate extinction of the traffic, I do.

288. Do you think that the government of the United States would ever consent to such a stipulation as that?—I have the very strongest reason for supposing that they would; for I know that the United States government, when Mr. Canning was in office, made the very proposition to England which I now mention, that England and the United States should agree to declare slave trade piracy by the law of nations, and that Mr. Canning would not enter into that view, because at that time a great many nations continued to carry on the slave trade legally by their own laws, and the feeling was that one or two States could not suddenly turn round upon the others, still legalizing it, to declare it piracy. But at the present moment the universal Christian world by their municipal laws, that is to say, all the maritime powers of Europe, all nations that have any trade at all, one and all by their municipal laws declare the slave trade to be a crime; therefore every slaver upon the face of the seas is violating the laws of her own country.

289. I believe the only nations that really have declared the slave trade to be piracy are Great Britain and the United States?—I believe that that is the case.

290. And that piracy as between the government and its own subjects?—Exactly.

291. The policy of the government of the United States is of course very variable, and it is not to be necessarily inferred that because the government of the United States agreed to make such an arrangement in Mr. Canning's time, they would consent to anything of the kind now?—It does not follow, certainly.

292. The plan to which you refer necessarily comprises the right of search?—It makes no alteration whatever in that respect; the same rules that would apply now to the suspicion of piracy, would then apply to the suspicion of the slave trade.

293. As you consider slave trading piracy, that fact would give you authority to search an American vessel, under the American flag, which you suspected of slave trade?—Your authority would depend upon the proofs. If, for instance, at the present moment you searched an American vessel under the suspicion that she was a pirate, and she proved to be no pirate, you would be responsible; you might have to make an explanation to the Government; there would be no difference in that respect; but upon this subject, it seems to me that the objection has been the extent of the slave trade, which other nations have supposed would enable England, under the pretence of suspecting vessels to be slavers, to search every vessel upon the high seas; and therefore in my former evidence I stated that I thought that, preliminary to this declaration of piracy, it would be necessary to cut down the slave trade to a small amount; and such, I said, would be the certain consequence of carrying into force the principles laid down in my memorandum.

294. Have

294. Have not the government of the United States several times made most positive declarations that they never would agree to the right of search?—That they never would consent to give to England the exceptional right of search of American ships; but at the present moment, on suspicion of piracy, we should search the American flag, and an American vessel would search the English flag.

295. The government of the United States would never allow the officers of the British navy to search a ship under American colours, on suspicion of her being engaged in the slave trade?—I believe that if the slave trade were cut down to a very low ebb, or abolished altogether, America would have no apprehension then which would make her refuse to concur in making slave trade piracy.

296. I am not speaking of what might be, but of what is?—At the present moment we practically do visit American ships; it is a principle in which France and England have both agreed, that you have a right to go on board any vessel whose nationality you doubt, and to see that the flag she carries is verified by the papers she carries; that she is what she pretends to be, in fact. What I have just stated was a subject of dispute between Great Britain and the United States, and Great Britain then stood alone in the declaration of that right. But in the French treaty that was entered into in 1845, between the Duke de Broglie and Dr. Lushington on the part of their respective Governments, the principle is laid down by the two nations that such is the proper course of proceeding upon the high seas; that you have a right to verify the flag by the papers, if you suspect the vessel not to be what she pretends to be.

297. Do you think it probable that the government of Brazil would ever agree to such an arrangement as that which you consider essential to the extinction of the slave trade?—I think not; but I think we already have all the power which we want there, if we choose to put it into execution. In the convention with Brazil, she pledges herself to England that the slave trade by Brazilian subjects shall be deemed and treated as piracy three years from the date of its ratification; and it is only to be deplored that the Act of Parliament which superseded that treaty did not put in a clause to that effect; that as we took the right to seize and confiscate Brazilian ships, we did not at the same time take to ourselves the right of punishing Brazilian subjects according to that convention.

298. You have said that slave trading is in itself piracy; what do you understand by piracy?—One definition of piracy, and a sound one, is, any act of force committed upon the high seas by an unauthorized vessel, not strictly required for self defence. A slave vessel arrives upon the coast of Africa, incapable of carrying a legitimate cargo, and without any means of procuring a legitimate cargo; she is powerfully armed, and manned by a crew treble the number carried by a lawful trader; she receives 300 or 400 human beings on board in chains, and keeps them chained in her hold during the voyage to the Havannah. The abandonment by the whole world of the slave trade, now leaves the slave trade as if it were beginning altogether in the history of the world: and you may put the case of a Spanish vessel carrying off 300 Frenchmen, chained in her hold, across to the Havannah to labour; that would be, in my opinion, entirely the same; and if we banish from our minds our prejudices as regards a black skin, we shall, I think, say that one is as much an act of piracy as the other; and that in the event of a Spanish vessel in time of peace carrying over 300 Frenchmen chained in her hold, any man-of-war, or any human being, has a right to intercept and liberate those people if he can.

299. The act would be committed ashore, would it not, or close in shore?—The question of piracy of course would not apply to the shore, though we should be justified in putting down those depôts which have no object but to prepare and foster the crime; upon the high seas the law of nations prevails, and upon all the principles upon which the law of nations is founded, slave trade is piracy, although the world for a long time chose to commit the crime by common consent.

300. The nations of the world do not appear to have adopted that interpretation of piracy?—They have certainly not as yet applied it to the slave trade, but it appears to me that the principles are so clear, and that the interests of so many nations now concur, that we may hope and expect shortly to see the slave trade declared piracy by the law of nations.

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301. You stated the other day, that in Africa when one avenue to the slave trade was closed, it was not very easy to open another?—Not very easy; it is a matter of time to open a compensating trade to any considerable extent.

302. Have not the avenues been constantly closed?—My experience would say the contrary. I hardly know any place that was not a slave-trading place in the year 1834, when I first knew the coast, that is a slave-trading place now.

303. Perhaps there has not been any inducement to change it?—There were the strongest inducements in many cases; for instance, the slave trade at the Bonny was put an end to, and there was no compensating trade that sprang up anywhere else. After the destruction of the Gallinas they tried to restore the slave trade there, but they did not go anywhere else; there was no new factory established.

304. You stated that the slave trade had not diminished within the last seven years, consequently a compensating trade must have sprung up somewhere?—No, I do not think that that was my statement; my statement is, that there have been two or three fluctuations in the slave trade during seven years; in the year 1847 I believe the slave trade was larger than in the year 1841, when it was reduced to a very small amount.

305. Then a compensation must have been found in regard to those two years in some way?—Yes; but I do not believe that it was a compensation which arose from new factories being established, but, as I said before, from the principles recommended in my memorandum not having been carried into effect with regard to those slave factories that already existed. Comparing the present amount of slave trade with the year 1839, I believe its extent now is under one-third of what it was then.

306. In what would the difficulty consist of opening a new channel for the exportation of slaves from Africa?—The discouragement that the destruction of the commerce from former places would produce: the slave trader would say, If I could not carry on my slave trade from this place which I selected as the best upon the coast for my purposes, I am not likely to succeed any better if I go to some other place which is less adapted to the purpose.

307. The reason why he would not succeed would be, that our cruizers would be off the coast?—And from the factories being burnt down; that is an essential part of my principles, that you should blockade for a certain time, and then seize every opportunity to destroy the factories. Suppose our boats were insulted, suppose any injury done to a British subject, I would go to the king of the country, and say, I demand redress for these insults, and the redress which I demand is one that is for your ultimate advantage, as well as the good of humanity, the abolition of the slave trade. I would insist upon it, and root it out.

308. You have no fear that if all the ordinary channels of conducting the slave trade upon the coast of Africa were thus closed, the slaves would be exported from Africa by channels which are now utterly unknown?—I am perfectly satisfied that they cannot be utterly unknown.

309. Which are now utterly unknown?—We know every part of the coast perfectly well; we should be able to crush every attempt; because, when the slave trade was extinguished in one place, we should have several cruizers disposable to look after others.

310. You think, in fact, that you could effectually counteract the contrivances of human ingenuity, stimulated by human cupidity?—I am perfectly certain of it.

311. And you think you could so effectually stop the slave trade in a few years that no demand for slaves in Africa would afterwards revive it?—I believe so. Upon that subject, I should wish to make a statement with respect to the rivers between Cape Formosa and the River Cameroons, which was once the favourite stronghold of the slave trade; it is in the Bight of Biafra; it includes the River Bonny. With respect to that district, I have been told, upon authority in which I place the utmost confidence, that at the present moment it would be utterly impossible to revive the slave trade, because the chiefs there have learnt that it is much more profitable to employ their people than to sell them.

312. Do you think that the inducements which would of course be held out by the slave traders, would not lead those chiefs to depart from their present practice?—I am perfectly satisfied that they would not; and for the very obvious reason, that the price of a slave upon the coast of Africa is only four or five dollars, and that his labour when there is a demand for produce, and when they have got into a habit of labour, which they will do whenever the slave trade is stopped,

stopped, is the best possible guarantee against their selling their people afterwards.

313. Even if the price offered by the slave trader were very much increased?—The slave trade can only now exist by the enormous disparity between the cost price and the market price.

314. The slaves brought to the coast, I suppose, are sent from the interior of Africa?—Certainly.

315. The slave trade is fed from the interior?—Almost entirely. The worst part of the slave trade is that which takes place before the slaves reach the coast.

316. Then the chieftain on the coast would not have that interest in preventing the exportation of slaves sent from the interior, that he would have in regard to his own subjects; those who owed fealty to him?—The slave trade could only be carried on through the interest of the chief upon the coast; if he thought it would be his interest to carry on the slave trade, he would carry it on; but the chiefs in the interior could not carry on the slave trade themselves; the slaves must pass through different hands, and the chief upon the coast must be the principal slave dealer.

317. But with respect to the numbers introduced from the interior, the chieftain upon the coast would not have much inducement to detain them?—No; but if he found all his wants supplied by his palm-oil and his produce, he would not trouble himself with the slave trade; he would abandon it; and at the same time, the commerce in the rivers, the large number of vessels coming for palm-oil, and so on, would be a great obstruction to it.

318. On what points of the western coast is the slave trade now chiefly carried on?—The slave trade is said to be carried on very actively in the Bight of Benin, and also to the southward, in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese colonies.

319. Loando and Congo?—Loando and Congo, and, I believe, Cabenda and Ambriz.

320. Is the slave trade carried on to the north of any of those points?—Slave factories have been re-established at the Gallinas, but a watch has been kept up and no slaves have been exported. There is one point where the slave trade has been established where it has not been known for a long time, at a place called Trade Town.

321. Where is that?—It lies between Cape Palmas and Liberia.

322. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Part of the Kroo coast?—Yes; it is not a Kroo place, but it is upon the Kroo coast. With reference to that fact, I beg to state that I saw a letter from the captain of a vessel that was trading there with palm-oil. His statement was, that the slave trade had broken out, and that the consequence was that his factory was utterly abandoned; that he could not get natives to come near him, and that his voyage would be prolonged, he could not say for how many months, in consequence of the slave trade having taken away all his custom.

323. *Chairman*.] Where was that?—At Trade Town.

324. *Mr. Jackson*.] What is the date of that?—In October last.

325. A London ship?—A London ship.

326. *Chairman*.] Is the slave trade carried on at all in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone?—It is carried on in a river of which the colony of Sierra Leone forms one bank. That is an instance of the absence of that resolute determination to put an end to the slave trade, on the part of this country, which accounts for its present existence.

327. Is that on the Sherboro river?—On the Sherboro river. A vessel escaped with 400 slaves not long ago; she must have passed through British waters.

328. Is it carried on to any extent on the Sherboro river?—It is not carried on to a large extent; but still there is a slave trade, and there are vessels occasionally carrying off cargoes.

329. You have said that the sufferings of the negro in the middle passage you consider to be more intense, though of shorter duration, than in years when the slave trade was not suppressed by the British Government?—I stated that they were greater, but of shorter duration.

330. I would call your attention for a moment to the statement of Sir Fowell Buxton upon that subject. He paid very great attention to the subject; he has furnished facts in support of his opinions, and his view of that matter is certainly at variance with the view which was taken by the Noble Lord who preceded you, and I think not quite in coincidence with yours. Sir Fowell

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Buxton says, "It might have been expected that since the end of the last century some improvement should have taken place with respect to the cruelties in the middle passage; but it is not so. The treatment of slaves by the British, subsequent to the Slave Regulation Act and down to 1808, was mildness itself when compared with the miseries consequent on the trade, and the system which has been pursued in the vain attempt to put it down, since that period to the present time." Do you concur in that opinion?—No, I do not at all. First of all, Sir Fowell Buxton speaks of the British slave trade when it was regulated. Now we all know that the Brazilian and Spanish slave trade cannot be regulated, because the law is so weak in those countries that all regulations would be mere waste paper. Therefore to compare the sufferings of the present slave trade with any former period, we must go to a period before the Act regulating the traffic, and limiting the number of slaves to be carried, came into force in Great Britain.

331. You are acquainted generally with this chapter on the mortality and suffering incident to the middle passage, in Sir Fowell Buxton's work?—I believe it to be greatly overstated. Sir Fowell Buxton had, no doubt, the very best intentions and objects; but with regard to the statement of mortality, I myself cast up the number of captured vessels that I was acquainted with, with reference to the loss of life, and I found that the statements were very much above what my inquiry told me the mortality was.

332. You have a distinct recollection that he founds his opinion upon facts derived from official authority generally?—I have; but I believe that he took a few extreme cases. I was about to observe, that with reference to the plan which I recommend, there would be no slaves embarked; and whenever a slave vessel was captured with slaves embarked, there should be an inquiry as to where the slaves were shipped, and the officer from whose district those slaves were shipped should be called upon to explain how it occurred.

333. You have spoken of having formed calculations; did you ever form any calculation of the average mortality in the course of the middle passage at the present time?—I could only form a calculation from ships captured by our own vessels with slaves in them, and carried up to Sierra Leone; of course I cannot pretend to say what the mortality is upon the middle passage, except by reasoning from the mortality which occurs after ships are captured by our vessels. I should say that those statements were extreme.

334. You have no personal experience, in fact, of the mortality which takes place in the middle passage?—I made the middle passage myself once in a slaver; I took a slaver over from Rio Janeiro to Sierra Leone; it was a very dreadful case, but we captured her at the completion of her middle passage; she had completed her middle passage when we captured her at Rio Janeiro.

335. Will you state the circumstances of that case?—It was in 1833; I was lieutenant of the "Snake," and was sent on board of her and captured her.

336. Mr. Jackson.] Will you name the vessel?—The "Maria de Gloria;" she had lost, when we captured her, seven negroes.

337. Chairman.] How many slaves were there originally placed on board?—Four hundred and thirty.

338. How many days had she been out from the coast?—She was about 28 days from Loando.

339. And had lost seven people only?—She had lost only seven. That is an instance of the mortality of the middle passage, fairly taken. The subsequent mortality was very great.

340. What was the tonnage of the "Maria de Gloria"?—I am not sure; she was a large vessel; a roomy vessel.

341. Were the slaves very closely packed?—They were very close, but there was a much larger height than usual in slave vessels.

342. In fact the accommodation afforded to the slaves was greater than the ordinary accommodation of slave traders?—The accommodation was greater than usual. There was no slave deck, however; which was one great cause of sickness, because the people had to lay upon casks, which produces great suffering from ulcers.

343. Can you give some notion of the size of the vessel?—I do not remember, but I think she was about 180 tons; however the case is reported.

344. Under 200 tons?—I think she was under 200 tons; it is to be found in the Slave Trade Papers; it was in the year 1834.

345. Mr.

345. *Mr. Simeon.*] Is that the same vessel which you mentioned on the last occasion, when you stated that you were four months on board a particularly roomy vessel?—Yes.

346. *Chairman.*] With respect to the suffering on shore, is not the suffering and mortality on shore among the slaves, while waiting for embarkation, something very dreadful?—I have no knowledge upon the subject. We got 900 slaves from the Gallinas after the factories were destroyed, and they were generally in very good condition; they were generally able-bodied strong men; I think there were about 40 or 50 in a very bad state out of 900.

347. Had they been detained any time?—They had been detained for 10 months. The principles laid down in my memorandum I do not give upon any speculations; I give them from my own practical experience. In this instance they shipped only one cargo of slaves for 10 months.

348. How many did you find there?—I believe we got almost all that there were. I demanded the whole number I believed to be there: at first I specified 700, but finding there were more, I made them give me all that there were; 900 was the number I got.

349. Have you ever heard of a statement forwarded to the Admiralty by Captain Mansel of the "Actæon," in last year, of upwards of 2,000 slaves having been destroyed by a chieftain on the coast, while in a state of detention, from the impossibility of embarking them?—I have heard it reported; I never knew that it was stated upon any authority.

350. Did you ever hear of a similar fact?—As I said before, I saw the statement in the paper, a year or 18 months ago, I think; I never heard it before.

351. You have no personal knowledge of anything of the kind?—I have not. But dreadful as such an event would be, I should take it to be a very important fact; for there could be no doubt about the necessity of destroying slave factories and rescuing the slaves, after such a case as that, I think.

352. *Mr. Jackson.*] What number of slaves perished after you captured the "Maria de Gloria"?—After I captured the "Maria de Gloria," 104 slaves died.

353. You consider that the mortality would be greater upon the latter part of the voyage than the former?—Undoubtedly.

354. It is no criterion to judge what the suffering would be, taking the first half of the voyage, as compared with the second half?—The fair criterion to judge by is the time when I captured the vessel, because she had then completed the ordinary middle passage.

355. Twenty-eight days?—Twenty-eight days. She was captured by the ship which I belonged to, at the termination of her voyage. Then the next middle passage was of course attended with accumulated disease, suffering, and misery.

356. Had she been allowed to land her slaves, there would have been little suffering. It was an extraordinary case?—It was an extraordinary and exceptional case altogether.

357. *Chairman.*] Do not the slaves often suffer from privations, such as the want of food, and from disease, while waiting in the barracoons for embarkation?—I have no doubt that those sufferings must take place; but then the supply will cease to come in; the demand ceases, the slave trade stops.

358. Whatever may be the amount of that suffering and mortality, is not it an incident of the present system of suppressing the slave trade?—It would be incident to the first stage of suppression; for instance, at the Gallinas they had long ceased to bring slaves from the interior; the demand had ceased.

359. But wherever the stations are found for supplying the slave ships with slaves, those calamities are liable to occur?—Sufferings and mortality are liable to occur; but in my case I delivered 900 slaves, as I said before, who are at this present moment happy and flourishing at Sierra Leone.

360. Did that state of suffering occur to anything like the same extent, if it occurred at all, before we undertook to suppress the slave trade?—I suppose not; I suppose the slaves were shipped as soon as a cargo was collected; but the traffic from the interior would not of course, in that case, be checked; it would continue.

361. Many means have been suggested for the final extinction of the slave trade; if your plan should fail, of course all those horrors to which we have

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been referring would be continued during the process of trial?—If my plan should fail, and if slaves should be embarked, if the slave trade should be carried on, then those sufferings would not occur in the slave barracoons. If, on the contrary, I do succeed, there will be sufferings in the slave barracoons, not equal however to what they would have incurred if shipped; and, moreover, the interior of Africa becomes relieved of that horrid curse which has so long desolated it.

362. Have not you the utmost confidence in the success of your plan?—I feel the most unbounded confidence in the success of my plan. My plan was drawn up before 1846, before the admission of slave-grown sugar; and I am not prepared to say that there may not be some increase of the squadron necessary in order to meet the altered circumstances, but the principle is sound.

363. Have not intelligent men, with confidence equal to yours, predicted the final extinction of the slave trade very many times in the course of the last 20 years, if their plans had been adopted?—I do not know any plan excepting the Niger expedition, but I do not know that it was predicted there.

364. Do you remember the beneficial results anticipated, for instance, from what was called the Equipment Article?—Yes.

365. Did that succeed?—I believe that the change, as regards the capture of vessels, by the equipment articles, is an element which renders the success of the plan which I recommend possible.

366. Yet, notwithstanding the adoption of that equipment article, the slave trade is as bad as ever?—I deny that it is as bad as ever, because I know from my own experience that at the present moment, even admitting that the statements are true from Brazil (and we all know how much it has now become the interest of the slave dealer to exaggerate his successes), the slave trade is not much more than one-third what it was when Sir Fowell Buxton wrote, which was just at the period when the equipment articles were coming into play.

367. Do you remember the advantages that were predicted from the employment of steam-boats?—Steam-boats were never employed, or rather there was only one, until my memorandum was acted upon; and I never had any notion that any very great advantage would be derived from that source; on the contrary, in my memorandum I state that steamers, excepting against steamers, are not in general so proper for the service as sailing vessels.

368. Were not results equally beneficial anticipated from the right of search?—I cannot say; all that I can state upon that subject is, that the right of search is essential to any success.

369. Were not the greater part of those who had taken the deepest interest from the beginning in the extinction of the slave trade perfectly confident that the Niger expedition would end in the final extinction of the slave trade?—I am aware that there were very mistaken notions about the Niger expedition, but the Niger expedition was sent to a river where the slave trade was already extinct.

370. The Niger expedition was to extinguish the slave trade on the whole continent of Africa?—I do not mean to say that many people may not take mistaken views upon the subject of suppressing the slave trade; but all that I say is, with respect to the right of search, the equipment articles, and the use of steamers, that, if these are rightly employed, success will follow; that there is only one way in which they can be employed with good effect. Such is my opinion; and the opinions of others, who perhaps have less practical knowledge upon the subject, have never led me astray.

371. Those various expedients adopted in successive years have successively failed?—I cannot say that; I say the slave trade has diminished now to one-third of what it was when the right of search treaties came into force.

372. We understand that the slave trade of last year was equal in amount to the slave trade of 1841?—I believe it was rather larger. But as regards the right of search, it is not the mere putting down in a treaty that the right of search is to exist, or that the equipment articles are to exist; it is whether you adapt your policy and your proceedings so as to take the utmost advantage of those regulations. My plan differs from the cases you put. I despise no means of assailing slave trade, but would combine them all; the squadron, the cultivation and civilization of the natives, and the encouragement of lawful commerce.

373. With respect to the plan which you recommend, of course the whole of its chance of success would depend upon its being strictly carried out?—Upon its being strictly carried out, no doubt.

374. The plans which have been recommended before, and which have failed,
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have very frequently been said to fail because other nations would not cordially co-operate with us; is not the cordial co-operation of other nations essential to the success of your plan?—I think not.

375. With respect to the destruction of the barracoons, I believe you are the first officer who recommended that course, and who has practically carried it into operation. Dr. Bryson, who is a very intelligent man, was selected by the Admiralty to make a report; and I believe he has some personal knowledge of the subject upon which he treats?—Yes.

376. He says, “A somewhat mistaken zeal in the cause of suppression, it is submitted, arising doubtlessly from the most philanthropic motives, has upon several occasions been exhibited in burning down the barracoons on the beach, destined for the reception of the slaves, and in destroying the stores necessary for their sustenance. The former, being generally at best but mere wooden or wicker-work structures, are in point of value of no importance to the slave merchant; but to the negroes, after a long and toilsome journey performed in chains, they are of the greatest possible advantage as places of rest and of shelter from the cold winds of the coast.” Do you concur in the view which is there taken by Dr. Bryson of the sufferings which accrue to the slaves from the destruction of those factories, when they arrive on the coast after a long and toilsome march from the interior?—I beg to observe with reference to Dr. Bryson’s book, that he has expressed opinions with reference to the proceedings at Gallinas, without ever having even read those papers which were laid before Parliament, and which described the whole affair; I know that he had not the knowledge necessary to form any opinion at all. Dr. Bryson states what has been just read about the consequences to the slaves coming down, as if the destruction of the barracoons would cause great mortality to them. Now if he had read my despatches, he would have seen that for several months previous the slave trade had been effectually suspended and stopped; therefore the results which he anticipates could not have occurred; the demand had ceased, and no slaves would of course be brought down from the interior; and as for the structures of wicker-work or the wooden barracoons being of no value to the slave trader, all the goods which were instruments of the slave trade (inasmuch as their sole application was to the purchase of slaves) were lost to the owners by means of the same operations; and there can be no doubt it was the most severe blow ever struck against the slave trade, which it never can stand against if similar measures are repeated and carried on.

377. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Do you suppose it to be an object with Great Britain, which desires the extinction of the slave trade, to facilitate the transmission of slaves from the interior to the coast for the sake of embarkation?—I believe that our efforts should be directed to the prevention of the slave trade from the interior of Africa to the coast. I believe that to be the worst part of the slave trade.

378. And are not you of opinion that the destruction of the barracoons is one of the most efficient modes of preventing the slaves being transported from Africa?—I believe the destruction of slave factories, including all the goods in them, to be the great means of putting an end to the slave trade; and it had put an end to the slave trade at one period, but unfortunately a circumstance came into play which induced the slave factors to set up their factories again. Let this country adopt this plan in earnest, and in six months the slave trade will be at an end.

379. Mr. *B. Baring*.] When you destroyed those barracoons upon the coast, did not you take charge of the slaves yourself?—The slaves were by treaty delivered up to me by the native chiefs, and they were carried to Sierra Leone, where they were located to the number of 900.

380. Mr. *E. Denison*.] It is to be presumed that you would propose some alteration in the bounties of which you have spoken; will you state what?—I should recommend that the whole amount of bounties paid to officers for the capture of all the slave ships seized in a given year should be taken, and that you should divide it by the number of tons of the whole number of vessels condemned during the same time; and henceforward pay that sum per ton, whether the vessel should be full of slaves or no.

381. Do you mean that the average of the bounties of the year before should be taken?—Any year you please.

382. Mr. *B. Baring*.] An average of past years?—An average of past years, or of a particular year; take the whole amount of tonnage for the same period,
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and divide the sum of the bounties paid, on slaves as well as on equipped slave vessels, by the number of tons; and instead of giving hereafter any bounty at all upon slaves on board, give upon all slavers condemned an equal bounty per ton.

383. Mr. *E. Denison*.] Is any plan of that sort described in your memorandum, for the regulation of the bounties?—It is not; I urged it upon the Foreign Office subsequently; but objections were raised, and it was not done.

384. That is the plan which you would recommend?—That is the plan which I would recommend; to abolish all head money, and give bounty only upon tonnage; the same whether the vessel is full or empty. The only objection which I have ever heard urged to that plan is, that the prize crews would cease to have any interest in taking care of the health of the slaves, the bounty being now payable only upon those slaves who are landed alive, not upon the number captured. Now, though I believe this objection to be quite unworthy of consideration, it would be completely met by some small donation to the very few men, generally only five or six, who compose the prize crew, upon a certificate from the court before which the vessel is condemned that they have attended to the health of the people.

385. Mr. *B. Baring*.] According to your new system the bounty would be payable, then, upon the vessels' arriving on the coast in order to carry away slaves?—Bounty is now payable upon them, but at a much lower rate; my system would equalize the bounties, whether vessels were captured on arriving upon the coast or when sailing away with negroes.

386. It would be payable upon the capture of vessels arriving upon the coast?—Yes, if equipped.

387. But the success of your system would prevent any arrival whatever?—Yes, in the course of time.

388. Therefore the effect of your system would be to deprive the naval officers upon the coast of any such advantage of bounties as they now would have?—No doubt; if the slave trade was put an end to, there could be no bounties upon slave vessels obviously; but some other mode of rewarding people upon that unhealthy coast might be adopted.

389. Mr. *E. Denison*.] You stated that all practical men agreed in the efficiency of the plan suggested by yourself of a close blockade of the shore; how do you reconcile that with the statement which you also made that our fleet at present are employed generally at a distance of at least 10 miles from the shore?—I attribute that to the fact of the present commodore upon the coast of Africa, who is by far the most distinguished man of his standing in the service, and a man that every one looks up to, Sir Charles Hotham, having taken command of that squadron without any previous practical knowledge of the slave trade, and without sufficient instructions as to the course to be pursued by the squadron under his command. He probably holds what is the natural idea of any one when first employed on this service, that the greater number of vessels captured the better; and what I principally found my assertion on, that this memorandum of mine has never been carried into effect, is that the commodore appointed by the Admiralty to take command of that squadron should have the option of moving the vessels off the coast. It proves that the principles to be acted on were not laid down strictly and rigidly for him to abide by.

390. Then you take the discretion away from the commanding officer as to the movement of the vessels?—Not as to the detailed movement of the vessels; of course he must arrange that; but as to the principles to be adopted, I think the instructions cannot be too stringent.

391. How near the shore, speaking generally, would vessels be obliged to lie to carry your views into effect?—You must be within three miles; not constantly; you may stand off even 20 miles with a strong breeze, and be back again in four hours under some possible circumstances, and be satisfied that no evil will occur, supposing no vessel to be lying there which might equip in your absence and carry off a cargo of slaves. I do not mean to say that the vessel is to be eternally within two or three miles; all she has to do is to ensure the impossibility of slaves being shipped from the factory she is watching; and if a cargo of slaves should be shipped, the commander would be liable to be called on to explain how it could occur.

392. After the heavy rains, are there not very dense fogs upon that coast?—There is a particularly dry wind, the harmattan, which comes off, with a dense haze, at some times of the year on the coast. There is a thick fog or haze, no doubt, prevailing at certain periods of the year.

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393. Are there not at different periods of the year, very thick fogs or mists at the mouths of the rivers?—Yes.

394. Does not the existence of those thick fogs increase very much the difficulty of an effectual blockade?—They certainly increase in some degree the difficulty, but at the same time they increase the difficulty to the slavers.

395. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You have been asked with respect to the Niger expedition, whether it were or were not intended as a means of suppressing the slave trade; and in your reply you were understood to state that the expedition was sent to a locality where the slave trade had already been suppressed; will you state to the Committee whether the two Bights of Benin and Biafra do not comprehend all the known and conceived mouths of the Niger, and whether between those two bights the greater amount of the slave trade were or were not for some time carried on?—The slave trade of the Bight of Biafra has been nearly extinct for a long time. In the Bight of Benin the only rivers which I think discharge themselves are two; at Lagos and at Benin the slave trade was considerable. But, as I have said in my evidence elsewhere, the slave-dealer under present circumstances prefers an open coast in general to the rivers for his operations.

396. But if at either of the mouths of the Niger the slave trade be at this time, or were when the Niger expedition was projected, strongly in force, do you or do you not consider that an enterprise having for its object the suppression of the slave trade would find something to do, at least by negotiations with the chiefs occupying such branch of the great Niger, irrespective of any efforts of that expedition in the interior?—Upon that subject I beg to say that I have no doubt that the success of the Niger expedition would have been followed by considerable direct influence in checking the slave trade that still existed in the Bight of Benin and elsewhere, whilst its indirect influence would have been extended far and wide; but I believe that the amount of slave trade which could have been so directly influenced was very much overstated, immensely overstated.

397. You have recommended as one of the means of suppression of the slave trade, treaties with native powers; were not such treaties within the contemplation of those by whose advice the Niger expedition was undertaken, and were not such treaties actually made by the officers in command of such expedition?—I believe they were.

398. Another object to which, it was stated in former questions, parties in England had looked as one of the means of suppressing the slave trade, and an efficacious mode, was the employment of steam vessels; is it not the fact that the employment of steam vessels did materially check the slave trade in ordinary vessels, to such an extent at least that the slave dealers and traders were compelled to have recourse in their turn also to the employment of steam navigation for the purpose of carrying off slaves?—I believe the slave trade was never so completely cut down as at a period when there were no steam vessels on the coast of Africa, in the years 1841 and 1842, when the system of blockade had been carried into effect, although by a very small force, followed by the destruction of slave factories on parts of the coast.

399. Without reference, for the moment, to the question of the state of the slave trade in the years 1841 and 1842, was it not the fact that so soon as the application of steam-vessels to the suppression of the slave trade took effect, the slavers did introduce steam navigation on their part also: "The Brazilian dealers have been driven to the desperate shift of fitting out steam slavers; one of these, the 'Cacique,' has been captured, but another, we regret to learn, has recently got off safely from the Congo with a cargo of 1,700 negroes." (P. 11, Class (A.) Papers, 1846)?—In answer to that, I must say that I think we have derived no advantage from steam, because steam is available for the slave vessels as well; although, upon the other hand, it is to be observed that the great expenditure involved in the purchase of steam-ships by the slave dealers renders a much smaller proportion of captures fatal to success.

400. Is it or not your wish that the Committee should understand that you do not look so much to the employment of any improved navigation in the suppression of the slave trade, as to the perpetual presence of a blockade of ordinary vessels?—I look upon the perpetual blockade of ordinary vessels as of great importance; but I think that an auxiliary steam force is essential also.

401. You wish the Committee to understand that you conceive that the
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Brazilian or Spanish slave dealers could more easily support their trade by the purchase of one or more steam slave vessels than they could check our blockade by an antagonist force of cruizers; in short, the Brazilian slavers, though they might have a slave steam-vessel, could not have an armed force of antagonist cruizers blockading our squadron?—That is out of the question.

402. Whatever value, then, may be attached by others to the employment of a blockade by steam-vessels, you conceive that the expense of such steam-vessels would be so great, and their efficacy so small, considering that other steamers may be hired by slavers to watch them and to carry off slaves from different points of the coast, that you would recur to the principle of your memorandum, and advocate the employment of the ordinary blockading force?—Where steamers were employed, I should advocate the use of steamers to capture them, in combination with the other force, certainly.

403. And your plan includes, therefore, a certain number of steam-ships, as well as of ordinary sailing vessels?—Yes.

404. You have been asked as to the case reported by Captain Mansel, dated 2d October 1846, on board the "Actæon," in which report it is stated that upwards of 2,000 slaves who were on the hands of the chief of Lagos, and of whom he could not dispose, were by him slaughtered, in consequence of his not being able to sell them as he desired; do you wish this Committee to understand that those horrors might not under any circumstances have been committed, when the party having an interest, as he thought, in selling the slaves, might have found it impossible so to dispose of them?—I believe that any circumstances which rendered it unprofitable to keep them, would have been followed by such a result.

405. And therefore this Committee having been appointed by the House of Commons to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave trade, you do not consider that these incidents, however horrible, are sufficient to justify this Committee in recommending to the House of Commons to abandon any of the modes hitherto adopted for suppressing the slave trade?—On the contrary, horrible as the fact that is mentioned is, it is the best guarantee against the future purchase of slaves at Lagos; the slave trade is stopped there. You have that very awful fact, if it is true, but you have the compensating fact that the horrors of the middle passage which would have followed the embarkation of those slaves have been prevented; that the still greater horrors of field labour in Cuba or Brazil have also been escaped; and looking at the whole question, and at all the sufferings which those unhappy creatures undergo, I am really of opinion that those who were slaughtered at Lagos were happier and more to be envied than if they had been carried off in slave ships to Cuba and Brazil.

406. The question addressed to you was rather this; whether such a horrible calamity as that to which your attention was called, might not have occurred under any other circumstances in which it was the object of any nation to suppress the slave trade, and whether therefore it can be attributed to the measures adopted by Great Britain for the final stopping of it?—To that question I answer in the affirmative. I was answering the proposition as to how that event would bear upon the Report of this Committee, with respect to recommending the abandonment of the measures now in force for suppressing the slave trade; and what I wanted to point out there was, that that fact seemed to me to afford an argument to the contrary.

407. The question addressed to you assumed the proposition that The House had appointed this Committee to consider the best means which Great Britain could adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave trade; it assumed, therefore, that it was the desire of The House and of this Committee to suppress the slave trade; and it proceeded to ask whether, whatever mode might be adopted for suppressing the slave trade, if that mode were successful, such an event might or might not occur, horrible as it was?—I believe that such an event would be no reason for suspending our attempts to suppress the slave trade. I have before stated my reasons.

408. In short, whether the mode of suppressing the slave trade be by a squadron on the coast, or by any other means, so long as the slave trade could be suppressed, and the holder of slaves might not be able to part with his slaves on the coast, he might be tempted to put an end to human life by that tremendous sacrifice to which your attention has been directed?—Undoubtedly. We know that slaves are often thrown overboard upon which duty would have to be paid,
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and which would not be saleable on arriving in Cuba or Brazil; it is a common practice.

409. Would you wish the Committee to understand that, so far as your experience has gone, those who have embarked in the slave trade have no sense of the value of human life, and no scruple as to any course which they might take, having the power to take it, in order to obtain the worldly profits of their horrible transactions?—I believe that they have no more care for human life than they would have for so many animals, sheep or cattle.

410. These questions have been addressed to you because it is assumed that Parliament in 1807 abolished the slave trade, so far as England was concerned, and because in 1839 England did what it could, by an address from the House of Commons, to induce all nations to declare it piracy. It is therefore assumed in the questions which, with the permission of the Committee, have now been addressed to you, that you and they are equally anxious to suppress the slave trade. With that explanation of the subject, do you wish anything to be altered in the answers which you have given?—I am not aware that I have said anything against my opinions or contrary to my views.

411. *Earl of Lincoln.*] In the course of your examination you stated that you conceived that a far greater amount of suffering, attaching to the slave trade, took place on shore than on the middle passage?—Yes, that was my statement.

412. Did you refer to the transit of the slaves from the interior to the coast, when you gave that answer?—To the transit of the slaves from the interior to the coast, and the uncertainty of human life and liberty in the interior of Africa; the state of things produced in Africa by the slave trade.

413. Have you had any means of ascertaining the average of the mortality which takes place amongst the slaves in their passage from the interior to the coast?—I have no means; there is Mungo Park's book, and there are various other writers who have travelled in the interior of Africa.

414. But nothing coming within your own knowledge?—Nothing coming within my own knowledge.

415. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Would not the probable result of the loss experienced by the chiefs in the murder of slaves at Lagos, be to prevent them from continuing the traffic?—I think it is quite obvious that such would be the effect.

416. Therefore, though we may deeply deplore the loss of life upon that occasion, the probable result of it would be to prevent the continuance of the trade, at least in that quarter, so long as it was properly watched?—I look upon it as a complete proof that the slave trade has been stopped there.

417. *Chairman.*] Do you consider that from that fact we may legitimately conclude that there will be no more slave trade at Lagos?—It is quite clear that the slave trade could not exist against the system which had been adopted at that place.

418. At that moment?—At that time.

419. Do you conclude from that fact that the slave trade is certain not to be revived at Lagos?—My opinion is, that the chiefs of Lagos being accustomed to European productions, if that system is persevered in, they will raise produce to get the goods which they have been accustomed to, and that in a short time legal commerce will come in and block out the slave trade.

420. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Have you had any means of knowing how the internal slave trade of Africa is affected by the supply of slaves for the external trade?—Never having been in the interior, of course I cannot speak from personal knowledge; but I believe it is well established that wars take place for the purpose of supplying the slave market, and that towns and villages are surprised, and people carried off in all quarters for the same object, to supply the demand on the coast.

421. Have you had any means of knowing whether the greater part of what we should call the labour of the country in these countries is not the work of slaves themselves?—I believe that, as in all countries emerging from an absolutely barbarous state, in which all men are equal, the next step is that of domestic slavery. It is the only way in which the soil can be tilled; but that is distinct and entirely different from the trade in slaves for export to a foreign market.

422. Therefore would not any large increase in the productions of those countries for the purpose of foreign trade, also imply an increase in the use of slave labour in those countries themselves?—Yes, it would; and so an increase of order, and security of life and property.

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423. Would not the difference be, that the slaves would be employed in cultivating their native produce at home, instead of being transferred to cultivate produce in other countries?—I have no doubt of it, but under a very different condition of life and circumstances.

424. Would not the only difference be in so far as there is less suffering in what you call the domestic slavery of Africa than in the foreign slavery of Brazil and other countries?—The domestic slave of Africa is rather a serf, in the same position more or less as the peasantry of Russia were until they were emancipated very recently. I think it stands to reason that the condition of people born upon the soil, the serfs of the soil, will be totally different and distinct from that in Cuba or Brazil; and I should beg to observe why. In Africa the interest of the chief is that his population should be increased by natural means: the sexes will be in equal numbers, whereas the average of the number of women imported into Brazil is 4 to 100; the average of the women in Cuba is 10 to 100. The principle adopted there is, that it is cheaper to get the greatest possible amount of labour in the shortest possible time out of a human being; to kill him off, and to import another to supply his place.

425. Therefore you think there is no proportion whatever between the suffering of the negro who is taken off to cultivate the soil in Brazil, and that of a negro who is retained as a slave in Africa?—I do. I have been in native places in Africa, and I have seen there the people who are the slaves of the soil; a man's wife and children in many parts of Africa are his slaves, and their condition is as happy as that of any other people.

426. Do you believe that any of those wars to which you have referred would take place for the purpose of supplying slaves for the internal cultivation of Africa?—I believe not; I believe that it would become the interest of every chief to employ his people upon his own soil.

427. Are you aware whether there is at present any internal slave trade in Africa for the purpose of cultivation in Africa itself?—I am not aware of any.

428. Mr. Jackson.] In question 240, you were asked what had been the effect in the River Bonny; and you stated that the trade had been first suppressed there, and had afterwards been prevented by the vigour with which the legitimate commerce of the country had been carried on?—Such was my statement.

429. Is that derived from personal observation; have you been in the River Bonny?—I have never been in the River Bonny; I know the fact.

430. Have you been in Benin?—I have not been in Benin.

431. Have you been in Nun?—No.

432. Brass?—No.

433. Can you state, from your own personal observation, the effect in the various rivers flowing from the Niger into the Atlantic, of the increased commerce in preventing the slave trade from being carried on; it is not from your own personal knowledge?—It is not from my own personal knowledge. What I stated in my evidence to-day upon the subject was from a conversation with the honourable Member who is now asking these questions.

434. It is not from your own personal knowledge that you have come to the conclusion which you have laid down in your memorandum?—No. I can state the fact that when I was last upon the coast the slave trade was considered extinct there, and that it was not watched in the same way as in other parts.

435. But you cannot state whether the extinction of slavery took place from the increase of the squadron, or from the increased demand for the productions of the country?—Not of my own personal knowledge.

436. How many mouths do you consider that the Niger has?—I believe they are very numerous indeed.

437. It is stated by Captain Clegg, in his evidence before the West African Committee, that he thinks there are nearly 500; how many do you suppose it possible for a slaver drawing three or four feet of water to enter?—I have no local knowledge in the Bight of Biafra, and therefore I cannot answer these questions, but I believe there are very few which are navigable for shipping.

438. Assuming that the slave trade in the Bight of Biafra, and in the Bight of Benin, was to become as vigorous and active as ever, how would you blockade the whole of the mouths of the Niger, and how would you prevent the slave trade from being carried on; let us assume that there are only 50 places where a slaver could creep in?—Assuming these to be facts, no doubt the difficulty would

would be very great, but I believe I am right in stating the fact that the slave trade has been extinguished.

439. It is right for us to assume that the slave trade may be resumed; and if it should be resumed let us suppose that a slave is worth 200*l.* instead of 50*l.* or 100*l.*, and that parties are found then to give a much higher price for a slave than now, the slave trade might become vigorous and the palm-oil trade might fail?—Yes, but I believe the natives must learn that no real prosperity can exist except that founded on the cultivation of their soil.

440. How then would you, assuming that to be the case, blockade those 50 mouths of the river?—In such a case as that it would be necessary to go up the river and destroy the factories; you would get information from the traders on the coast; if they found their commerce going off in consequence of the slave trade, they would be interested in giving information.

441. I suppose you are aware from the maps that these various mouths flow from one great source, the Niger?—Yes.

442. And that there are about a thousand ways by creeks of approaching this Niger?—Yes, I am aware that there are a great number for canoes.

443. And that there may be ten thousand places where those barracoons might be erected, from whence slaves could be embarked at any particular spot in any one of those mouths?—Yes, in canoes.

444. How would it be possible for boats, however numerous, to find out all those barracoons?—There can be no doubt that if the slave trade were to revive in the mouths of the River Niger, the river being such as you describe it, the difficulties would be very great indeed.

445. And your plan would be futile?—And my plan would be futile, supposing the Niger to have 50 navigable mouths; it would require modification to the circumstances.

446. Then the plan which you have suggested in your memorandum would not in the whole be effective, supposing the slave trade to be resumed where that traffic used to exist?—Supposing a state of things that does not exist, and did not exist when I laid my recommendations before the Government, and supposing a case that in my opinion never can exist.

447. Then you are assuming that the effect of that blockade and of destroying the barracoons upon different parts of the coast, would be to stop the slave trade and to revive the former trade. Is it not equally as important for us to assume that as the slaves rose in value, the slave trade would be resumed?—I think I can give a very good instance which will lead the Committee to infer that even then the slave trade might be put an end to, from the facts which I stated before with regard to the River Bonny, which is one of the mouths of the Niger, and the chosen spot of the slave dealers.

448. Are you aware how many channels there are leading into the River Bonny?—I only know that, many as there may be, the effect of the cruizers there was to render the slave trade from the Bonny a losing concern, and that it was therefore abandoned.

449. You are aware that there is a communication by creeks between the Rivers Calabar, Nun, Brass, and Benin?—I am not aware that they are navigable by large vessels.

450. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Does not your plan contemplate the destruction of barracoons and slave factories, rather than the watching of the rivers?—It contemplates both.

451. Mr. *Jackson.*] Will you inform the Committee why such a state of things as I have described never can exist?—In my opinion, it never can exist.

452. Mr. *E. Denison.*] What is your reason for that opinion?—That the legitimate commerce has taken such hold there, that the natives find it more profitable to employ their negroes than to sell them.

453. Mr. *Jackson.*] Let us suppose that the price of a slave in the Brazils should be raised from 100*l.* to 200*l.*, and that we could only afford to pay a certain value for palm oil in this country, so that it should be found to be more profitable to sell a slave than a puncheon of palm-oil, do not you think that the slave trade would revive?—I think, with regard to the particular district which is now mentioned, that should legitimate trade cease to be profitable, a slave trade, although I believe we should be able to put it down, might certainly be established upon that particular locality: but so long as the legal trade is profitable, I believe the slave trade never can revive.

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454. Have

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454. Have you been much on shore?—I have been a good deal on shore in different parts of the coast. I have been up several of the rivers.

455. At what particular places?—I have been on shore at Gallinas; I have been up the River Pongas, and up the River Nunez.

456. You stated just now that the system of domestic slavery was carried on in the interior of Africa; I suppose that more than nine-tenths of the inhabitants there are born slaves?—Yes, I believe that they are nearly all born slaves, excepting the chiefs. I have been ashore also at Liberia and Cape Mount.

457. Are you aware from your own observation, that those slaves at any time, being the property of the master, are liable to be shipped off in case there is an extraordinary demand for them, without reference to any products in the interior?—I believe they are liable to be shipped off, but only upon the pretence of having committed crimes; and I have every reason to know that they invent charges against their people often when they want slaves for exportation.

458. You are not aware, then, from your own observation and experience, that they are in the habit of breeding slaves there for sale, as we should breed cattle here for sale?—I have a strong conviction to the contrary.

459. That is as far as your experience goes on those parts of the coast with which you are acquainted?—Yes.

460. But not having been up any of the rivers, where the great trade between this country and Africa is carried on, the rivers branching from the Niger, you cannot speak to it?—I cannot speak as regards the Niger, or the rivers in the Bight of Biafra.

461. Have you been south?—No; my local experience is in the Bight of Benin and the windward coast.

462. *Chairman.*] Will you state the limits of the windward coast?—Cape Verd to Cape Palmas.

463. *Mr. Jackson.*] But you do come to this conclusion, taking things as they are, and from your knowledge of what has taken place and what is going on in the Bight of Biafra, that the legitimate commerce between this country and that has completely superseded their traffic in slaves; and, indeed, it is further your opinion that the slave trade is not likely to be revived in those quarters?—That is my opinion.

464. *Earl of Lincoln.*] You stated that, in the event of the slave trade reviving in those numerous mouths of the River Niger, you would think it then necessary to ascend the river with a view to destroying the slave factories; at what distance up the river are those slave factories generally found?—Supposing the description given in former questions of these mouths to be correct, yes. They are generally near the mouths of the rivers. If the Committee look at the chart of the mouths of the Niger, they will find very few of them navigable for shipping, excepting for a very short distance indeed.

465. What distance from the sea-coast would it be necessary to ascend with the view of destroying those factories?—I cannot pretend to say; it would depend upon local circumstances. If an attempt was made, as has been suggested in the questions addressed to me, it would of course depend upon many circumstances that I cannot contemplate, and that I do not believe are ever likely to happen.

466. If those factories are to be found at any great distance from the coast, would not the unhealthiness of the shores render such a communication almost impracticable?—I believe that that consideration would prevent the slave dealers from establishing their factories at any distance from the coast. Navigation is difficult and very dangerous in rivers where there are not good surveys; there are strong currents, and altogether I should suppose that, as everywhere else, wherever they had slave factories they would be very near the mouths of the rivers.

467. You do not think that any factories would be found in a position where it would not be perfectly possible for a British vessel to ascend to destroy them?—Certainly; and for that purpose you might have vessels manned with Kroomen, and have no white people exposed at all.

468. *Mr. Jackson.*] Have you ever heard from officers and from the men who have gone up the various rivers in the Bights of Biafra and Benin, how many hours pulling, with a good tide, it took them before they could reach the first barracoon up the Benin or the Brass?—I never heard any statement upon that subject.

469. You

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469. You never heard that barracoons are there stationed from 100 to 200 miles in the interior?—I never heard any statement upon the subject; I only know that the slave trade of Benin is extinct, and that an attempt to re-establish it in 1837 was a complete failure, owing to the efforts of Captain Oliver, of Her Majesty's ship Fair Rosamond. Barracoons for the collection of slaves to be forwarded to the factories at the mouth, may have existed at this distance from the sea; but I am quite certain no slave vessel ever ascended to anything like that distance.

470. *Chairman.*] Has not the practice obtained lately of removing the barracoons further from the coast, in consequence of the attacks made on them by our squadron?—Not that I know of. But in any place where the barracoons were moved from the coast, where the coast was open, I believe it would be fatal to the prosecution of the slave trade with any degree of success; because they can only carry on their slave trade by the utmost vigilance and readiness; so that when a slave vessel drops her anchor the slaves are alongside, and come off with her provisions and equipments for the slaves.

471. If the statement were made upon competent authority, that the slave traders were in the habit of removing their stations further into the interior in order to avoid the obstruction from our squadron, is your opinion so strong that their trade could not be carried on, from the malignity of the climate higher up the river, as to induce you to discredit such statement?—I should distrust it, undoubtedly.

472. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Would it not render the capture of the slavers much more easy if the barracoons were removed from the coast 200 or 300 miles up the river?—I should think so; they would be longer in the trap. I believe the slave dealers now prefer the open coast to the rivers for that reason.

473. *Chairman.*] *Cæteris paribus*, they prefer the open coast?—They do. The cargo with which the slaves have been bought has been landed long before the slaves are collected; the vessel watches her opportunity, runs in straight to the slave factory, and is off in a couple of hours.

474. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Whereas if the barracoons were far up the river, the slavers would be liable to capture going up the river and coming down?—Yes.

475. *Mr. Jackson.*] Are you aware that the mode in which the slaves were shipped in those rivers was to bring them down in large canoes, capable of holding 50 slaves each; that they were put on board or run again into the creeks, and kept for a month, till the time that they were ready to be received?—I am not aware of that.

476. I speak of the Benin, the Brass, the Nun, the Bonny, the Calabars, the Rio del Rey, the Bimbia, and the Cameroons; you are not aware of that?—I am not; but now the slave vessel might be seized though the slaves were removed, which was not the case when the slave trade in the Bonny was put down.

477. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Whether there be or there be not 500 mouths of the Niger opening into the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra, how many navigable rivers are there in the whole which do open into those bights?—I have not local knowledge upon the subject; other officers will be called before you who have local knowledge, I believe, as regards that particular river.

478. Is it not the case, that in all the mouths in those bights there is a great surf?—There is a great surf along the coast of the Bight of Benin requiring peculiar boats.

479. Is it, or not, the fact that there is also a frequent succession of very high winds on that coast?—No; I should not say it was at all a stormy coast.

480. Is the wind prevalently from the west?—The wind is prevalently from the west; but tornadoes, which are the storms of the coast, and which are seldom very severe, and always of short duration, come always from the east.

481. *Mr. Jackson.*] Are you aware what tonnage can enter into the several rivers that I have named; what draught of water?—I have already stated that I have no local knowledge as regards the mouths of the Niger; but I believe very few are navigable.

482. You have not heard of any vessels being wrecked in entering into those various mouths in the trade of palm oil, have you; it is a rare occurrence?—I believe it is.

483. *Mr. Simeon.*] Would your system, if carried out, necessitate a great employment of boat service?—I think the employment of boats to a certain extent is very necessary, but not up rivers.

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484. Is not the boat service generally considered the most unhealthy service to which our sailors are subject?—It is so considered, because boats have generally been employed up rivers, but upon the open coast my own boats have often been away a week at a time, and I have never had any sickness, neither have any of my squadron had any sickness in that service, excepting when they have gone up rivers. I should wish to give an instance of sickness which occurred in my case. While I was employed on the coast I never had any sickness or loss (at least I think I lost two men only) until I went up the river Nunez. I went up the river Nunez on duty unconnected with the slave trade; I was ordered to support British commerce and see a certain commercial treaty fulfilled, and there we lost a great number of men, but it had nothing at all to do with the slave trade; and in nine cases out of ten where loss of life is incurred, it is in duties not connected with the slave trade at all.

485. Mr. Jackson.] You have been asked if you knew anything of the slaughter of 2,000 slaves by an African chief; are you aware, from your connexion with various chiefs on the western coast, that it is the habit, when any of them die, to immolate a number of their slaves and bury them along with their master?—I know that that is stated to be the custom in the countries of Ashantee and Dahomey.

486. You are not aware that that exists to any great extent in the district which I have described, namely, the Old Calabar, the Bonny, and the Cameroons?—I was not aware of it.

487. Chairman.] Do you know, of your own knowledge, any case in which the legitimate trade has been found antagonistic to the slave trade?—I received letters from a British merchant in the River Pongas, stating that whenever a slave vessel arrived, all his proceedings were entirely put a stop to as long as she was in the river, and urging me to endeavour to stop the slave trade, for the purpose of enabling him to carry on his commerce, and the other English merchants.

488. Mr. Jackson.] Does he state in those letters whether he has paid a higher price for the produce than he did before?—He only stated the fact that all trade had left his factory; that the other is the favourite commerce, and the natives would not go near him.

489. Supposing that that merchant, instead of paying the native 26 bars for a puncheon of palm oil, thought fit to pay him 300 bars, that would direct the attention of the native to the palm oil instead of to the slave trade?—I have no doubt of that; but the value which I give to this fact is, that the initiative is to be taken in stopping the slave trade, and that the state of things which you describe is one which springs up afterwards.

490. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] You mean that the consequence of the suppression of the slave trade has been the establishment of legitimate trade, which the chiefs have found profitable?—Exactly; and which would not have been found profitable but for the suppression of the slave trade in the first instance.

491. Mr. Jackson.] You do not think that the legitimate commerce has forced the slave trade out?—I believe that the slave trade was stopped, and that legitimate commerce put its seal upon it.

492. You cannot speak from your personal knowledge?—Except in those two instances.

493. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] It is your opinion that legitimate trade will not be established until the slave trade has been put a stop to?—Until from some cause or other it has ceased, or been greatly diminished.

494. Mr. Jackson.] And you draw those conclusions, not from your personal knowledge where the great trade is carried on?—I can give an instance where legitimate trade was put down by the slave trade, and where the slave traffic was pursued alone.

495. Chairman.] What is that instance?—In the River Gallinas in the years 1825 and 1826, as stated in my despatches laid before Parliament in 1841, there was some trade in articles of produce of the country, and subsequently to that time the legitimate trade of the country ceased, and the slave trade was the sole occupation.

496. Mr. Jackson.] What do the principal exports from the Gallinas consist of?—I do not know that. I stated what the exports were; and from information on the spot, I ascertained the fact that legitimate trade had existed formerly.

497. You are not aware that the legitimate trade in the River Gallinas ceased in

in consequence of the article which is exported from there not reaching a sufficient value in this country to pay for the expense of fetching it?—I am not aware of that; but I have every reason to believe, from the information which I derived there, that it is a very productive country, and that exports might spring up to a very large amount.

498. Was not the principal article exported from the Gallinas camwood?—Camwood was amongst the articles of export.

499. Are you aware that there is a communication by water between the River, Sierra Leone, and the Gallinas?—I am aware that at certain times of the year canoes may communicate, but it is only during the rainy season.

500. But there is a communication?—There is a communication.

501. Have you ever learned, during your sojourn in that neighbourhood, that it has been the practice with Pedro Blanco and his emissaries to endeavour to entrap a great many of the slaves that have been landed at Sierra Leone, and to bring them to his barracoon, and export them?—I believe that that practice has to a certain extent been adopted, but to a very limited extent.

502. After our efforts to capture those slaves, after taking them to Sierra Leone, and after making them free, they have been taken again by those great slave dealers, and shipped off from the Gallinas in another vessel, to be recaptured?—In extremely limited numbers, I believe that has been done. What may be said to the conduct of this country in permitting the slave trade at Gallinas to exist so long, in carrying on such practices, is another question. At Gallinas I found two Sierra Leone people in the slave factories, John Frazer and John Parker by name.

503. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Will you state at what periods of the year such communication can take place between the River, Sierra Leone, and the River Gallinas, and for what periods the communication is along the coast or by the land?—I believe about three months; I should think about June, July, August, and September.

504. Mr. *Jackson*.] Do not the rains commence earlier in the north?—They vary upon different parts of the coast.

505. Have you ever had anything to do with negotiations with the several chiefs with whom you have been in communication for the suppression of slavery?—I have.

506. Have you ever asked them whether they were willing to abolish their domestic slavery within their territories, upon payment being made to them?—I have always guarded myself against any interference with their domestic slavery, because I believe that their domestic slavery is a wholesome condition, and necessary to the present state of Africa.

507. Assuming that it is not necessary, and that the chief would be willing to enfranchise the whole of his subjects upon receiving a sum of money from this Government, and a treaty being entered into with this Government that it should be continued, may I ask you whether you think that under the protection of the British flag there would be any difficulty in inducing a portion of those subjects to emigrate to the West Indies?—I cannot express any opinion upon that subject without knowing the people of the country; my experience would lead me to believe that you would get no Africans to embark for the West Indies, excepting Kroomen and the people of Sierra Leone.

508. You have never looked at it in this light?—No; I believe the idea of embarkation is that of going away to be a slave.

509. You have never yet entered into any negotiation with the chiefs for the purpose of inducing them to enfranchise their subjects?—Never; I have never been upon any part of the coast where the social condition of the people was such as to afford the slightest chance of such an arrangement being made.

510. Of course as you have never been up any of the great rivers, you cannot state from your own knowledge that wherever the palm oil trade has increased, and it has increased to the extent of many hundred miles, internal wars have decreased in consequence?—I cannot state that from my own knowledge, but it must be so I think.

511. And you naturally infer that, from the diminution of the importation of articles of war, cutlasses, muskets, and so on, such a result must have arisen?—No doubt it must be so, considering the great decrease of slave trade.

512. Mr. *E. Denison*.] With respect to the communication which you spoke of from a merchant, you were understood to say that a slaver having arrived

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in some river where legitimate commerce had been prevailing for some time, the slave trade was the favourite trade?—Yes; I believe that in the case put by the honourable Member who last asked me the question, legitimate trade is rooted and established; in the other case it was commencing on a small scale, and therefore could not be expected to produce those influences.

513. *Chairman.*] Have you any explanation with which you can favour the Committee in regard to the evasion of treaties by the Brazilian government?—In the year 1826, two or three years after Brazil became independent, she entered into a convention with Great Britain, pledging herself, at the lapse of three years from the date of the ratification of the convention, to abolish her slave trade, and that thenceforward it should be deemed and treated as piracy. Another article in the treaty agreed that the Portuguese convention of 1817 should be adopted for the regulation of the Brazilian slave trade, for the period that it continued legal to Brazilian subjects. Now if language can have any meaning at all, the meaning was, that three years from the ratification of the convention the slave trade should no longer be regulated, but should be abolished altogether. If there was any doubt upon the subject, the very terms of the Brazilian convention, as applied to the terms of the Portuguese treaty, would make it apparent that such was the case; because the Portuguese convention of 1817 contains an express declaration that the object of the treaty, which on the one hand was to abolish the slave trade north of the equator, was upon the other hand to preserve the importation of slaves into the Brazils unmolested. But the convention with Brazil was a convention to abolish the slave trade of Brazil, and not to continue it unmolested; and therefore putting those two facts together, it is quite obvious that the object and the meaning of the Brazilian convention was that the Portuguese treaty should be adopted to regulate the Brazilian slave trade so long as it continued legal, until the three years had elapsed. One clause in the Portuguese treaty so adopted was, that on no pretence whatever should any Portuguese slave vessel, south of the line, be interrupted by a British vessel. Now the whole coast of Brazil, with the exception of a very small part, is in south latitude. When the year 1830 arrived, at which time the slave trade according to the convention was to be deemed and treated as piracy, the British Government from that time, instead of insisting upon the Portuguese treaty of 1817 ceasing to have any effect, allowed it to govern their proceedings with respect to the Brazilian slave trade; the consequence was, that from the year 1830 until the year 1839, that Portuguese treaty so allowed to be perverted under the Brazilian convention covered the slave trade by the Brazils with complete impunity, under the flag of Portugal.

514. South of the line?—South of the line. Therefore the object, as laid down in the Brazilian convention, was entirely nullified and rendered of no effect by the British Government having permitted this evasion of Brazil with respect to the use and application of the treaty with Portugal.

Captain *Edward Harris Butterfield*, R. N., called in; and Examined.

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515. *Chairman.*] YOU are a Post Captain in the Royal Navy?—Yes.

516. You have been employed on the coast of Africa?—Yes.

517. How long were you on the coast of Africa?—Upwards of nine years.

518. At what time?—From 1825 up to 1842, at different times.

519. Were you in command of a vessel during the whole of that time?—No, I was not in command more than about three years and a half, I think, or three years.

520. You have heard the evidence which has been given to this Committee by Captain Denman?—Yes.

521. Do you generally concur with his views on the subject of the slave trade?—I do.

522. When were you last on the African station?—From March 1840 to April 1842.

523. Do you concur with Captain Denman in opinion that the slave trade has not diminished on the coast of Africa within the last seven years?—I think it has diminished. I cannot judge whether the slave trade has diminished since 1842 up to 1847, for I have not been on the coast since.

524. You confine your evidence to the period when you were there?—Yes.

525. Was the slave trade very active in the year 1842 on the coast of Africa?—I was

—I was only stationed from 3° south to 17° south. The first part of the station was from 3° south, and then it was altered from 7° south to 17° south.

526. Mr. Jackson.] Have you never been north of the line?—Not since 1831.

527. Chairman.] That was chiefly off the Portuguese possessions?—Yes.

528. Was the slave trade actively carried on at that time on that part of the coast?—It was when I first went there; and according to the Portuguese officers and the masters of the merchant vessels, I was supposed to capture with the vessels under my orders three-fifths of the slave vessels.

529. What vessel did you command?—The Fantome, and the Waterwitch, and Brisk, were under my orders.

530. In consequence of those frequent captures, did you find the slave trade diminished before you left the station?—Very much.

531. Were the greater part of the ships that you captured laden with slaves, or were they empty?—I have a list of them; I think about half.

532. Will you deliver that list in?—

[The Witness delivered in the same, which is as follows:]

No.	Name of Capturing Vessel.	No. Slaves and Equipment.	Name of Vessel Captured.	No.	Name of Capturing Vessel.	No. Slaves and Equipment.	Name of Vessel Captured.
1	Fantome -	Fitted	Republicano.	22	Water Witch -	313	Euro.
2	Water Witch -	Ditto -	Maria Rita.	23	Fantome -	290	Josephine.
3	Fantome -	25	A Launch.	24	Water Witch -	Fitted	Unknown.
4	Ditto -	8	Ditto.	25	Fantome -	441	Boa Nova.
5	Ditto -	10	Ditto.	26	Ditto -	Fitted	Duas Srmaas.
6	Ditto -	Fitted	Claudine.	27	Ditto -	105	Triumfo.
7	Ditto -	Ditto -	Courtney.	28	Water Witch -	Fitted	Donna Ellisa.
8	Brisk -	16	Launch.	29	Ditto -	392	Corisco.
9	Fantome -	Fitted	Onze du Novembro.	30	Fantome -	457	Maria de Conceiçoa.
10	Water Witch -	Ditto -	Duos D'Outubro.	31	Acorn. -	150	Duos Amigos.
11	Ditto -	249	Unknown.	32	{ Fantome -	505	Minerva.
12	Fantome -	3	Faesca.		{ Acorn -		
13	Ditto -	1	Launch.		{ Brisk -		
14	Ditto -	Fitted	Bellona.	33	Fantome -	Fitted	Unknown.
15	Ditto -	Ditto -	Aventureira.	34	Water Witch -	Ditto -	Felix Trinonphirata.
16	Ditto -	Ditto -	Rozimbo.	35	Ditto -	1	Boat No. 7.
17	Brisk -	371	Louisa.	36	Fantome -	413	Diligencia.
18	Ditto -	444	Merciana.	37	Water Witch -	Fitted	Himmilaya.
19	Ditto -	Fitted	Schooner.	38	Ditto -	63	A Boat.
20	Ditto -	321	Minerva.	39	Fantome -	531	Eugenia,
21	Ditto -	Fitted	3th Decembro.	40	Fawn -	274	Boa Hermoine.

40 Prizes; 5,364 Slaves.

Supposed to have captured at the lowest rate, three-fifths of the Vessels: the Portuguese naval officers thinking this understated.

2 May 1840. }
25 March 1842. }

E. H. Butterfield,
Commander and Senior Officer, off Angola.

533. Having had so long experience on the coast of Africa, do you find that there has been a tendency among the slave traders to diminish the size of the vessels employed in the trade?—No; I think they were nearly the same from 1825, when I was there first, up to the time of my leaving. There may not be so many large vessels, but the others are nearly upon the average.

534. The number of large vessels has decreased, but there were vessels quite as small employed in the trade when you were first on the station, as now?—Quite as small.

535. What was the smallest vessel you ever captured?—About 18 tons, from off Loando.

536. Was that vessel intended to take slaves across the Atlantic?—She was on her passage across, and I took her with 105 slaves in her; a mere boat.

537. She had a deck?—Yes, but she had no hatchways to cover over.

538. No grating?—No: I believe she had been a Portuguese merchant vessel's launch.

539. Earl of Lincoln.] What was the number of the crew?—Five; the slaves were all children.

540. Chairman.] How were they stowed?—In the usual way.

0.53.

541. Were

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541. Were they in chains?—No.

542. Is not the usual practice to manacle them?—No, very seldom. I do not believe I have been on board more than two or three vessels with slaves in chains.

543. You have not usually found them in chains?—I have found some of them; the bad characters have been chained, but not generally speaking. I never saw them all secured; I never saw more than 20.

544. Sir R. H. Inglis.] By “bad characters,” do you mean persons who resisted the outrage which was perpetrated upon them in carrying them away for slaves?—No.

545. You do not mean to say that they were bad characters in the English sense of the word?—They were violent slaves.

546. But not bad characters such as you talk of in the hulks?—No, I should think not; I fancy they were men that had tried to escape several times after they were in the barracoons.

547. *Chairman.*] Whereabouts did you effect that capture of which you have spoken; on what part of the coast?—If the question refers to the small vessel, she was taken off Loando; if to the vessel with slaves in chains, off Lagos.

548. How many days had that vessel been out?—Not above a few hours; perhaps 24 hours; not more.

549. Had she lost any of the slaves?—No.

550. Of what age were the slaves that you describe as children?—From eight down to three and four.

551. Were there no adults on board?—There was one grown up girl of about 18.

552. And she was the oldest?—She was the only grown up one.

553. Earl of *Lincoln.*] Were they children of both sexes?—Yes.

554. *Chairman.*] Was there a slave deck?—No; they were lying on casks covered with mats; casks holding about 10 or 12 gallons of water.

555. Have you ever been on the coast of Brazil?—No. This vessel had only small stanchions round her, with bamboos on each side, to prevent the slaves falling overboard; but the bulwark itself was not, perhaps, above three or four inches high.

556. Have you ever formed any estimate of the per-centage of loss of life in the course of the middle passage?—No. I have taken a slaver to Sierra Leone myself; and in 22 days, out of 569 slaves, I think we lost 19 only; but then eight or nine of those were suffocated on the morning that we took the slaver. In the chase I suppose they were pushed down into the hold: we pulled eight out dead.

557. Will you explain to the Committee the course which is pursued in feeding the slaves on board?—There are so many of the superior slaves that are made head men; they are marked sometimes with a small rope, or with a row of beads round their necks. You place all the slaves about 10 or 12 in a circle; rice, and a little palm-oil mixed with it to soften it, is put into a wooden kid in the centre of those 10 or 12, by the head man; then they generally make all the slaves sing while the rice is getting cool; there is generally a handful of peppers put into each of those kids, and they eat it as soon as it is cool enough.

558. They are brought on deck for that purpose?—No, you bring about half on deck and leave half in the hold.

559. Half are brought on deck at a time?—You feed them all together, half on deck, half in the hold, and none of the slaves begin till the head men give them the signal.

560. Do they get water at the same time?—No; in about half an hour after they have done their dinner, my regulation used to be to send them all to one end of the vessel, and as we gave them their water to let them pass; or else if we did not do it in that way, many would go without, and some get a double share.

561. Do they suffer very much generally on board the slavers from want of water?—I always was very well supplied with it; if you have a long passage they may. The grown up slaves get about a pint each, and the children get about two-thirds.

562. Is that the usual allowance observed on board a slaver?—They have regular tin pots, that hold about a pint.

563. And there is water sufficient to provide them with a pint?—Yes. The women that have children at the breast have generally a pint and a half.

564. Are

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564. Are the women under those circumstances placed in the same species of confinement as the rest of the slaves?—No, we generally keep them on the quarter-deck.

565. What was the plan pursued by the squadron in stopping the slave trade when you were last off the coast of Africa?—The station I was on was a very fine station. I think we were there about 18 months, and hardly had one shower of rain during the whole time; it was a very dry season, and we generally had two boats away, or three, and the ships running from one end of the station to the other.

566. Where were the boats sent to?—I generally kept my boat from Ambriz to Sande Point.

567. Did many slavers escape on the part of the coast where you were stationed?—We were told that we took three-fifths; the Portuguese officers told me they thought that the estimate of the number which we took was very much underrated, because the principal ports were never out of sight of our boats. One ship which I boarded was a legal trader, going over with many of those agents, with their families and furniture, back to the Brazils, because they could not continue the trade.

568. You are acquainted with the plan which Captain Denman has recommended to the Government?—Yes.

569. Do you concur with him, that if that plan were faithfully carried out, it would end in the extermination of the slave trade?—When I was there, upon the part of the coast that I was on, I had only three vessels with me, and generally one was away fetching provisions; it was supposed that those three vessels took three-fifths of the slaves that came there then. When the plan of Captain Denman was proposed, we proposed that there should be eight vessels where those three were; and then, I feel quite certain, that with those eight we ought to have put it down.

570. That they would effectually blockade the coast?—Yes.

571. And so prevent the slaves from leaving the coast in any part of that station?—In any part of that station I should have fancied it would have done it; but that was as the slave trade was then. Since the duties were taken off the sugar, I should fancy that it would increase the demand for slaves very much; the value of machinery exported from England to Brazil in 1845 being 17,130 *l.*, and in 1847, 35,123 *l.*

572. It would have stimulated the trade?—Yes.

573. Were you ever ashore on the coast of Africa?—Only once or twice at Ambriz, Loando, and Labinda, since 1831.

574. Mr. Jackson.] Where were the slaves shipped from?—Generally from a place a little to the southward of Loando; one vessel came out of Ambriz when I was in chase of an equipped vessel in the offing; the chase I captured, but the other escaped.

575. The greater bulk between 7° and 17° comes out of Loando, does not it?—I should think so. After the new regulation, implicit confidence was placed in the Portuguese authorities, and Loando and Ambriz were left in charge of them; and there can be no doubt, in my opinion, that they all engage in it. At least, I do not say they do it openly, but they have a certain system which they perfectly understand. When a slaver is going to sail, the governor generally goes to his country house; and when he comes back, he finds the slaver gone, and makes a great fuss, and offers a reward to catch them.

576. Chairman.] But he takes care that the slaver shall be gone first?—Yes. We always closed in whenever we had information that he was gone into the country, and I do not think we missed once taking a vessel coming out.

577. Did you ascertain, after you left the station where you had been so successful in capturing the slavers, that the slave trade revived on that station?—I have not followed it out much; but immense numbers have been landed in Brazil, from information I have received from brother officers on the Brazil station.

578. You have no information upon that subject?—I have none of my own.

579. Were you in the habit of visiting vessels under American colours on the coast?—Yes.

580. Did you ever visit a vessel which was *bonâ fide* an American ship?—Yes; we do not acknowledge the flag as the only thing to go by. As soon as I saw that the papers were really American papers, we never searched further.

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They generally offered to open their holds, and did generally, for us to look into, but I did not press it as a right.

581. You asked for it?—No, I did not ask; they offered it.

582. In the event of falling in with a vessel under American colours, would you have boarded the vessel and demanded to see the papers?—Yes; I believe it is a right which the British Government asserts.

583. The right of visit?—The right of visit, to ascertain whether she is really and *bonâ fide* American or not.

584. Is that control assented to on the part of the Americans?—I never had any trouble.

585. Under what flag was the slave trade chiefly carried on during the time you were upon the coast?—We took several vessels without any flag at all. The Portuguese flag was always hoisted in vessels with slaves in, and the Brazilian with cargoes.

586. Do you concur with Captain Denman, that a declaration on the part of all the maritime States of the world, that slave trading is piracy, would be a very important means of stopping the slave trade?—I should think it a certain means of doing it, because the captains of slavers have told me themselves that if the law was so strict that they would suffer death by it, they did not think there would be one man who would take the command of a slaver. If a law were passed, that in the case of all vessels taken with slaves actually on board, the three senior officers of the vessel should be hung or condemned to death, I do not think you would ever see a slaver.

587. Do you think that such a stipulation would be essentially necessary for the purpose of stopping the slave trade?—I think so.

588. Do you think that without it there would not be much prospect of extinguishing the trade?—Not altogether, I think; in the same way that we cannot put down smuggling with all our efforts.

589. Mr. Jackson.] You have not been north of the line?—I was there as a midshipman some years ago; and I was there as a lieutenant, in command of the "Brisk," in 1831. I was off Lagos.

590. You were never engaged in the Bights of Benin and Biafra?—Nothing further in the latter bight than running into Fernando Po for provisions.

591-2. You merely called at Clarence for the purpose of watering and getting provisions?—That was all.

593. Mr. B. Baring.] What was the duty of the detached boats?—To constantly keep the port in sight, and to capture the vessels under the treaties; they all had copies of them.

594. They were lying off the port?—Yes; the boats used to pass one another, running 20 or 30 or 40 miles, cruising constantly there.

595. Were they allowed to land?—They landed sometimes for water, but that was all.

596. Did you find that duty very unhealthy?—No; all the crews of the boats were particularly healthy.

597. Can you give any account of the number of men which you lost during your cruize?—I lost a lieutenant, a surgeon, a master, and mate.

598. Chairman.] In what year was that?—From 1840 to 1842; it was during that time.

599. Lord Harry Vane.] And how many of the crew did you lose?—Not above five; and one was quite an old man, who had been invalided three or four times.

600. What was the whole complement of the crew?—One hundred and thirty-five.

601. Mr. Jackson.] And what was your total loss?—Five men and four officers, to the best of my recollection.

602. You consider the coast between 7° and 17° south extremely healthy?—I think it is. Between the latter end of February and the middle of March it is rather sickly, but generally speaking it is very healthy.

603. It is considered much more healthy than the Benin coast or the Bights?—Yes.

604. Mr. B. Baring.] Were the slavers which you took well supplied with food and water?—Yes.

605. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] You have stated that you considered that the slave trade

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trade was nearly suppressed on that part of the coast where you commanded in the year 1842?—Yes.

606. To what do you attribute its increase since that period?—To putting Loando and Ambriz, and I think, generally, the Portuguese possessions, under the charge of the Portuguese government. I think that that revived it during the time it was under their charge, and enabled the slave factors to continue it; but before that they could not continue buying the slaves, from not being able to embark them. There was one case, I think, of 505 slaves that were taken by the Acorn, where they had been 14 months in the barracoons at Ambriz.

607. Do you think that the Portuguese government at Loando connived at the transactions of the slave dealers?—I think so myself.

608. Were you engaged in the destruction of barracoons on any part of that coast?—No.

609. Were not you concerned in those transactions at Cabenda?—No; I left the station before the orders came out.

610. Are you aware of the slave trade having been abandoned in any part of the coast, and legitimate trade substituted for it?—I know nothing upon that point of my own knowledge. I have heard that it was abandoned in the Bonny and Calabar, and all those rivers; but not on the part of the coast where I was cruising. There was very little trade there; I never saw more than three English vessels all the time I was there.

611. Did you ever hear that in consequence of the difficulties in prosecuting the slave trade, from the vigilant guarding of the English cruisers, the slave trade had been given up?—It was given up at Ambriz certainly.

612-13. Was it afterwards resumed?—Yes.

614. To what do you attribute that resumption?—I suppose it must have been from its being almost thrown open at Loando by being under the Portuguese authorities.

615. *Chairman.*] You have stated that the vessel which you commanded, the "Fantome," was remarkably healthy during the time she was there?—She was. Those officers who died got their illnesses at Sierra Leone, in the command of prizes, and greatly from their own imprudence, because I know that the Governor had to order the lights to be put out at the house which they lived in, from their keeping up late hours.

616. Your boats were not much employed up the river?—Once, I think, they went up the Congo; that is all.

617. Did you ever experience those fogs which they call smokes, off the coast?—I never knew them by that name; I have seen the Harmattan wind, and the south-westerly very thick.

618. Do they ever favour the escape of a slaver?—Yes.

619. *Earl of Lincoln.*] When did the alteration of which you have spoken in the regulations at Loando take place?—I read it in a Slave-trade Report to Parliament; it was either in 1842 or 1843.

620. *Chairman.*] It was after the appointment of Commodore Jones?—Yes; I think it is in the Parliamentary Slave Reports of 1844; I am not quite sure.

621. *Earl of Lincoln.*] When you say that the slave trade has increased at Loando and the other Portuguese possessions, since the alteration which took place, you are not speaking from your own knowledge?—No, only from what I have heard.

622. You left the coast in 1842?—Yes.

623. *Chairman.*] Where did you take the slaves to, whom you captured?—To St. Helena.

624. That was some distance from where you were stationed?—Not more than eight or nine days' sail.

625. Did they perish in any numbers during the voyage?—One vessel, I think, lost about 70. The officer in charge died.

626. What was the number of slaves on board originally?—From 400 to 500.

627. Did slaves perish in any numbers on board the vessels after they were brought to St. Helena, and before they were adjudicated?—I believe several went there with the smallpox, and died.

628. And that was not an uncommon event?—No.

629. For the slaves to perish while the case of the vessel was under the consideration of the court?—Sometimes six or seven a day, I believe, died.

0.53.

630. That

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630. That was tried before the Vice-Admiralty Court, I suppose?—Yes.

631. The proceedings before the Vice-Admiralty Court were rather more tardy than before the Commission Courts, were they not?—I do not know.

632. Your duty was to take the slave vessels for condemnation to St. Helena; you never took them to Sierra Leone?—No; I sent all mine to St. Helena, for Vice-Admiralty Court, and to Sierra Leone for Mixed Court.

633. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Is it optional with the captains whether they send them to Sierra Leone or St. Helena?—Yes, I fancy so; we got an order latterly to send them down to the Cape, if the vessels were seaworthy. I sent mine to St. Helena, to get them landed as soon as I could; that was my object, but we had orders to send them to the Cape if the vessels were seaworthy. There is no Mixed Commission Court at St. Helena.

634. *Chairman*.] Are the vessels frequently in a very crazy state?—They were not too crazy to go to the Brazils, but they were not sufficiently sound to send round the Cape of Good Hope.

635. They were a bad description of vessels?—Yes.

636. Were you ever on the east coast at all?—No.

637. Did you ever see any vessels that came from the east coast with slaves?—Yes, I saw one lying at the Cape.

638. A vessel under adjudication?—No; it was a hulk that I saw; it had been condemned; it was a very fine vessel. Admiral Elliott had written home to have her purchased for the navy; it was a vessel of 300 tons, I suppose.

639. Were the slaves on board at the time?—No; she had been condemned some months.

640. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is it your opinion that if the same vigilant proceedings adopted by you up to 1842 had been continued, the slave trade would have been suppressed on those parts of the coast?—I think there is no doubt of it.

641. Lord *H. Vane*.] Do you mean entirely suppressed?—It would have been suppressed while the squadron remained there, but whether it would have occurred again or not I do not know.

642. What would have occasioned its opening up again?—If you had withdrawn the squadron, I dare say it would have grown up again.

643. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Your opinion is that if the squadron had been withdrawn, the trade would have been renewed?—No doubt of it; and it always will be while the Portuguese settlements are there.

644. Earl of *Lincoln*.] What diminution in the annual amount of slave trade took place on that coast during the time that you were there?—I cannot tell what the slave trade was before I went there.

645. What difference was there between the first year of your going there and the year of your leaving?—I do not know exactly.

646. *Chairman*.] Was there much less activity in the slave trade, comparing those two periods?—In the last vessel that was taken, the slaves had been 14 months in the barracoons.

647. Without an opportunity of leaving them?—Without an opportunity of being embarked at Ambriz; Ambriz used, I believe, to be the greatest slave port, but the Portuguese authorities have now made a public road a few miles in the interior, so that they can almost go now from one settlement to another; they can ship slaves, I think, nearly every 20 miles or so along that coast.

648. Do you mean, when you state that the slaves had been 14 months in the barracoon without being shipped, that no shipments whatever had taken place from that portion of the coast during those 14 months?—Not from Ambriz, excepting 273 that went out in a small schooner while we were outside in chase of an equipped vessel we captured.

649. That is to say, no embarkation took place from that one port?—I believe not; I am pretty certain of it.

650. Do you infer that no embarkation took place from any neighbouring ports on the same part of the coast?—No.

651. From what facts do you deduce the diminution of the slave trade on that coast; from the vigilance which you exercised during the time you were there?—From our finding vessels taking slave factors back to Rio. We boarded a legal trader taking slave factors, men who purchased slaves, back again with their families to Rio, and they told us that they could not keep up the trade any longer, that we had ruined them. Those were small speculators, I dare say; I do not know what the very large ones may have done.

652. Mr.

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652. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] In point of fact, you found that the slave-dealers had abandoned their occupation, it being no longer profitable?—Yes, and from the expense of feeding.

653. They have broken up their establishments and returned to Brazil?—Yes, and then there was a famine at the time, that much increased their difficulty; provisions were excessively high for feeding slaves.

654. Earl of *Lincoln*.] You have stated that those answers were given to you by persons engaged in the slave trade with small capital?—I should fancy so.

655. Do you imagine that the same answers would apply to those with large capital?—I do not know.

656. Is it the practice to ship slaves on that part of the coast immediately from the barracoons to the slave vessels?—Yes.

657. Do they never take them from the barracoons any considerable distance down or up the coast, to any other part where the vessels are lying?—There is no difficulty in doing that, and I should fancy they do it; I know that I took a vessel that ran ashore 10 or 12 miles to the leeward of Ambriz.

658. At what distance from the barracoons are slaves occasionally shipped on board the slave vessels?—On that coast a few hundred yards; a quarter of a mile perhaps.

659. That is probably the nearest point at which they can be shipped; at what distance are slaves ever carried from the barracoons, with a view to ship them, down or up the coast?—They may march them on that coast 100 miles, I think, if they choose.

660. But do they practically do so?—Yes, I fancy so; but there are some tribes that will not let the slaves pass; they make them pay a certain head money on passing, like our turnpikes or bridges; and then if they cannot get through that part of the country, they may have to travel round.

661. From that fact we may assume that it is a general practice to march slaves from barracoons in which they are kept, very considerable distances along the coast before they are shipped?—Yes, there is no doubt of that; those 505 that I have been speaking of from Ambriz were marched, I think, from 25 to 30 miles before they were embarked.

662. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Do the slaves on that part of the coast come from the interior?—Yes.

663. From a great distance in the interior?—I believe so. There is a caravan, which they call a *tabooka*, which comes in every fortnight with slaves and merchandize, ivory and gum, &c. Latterly, while we prevented slaves to embark, there perhaps sometimes came six or eight, but never in any great numbers.

664. The caravans, then, have ceased to bring slaves?—Yes, in large numbers.

665. Have they brought a larger quantity of merchandize?—I do not know that it increased much; the same three vessels were only there.

666. *Chairman*.] Is not the merchandize brought on the heads of the slaves?—Yes, generally speaking.

667. Mr. *Jackson*.] It is a great place for ivory, is it not?—Ivory and copal.

668. Are you aware that the slaves are in the habit of carrying with them the tusks of ivory from the interior to the coast?—Yes.

669. And whenever those caravans arrive a great trade takes place, not only in slaves, but in gum and ivory, and other articles?—Yes.

670. That is the mode by which the produce which comes from the interior of the country is brought down to the port where the ships go to purchase it?—I believe so.

671. There were three British merchant vessels, you say, there at the time?—Yes.

672. Do you recollect their name?—The “*Rocket*” was one.

673. Was the “*Mediterranean*” another?—Yes; and the “*Kenwick Castle*” another; she came out with a second cargo for the “*Rocket*.”

674. Mr. *B. Baring*.] Do those caravans return with goods for the interior from the coast?—I was told that the persons bringing the slaves in, bring them to a certain distance, and then the persons occupying the country between that and the sea purchase the slaves for what they will sell them for; they then bring them to the slave merchants and sell them at another profit, because they will not allow the Bushmen, original sellers of the slaves, to come into their territory.

675. Mr. *Jackson*.] It is a tribute money?—A kind of tribute money.

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676. The caravan is not a caravan in its common sense. The caravan to which you refer is a number of men marched down from the interior, carrying on their heads or in their arms, the produce of the country?—Yes, so I understand.

677. There are neither horses nor vehicles of any description?—Not that I have heard.

678. *Chairman.*] As the palm oil and ivory are brought by means of the slaves from the interior, the same process which would stop the slave trade would stop the legitimate commerce from the interior?—The captains of merchant vessels have told me so; but when I was out there the “Rocket” came out with a cargo of old soldiers’ jackets, done up by the Jews and cleaned, and the whole time that those jackets lasted they would not sell a slave; they would not sell anything but for those red jackets. Instead of their going on board ships now to trade, the parties connected with the merchant vessels have wooden factories on shore, and land a portion of their goods; they have perhaps six or eight factories on the coast for trade, and they land a certain quantity of goods and leave a man to sell them, while they run from one place to another. While those jackets lasted they would not carry on any trade except with the English factor, and he could buy his ivory and whatever he wanted at almost any price.

679. *Mr. Jackson.*] Is not this the case, that so long as the British merchant gave to the black man what he wanted, the black man would only deal with him, and would not deal with the trader in slaves?—Yes, I believe so.

680. Would it not follow, that if the British merchandize were taken up, without reference to any slave trading in the interior of the country, or any slaves coming down, the same mode of transit would be adopted in passing the produce downwards from territory to territory as in taking the merchandize up: supposing no slaves came from the interior of the country, the ivory and gum copal would be carried in the same way downwards as the merchandize upwards?—Yes; but then they would have to march the slaves back again, instead of selling them.

681. But you have stated, that so long as those red jackets, which pleased the fancy of the black men, were there, the slavers could not buy a single slave?—So I was informed.

682. Showing, that so long as you supplied the black man with what he wanted, he preferred dealing in legitimate commerce to dealing in slaves?—Yes.

683. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] With reference to a question which was asked, as to whether the legitimate trade of the country would not be destroyed if the slave trade were discontinued, it is your opinion that, though the slave trade were discontinued, the legitimate commerce would still be continued?—Yes.

684. *Mr. B. Baring.*] If the slave dealer had brought the red jackets instead of the British merchant, in that case the slave dealer would have had all the traffic, and not the British merchant, would he not?—No doubt of it.

685. *Colonel Thompson.*] How are the goods which are given in exchange on the coast of Africa carried into the interior?—I should fancy by slaves or traders.

686. Then must there not be a set of carriers one way and the other way also; and if that is the case, in your opinion does that or not do away with the necessity for there being a slave trade, in order to carry on the communication between the interior and the coast?—I do not exactly understand the question. If there was no slave trade those slaves that carry goods now down to the coast would have to go back again, I fancy.

687. Does not somebody go back now?—Not if they can sell them; I do not believe they do, except the head people. If they can find a slave market for the persons who bring the goods down, they will not go back.

688. Something must find its way into the interior; something must be carried there. In your opinion does not that necessity do away with any argument in favour of the necessity of keeping up a slave trade in order to carry on the legitimate trade between the interior and the coast; is not there evidently some way, without slaves, in which the communication is carried on backwards and forwards?—I should fancy there must be, for I recollect that one of those tabookas which came down brought a great deal of ivory and gum; and only four or five slaves, the captain of the “Rocket” told me, came down with the caravan.

689. How were those goods carried; were there beasts of burden; asses?—No.

690. *Chairman.*] They were all carried by domestic slaves?—Yes.

691. *Lord H Vane.*] Those domestic slaves must accompany the other slaves down?—They must; they must be a class of half-free people, I fancy.

692. *Colonel*

692. Colonel *Thompson*.] You are understood to say that there were only four or five men for sale who came down with those goods in the caravans?—Yes.

693. Therefore the goods must have been carried by men not for sale?—Yes, they must, I should think; and I suppose that the payment for those kind of goods being in English manufactures, they send more legitimate commerce down than slaves; I do not know how they are brought down.

694. Will you tell us generally, whether you think that there is any necessary connexion between the existence of a slave trade in Africa and the existence of a legitimate trade with the interior?—I do not know how to answer that question; they must be in some way mixed together, I fancy, from information which I obtained from the Portuguese officers; and they were always asserting that the greatest thing that could happen for their colonies would be to put this slave trade down; that they could cultivate almost anything there, but that at present there was, I suppose, a greater profit made by the slave trade than by legitimate trade.

695. Mr. *Jackson*.] That is to say, that in the Portuguese settlements the natives, instead of turning their attention to agricultural pursuits, turn their attention altogether to the slave trade?—Yes.

696. The Portuguese say, that if they were taken from that employment and put to the natural labour of the soil, it would be far better?—Yes; that was their opinion always.

697. *Chairman*.] Then of the two means of suppressing the slave trade, which is the better; an armed force on the coast, or the promotion of legitimate commerce?—I hardly see how they are to go separately.

698. Practically, the two kinds of commerce mutually aid and assist each other; the slaves bringing the wax, and palm oil, and ivory, down to the coast; and then those articles being shipped on board one vessel, and the slaves on board the other. Are we to understand that that is the common mode of procedure in regard to the slave trade?—I fancy so; I know very little about it.

699. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] With regard to that particular case which you mentioned, this was not necessary, as you stated that in the caravans which brought down the goods for the trade of the "Rocket," there were only four slaves amongst them for sale?—That was all the information which I got from the captain.

700. Mr. *Jackson*.] During your sojourn on the coast of Africa, did you ever fall in with any pirates?—I know of a case, the *St. Helena* packet, everybody being murdered but two, and the vessel scuttled.

701. When was that?—That was in 1830.

702. Then since the year 1830 you have not heard of a single act of piracy on the coast of Africa?—No, I have not.

703. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] What is, generally speaking, the character of the crews of the slavers?—They would be all pirates if they had the opportunity, I fancy.

704. Mr. *Jackson*.] What makes you think so?—It was a very common practice in 1826, 1827, and 1828, for Spanish slavers to take Brazilians, and to take all the slaves out. It was a common practice for the stronger slaver to take the weaker one's slaves.

705. Lord *H. Vane*.] From each other?—From one another.

706. Mr. *Jackson*.] Do you know that of your own knowledge, or is it merely hearsay?—It is the assertion of the Brazilian slavers themselves; and I know the case of one of our prizemasters, now Captain Crawford; he was attacked by a Spanish slaver while taking up a prize full of slaves, and he beat her off and got safe into Sierra Leone; she attacked him to take the slaves from him, and I think they were in action for some hours.

707. I suppose she was a companion of the slaver which was captured?—No, not at all, because the slaver was taken in the Bight of Benin, and this was off the Gallinas, on his way up. He got his promotion for beating her off.

708. What have you generally done with the crew after you have captured a vessel?—We generally sent three up to Sierra Leone in the slaver, or wherever we sent the slaver to, and the others were landed.

709. Anywhere?—Anywhere.

710. Without reference to food, or clothing, or climate?—No, we never landed them except near a slave factory; and always with a certain quantity of food, and their clothes.

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711. You

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711. You left them to the mercy of the black men?—Yes.
712. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] You state that you never landed them except in the neighbourhood of a slave factory?—Never; never more than two or three miles off, wherever the beach happened to be the best for landing.
713. Mr. *Jackson.*] Have you ever heard of any of those men dying on the beach, for want of sustenance?—None that ever I have had to do with.
714. *Chairman.*] From what you saw on the coast of Africa, do you think there would be any facility of obtaining free labourers from the coast, for the purpose of conveying them to the West Indies?—From the Kroo coast, I think there would not be any difficulty. I know nothing as to any other part.
715. Would the Kroomen go readily?—They have gone, I believe, a good many of them.
716. Mr. *Jackson.*] Were you ever in the Kroo country yourself?—Not to land; I have run past it.
717. Did you ever take any Kroomen on board?—Yes, in the ships that I have been in.
718. Had you to wait long for them?—No.
719. There was generally an abundant supply?—A very large supply always.
720. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Can you state what are the numbers of the Kroo nation; have you ever heard any calculation of it?—No. They will never stay more than three or four years away from their country, I think.
721. What is the extent of the Kroo country?—From 100 to 200 miles, I think, along the coast. I do not know how far it goes into the interior.
722. Does that include the Fishmen as well?—I fancy that they are the same class: that the Fishmen are the seafaring part, and that the Kroomen are generally the agricultural part; they have not exactly, I think, the same marks.
723. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Are the Kroomen an agricultural people?—Field work is generally done by the women.
724. *Chairman.*] The Kroomen are a seafaring people, are not they; they engage themselves very readily on board our ships?—Yes; I believe all our timber ships at Sierra Leone are loaded by them; they are labourers, grooms, &c.
725. Mr. *E. Milnes.*] You have stated that you have taken Kroomen on board your own ships?—Yes.
726. Have you found them good and docile?—Very much so, the Kroomen; but the Fishmen are very troublesome quarrelsome men, generally speaking.
727. Mr. *Jackson.*] That is, they quarrel with the crew?—Yes; among themselves also; and if you have a mixed gang, they are very troublesome.
728. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Do they speak two distinct languages?—I do not know.
729. Mr. *Jackson.*] They all speak English?—Yes; but they understand each other's language.
730. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Is one of them a superior class to the other?—We prefer the Kroomen ourselves to the Fishmen.
731. *Chairman.*] Are there any other observations which you would wish to make to the Committee?—None.

Martis, 28^o die Martii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Bingham Baring.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Gladstone.
Lord John Hay.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.

Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

Try Norman (a Female African), called in; and Examined.

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732. *Chairman.*] WHERE were you born?—In the Yarraba country.
733. How old were you when you left that country?—Very young.
734. Do you recollect anything about it?—No.

735. Where

735. Where did you go to when you left your own country?—To Sierra Leone.

736. How did you live there?—I lived free.

737. You went from Sierra Leone to the Gallinas?—Yes.

738. What did you go there for?—To wash.

739. Did they let you wash there?—Yes.

740. They did not offer you any interruption; they did not prevent your washing?—No; only after I washed, from Sherboro I went down to the Gallinas to get my pay from a man of the name of Lewis, and after I did get the pay from him I went to Gendamar. I went to Prince Manna to one girl, and when Prince Manna saw me he said I could not go back.

741. What did he do to you?—I asked him what he stopped me for; he said he stopped me on account of Mrs. Gray; that except Mrs. Gray came to the Gallinas, Prince Manna would keep me there until I died.

742. Who was Mrs. Gray?—My mistress.

743. And did he keep you there?—Yes.

744. How did he keep you?—One day I ran away; he caught me, and chained me.

745. What sort of chains?—Chains that are put on the slave foot.

746. What do you mean by the word slave foot?—Because I see how they punish the slaves.

747. How long did Prince Manna keep you so?—I had been there for some weeks, and I promised that I would never run away again, and he loosed me. I told him to please to let me loose, I would not run away any more.

748. How long did you stay there?—Three months.

749. Were there many slaves there belonging to Prince Manna?—Yes.

750. How many?—Plenty.

751. One hundred?—He had got more than that.

752. Five hundred?—It may be so, because they are in the farm. They have a large farm; all the slaves are there.

753. All the slaves are on the farm?—Yes, working.

754. Were they chained?—No; Prince Manna did not keep a barracoon.

755. Prince Manna does not keep a barracoon?—No.

756. Who keeps the barracoon?—The Spanish.

757. What is the Spanish name?—One named John Buron.

758. Did Prince Manna sell the slaves to Buron?—Yes; he sold the whole of the people.

759. Had Buron many slaves?—Yes.

760. A great many?—Yes.

761. Had he 500 slaves?—I cannot tell, but he had plenty of slaves.

762. And where were they; where did he keep them?—They kept them in barracoons.

763. Chained?—Yes.

764. Were any slaves sent away in a ship when you were there?—Yes; many times I saw slaves go in the ship.

765. How many times did you see the slaves put on board ship while you were there?—Plenty of times.

766. A great many at the same time?—Yes.

767. One hundred?—It may be more.

768. And they got away in the ship?—Sometimes Englishmen pressed them, and another time they got away.

769. Sometimes they got away?—Yes.

770. Were they chained when they were put on board ship?—Yes.

771. Were they very much afraid of being put on board ship?—Yes.

772. They did not like it?—No; some cried; but what must they do? they were obliged to go.

773. Where did the slaves come from?—They came from the Cossoo country.

774. Did they come down a great many?—Yes, plenty; the people go up and buy them.

775. Did they bring them to Prince Manna?—Yes.

776. They brought them first to Prince Manna?—Yes.

777. And then Prince Manna sold them to Mr. Buron?—Yes; and at the other place, Camasura. Whenever a vessel comes with goods Prince Manna

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takes all the goods, and then he sends them to the chiefs; he tells them to go and buy slaves, and bring them; and they bring the slaves to him, and he brings them to the white people.

778. How many years ago is it since you were there?—About seven years. The same thing is carried on; they do not leave off.

779. How long have you been in England?—I think about four months.

780. Have you come from Sierra Leone?—Yes.

781. How did you get to Sierra Leone from the Gallinas?—Captain Denman took me away from Prince Mauna.

782. Did a great many ships come for the slaves while you were at the Gallinas?—Yes.

783. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] You were liberated?—Yes.

784. And placed in Sierra Leone?—Yes.

785. Were you a subject of the English colony there?—Yes.

786. Were you taken from Sierra Leone?—Yes.

787. By Prince Manna?—No.

788. Were you detained by Prince Manna?—Yes.

789. What was the ground for which you were detained?—On account of Mrs. Gray owing him money.

790. Was the money which Prince Manna claimed as owing to him by Mrs. Gray, the price or value of any woman whom Mrs. Gray had received from Prince Manna?—Prince Manna gave Mrs. Gray a girl to teach her to wash and sew, after which she requested to be paid for her trouble. Prince Manna paid Mrs. Gray, and then he stopped me for the same money.

791. Did Prince Manna complain that the young woman whom he had sent to Mrs. Gray was not given back to him?—I do not know that, but I know he sent for the girl.

792. And the girl was not given back?—No; Mrs. Gray told him to pay her for her trouble, and she would send the girl back.

793. The girl was not sent back?—After the money was paid the girl was sent back.

794. Were you kept by Prince Manna on the ground that the other woman was not returned to him?—No, he kept me if Mrs. Gray did not come. He did not wish to pay Mrs. Gray for her trouble in teaching the girl; he wanted the money back from Mrs. Gray.

795. In point of fact, were you in the hands of Prince Manna against your will; not able to leave him?—Yes, against my own will.

796. You being an inhabitant of Sierra Leone, and a subject of the Crown of England?—Yes.

797. Did you understand that Captain Denman knew of your being a King's girl, taken away and kept by force in Prince Manna's country?—Yes.

798. Did Prince Manna transfer you to Buron, the slave dealer?—No.

799. Did he keep you in his own charge?—Yes; he gave me to one to keep in the yard.

800. Were you in the barracoon?—No.

801. Never?—No.

802. Were you made free by Captain Denman?—Yes.

803. In what house were you when Captain Denman made you free?—In Prince Manna's hand.

804. As a prisoner?—Yes.

805. Being a British subject whom he kept against your will?—Yes.

806. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] How long have you been at Sierra Leone; how long is it since you were first captured?—I do not know.

807. Are the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone happy?—Yes.

808. Are they as happy as in their own country from which they are taken?—Yes.

809. Are they taught trades?—Yes.

810. Of what kind?—Some masons, some carpenters, some tailors, some blacksmiths, and all sorts.

811. Do they get good wages for those trades?—No; no good wages for any trade at all.

812. Not good wages?—No, except those who work for the Queen.

813. Do some of them cultivate the land?—Yes.

814. Do they get a good living by that?—Yes.

815. Would

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815. Would they like to go to the West Indies if they got better wages and good work?—A ship always comes for them and they always go.

816. Would many of them like to go if they were sure of getting good wages in the West India islands, and could come back again when they liked?—Yes; some had gone to the West Indies before I came away, and some had returned from the West Indies.

817. What account did they give their friends of the way in which they were treated there?—They said they were treated very well.

818. And in consequence of their giving a good account of what they did there, would many more wish to go?—Yes.

819. Do the black people of Africa think the English nation their friends, for taking slave vessels?—Yes.

820. Would they be very sorry if the Queen of England's ships were taken away from the coast of Africa?—Yes.

821. Are the chiefs who sell the slaves very much afraid of the Queen of England's ships?—They are very much afraid of them. When Prince Manna stopped me, I went to his father and told him; he is very old; he can scarcely see.

822. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] King Siacca?—Yes; I went there and told him; he called Prince Manna and said, "What do you stop this woman for?" He said "Mind;" but he did not hear him

823. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Would African chiefs sell many more slaves if the Queen of England's ships were to go away from the coast of Africa?—Yes.

824. Do you think that the Queen of England's ships prevent a great many slaves being sold?—Yes.

825. *Mr. B. Baring.*] You said that Prince Manna sold slaves to the Spaniards?—Yes.

826. Does he ever sell his own people to the Spaniard?—Yes, if they behave bad.

827. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Did you ever know any of his own people whom he sold?—Yes, I know one.

828. Was it a man or a woman?—A boy.

829. What was he sold for; what had he done?—He went after his wife.

Captain *William Allen*, R. N., called in; and Examined.

830. *Chairman.*] YOU are a Post Captain in the Royal Navy?—I am.

831. You accompanied Captain Trotter's expedition?—Yes, I was on that expedition.

832. In what year was it?—In 1841; we went out in May 1841 from England, and returned in September 1842.

833. Did you ascend the Niger?—I ascended the Niger as far as the confluence; having been there before.

834. As far as Rabba?—On the former expedition I went as far as Rabba, but in the last expedition I commanded the "Wilberforce," and went as far as the confluence of the two rivers. Captain Trotter went up a little higher, as far as Egga.

835. You speak of a previous occasion on which you ascended the river; when was that?—In Lander's expedition, in the year 1832.

836. Have you any knowledge of the coast?—Very little, except between the mouth of the Niger and the Cameroons River; I know something of that part. That which I call the mouth of the Niger bisects that projection of land separating the Bights of Benin and Biafra, which is all alluvial. The principal branch of the Niger is near Cape Formosa; it is called the Rio Nun, and is the one I entered.

837. Is that the only mouth of the Niger which is navigable?—I believe it is the only one which is navigable; the others have but a small quantity of water over the bar, except probably the Sengana, which appears to have 15 feet; but the breakers are very heavy, and I do not know of any vessel ever having gone in there. That is the next to the westward of the Rio Nun.

838. *Mr. Jackson.*] Do you consider the main stream the Brass?—The Brass or Nun.

839. *Chairman.*] Do those entrances to the Niger shift?—I believe they shift; but in the course of a great number of years we have not sufficient knowledge to be able to say positively that they are shifting. It is only very recently that we

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have surveyed the bars of those rivers; the Nun was the only one that was surveyed until lately by Captain Denham.

840. Are there many water channels between the main water of the river and the sea?—To the westward of the Rio Nun there are twelve.

841. And eastward?—And to the eastward there are seven, I believe, including the Bonny and New Calabar.

842. Is the Formosa one?—The Formosa, sometimes called the Benin, may communicate; but that is not navigable, I believe.

843. Is that the outlet the furthest to the westward?—Yes, the furthest to the westward. As the Niger sends off its waters by it at a considerable angle, the current is probably less rapid, and it does not clear the channel out. I went down that branch for some little distance, and I found the water very shallow and very much obstructed by islands; and I came to the conclusion that it could not be a principal branch of the Niger.

844. Do you know whether the slave trade is carried on at the mouths of the Niger?—I think not in the Rio Nun. I am not aware of any going on there now, but slaves are brought down the river.

845. To what point are they brought down?—I cannot say.

846. Does it appear to you that those mouths of the Niger offer facilities for carrying on the slave trade?—Not so very great, on account of the difficulty of crossing the bar in sailing vessels.

847. You must have seen something of the proceedings of the slave trade, I suppose?—Not anything. I have not seen anything of the kind, except in the interior; I saw canoes bringing them down; with those exceptions I never saw anything of the slave trade.

848. You saw canoes come with slaves down the Niger?—Yes, every market day, in fact, some were brought down.

849. Every market day where?—Every market day in the river. In the upper parts of the river there are market days once every ten days, which last four days, and there are two or three days for going backwards and forwards; so that once a fortnight is the period, probably.

850. Were those slaves for the domestic purposes of the chiefs, or were they for exportation?—It is most likely they were for exportation, but I had not the means of ascertaining that. I saw them principally when I was in the Niger the first time on Lander's expedition, and then I certainly saw canoes going down to the market with persons whom I believed to be slaves, but I had not the means of ascertaining. We did not stop them; we had no right to interfere in any way, therefore it was only supposition.

851. Lord *Courtenay*.] What was it that led you to believe them to be slaves?—They were not employed in pulling, and they did not appear to be warriors; they were merely seated with the chief man who was in the canoe.

852. *Chairman*.] You could not distinguish whether they had fetters on or not?—I do not think I ever saw them with fetters; I never saw fetters on them.

853. You do not know where they were going to?—No; I concluded they were going to the market, to be transferred from one market to another until they should reach the coast; but very frequently they are carried by the inland creeks, I believe, to places where slavers are likely to be. I think the Rio Nun for a number of years has not been the seat of the slave trade.

854. I scarcely need ask you whether your crew suffered very much during your last expedition?—In the "Wilberforce" we had a great number sick, but I did not lose a great many men; I lost one officer and five men in the river; I had a great number of them ill; very few escaped sickness. On the former expedition 39 died; I was one of eight who returned.

855. Lander's expedition?—Lander's expedition.

856. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Lander's expedition was a private enterprise?—Of private merchants. I was sent out by the Admiralty to survey the river; I was merely a passenger in the expedition.

857. *Chairman*.] In the course of your expedition up the river, did you learn anything of the feelings of the chiefs in the interior, with respect to the slave trade?—They were, I believe, very desirous that it should be put down, with the exception of the Filatahs, those who inhabit the city of Rabba, and the country adjacent to Rabba. Their whole occupation is slave catching and selling; they make excursions every year during the dry season into the neighbouring states, to take slaves; they lay them under a contribution; all the tribes have to pay a certain

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certain sum, which is sometimes very exorbitant, although it would appear ridiculous in our estimation; frequently the sums are so great that they cannot pay, and then they seize the natives.

858. They seize the inhabitants?—They seize the inhabitants, in lieu of tribute; at other times, if there is the slightest resistance, they take all they can get hold of.

859. All the people?—Yes. I saw five villages burning at the same time where I was, at one spot.

860. Why were they set on fire?—Probably for having made resistance. They were attacked by the Filatahs, who carried off all that could not escape to the sand banks. When the Filatahs come down, if they have no means of resisting, they generally take their canoes and go on the sand banks, where they build temporary huts and remain there until the Filatahs go away, which is generally the beginning of the wet season.

861. Did the Filatahs set fire to the villages for the purpose of driving the people out?—I fancy so; I believe so.

862. *Mr. Jackson.*] The Filatahs are in the habit of taking slaves for sale in the interior as well as for export, are they not?—If they do, it is for sale to the Arabs. I think probably they do to the Arabs, who buy slaves at Rabba. I saw several Arabs who had come over from Tripoli.

863. If the blockade was so great at the mouths of the river as to prevent any exportation of slaves, there still would be the same thing to a certain extent going on for the supply of the inland demand?—Yes, but to a very small amount, on account of the difficulty of crossing the desert.

864. *Sir H. R. Inglis.*] The Filatahs are the ruling race in the central course of the Niger?—Yes.

865. *Chairman.*] You stated that some of the chieftains were very desirous that the slave trade should be put down?—Yes; we made treaties with two of the most influential chiefs; they agreed very readily to put it down in their own dominions, but they would not have the power in the upper part of the river, in consequence of the great influence of the Filatahs.

866. What was their inducement to put it down?—They yielded to our argument in a great measure; they generally believed that it was wrong. One chief immediately answered, "Yes, it is true what you say, that it is against God's will that man should sell his fellow;" he said he could not believe it was just.

867. Then you understood that the objection was rather of a moral and religious nature than a commercial one?—By some of the influential men and men of really high feeling it was admitted to be a duty.

868. It was not from the conviction that the native was of more service or value to them?—No, they had not that conviction; they did not deny it when we pointed out that it would be more to their advantage to keep them; they said perhaps it might be. They seemed to agree to that proposition.

869. They are Mahomedans, I suppose?—The Filatahs are all Mahomedans, and they are pushing the religion as far as they can; it is a religious war as well as slave-catching that induces them. They are determined to come as far as Iddah, which is about 200 miles from the coast.

870. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] You have stated that your first expedition was in the year 1832, when you lost 39 out of a crew of 47?—Yes, in the two steamers.

871. Did you hear much complaint when you returned to England of the loss of life in such expedition?—It excited a great deal of commiseration, but it was past when we returned to England; the sensation had gone by, so that I knew little about it.

872. That was entirely a private enterprise?—Entirely a private enterprise; it was fitted out principally by the Messrs. Laird, the father and two sons, of Liverpool; Mr. Macgregor Laird accompanied the expedition.

873. Did he return with you?—No.

874. He was one of those who were spared?—Yes; he came back in one of the vessels, and I went up again with Lander and remained a year.

875. That expedition was entirely, as you have already stated, a private enterprise?—Entirely.

876. Was it conducted with a view to science, or to general benevolence, or to commerce?—I believe the promoters of it had views of benevolence, but the object of the expedition was commerce, and principally ivory; nothing else would be worth taking.

877. You are not aware that the subject of the loss of life on that expedition

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constituted a ground of complaint against those who projected the expedition?—No, I am not aware of that. I remained a year in the river, and consequently when I returned to England it was a very considerable time after all our sufferings and losses, and the thing had passed by, so that I heard no further question about it, although I certainly was aware that people thought it was a great sacrifice of life.

878. *Chairman.*] Did you find the chiefs very eager for commercial transactions?—In a peculiar way. They are so very slow in the interior of Africa that it is perfectly impossible for Europeans to deal with them; the means of exchange are so very low, cowries, that it will take a whole day to sell a small amount of goods; for instance, in an amount of 10*l.* it would take a whole day to count the cowries.

879. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Are they unwilling to barter?—A few barter, but that is equally tedious, they change their minds so frequently; therefore I do not imagine that commercial enterprises can succeed by the intervention of Europeans. I think it must be left entirely to the natives, and if we could collect all the produce through their means, I dare say eventually a great quantity would be obtained.

880. Is not there a large trade in palm oil?—Yes, and there is not a more trading race than the Africans in the interior.

881. *Lord H. Vane.*] Why should there be any difficulty in barter?—Because they are fastidious; they do not know the value of time; they have no conception of making a large bargain, a small transaction is sufficient for their whole market. In bartering they generally prefer converting the goods first into cowries. A man comes down once a fortnight, or once in 10 days, and stays four days; during those four days if he makes a small bargain he is satisfied.

882. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Are cowries ever weighed, or always counted?—They are always counted by the people in the interior; we proposed to measure them, showing that our measure exceeded the number that they were said to be. However we had so little time to do that sort of thing (sickness fell upon us), that I do not think it was practised.

883. Can you state to the Committee what number of cowries would represent, according to the ordinary rate of exchange, a pound sterling?—When I was there first Lander considered them to be worth about 1,000 for 1*s.*; but on the last expedition we carried out a great quantity, and from the price which was paid for them in London by the ton, making as near an estimate as we could, I believe they were about 1,000 for 1*s.* 3*d.*

884. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] You stated that the Filatahs were the only tribe in the interior who still wished to pursue the slave trade?—All people pursue the slave trade there now, in consequence of their being so totally disorganized by the great demand on the coast, which has been existing for a number of years. Those people are not aware of its having been put down so much as it has been, so that every state, and every little tribe, will make war with its neighbour if possible, and get some slaves to sell, even in the same village probably. I have known cases where a man has sold his brother.

885. Then did you mean by that, that they were the only people who would not make treaties with you for the suppression of the slave trade?—We made treaties with the King of Ibu and the King of Iddah; they hitherto had carried on the slave trade, but promised to put it down, and to exert their influence throughout their dominions; but the Filatahs are a people who subsist entirely by the slave trade; they have hardly any occupation but that; they consider it a more gentlemanly sort of occupation, and they scorn to follow any other.

886. *Mr. Jackson.*] What is their religion?—The religion of the Filatahs is Mahomedan. There are a number of Malams who have reached as far as Iddah, nearly 200 miles below Rabba; there are a number of Malams who are Mahomedans, and they are trying all they can to convert the natives. They are held in very great respect, though I fancy they know very little of religion, but they can say some prayers from the Koran; a very few can read.

887. They wish to propagate their religion by force?—Yes.

888. Do not you consider that the slave trade has increased considerably by the resistance with which they have been met in the propagation of their faith?—I think it has.

889. *Chairman.*] They make it a pretence for capturing the people?—Yes; I have no doubt they do.

890. *Mr. Jackson.*] Have not you heard from communication with the differ-
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rent chiefs, and no doubt you have seen some of the Filatah chiefs, that there is a considerable slave trade carried on in the interior of the country, and that the Arabs are supplied with slaves from that district?—Yes; but I think in very small numbers. The Arabs whom I saw at Rabba had been many of them several years at Rabba, or in different parts of the interior; they had not been able to return.

891. There is an internal communication over the Desert?—Yes.

892. You have been at Ibu, which is a palm-oil country?—Yes.

893. Did you see there any other description of article used for currency; did you see the manilla?—Not in any part of the Niger; they are not used on any part of the River Niger that I saw.

894. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] What is the manilla?—A piece of copper in the shape of a horse-shoe; a little crescent; they are used in the Bonny to a great extent, I believe.

895. Mr. Jackson.] Have you been in the Bonny?—No, I have never been in the Bonny.

896. Have you been in the Cameroons?—I have been in the Cameroons; I surveyed the Cameroons while waiting for orders from England.

897. In what year was that?—The beginning of 1842.

898. Was Mr. Lilly there?—Yes.

899. You consider that he would be good evidence to bring before this Committee?—I think that he knows a great deal of the state of the trade there. There was none, I think, at that time in the Cameroons; there had been a good deal.

900. In consequence of his efforts in pushing legitimate commerce, you consider that, to a certain extent, he exterminated the slave trade in that river?—Yes, I think so.

901. Were you ever up the Benin?—No, I never was in that part.

902. Did you ever make a survey yourself of the coast from Benin to Old Calabar?—No.

903. You cannot state, from your own personal observation, how many creeks there are running from the Niger into the Atlantic?—No.

904. But seeing certain great rivers laid down upon the chart, you presume that there are no other outlets or inlets from the sea to the interior?—There may be a great many small creeks, but not any of them navigable; even those which are of sufficient importance to be laid down are not navigable.

905. You went up the Niger by the Nun?—Yes, on both occasions.

906. When you went up, what draught of water did you consider it safe to go in?—We drew very little, only six feet, but we had 14 feet over the bar; large vessels might have gone up, and have. When I was first in that river there was a large vessel; I do not know what water she drew, but she was a large palm-oil trader. The great difficulty and objection to these rivers is that the vessels cannot get out under sail; a land wind blows off in the morning, but when they approach the bar it generally falls calm, and they are driven back again.

907. However you would assume that the difficulty was in a great measure conquered, if you knew for a fact that from three to four vessels came out every year of from 300 to 400 tons burthen from the River Nun?—I should very likely think it to be more easy than I anticipated, certainly. I know that when I was there, for instance, one remained a great length of time, in consequence of not being able to cross the bar; and Mr. Laird was offered a very large sum of money if he would tow that vessel over the bar, which he refused to do, as it would have interfered with the purposes of the expedition.

908. Chairman.] Were you at all in the Old Calabar River?—No.

909. Mr. Jackson.] Were you ever in the New Calabar?—No.

910. Simply in the Cameroons?—Simply in the Cameroons and the Nun.

911. Chairman.] Do you know whether the chiefs of Iddah and Ibu remained faithful to the treaties?—There is no reason to suppose they could; it remained a dead letter. By law and justice, I should say it ought to be broken on their parts, because we have not fulfilled our part.

912. In what respects?—In sending up ships to trade with them. We said that they should have plenty of trade; and stipulated that, in consideration of putting down the slave trade, they should have one-twentieth part of everything that was sold in their dominions, as a remuneration and equivalent for the profit which the kings would otherwise have had from the slave trade.

913. Mr. Jackson.] You consider that this country has broken faith with

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African princes?—We stipulated that certain things should accrue from our visit and from the treaty which we had made; those have not taken place, and therefore in so far, I think, we have not fulfilled that which we promised.

914. Sir R. H. Inglis.] And if the African princes have returned to the practices of the slave trade, you consider that so far they are not guilty of any breach of faith towards us, inasmuch as we simultaneously, at least, if not prior, have been guilty of a breach of faith towards them?—Exactly; inasmuch as they cannot appreciate our intentions, and the iniquity of the slave trade. We first taught them that idea, and immediately that we had taught it to them we abandoned the motives, as it were, which led us to go to them. They cannot be aware of the insurmountable obstacles which prevent our conformity with the stipulations.

915. You have referred to the slave trade in the interior, and you have used some expressions intimating that the slaves taken on the Niger are carried by the Filatahs to Tripoli; do you mean that the great supply of slaves in the Mediterranean comes from those regions?—I have not the means of knowing the extent of the supply, but I believe it to be small from the countries I visited. I only believe that the Arabs come there for the purpose of taking slaves away. I know that one man had remained, I think, at the time I was there, about ten years; he had been trying to get his return.

916. Can you state to the Committee what was the price of a slave at Iddah when you were there?—I cannot say at Iddah.

917. Or at any other place?—It varied: the highest price for a slave, when a young girl, was 120,000 cowries, depending upon her appearance, which we considered then about 6*l.*, but it would be much more according to the present valuation; a strong stout man would be worth about 40,000 cowries.

918. Have you the means of stating to this Committee what was the reputed price of a strong man when he was brought nearer to the coast?—No.

919. When he was in the dominions of the King of Brass, for instance?—I cannot say; I do not know.

920. Mr. Jackson.] Is the trade in the country where you have been carried on by pawns or bars?—I think by bars, at the lower part of the river.

921. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] Do you think it would have been easy to have established a profitable trade with those chiefs up the Niger with whom you made treaties?—No, I do not think it would. Eventually it might have been profitable, but it would require a very considerable time, and a lengthened process, in order for it to be developed; it would be slow in its operation.

922. What are the reasons which make you think it would not have been easy?—Because they take a great length of time to sell a very small amount of goods; they cannot understand the value of time at present; they do not consider it necessary to economise time; they would sell a calabash or sell a slave, and the calabash probably would take as long chaffering about as the slave.

923. If the trade were once established, do you think there are a sufficient number of articles in the interior which might be exchanged for the European commodities?—I think so. I think a very profitable trade might arise by the Niger; I am convinced of that.

924. Do you think it possible for vessels to navigate the Niger without very great danger to the health of the crews?—On the contrary. I would not at all say anything which would sanction the sending out of white crews again, although I believe that the experiment has not yet been fairly tried, as I said in my report to Lord Stanley. In fact, we know almost as little of the navigation of the Niger as we hitherto did.

925. Would not the unhealthiness of the river be a very serious impediment to establishing any trade in the river?—As far as we know, certainly; but unfortunately those expeditions which I have accompanied, have entered the river too late; we were there at the worst time. If we could have entered (there were many circumstances preventing the possibility of our doing it) at what I consider the most favourable time, my belief has always been that it would have been found comparatively healthy; that is to say, in the months of April, May, June, and July; though at all times so prejudicial to Europeans, as to render it inadvisable to employ them in the Niger.

926. Would the unhealthiness have applied to a crew composed of black men?—No, I think not; although some of our black men suffered as much as the white who lived, but it must be considered that they had been serving a long while in our men-of-war; they had been in temperate climates for a great number

ber of years, and consequently required to be inured to the climate on their return to it, so that they suffered from fever. I had two men, one a native of Haussa and the other of the Gambia, and they both suffered excessively from the fever, so much as to reduce them, even after they had recovered, from being very active excellent men to useless creatures, and one begged that I would allow him to return to be invalided to England.

927. Did you perceive much difference between the healthiness of the upper and lower part of the river?—I believe the upper part of the river to be very much more healthy than the lower part; we caught our fever in passing the Delta, I think. I was a year in the river the first expedition; we entered in October, and until the following April I was constantly ill; we lost all our men during that time, and after that the weather was most delightful, and except intermittent fever, which I had regularly, we had hardly any sickness.

928. *Mr. Jackson.*] Do you find the Africans in the interior an industrious race?—Particularly so.

929. You find them desirous of trading with themselves?—Very much indeed, everywhere.

930. How far up the river did you see them purchasing at the markets which are held?—As far as I went.

931. *Chairman.*] How high did you ascend the river?—About 450 miles.

932. Did you go to Yauri?—No, I did not go beyond Rabba.

933. On either occasion?—No; I went about 80 miles up the Chadda; Lander went as far as Yauri, but on the former occasion he went by land from Badagry on the coast of Boosa, and he there took a canoe and went to Yauri.

934. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Do you know whether the Niger is navigable far beyond Yauri?—I believe beyond Yauri it is navigable as far as Sansanding and Sego. We know that Park embarked at Sansanding, where he built his vessel, and descended the river as far as Boosa; so that it was navigable for large canoes, and it is agreed by the natives that it is navigable for large canoes without any obstruction.

935. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] What is the character of the country on the banks of the Niger as far as you ascended; is there much population?—Very great indeed; and the banks of the river are exceedingly beautiful, except at the lower part, where there are mangrove swamps. We met with villages increasing in number as we went up; villages were very frequent, and a great deal of cultivation; and in the higher parts of the river there is a great deal of entirely clear land, not artificially cleared, but already clear, free from native forests.

936. What grows upon that; grass?—If they do not cultivate it, it is soon covered with grass 10 or 15 feet high; they dig it up for planting yams, rice, Indian corn, and various other things.

937. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Is there any trade in the river between the different points on the banks?—A great deal in the markets I have spoken of, every fortnight; they are at different places; there is one below Eboe, another a little above it; there is one a little below the confluence of the Chadda and the Niger, and some others above that. Those are attended generally once a fortnight by a great many canoes from above and below. Besides these, every town of note has a market once in four days.

938. Would there then be any difficulty in using the natives as a medium of trade between the inhabitants on the banks of the river and our ships at the mouth?—I believe that will be found to be the only reasonable means of calling forth the resources of Africa, to make use entirely of the natives. They have a great number of institutions peculiar to themselves, but some of which are exceedingly good, and they have a strong tendency to commerce; it is unconquerable; it pervades everybody from the king down to the little children that are to be seen hawking about different things, and even the superannuated wives of the kings are generally employed in that way; they are constantly buying and selling, but it is in a very small way.

939. Has any attempt been made to bring that about?—I think not a sufficient attempt; not a rational attempt, because we have attempted it with our own views, instead of adopting the views of the natives and improving upon them.

940. What do you mean by "our own views"?—Going with our own ideas of commerce and expecting a rapid return. Our merchants go upon Change in London, and an enormous transaction is very soon concluded, but if we go with the same expectations to Africa we are sure to be disappointed. I stated that in my report to the Admiralty, on my return from the first expedition.

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941. Can you suggest any practicable arrangements by which this trade might be more successfully conducted?—I think by a colony, by a settlement at some advantageous place, such as was pointed out before, and we had taken possession of a tract of land for the purpose; I think if a settlement were there, and vessels were to go occasionally to bring away whatever produce had been collected, in the course of a considerable time a great deal would be brought there, especially when the market was known to be protected and that there would be no chance of its being invaded, which it sometimes is, by the cupidity of some of the chiefs, who I believe interrupt them and carry off the people occasionally; the Filatahs especially.

942. You think, therefore, that if there were a settlement at an accessible point, to which the people could bring their goods with perfect security, a considerable trade would gradually grow up?—Gradually, but slowly; perhaps a few years would show very little effect, but I am quite convinced that in the course of a certain number of years there would be an advantageous result.

943. Do you mean that it would take time for the people fully to understand our object and to work well with us?—Yes, to appreciate our motives, and to feel an inducement to activity. For instance, they have a great deal of cotton, but it is of inferior quality, and probably it would not be worth the while of our merchants to buy it; it would not do for our manufactures, but it would be desirable to collect the whole of it and to induce the natives to bring it, and eventually probably to cultivate it in a better style when they found a demand; but such a trade, I think, at first would probably be attended with very considerable loss, and therefore I do not think that any private parties could be induced to undertake it. I think recently Mr. Jamieson, than whom hardly anybody would be more capable of doing it, has made the attempt and failed, inasmuch as some gentlemen who agreed to indemnify him have been obliged to subscribe that which they had promised.

944. *Mr. Jackson.*] Are you aware that the reason why the expedition has failed has been the bursting of a boiler on the coast?—I am not aware of that having been the cause of the commercial failure, but that it prevented the return of the vessel to the Niger.

945. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Is there any particular point which has struck you as remarkably favourable for the settlement of which you speak?—At the confluence of the Chadda and the Niger certainly is the most desirable locality, and the point which we selected is Stirling Hill, at the foot of Mount Patteh.

946. Is the climate there sufficiently pure to enable us to establish a settlement without any great risk of life?—I am speaking of a settlement only of natives; I do not propose a settlement of whites there at all; on the contrary.

947. Are we to understand that this settlement of which you speak, on which the trade is to be concentrated, is to be a settlement of natives?—Yes.

948. *Mr. Jackson.*] Under whose protection?—Under the protection of the English Government.

949. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Do you mean that the English Government should establish a commercial settlement to act as intermediators between them and the trade of the country?—I believe that that would be a very advantageous thing.

950. Do you think it would be practicable?—Yes, I do, if the African race is capable of it; if not, there is an end of all hopes of ameliorating the condition of Africa. The belief of the warmest friends of the Africans is that they would be capable of undertaking such a thing; if they are not, I would offer no further suggestions upon the subject.

951. Why should not individual natives or bodies of natives be able to ascend the river, and by creating, as it were, a river trade, bring down the goods to our ships at the mouth?—That is done now by their own system, but it is very slow. I think it would be very desirable, and that is one great point to which I would wish to direct attention, that a river trade should be established by more intelligent natives than probably are now employed there, and who follow their own system which has been pursued from time immemorial. They have hitherto shown no desire to change or improve upon it, to use greater activity. The only increase of activity has arisen from the slave trade.

952. Would any advantage be derived from a settlement at the mouths of those rivers, which might be a sort of magazine to which goods could be brought from the interior of the country?—I think it would be difficult to have a settlement at the mouth of the river, because, first, there is so little land that it is almost an entire swamp; there is a little land at the mouth of the Rio Nun, where there is a village,

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a village, but I suspect that even natives, unless they were natives of that part, would find it very unhealthy; but a depôt there would be very advantageous.

953. Did any of the chiefs whom you saw express a desire for an improved and increased trade?—Yes, the King of Iddah. King Obi also expressed a very great desire; he said repeatedly, “Send plenty of ships to trade with us.”

954. *Chairman.*] Was that always accompanied with the understanding that they should receive 5 per cent. upon the transaction?—We explained it to them that it was in lieu of other duties. The trade in the interior of Africa is on a very peculiar footing; certain things are claimed by the chiefs; certain privileges and pre-emptions in all transactions to a large amount. The chief claims the priority and the privilege of purchasing any goods he may think proper. Also there are a number of things not allowed to be sold to any but to a chief; for instance, a large umbrella; a small umbrella may be worn by a moderate chief, but a large umbrella can only be held over the head of a very great king: and colours in the same way; a red umbrella, although a small one, would not be allowed to be used by an inferior man.

955. One can well understand that those chiefs might desire to promote commerce if they were to receive the benefit of 5 per cent. upon the transaction, without being particularly anxious for commercial intercourse themselves?—But the kings there are all traders. There is not a king, except the King of Rabba, who is not a trader; and he trades in slaves.

956. *Mr. Jackson.*] The tribute money is a trifle in comparison with the profit which they would get in selling the produce of the country?—Yes.

957. *Chairman.*] You have spoken of the increase of the slave trade?—I am not aware that I said I thought that the slave trade had increased.

958. Has the slave trade increased since you were there?—I am not aware that it has; if I said so, it is something which inadvertently fell from me.

959. Did the climate, which was so malignant and disastrous to your European crews, affect the natives on the banks of the river?—In the wet season of the year they do suffer from vicissitudes of temperature.

960. But not to the same extent?—Not to the same extent; they have fevers, which probably are not often fatal to them.

961. It would be possible, therefore, for the natives to form barracoons up the river for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade, where the boats of British men-of-war could not approach without exposing the men to danger?—Certainly; in fact the boats of British men-of-war could only go a very short distance in the river; they could not reach the parts where barracoons might be established. There were barracoons at the immediate mouth of the river, originally at the Rio Nun, but those have been long done away with; there of course the boats could go, but further up the river they could not reach at all.

962. Do you know whether, practically, barracoons are established at any distance up the rivers?—I do not know of any. Every chief has a hut, where, if he has slaves for sale, he keeps them, and you may call them barracoons. There were some at Ibu, King Obi's town, where slaves were kept, which some of our officers accidentally saw, I believe.

963. *Mr. Jackson.*] And he could ship those slaves at any time in 12 hours, could he not?—No; it would take several days to take them to the sea.

964. However he could very readily put them in large canoes from the barracoons, in case the vessel was ready?—Very readily, generally.

965. You say that you saw cotton grown there?—I said that they had cotton; I did not say that I had seen it grown. I believe it to grow there, and I have seen the raw cotton.

966. Have you seen Indian corn growing?—Yes.

967. You state that the natives in the interior have a great desire for trade?—Yes.

968. If we were to open a trade with them for the purpose of buying cotton and maize, there is no doubt whatever that they would supply us with any quantity which we might require, and take in exchange English goods?—Yes; but I cannot say what quantity; at present they have only sufficient for their own consumption; they use very little.

969. There has been no demand, at present, by British merchants for either cotton or maize?—No.

970. But if a demand were to spring up for cotton or maize, there is no doubt whatever that the native would turn his attention to the production of it, in the same

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same way as he has turned his attention to palm oil?—Precisely; I have no doubt that there would be a considerable quantity, but I do not think it would be of good quality.

971. Are you aware that in the Bonny, the Old Calabar, the Brass, the Nun, and the Benin, the trade of the chiefs of those different rivers has increased considerably in palm oil?—Yes.

972. From your knowledge of the interior of Africa, you would consider that the greater the demand for palm oil at the mouths of those rivers, the greater the increase and activity of the trade in the interior, and the further the demand for the commerce of the country would go back?—I think so.

973. Every step taken to increase the traffic between this country and that, at the mouths of those large rivers, would tend to increase the activity of the trade of the interior?—I think it would.

974. And would tend to induce the man who owns the slave to apply him to it?—I cannot say that, because it would require a very considerable time before they would feel the inducement.

975. You are aware that every vessel going from England to the Bonny, or any other large river, has to pay customs to the king?—Yes.

976. Therefore he does get virtually from the merchants of England a profit or a certain per-centage upon the business which he does, in the shape of customs?—Yes, but that is very precarious, and very various in its amount.

977. How can that be?—Because I believe it depends a great deal upon the caprice of the king, and also of the traders.

978. You cannot speak from your own knowledge?—No, but I speak from having heard it to be the case a great deal upon the coast.

979. You are not aware that the king of Bonny has fixed dues for all tonnage?—No, I was not aware of it.

980. And that he is paid in bars of a certain value?—I cannot speak positively upon that fact, because I never was in the Bonny. I have heard conversation upon the subject of the trade on the coast, that it is very precarious, and not on such a footing as we should wish to see.

981. Were you ever present with Mr. Lilly in the Cameroons?—I have been present with Mr. Lilly in the Cameroons, but not during his commercial transactions, except on one occasion, when I had to settle a little dispute between him and a native about some palm oil; and I took myself the ivory, which was detained until the affair was settled.

982. *Chairman.*] You state that you saw nothing of the slave trade; did you see anything of the British squadron?—I saw occasionally some of our men-of-war, the cruisers.

983. On what part of the coast?—I saw the "Buzzard" at the mouth of the Rio Nun when I first went up, and others at various places.

984. *Mr. Jackson.*] How far up the river did you see British manufactured goods?—I believe I saw some little at Rabba, very little indeed; in fact they decreased in amount as I went up; occasionally one saw a little of something or other, but I did not frequent the market myself, and cannot say.

985. Did you see any in the Ibu country?—There was a good deal; the natives wore cotton shirts.

986. *Chairman.*] Did you suffer at all from the prevailing winds?—During December the winds were very unpleasant, hot winds; but in the spring of the year the weather was quite delightful; there were breezes constantly up the river, and I do not know that I ever experienced more beautiful weather than during April and May in the Niger.

987. Is the coast much annoyed by fogs and thick weather?—In November and December there are what are called the smokes, which are very unpleasant.

988. Are those very thick?—Very thick; and even in the interior we were obliged to anchor in the beginning or middle of December, from not being able to see the banks; we could not see around us much more than a ship's length.

989. Do not those smokes offer great facility for the escape of slave-trading vessels?—Yes; I should think they do, if they are well acquainted with the coast.

990. They are mostly well acquainted with the coast, are they not?—I suppose generally they must be well acquainted with the coast, but I never fell in with a slaver.

991. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Do you think the presence of the fleet on the west coast of Africa any security to the trade in that part of the country?—I do not think it is with

with reference to the native chiefs; I think that in general the palm-oil captains are quite able to defend themselves against any aggression on the part of the native chiefs.

992. Lord *Courtenay*.] Would the gentleman to whom you referred just now, in the case in which you were called upon to settle a dispute, have obtained so satisfactory a settlement of that matter if you had not been present?—My opinion is that it was rather unsatisfactory on both sides.

993. Did you interfere authoritatively as a British naval officer?—Yes. It was not one of the chiefs; it was a man of the name of Tokato, I think.

994. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is it your opinion that the presence of British cruisers upon that coast is favourable or the reverse to trade?—I do not think it is at all unfavourable to trade.

995. Do you think that, in the absence of our cruisers, it would be less easy for our merchants to carry on their business with security?—I think that if our men-of-war were not there, and the people were entirely engrossed by the slave trade, there would not then be such facility for legal commerce.

996. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Do you consider the presence of the squadron, or of Her Majesty's vessels on the coast to be one of the means most effectual for the suppression of the slave trade?—My impression is that it has not produced the effect of suppressing it, and that it has very much aggravated the evil of it.

997. In what way has it aggravated the evil, in your judgment?—Even the amount of the vigilance of our cruisers creates a greater vigilance on the part of the slave dealer to get more slaves, in order to make up for the losses to which he is liable in the chase and from capture, and therefore he takes a greater number on board. There is a greater number brought down to the coast, and a greater number captured in the interior, and the consequence is that the general horror of the thing is very much increased, besides the increase of suffering on the part of the poor creatures who are so closely packed in fast-sailing vessels, to escape if possible.

998. Supposing it to be the object of any nation to suppress the slave trade in Africa, would you or would you not wish this Committee to understand that it is your opinion that such nation should, or should not, employ a squadron off the coast?—It is a difficult question, and probably I have not sufficient information upon the subject to pronounce an opinion; but I must confess that my impression is that the squadron has not attained the object for which it was intended.

999. Supposing it be the object of England to suppress the slave trade, what course would you suggest as the course most likely to effect that object?—I think that while the squadron is employed, it probably would be better in blockading the ports which are the recipients, than those which send out the slaves.

1000. By employing the ships in the blockade of the ports recipient of slaves, meaning thereby the ports of the Havannah and Rio, and others on the coast of the western world, would or would you not be more likely to interfere with legitimate commerce than by confining the blockade, as at present it is confined, to the eastern coast of the Atlantic?—I think it would give rise to very great difficulties and collisions probably with the authorities, and be defeated in more ways than one. It would be defeated in the same way that our smugglers defeat the Custom-house officers; they find out places to land their goods although every inch of ground appears to be guarded.

1001. Whatever may be the proportion of legitimate commerce from England to Africa, are you or are you not able to state to this Committee that the proportion of legitimate commerce from England to the Brazils, or to the Havannah, greatly preponderates?—I cannot speak upon that subject, for I have not sufficient information on it.

1002. Were you ever on the coast of Brazil?—Never; that is to say, I have seen it. I made it once in going out to India; I can say I have been on the coast, but not for any purpose. We did not remain there; I was making the passage to India, and we just went to the coast; we merely saw it.

1003. You have already stated to this Committee that you saw no slave trade on the coast of Africa at all?—I was not witness to any slave trade, although I was told, near Grand Bassa, to the southward of Mesurada, that there was a cargo of slaves in the neighbourhood waiting to be shipped, and I also saw a schooner that came and looked in, evidently to reconnoitre me. I was getting wood at the time. I had no authority to interfere in any way; the party watched me off the coast, and then I was told that he would take his cargo of slaves. That was the only opportunity I ever had of seeing anything like the operation of slavery.

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1004. Among the evils which are represented to occur in the present system, are the horrors connected with the middle passage, by the slaves being now confined in smaller vessels, and more quickly sailing vessels; also their confinement in barracoons on the coast of Africa, and the increased number brought down to the coast in consequence of the increased loss arising from the other circumstances stated. Can you represent to this Committee that the presence of a blockading squadron on the coast of Brazil or of Cuba, can do anything but leave undiminished, at all events, the horrors of the middle passage, the horrors of the barracoons, and the horrors of the wars, by which an increased number of slaves are brought down to the west coast of Africa?—I think not; I cannot say that it would diminish them.

1005. Would it not leave, at all events, the case precisely as it found it, so far as the middle passage, so far as the barracoons, and so far as the transmission of slaves from the interior to the coast are concerned?—It is a difficult question for me to answer, from the imperfect knowledge which I have upon the subject, but my belief is that if the ports could be well blockaded on the coast of the Brazils, the Havannah, and so forth, it would be easier to capture the vessels there; but the amount of course would remain to be sent across, and the sufferings would be probably as great. I have so little information upon that subject, that I am afraid of committing myself by giving in fact prevaricating evidence; I only have impressions upon the subject.

1006. You have given, in a part of your evidence, a suggestion to the Committee, tending to the removal of the blockading squadron from the coast of Africa to the coast of the Brazils, or of Cuba. Do you wish the Committee to understand that such removal, if effected at your suggestion, would diminish in any degree the horrors of the slave trade as now carried on, either in Africa or in its passage across the Atlantic?—I do not think that at present it would diminish them; but I mean to say that if we could effect the blockade of the ports on that coast (which I am not able to say, because I do not know the coast at all), it would be more easy to capture the vessels there than on the coast of Africa, where they have a better opportunity of escaping, the length of coast being so very much greater, and other circumstances rendering it, probably, easier for them to escape than on the other side of the Atlantic; and then eventually, probably, the slave trade might be more easily put down; but it is so paradoxical that I cannot think with confidence upon the subject.

1007. You have referred to the length of coast over which the slave trade can be carried on. Can you state to this Committee what is the extent of coast in which, at this time, the slave trade is carried on?—No, I cannot.

1008. Have you any reason to believe that it exceeds 300 miles on the west coast?—I am not acquainted with that. I was not employed on that service, and therefore I cannot undertake to give any evidence upon the subject.

1009. Have you reason to believe that the transfer of the blockading squadron, from the west coast of Africa to the coast of Brazil and Cuba, might tend to the introduction of a still smaller class of vessels, and if so, to a greater increase of the sufferings of the slaves shipped by such vessels?—There might be a great increase of suffering. I have no data upon which to pronounce an opinion whether there would be, but I think it very likely.

1010. *Chairman.*] I understand, from what you know of the slave trade, that you are of opinion that the suppressive system has not been very satisfactory?—I think it has not.

1011. You think it has aggravated the horrors of the slave trade?—I think it has, as far as I can learn, and that it has not diminished the numbers apparently.

1012. Are there greater sufferings on shore?—There are greater sufferings on shore, because when there are no vessels to carry off the cargoes they suffer greatly from want of food, I have understood; but this I have merely from hearsay; that even the chiefs sacrifice them to get rid of them.

1013. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Have you not already stated that you have no personal knowledge upon the subject?—Yes.

1014. *Lord H. Vane.*] You have stated that they have quicker sailing vessels than they would otherwise have, which are less convenient and occasion more misery to the unfortunate slaves exported?—Yes.

1015. *Mr. Jackson.*] From your experience on the coast of Africa you have come to the conclusion that the present system is not the one to abolish the slave trade?—I have no experience upon the subject on the coast of Africa.

1016. From the knowledge which you have obtained you have arrived at that result?—

result?—It was not from any knowledge which I had of the state of the slave trade on the coast of Africa; I had less information there on the subject than in England.

1017. Lord *Courtenay*.] You have never been employed upon it?—No, and I never came in contact with any slaver; I never saw a slave vessel that had been captured.

1018. Had you in either of your visits to Africa much intercourse with any of the officers then employed in the squadron for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade?—Not much intercourse.

1019. Not enough, in your judgment, to enable you to form an opinion?—No, certainly not; we came in contact and had communication, but principally on official business connected with our expedition; and as I was not authorized to interfere in the slave trade at all, I did not usually introduce the subject.

1020. The Committee probably would not be wrong, then, in inferring that you do not feel in possession of sufficient data to give a very confident opinion upon the subject?—On the state of the slave trade on the coast.

1021. And on the measures adopted for the suppression of it?—I have not been employed on that service, and do not consider it proper to give an opinion upon it.

1022. From your intercourse with the natives in the interior, do you think they would be induced to put an end to domestic slavery?—No; that is a thing we cannot interfere with yet; and if we had any settlement or amount of power, that, I think, is a point which should be approached with great caution, because it is so deeply rooted and so inherent in all their institutions that it would be very difficult indeed, and require a great length of time, especially as it is a very different thing from what we generally consider slavery to be. From my own personal observation I can say that nothing can be more light than domestic slavery. I have known many men in the highest offices of the country to be slaves.

1023. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Did you ever hear any of the chiefs up the river speak of the presence of the English fleet upon the coast as giving them a sense of the power of this country, and of security in trading with it?—They did not speak of it; we mentioned it; we asked King Obi whether he was aware of it that no slaver could pass; that there were so many English ships that they would stop them; and he turned round to his chiefs and laughed, in which they all joined. We could not understand why they laughed, of course; some interpreted it that they were very glad that such was the case; others thought probably that they were aware that they did sometimes escape and elude our cruisers; that was the general impression, I think.

1024. Mr. *Simeon*.] Is the language of the different tribes up the Niger the same?—There are an immense number of languages.

1025. Are the dialects so similar as to induce you to believe that the natives of the different tribes can communicate and understand each other?—Not by means of their languages; it must be by one which is the language of commerce; for instance, the Haussa is generally understood in the upper parts of the Niger, and is used in commercial intercourse in the same way that French is the language of Europe.

1026. The Haussa language, then, would be spoken to a sufficient extent for commercial purposes by the whole of the tribes inhabiting the course of the Niger?—I think for a long course of the Niger; so much of the Niger as I know, with the exception of the branches of the Delta. For all above Ibu I think the Haussa language would be sufficient for the purposes of commerce.

1027. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is not Arabic spoken by all the Mahomedan tribes?—Only by some of them; the Malams and some of the chiefs understand Arabic, but not many.

1028. Is not the Koran taught?—They profess to teach it, but they know very little of it, I believe.

1029. Even the priests themselves?—Even the priests themselves; but that must be said with some degree of reservation, because in proportion as the Malams are distant from what may be called the centre of Mahomedanism of that part, which is Rabba, so they become ignorant of the Koran. In the neighbourhood of Rabba I believe a great many can speak Arabic and read the Koran, and understand the tenets of the religion quite well; but in descending the river there are a great many who profess to be Mahomedans, but are little acquainted with the religion of Mahomed.

1030. Lord *Courtenay*.] Are you able to inform the Committee, with reference

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to the King of Iddah and King Obi, who expressed a readiness to enter into treaties with you, whether they are, in point of fact, princes exercising influence over a large extent of territory?—The King Obi has an extent of territory on the banks of the river only, for a considerable distance up and down, perhaps 100 miles altogether; that is, 50 miles on each bank, but not far inland; but the King of Iddah has very extensive authority. They all call themselves kings, but I would say that he is a powerful king.

1031. Has he many subordinate princes who recognize his supremacy?—Several; I take his own word for it. He claims superiority, and I believe Captain Trotter found that there was superiority where the other party denied it. I may mention Fundah, Kattam-Karafi, and Kacundah; he has a superiority over these states; they pay him a very small tribute; and even at Buddu (I think that is the highest part), I believe they pay him a small tribute. With reference to a question which I was asked, whether the chiefs and people were desirous of putting the slave trade down, and with our assistance, I would say that when I was at Egga the first time, in the year 1833, there was a meeting held of all the principal men of the city and of the surrounding villages, and they agreed to furnish men, money, and provisions, to any amount, if we would assist them in resisting the incursions of the Filatahs.

1032. How far, if at all, is English understood by the African natives among the villages that bound the shores of the river?—Not beyond the immediate mouth of the river, except by a few who have been traders with King Boy, of Brass. King Boy trades up as far as Ibu, which is King Obi's place; the men employed by him have settled in different villages, and they speak a little English. We have been surprised on one or two occasions, but otherwise I may say it is confined to Brass Town.

1033. Not higher than that?—Not above the immediate mouth of the river, with the exception of some individuals who may have settled, having been accustomed to trade with King Boy.

1034. It did not come within your knowledge that there were in native settlements higher up the river individuals possessing a sufficient knowledge of English to enable you to carry on commercial intercourse?—No.

1035. *Mr. B. Baring.*] Have you found that our attempts to suppress the slave trade produce any ill-will on the part of the chiefs?—Not at all; on the contrary, they seemed very satisfied always. Although individually, probably, they would fancy that they suffered some loss, from not having the privilege of selling their slaves when they chose; still the protection which they would receive if the wars were suppressed would be a paramount advantage, inasmuch as they were in constant terror of the Filatahs coming down to attack them to carry off their people; so that the exchange would absolutely be to their advantage, and it was generally understood by them in that way, without reference to any other points which we placed before them.

James Campbell, called in; and Examined.

James Campbell.

1036. *Chairman.*] WHERE are you living?—In Sierra Leone.

1037. Where were you born?—In the Cossoo country.

1038. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] How long have you been in Sierra Leone?—About seven years.

1039. *Chairman.*] How did you leave your country?—I was captured by war.

1040. Where were you taken to from your own country?—The Gallinas River.

1041. Were you placed in a barracoon there?—Yes.

1042. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] What happened to you when you were at the barracoon; how long did they keep you there?—One month.

1043. Who took you from your own country to the barracoon?—A native chief.

1044. Were there many of you?—Yes.

1045. Were you chained?—Yes.

1046. Where was the chain?—Round my neck.

1047. Did you carry anything on your back?—No.

1048. Had you enough to eat on the road?—No; I had dry rice given me.

1049. Were you ever flogged or beaten on the road?—Yes.

1050. What for?—They sent a number of us to get wood to cook the rice, and if we stayed too long they flogged us.

1051. When

1051. When you were at the barracoon had you plenty to eat?—They gave me dry rice to eat.

1052. Had you as much as you wished?—Yes.

1053. And plenty of water?—Yes, water to drink.

1054. As much as you wanted?—Yes.

1055. Were you ill when you were there, or well?—Quite well.

1056. About how many were there in the barracoon?—A great many.

1057. Were you chained together, or were you free?—Chained.

1058. You were chained all the time?—Yes.

1059. Chained to another?—Yes, 10 men with one chain.

1060. Did you keep the chain on night and day both?—Yes.

1061. When you slept you were chained?—Yes.

1062. Did you lie down together?—Yes.

1063. Did any die there while you were at the barracoon?—Yes, many died.

1064. What did they die from?—They were sick.

1065. Mr. *Gladstone.*] Were they old or young, or all kinds, that died?—Some old ones died and some young ones died.

1066. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] When you were taken and made a slave were you fighting; were you a soldier?—No; I was a little boy, and the war came and caught me.

1067. You were in the village?—Yes.

1068. Were many others taken in the town with you?—Plenty.

1069. What were you before; what was your father?—He made his farm.

1070. Was he a slave himself?—No.

1071. Are there slaves in your country?—Yes.

1072. Were you a slave in your own country?—No.

1073. Your father was not a slave?—No.

1074. Mr. *Gladstone.*] Had your father any slaves of his own?—No.

1075. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Has the chief of the country slaves?—Yes.

1076. Does he get those slaves in war himself?—He buys some and some he takes in war.

1077. Do they beat the slaves in your country; do they treat them ill?—I do not know.

1078. Can you tell us whether you would know a slave in your own country from a freeman; would you see any difference?—Yes; I know a slave from a freeman, because the slave in the country has a piece of wood in which he puts his foot.

1079. Mr. *Simeon.*] What work do the slaves do in the Cossoo country?—Work the farms.

1080. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] You were taken by Captain Denman at the barracoon, were you?—Yes.

1081. When you were at the barracoon were any slaves put on board ships and taken away?—No.

1082. What did you expect would be done with you when you were taken away at the time you were confined in the barracoon?—I only supposed that they were going to carry us to a finer country.

1083. They did not tell you where they were going to take you?—Yes, when we were in the barracoon the country people said that the reason of our being stopped in the barracoon was, that the Spaniards said that the ships of war belonging to the English kept us from going to the Spaniards' country.

1084. Mr. *B. Baring.*] Did you wish to go to the Spaniards' country?—No.

1085. Were you very glad to be taken out of the barracoon by Captain Denman?—Yes.

1086. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] What have you been doing at Sierra Leone?—A mason.

1087. Do you like Sierra Leone?—Yes.

1088. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Do you get wages for your mason's work?—I get 1 s. a day.

1089. Mr. *B. Baring.*] Would you like to go back to your own country?—No.

1090. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] You would rather remain at Sierra Leone?—I like Sierra Leone best.

1091. Why?—Because it is a free country.

1092. Would you like to go back to your own country if you could remain there without being a slave?—No.

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1093. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Do you know where the West Indies are?—Yes.
1094. Would you like to go there?—No, I should like to go to Sierra Leone.
1095. If you heard that the West Indies were a free country, would you like to go there, and if you could get 2s. a day instead of 1s.?—Yes.
1096. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Have you seen any black men at Sierra Leone who have been to the West Indies, and come back again?—Yes.
1097. What do they say of it; do they say that it is a good place?—Yes.
1098. What did those people that came back from the West Indies tell you of that country?—They said the place was good.
1099. What was it good for; what good did they get?—I cannot tell what good they got, only they said the place was good.
1100. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Did they bring back anything; did they bring back plenty of money?—I cannot say.
1101. Did you never see those people that came back from the West Indies with money in their hands?—No.
1102. You have stated that some died while you were in the barracoon; did any of the nine who were chained with you die in the barracoon?—No.
1103. Were you chained in tens together?—Yes.
1104. When any one died what became of his body?—They buried him.
1105. Did he remain dead with the others alive, or was he removed when he was sick from the others?—When he was sick they took him off from the chain, and put him into the sick-house.
1106. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Did many of them fall sick on their way from your country to the barracoons?—No, not plenty, not until they go to the barracoons, and there were many.
1107. Do you know what made them sick at the barracoon?—Because they were kept day and night and were not allowed to come outside the barracoon; I suppose it is from that.
1108. Mr. *Simeon*.] Did any that went to the sick-house ever come back to the barracoon?—Yes.
1109. And did they tell you whether they had got better food in the sick-house than they had in the barracoon?—No, the same as we ate; dry rice.
1110. What did you get to eat in the Cossoo country?—Rice.
1111. Dry rice?—No.
1112. What did you get with the rice?—Fish.
1113. And palm oil with the rice?—Yes.
1114. And pepper?—Yes.
1115. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Was any of your family taken prisoner with you?—No; my sister was taken afterwards, and was brought to Sierra Leone after I got there.
1116. Is she there now?—Yes.
1117. Mr. *Simeon*.] Did you ever see any English people come to the Cossoo country?—No.
1118. Earl of *Lincoln*.] How long were you in coming from the Cossoo country to the barracoon?—Three days.

John Frazer, called in; and Examined.

John Frazer.

1119. *Chairman*.] HOW old are you?—Twenty.
1120. Are you a native of Sierra Leone?—Yes.
1121. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Have you been in the Gallinas River?—Yes.
1122. Why did you go there; what did you go to?—One man took me there; I was servant to the man.
1123. What was the man; what did he do?—A doctor.
1124. *Chairman*.] How long did you stay there?—I stopped there three years.
1125. Did you see any slaves in the barracoon?—Yes.
1126. Did you ever see slaves put on board ship from the barracoon?—Yes.
1127. Many?—Yes.
1128. Were they in chains?—Yes.
1129. Lord *H. Vane*.] For what purpose did the doctor go to the Gallinas?—To doctor the Spanish.

1130. Lord

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1130. Lord *Courtenay*.] What was the doctor's name?—Thomas Thorpe.
1131. A black man?—Yes.
1132. Did you know him in Sierra Leone?—Yes.
1133. Lord *H. Vane*.] At whose request did he go to the Gallinas?—I cannot tell.
1134. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] He took you there as his servant?—Yes.
1135. Where did you live while you were there?—I stopped with him one year.
1136. Where did he live?—He lived where the Spanish did.
1137. What Spanish?—A man of the name of Don Pablo.
1138. Did he live in Don Parblo's house?—No; I lived in the next house to Don Pablo's.
1139. When the slaves were ill, your master went to see them, did he?—Yes.
1140. Did he go to see many slaves?—Yes.
1141. Most days did he go and see some?—He went in the morning and the evening.
1142. Do you know whether he was paid by Don Pablo?—I cannot tell.
1143. Did many slaves die when you were there?—Yes.
1144. What did they do with their bodies?—They buried them.
1145. And you saw many buried, did you?—Yes.
1146. Lord *H. Vane*.] Did the slaves in those barracoons seem to you to be well treated?—No.
1147. They were ill treated?—Yes.
1148. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Did you ever see any of them flogged?—Yes.
1149. How did they flog them?—They tied them.
1150. Did they tie their hands?—They tied their hands to a stick, and whipped them.
1151. Did they do that often; were there many flogged?—They did not do it often.
1152. *Chairman*.] Did you often go into the barracoon; did they let you go yourself?—Yes.
1153. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] You could go anywhere?—Yes; I could walk in the yard.
1154. *Chairman*.] Were there two barracoons?—One.
1155. Only one?—Yes.
1156. To whom did that belong?—Don Pablo.
1157. Had Mr. Buron any barracoons?—I do not know.
1158. Are Don Pablo and Mr. Buron the same person?—No.
1159. Did you hear of Mr. Buron being there when you were at the Gallinas?—Yes; Mr. Buron was at another place.
1160. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Were there any women in the barracoon?—Yes.
1161. Many?—Many.
1162. *Chairman*.] Were you at the Gallinas when Captain Denman came there?—Yes.
1163. What did he do there?—When Captain Denman went on shore he met me on shore.
1164. And did he take the slaves out of the barracoons?—He did not take them away at the same time; they all ran away into the bush.
1165. Did you come away with Captain Denman?—Yes.
1166. And did Dr. Thorp come with you?—No.
1167. You left Dr. Thorp there?—Dr. Thorp left.
1168. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] When did he go; before Captain Denman came?—Yes, a long time.
1169. Lord *H. Vane*.] Where did he go?—He went to America.
1170. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] After Dr. Thorp went to America what did you do?—Then the Spanish man seized me for a slave.
1171. And you said you were free, did you?—Yes.
1172. What did he do to you?—He took me for his cook.
1173. Did you resist?—Yes; I tried to run away; he caught me and put me in chains.
1174. Where did he put the chains?—On my foot.
1175. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Did he flog you?—No.
1176. *Chairman*.] Where did he put you?—In the barracoon.

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1177. Were you chained with the other slaves in the barracoon?—Yes, only one week.
1178. When that week was over did he release you?—Yes.
1179. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] And then you went as his cook?—Yes.
1180. How did he come to take you as a slave after Dr. Thorp left you?—The doctor borrowed money from him.
1181. Then you were cook to this Spaniard?—Yes.
1182. What was this Spaniard's name?—Don Pablo.
1183. Were you cook to Don Pablo himself, or to the slaves?—To Don Pablo himself.
1184. In the house?—Yes.
1185. You were in fact a servant?—Yes.
1186. Were there many other servants?—Yes; he had got plenty of servants.
1187. And there were you treated well?—Yes.
1188. Had you plenty to eat and drink?—Yes.
1189. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Did you wish to go back to Sierra Leone?—Yes, I should have been glad to go back to Sierra Leone.
1190. *Chairman.*] Did you ask him to let you go?—No.
1191. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] You stayed there for two years, did you?—I stopped there two years.
1192. As his cook?—Yes.
1193. *Chairman.*] During that time did he send any of his servants from his house to the barracoon?—Yes.
1194. To be sent away as slaves?—He sent them to the barracoon and changed them; he did not take them back, but took other ones and sent them away.
1195. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Were many servants made slaves and sent away when you were there?—Yes.
1196. *Chairman.*] Did you see any slaves come from the country to the Gallinas River?—Yes.
1197. A great many?—Yes.
1198. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] How often used they to come?—Almost every day.
1199. Were they chained?—Yes, they chained them on the neck.
1200. Were there many women and children, or were they mostly men?—Men, women, and children; all.
1201. When they were brought they were put at once into the barracoons?—Yes.
1202. Did they stay long in the barracoons?—They stopped till the ship came.
1203. Did the ships come very often?—Only two ships came to Don Pablo's while I was there.
1204. All the rest of the time the slaves were in the barracoons, were they?—Yes.
1205. And did a great many go when the ship came?—Yes.
1206. Did you go on board the ship; did you see the ship?—I saw the ship sailing, but I did not go on board the ship.
1207. *Chairman.*] Were you ever on board a slave ship?—No.
1208. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Were the slaves very sorry to go, or not?—They cried; they did not like to go.
1209. They would rather have stayed in the barracoons?—Yes.
1210. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Did many of them go to Sierra Leone after Captain Denman released them?—Yes.
1211. Were they glad to go to Sierra Leone?—Yes.
1212. Do the black people who live at Sierra Leone like the place?—Yes.
1213. Have you ever seen any black people who have been to the West Indies and returned to Sierra Leone?—Yes.
1214. What do they say of the place?—They say it is a good place.
1215. What did they do there?—They said they worked to get money.
1216. Did many of them bring back money?—They brought money, but they did not show it to me.
1217. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Did you hear black people in Sierra Leone say they would like to go to the West Indies?—Yes.
1218. Earl of *Lincoln.*] And do those who come from the West Indies like the West Indies better than Sierra Leone?—Yes.
1219. When they have been to the West Indies which do they like best, the West

West Indies or Sierra Leone?—Some of them that came from the West Indies said they liked the West Indies.

1220. Why do they say they like the West Indies best?—I cannot tell; they say because it is a good place.

1221. Why do they think it a good place?—I cannot tell; there was plenty of work there and plenty of money.

1222. That is what they mean by a good place, is it?—Yes.

1223. When the slaves cried when they were taken on board the ship, where did they think they were going to?—They thought they were going to the Spanish country.

1224. Are they all afraid of the Spanish country?—Yes; they do not like to go.

1225. What do they think is done to them there?—I cannot tell.

1226. *Chairman.*] Are they very much afraid of being put on board the ship?—Yes.

1227. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] They think the Spanish country a bad country to go to?—Yes.

1228. *Earl of Lincoln.*] Have you talked to many in Sierra Leone that have come from their own country there?—No.

1229. Have you talked to your father and mother about your own country?—No.

1230. Are your father and mother in Sierra Leone now?—My father is dead.

1231. Is your mother in Sierra Leone?—Yes.

1232. And does she never talk to you about her own country?—She talked about her country.

1233. Would she like to go back to her country?—No.

1234. Which does she like best, her own country or Sierra Leone?—Sierra Leone.

1235. Why?—Because it is a free country.

1236. *Mr. Simeon.*] Is your mother a Cossoo?—No.

1237. *Earl of Lincoln.*] Was she not free in her own country?—They said they were free until the war came and caught them.

James Walker, called in; and Examined.

1238. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] WERE you long at Sierra Leone?—Seven years.

1239. What did you do there?—Working as a mason.

1240. Did you ever know a black man who went to the West Indies?—Yes.

1241. Have you ever seen any blacks who have been to the West Indies and come back?—Yes.

1242. What did they say about the West Indies?—I did not hear them myself.

1243. Are you contented with Sierra Leone; are you happy there?—Yes.

1244. Are most of the blacks happy and contented there?—Yes.

1245. Do they complain of anything?—No.

1246. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Would you like to go back to your own country, the Cossoo country?—No.

Commander Henry James Matson, R. N., called in; and Examined.

1247. *Chairman.*] ARE you an Officer of the Royal Navy?—Yes.

1248. Have you been employed on the coast of Africa?—I was for six years.

1249. When did you leave the coast of Africa?—In 1843.

1250. On what part of the coast were you employed?—I was in every river and every creek on the coast, south of Sierra Leone.

1251. What is the name of the ship which you commanded?—The "Waterwitch."

1252. You were at different times on all parts of the west coast of Africa?—Yes, the whole of the coast south of Sierra Leone.

1253. At that portion of the coast of Africa where the slave trade was carried on?—Yes, every part of it.

1254. At that time over what extent of coast was the slave trade carried on?—About 2,000 miles; that is the whole of the slave coast, I consider; but there are many parts of that coast where the slave trade is not carried on.

0.53.

1255. But

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James Walker.

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1255. But on all parts of that line of 2,000 miles the slave trade was liable to be carried on?—Yes; here and there there are patches of coast where the slave trade is carried on.

1256. During the time that you were on the coast had the slave trade visibly decreased?—Yes. I consider that in 1842 it had almost ceased; in fact, the slave trade I consider had very nearly ceased when Lord Aberdeen's letter made its appearance in 1842.

1257. To what letter do you refer?—A letter written in May 1842; it was calling in question the legality of some orders issued by Lord Palmerston, which authorized us to destroy the barracoons. I think I might save time and give more information if I were to state to the Committee the result of my remarks on the coast of Africa while I was there.

1258. Will you have the goodness to proceed with your observations on the coast of Africa?—My first acquaintance with the coast of Africa was in 1832, but I consider that previously to the year 1835 very little had been done to suppress the slave trade. In the year 1835 we obtained a treaty that enabled us to capture Spanish vessels equipped for the slave trade; previously to that we could only capture them with slaves actually on board, and therefore their risks were very few. They were then driven to adopt the flag of Portugal, with which country we had no treaty giving us the right to capture vessels south of the Line at all, either with or without slaves, and we could not capture them north of the Line unless they had slaves actually on board. In 1839, owing to the Portuguese government not fulfilling their old treaty, an Act of the British Legislature was passed authorizing us to capture Portuguese vessels wherever we might find them with slaves, or equipped for the slave trade. That I consider was the first great blow in the suppression of the slave trade. In the year 1841, I think, Captain Denman destroyed the barracoons at the Gallinas. The British Government then gave orders that wherever we found slave barracoons erected we should endeavour to obtain the sanction of the native chiefs to destroy them; failing to obtain that consent we were in certain cases to do it without. However it was never difficult to obtain that consent, for it was always readily obtained for a very trifling subsidy, and most of the barracoons on the coast were destroyed. That had such an effect on the slave traders located on the coast of Africa that they gave notice to the native chiefs that they would not be any longer enabled to carry on the slave trade, and they prompted the chiefs to enter into treaties with us to allow us to destroy their barracoons, or at any rate to suppress the slave trade; and in every one of those treaties there was a stipulation whereby we were authorized to employ force, failing the execution of the treaty by the chief. Most of the chiefs in Africa, in fact, all the principal ones, entered into the treaties with us.

1259. Lord *H. Vane*.] When was that?—That was in the year 1842; the last treaty was entered into in 1842, the last of any consequence.

1260. Were not most of the treaties in 1841?—Yes.

1261. In 1842 arrived Lord Aberdeen's letter?—Yes; on the appearance of Lord Aberdeen's letter the slave traders altered their tone very much towards the chiefs; instead of assuring them that they would never be able to bring more goods (in fact they were winding up their affairs), they represented a false report. In the first place they said that there was a revolution in England, that the people had risen, and obliged the Queen to turn out Lord Palmerston, because he wished to suppress the slave trade; that there was now a revolution going on in England to oblige the Queen to carry on the slave trade, as they expressed themselves, "all the same as they had done one time before." This was believed along the whole line of coast, not only by the chiefs but by the slave traders themselves,—the people who were in the interior collecting slaves. So fixed was this belief, that on one occasion my boats captured a vessel full of slaves just at the time there was a change of Admirals on the station, and consequently a change of flags, and the first question asked by an old Portuguese supercargo, who was on board the vessel, who had been previously stationed in the interior collecting slaves, was, whether that flag belonged to the Queen or the Parliament; he fancied that there were two parties, and he was surprised at being taken by what he considered, when he saw it, a friendly flag. This was believed not only by the chiefs but by the slave traders.

1262. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Was it believed by such men as Pedro Blanco?—No; he was just one of the very men who propagated the falsehood. Two of the principal

principal chiefs with whom we obtained those treaties were those of Congo and Ambriz; they export, I suppose, half the slaves that go to Brazil; there are an immense number annually exported; Cabenda, Congo, and Ambriz; it includes a very large extent of coast. One of the stipulations in those treaties was, that we should subsidize those chiefs; (it amounted to a very small sum); and that failing their faithful execution of the treaty, we should put down the slave trade by force ourselves. Before the first annual subsidy arrived Lord Aberdeen's letter made its appearance, and when Captain Foote, the commodore on the station, presented the first year's subsidy, they refused to receive it, and declared that they would not in fact ratify the treaty, although it had been ratified, because it had been signed by the kings and the chiefs. It then became a question with the British Government whether they should enforce this treaty in virtue of one of the stipulations; and it being referred to some of the law officers of the Crown, I believe Dr. Lushington among others, it was at last decided that it should not be enforced. Since that of course they have carried on the slave trade, and have refused not only to enter into any treaty, but they prevent the English landing wherever they can.

1263. Mr. Gladstone.] Upon what ground did they decline to execute the treaty?—Because they prefer the slave trade to any other trade. It is not to be supposed that a chief of Africa will enter into a treaty with the Government until he has relinquished every hope of carrying on the slave trade; and it is that feeling which caused them to agree to the treaty with us.

1264. Then the Committee is to understand that when the barracoons were to be destroyed, they abandoned all hope of being able to carry on the slave trade and were ready to enter into the treaty; but that when the barracoons were not to be destroyed, they turned round?—Yes.

1265. Earl of Lincoln.] Then of what value is the treaty itself?—Because you can enforce it. These treaties were of no value because they were repudiated within the first twelvemonth; they were not enforced by us, and they now no longer exist; so that they are of no use whatever.

1266. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] The Committee understand you to consider that the treaties were valueless because the English Government were not prepared to enforce those treaties?—Yes, they did not enforce them; which is a pity, I consider.

1267. Mr. Gladstone.] Not being ratified, they were no treaties at all, in point of fact?—Not those two.

1268. Lord H. Vane.] Why was the ratification refused?—Because they had not actually received the first year's subsidy, and the Government did not consider that it could be legally enforced. Such was the report, I believe, of the law officers of the Crown to the Government.

1269. Why did not they receive the first year's subsidy?—Because Lord Aberdeen's letter appeared before the first subsidy arrived on the coast.

1270. Chairman.] And then they refused to receive it?—They refused to receive it; they sent it back again; they would not take it out of the hands of the Commodore; they gave notice that they would not fulfil the treaty.

1271. They were very anxious to continue the slave trade?—No doubt of it.

1272. Does that feeling exist all along the coast?—Yes, I think it is universal among the chiefs.

1273. There is a great anxiety to perpetuate the slave trade?—Yes.

1274. Did it appear to you that they prefer the slave trade to any other branch of commerce?—I think they do in almost all cases, because it is so very much more profitable.

1275. Earl of Lincoln.] Are we to understand from you that the reason of their refusing to ratify those treaties was, that they understood that the barracoons were no longer to be as readily and as freely destroyed by the captains of English vessels as they had heretofore been?—Exactly.

1276. Why, in your opinion, is the existence of those barracoons so absolutely essential to the carrying on of the slave trade?—A barracoon is a factory where slaves are taken care of, and where goods for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade are taken care of.

1277. If that system of destroying the barracoons upon the coast had been persevered in, would it, in your opinion, have been perfectly impossible for the slave dealers to have established barracoons at such a distance from the shore as would have rendered them safe from the English vessels?—I do not think that they would be able to establish barracoons at a safe distance from the coast; and

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I do not think that any Brazilian or Spanish slave merchant would trust a cargo of goods on shore in Africa, if he thought that the English could land and destroy it. By means of transport through the bush it is hardly possible to remove it to any distance,

1278. Do you then hold that it is impossible to establish barracoons at a distance from the shore, on account of the impossibility of obtaining access for the goods to the barracoons, or the difficulty of conveying the slaves from the barracoons to the ships?—From the difficulty of transporting the goods from the shore to the interior to a safe distance.

1279. Does that difficulty exist in the case of rivers?—I do not believe that for these last 10 years there has been any slave trade whatever carried on in rivers.

1280. Might not the consequence of destroying the barracoons in the places in which they have hitherto been found, be the transference of them to situations further up the river?—No; a vessel would never trust herself in the river, because she is in a kind of *cul de sac*, she is sure of being captured. I believe, with the exception of Congo, there has been no slave trade in any river in Africa during these last 10 years.

1281. *Chairman.*] Because it has been practicable to carry on the slave trade on the open coast?—Yes, and impracticable in the rivers.

1282. But would it not be possible for the barracoons to be established up the river, and for boats to convey goods to the barracoons and slaves to the ships?—Of course, but it would be as easy for the English boats to go up that river.

1283. Is not that boat service up the river exposing the men to the malignity of the climate?—I think not, if they do not remain there. I can quote an instance of my own: my boats were away for an aggregate period of 606 days and nights during the four years that I commanded a vessel; they never had a case of illness; much less that of death.

1284. Were your boats engaged up the river?—Yes, but principally off the coast; they often went into the rivers.

1285. When you speak of the length of time that your boats were absent from the ship, you refer to boat service up the river?—Yes.

1286. Occasionally?—Yes; it would not, perhaps, be one-tenth of the time up the river to what it was on the open coast. There is more danger, no doubt, up the rivers. I never sent them up a river except in cases of necessity.

1287. Do you think that if that system were pursued which Captain Denman originated, of destroying the barracoons, the slave trade might be extinguished?—I am not exactly aware of what Captain Denman's plan was; but if the plan which was adopted by the Government in 1844 had been fully carried out I have no doubt that the slave trade would have ceased, and I think the failure is more owing to the mode of execution than to the plan itself.

1288. What is the plan to which you refer?—Several officers gave in a plan. I think that Captain Denman and I may divide the credit or the discredit at any rate of the plan that was adopted.

1289. Can you state in what it consisted?—I can give the memoranda. I was ordered by the Admiralty, in 1843, to give in a plan, which I did, and it was proposed to be adopted. I can read it to the Committee. This is a letter to Lord Aberdeen, on the 4th of April 1844; it contains extracts of what I gave to the Admiralty the year previous: "I have the honour to enclose to your Lordship extracts from my remarks on the suppression of the slave trade, which were given to the Admiralty and Sir George Cockburn in December and January last. I then stated it to be my opinion that a force consisting of seven steam and ten sailing vessels, constantly stationed on particular parts of the western coast of Africa, would prevent any slave trade whatever; but that an additional number would be required to relieve those absent for provisions and refitting; requiring a force of 12 steam and 20 sailing vessels. I pointed out the particular positions where it would be advisable to station the different cruisers, and marked on the charts those places to which the slave traders usually resorted; duplicates of those charts I beg also to enclose. The Northern limit of the slave-trading coast I consider to be at or near the river Gallinas. I am not well acquainted with the coast to the northward of Sierra Leone, but I do not believe that any slave trade has been carried on there for several years; if that be the case a steamer occasionally visiting the Pongas, Nunez, &c. would prevent the revival of the slave trade there; and it could not be revived without the fact becoming known to the authorities at Sierra Leone.

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Between the river Shebar and Cape Palmas the slave trade has been very briskly and successfully carried on for many years by the Havana merchants; the traffic will, I think, cease on this part of the coast before it does so on the coast of Guinea, or on the coast south of the Equator. The landed proprietors in Cuba care very little for the continuance of the slave trade and are in fact, averse to the importation of fresh negroes. From Cape St. Paul's to Cape Formosa the slave trade is carried on both by the Spaniards and Brazilians; the Portuguese in all cases are only agents and carriers. Owing to the uncertainty of communicating with the shore, the quarrelsome character of the native tribes, and the prevalent calms and light airs of this coast; owing to the detention consequent on all these, the slave trade has not flourished here since we were enabled to capture vessels 'equipped' for the slave trade. I am confidently of opinion that as soon as it becomes known that we have increased our squadron on the African coast, not a slaver will be found to the northward of the Equator. It is generally supposed that the slave trade is carried on in the rivers of Africa, but I do not believe that a slave vessel has entered a river during the last three years; certainly not for three years previous to my leaving the coast in 1843. It is on the coast south of the Equator that the slave trade has been and is likely to be carried on with the greatest success. Where one slave has been embarked north of the Equator, at least five have been embarked to the southward of it. From April 1840 to April 1843, 120 slave vessels were captured by Her Majesty's cruisers south of the Equator, and this by a squadron scarcely ever consisting of more than three or four brigs. During the same period not more than 65 slave vessels were captured north of the Equator by the whole African squadron, consisting of from 10 to 15 vessels. The Brazilian slave market, which receives five-sixths of the negroes exported from Africa, is almost wholly supplied from the coast south of the Equator. The island of Cuba is chiefly supplied from the coast north of the Equator. These are the only two places in the world that receive slaves from Africa. I believe that it is the opinion of those who are acquainted with Brazil, that the comparative mercantile prosperity of that country depends on a constant supply of negroes, to work the mines and sugar plantations. Be that as it may, the demand for them is very great indeed; 100,000 annually would scarcely supply the market. Owing to the slave trade having been checked, and only checked by us, the price of a new slave in Brazil in 1842 was treble what it was in 1839; and for the same reason, viz. a check given to the slave trade, the cost price of a slave in Africa in 1841 was only one quarter of what it was in 1838. During the last two years the Brazilian slave trade has gradually increased, but the value of the slave also still increases. The profits of the trade are so enormous, that if one vessel in six escapes, it repays the loss of the other five; the Brazilian slave merchants are therefore not so likely to relinquish their traffic as their brethren of Cuba, and they will resort to those places that offer the greatest facilities for escape. In my former remarks I stated it to be my opinion that three steamers and four large brigs, all well found in boats, and exclusive of reliefs, would prevent the slave trade south of the Equator; but these vessels will have a more difficult duty to perform than those stationed north of the Equator. The officer in charge of this particular part should possess a thorough knowledge of the coast. There is one continued line of communication along the whole coast (300 miles on one part, and 200 in another), which abounds in small coves and creeks, in any one of which vessels can not only embark their slaves, but can supply themselves with water, provisions, and other necessaries, which are easily transported by land. He will have a delicate duty to perform in his communication with the Portuguese authorities, with whom it is of the utmost importance that he should preserve a proper understanding; he may in some cases secure their co-operation, unwilling though it be, and by exercising his 'surveillance' perseveringly and judiciously, he may force them against their will to do their duty. He should understand the manifold manœuvres of the slave dealers, anticipate every possible scheme, and take steps to counteract them. It will entirely depend on the ability and exertions of this officer, whether the above named force is or is not sufficient to stop the slave trade south of the Equator. More than double that force would not do so, unless it be properly managed." I may here take occasion to remark, that every Commodore whom we have had on the coast of Africa since this plan was given or adopted, has been a stranger to the coast, which has been very unfortunate, although a very good officer no doubt in every other respect; but I think it would be just as ridiculous.

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culous to send an officer to the North Pole who had passed his time in China, or to send an officer to treat with the Chinese who had passed his time in exploring the North Pole, as it is to send a perfect stranger to the coast of Africa to treat with the native chiefs, when he knows nothing of their manners and customs, and possesses no local knowledge of the coast. This is one reason, I consider, of the failure; there are a great many others.

1290. *Chairman.*] Will you proceed with your letter?—"I believe, my Lord, that some misapprehension exists as to the benefit hitherto derived from the slave treaties with the native chiefs of Africa. It is a fact, that the only chiefs that have entered into these treaties are those in whose dominions the slave trade had actually ceased several years before the treaties were proposed to them. I may except the chiefs of Kabenda and Ambriz, but they only agreed to the treaties for the sake of preserving the goods of the slave traders when the barracons were destroyed; they immediately afterwards annulled the treaties, and formally refused to comply with them. The chiefs of Cape Mount and New Sestos agreed to the treaties in the expectation that it would lead to a very large increase of their trade with British vessels, in which expectation they have been disappointed. It is not stipulated that they should receive any subsidy from Great Britain. The authority of these chiefs is very limited; it does not extend beyond their own small town near the sea coast. The treaties with the chiefs of Eboe and Egarrah"—(those are the Niger treaties which the last witness spoke of)—"are useless; no slave vessel has ever yet been seen in their waters, and they have no authority over the tribes near the sea coast. They signed the treaty as proposed to them, and received the presents; but they will engage in slave trade whenever they can do so; and it would be extremely difficult to enforce a treaty in the interior of Africa. The chiefs of Calabar and Cameroons have entered into treaties, and they receive annual presents from this country; but the slave trade had ceased in their rivers for more than five years previously to the signing of the treaties. If the treaties with the chiefs of Kabenda and Ambriz could be enforced by us, it would be of vast benefit, and more particularly that with Ambriz. It is only eight miles outside the Portuguese possessions, and the slave merchants consequently resort to that place, to evade the laws of Portugal," (that is the custom laws), "to do which they receive every assistance from the colonial authorities; Ambriz is a kind of free port for slave trading. I do not consider that these treaties are mischievous; on the contrary, they can do no harm, and some of them may be of service on a future day; but not any practical good has hitherto resulted from them. It is not to be supposed that any chief in Africa will keep faith with us any longer than it suits his interest to do so; a treaty is therefore useless unless it contains a stipulation by which we are authorized to suppress the slave trade by force, in case of its being at any time hereafter revived. The chiefs over whom it is of importance that we should have some power, are those of Mayumba, Loango, Malemba, Kabenda, Congo, and Ambriz; these are the maritime tribes on the south-west coast of Africa that are interested in the slave trade. The people of the first four named countries are the mildest and most inoffensive of all the natives of Africa. I beg to refer your Lordship to the accompanying charts, containing my remarks on the slave-trading coast." Then follow the extracts from my remarks given to the Admiralty on the 15th December 1843, which are these: "I consider that the manner in which the Cape of Good Hope and Coast of Africa stations are divided is particularly favourable to the escape of slave vessels, which are now enabled to take advantage of Her Majesty's cruisers not being able to act so much in concert as they could do were they under the orders of the same local senior officer. The 10th degree of south latitude is the very centre of the Portuguese possessions, where the slave trade is carried on, and where there is constant communication, both by land and water, between the slave depôts on one station and the slave depôts on the other; the traders are thus enabled to transport their slaves, and all necessary equipment, to that station which is not so strictly guarded as the other; and so great do they consider this advantage, that they can almost ensure the escape of any vessel. Even the permission for the cruisers to go beyond the limits of the stations, and communicate with each other, can make but little difference. It is requisite that they should all be under the orders of the same local senior officer, whose plans could be formed according to information received. It is on correct information that principally depends our success; if reduced to mere 'hide and seek,' we have no chance with the slavers; they have several hundred boats employed, and

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the transport by land is particularly easy. Taking alone into consideration the suppression of the slave trade, the stations should be divided either by the 3d, 7th, or 16th degree of south latitude. Between Cape Lopez (lat. $0^{\circ} 36'$) and Mayumba (lat. $3^{\circ} 22'$), there is no slave trade, nor any trade whatever; the country is impassable, it is very thinly populated, and the natives are less civilized than on any other part of the coast. This effectually prevents any communication between the Bights and the south west coast of Africa. Between Mayumba and the river Congo the slave trade has been very briskly and successfully carried on for many years, principally by Spaniards from Havannah. This part of the coast might certainly belong to either station, but it were better that all cruisers to the southward of 3° south should be under the immediate command of the same officer, who, by having a number of vessels at his disposal, could ensure the coast being equally guarded; and in case of a cruiser being in want of provisions, she might be supplied or relieved by one whose services could be better spared, instead of leaving an important point unguarded. It is moreover absolutely impossible for the senior officer in the Bights personally to attend to this part of the station; he must entrust it to one of his subordinates, in fact make it a distinct station. Should it, however, be necessary for other reasons to attach this part of the coast (from Mayumba to Congo) to the northern station, another good division might be made by the river Congo, or the seventh degree of south latitude. The coast between the river Congo and Ambriz is another waste and sterile tract, almost destitute of fresh water, and where there is no trade whatever. At Ambriz (lat. $7^{\circ} 52'$) begins the Portuguese slave trade, and near this spot will always be the principal market for slaves, roads converging to that place from all parts of the interior, and even from the opposite shore of Mozambique. The coast between Ambriz and Little Fish Bay (lat. $15^{\circ} 13'$) is that which requires to be the most strictly watched; it embraces the whole of the Portuguese possessions south of the Line, and where there is scarcely any other trade but that in slaves; there is one continued line of communication along the whole coast, which abounds in small coves and creeks, in any one of which vessels can not only embark their slaves, but can supply themselves with water, provisions, and other necessaries, which are easily transported by land. To capture vessels under these circumstances, or even to frustrate their schemes, requires the utmost care and vigilance, but our exertions are in a great measure thrown away if they are allowed quietly to arrange their plans while none can be made to counteract them. The stations should not be divided between the 3d and 16th degree of south latitude." There are then the following extracts from my letter to Sir George Cockburn, of the 8th of January 1844: "Except at those places where boats can be used on detached service, small brigs or brigantines are of greater service than frigates; the masts of a frigate, even with her sails furled, are seen by a small vessel before it is possible for her to be seen by the former; the slaver then escapes by merely altering her course. The upper sails of a vessel that would carry 300 slaves, are not so high as the cross-jack yard of a frigate. I presume that owing to the extra expense, steamers are not to be employed where sailing vessels will do nearly as well; and for the same reason, that a large vessel is not to be employed when a small one is sufficient. Beginning then with the north extreme of the slave-trading coast, I consider that a steamer occasionally visiting the rivers to the northward of Sierra Leone would prevent the slave trade being revived at those places; this vessel would not be required to carry a large quantity of fuel or provisions. To prevent any slave trade between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas, would require three sailing vessels stationed at particular points, and a steamer, which should be senior officer, to communicate with the whole; small vessels would be better here than large ones. Between Cape St. Paul's and Lagos would require two or three sailing vessels and a steamer, the former small. A steamer occasionally visiting the coast between Benin and Cape Lopez would prevent the slave trade being revived in the rivers; two steamers, well found in boats, would prevent any slave trade between Mayumba and Congo; from Ambriz to Little Fish Bay would require four sailing vessels (large brigs well found in boats) and a steamer, the latter senior officer. With such a force employed the coast would be actually blockaded, no slave trade could exist, and the cruisers might be withdrawn from the coasts of Cuba and Brazil. A few extra vessels would be required to relieve those absent for provisions or refitting. I do not think that this force would be required for more than two years; the slave

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trade having once actually ceased, other steps might be taken to prevent its being revived. I am not well acquainted with the Mozambique, but I believe that three sailing vessels would be sufficient; no small slavers go there." I also addressed the following letter to Lord Aberdeen, on the 21st of July 1844: "I beg leave to offer to your Lordship some further remarks relative to the suppression of the slave trade, which I am induced to do by the very flattering manner in which Sir Robert Peel was lately pleased to mention my name in the House of Commons. I have already stated it to be my opinion that the proposed force on the coast of Africa would not be required for more than two years; the slave trade having once actually ceased, other steps might be taken to prevent its being revived. That our present exertions may ultimately be crowned with success, it, I consider, will be necessary to attend to the following:—1. Treaties with native chiefs, in virtue of which we might destroy slave factories on shore. 2. Permission to destroy slave factories on parts of the coast nominally possessed by the Crown of Portugal, but at a great distance from any constituted authorities. 3. Encouragement, by every means, of legitimate commerce with Africa. We have not hitherto succeeded in obtaining a treaty with any native chief until he had already relinquished every hope of carrying on the slave trade; this fact then may be a guide to our future proceedings. When the coast belonging to any chief shall have been strictly guarded for one or two years; when the slave trade shall have ceased, and the slave traders withdrawn from his dominions; then, and then only, will he for a trifling subsidy stipulate for a final abolition of the slave trade. There will not be the slightest physical difficulty in enforcing a treaty with any of the tribes on the sea coast. Moreover, no slave merchant would trust a cargo of goods on shore in Africa where he knew that the English could land and destroy it. I am able, my Lord, to speak very confidently on this subject, for there is not a single harbour or river on any part of the western coast of Africa, from Sierra Leone to Little Fish Bay, that I have not repeatedly visited, and there is scarcely a chief on the whole of that coast with whom I have not had repeated conversations respecting it. I may here mention that an erroneous opinion generally prevails as to the amount of domestic slavery in tropical Africa; it has been greatly overrated. I do not believe that slavery existed among the tribes on the west coast until they were visited by Europeans, three centuries ago. I believe that domestic slavery in Africa was caused by European slave trade. Many observations that I have made lead me to this conclusion. I will mention only one. Among the numerous African languages, differing from each other as widely as the English, Russian, and Italian, I have never found a word expressive of 'slave' or 'bondsmen.' Those words are generally rendered by 'escravo,' or 'cativo' (captive); the latter is common to all the African languages, from the Equator to the south extreme of the slave-trading coast. Our chief difficulty in suppressing the slave trade on the west coast will be on that part which belongs to the Crown of Portugal, situated between the eighth and eighteenth degree of south latitude. Along this 600 miles of coast there are only four places at which there are any constituted authorities, viz., St. Paul de Loando, Nova Redonda, Benguela, and Mayumba, or Little Fish Bay; and their influence extends but little further than the range of the guns of the forts. The slave traders are absolute masters of all the creeks and corners of the coast; and here, my Lord, is the principal difference between the north and south coasts. Between Sierra Leone and the Equator there is not a single harbour of refuge. Slave vessels, to avoid our cruisers, must keep the sea, where they are constantly liable to capture; but the coast south of the Equator affords excellent anchorage at all times, and instead of being obliged to keep the sea, slavers can seek shelter in their hiding places. Our success here will chiefly depend on the co-operation of the Portuguese authorities with Her Majesty's cruisers. If the Portuguese Government could be induced to give directions to their colonial governors to accept the co-operation of Her Majesty's cruisers in destroying the haunts of foreign slave traders, and to allow a certain number of the commanders of Her Majesty's vessels to be armed with the same authority as Portuguese naval officers, much good would result from such a co-operation. But unless we can obtain the active and earnest co-operation of the Portuguese government, I am of opinion that we shall have to maintain a squadron in the neighbourhood of their colonies long after the slave trade shall have ceased in all other parts of Africa. I should be travelling out of my sphere were I to propose to your Lordship

any scheme for increasing our trade with Africa. It is not likely that I should understand the subject in all its different bearings; but it is a fact that our trade is now almost exclusively confined to the most unhealthy, the most deadly parts of Africa, and the late unfortunate Niger expedition was directed to the same part. If it be the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make any other settlements on the coast of Africa, or to organize any system of immigration of free labourers from parts of Africa not belonging to Her Majesty, to our West India colonies, I beg to call your Lordship's attention to that part situated between the third and eighth degree of south latitude, and more particularly to the countries near Ambriz and Kabenda. The climate there is the most salubrious, the soil the most fertile, and the inhabitants are the most peaceable and industrious of all in Africa. Should your Lordship require any information respecting these places, I shall have great pleasure in affording it. With respect to the withdrawal of our cruisers from the coasts of Cuba and Brazil, I am of opinion that unless the force employed on the coast of Africa be sufficient to stop the slave trade, and thereby render it unnecessary to employ cruisers for the same purpose on the other side of the Atlantic, no ultimate good will result from an increase of force; but I am confidently of opinion that the proposed force, if properly managed, will be found sufficient. I will not trouble your Lordship with my opinion on that part of the subject, which is purely naval."

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Jovis, 30^o die Martii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Bingham Baring.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. E. Denison.
Lord John Hay.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Commander *Henry James Matson*, R. N., called in; and further Examined.

1291. *Chairman.*] WERE you present when Captain Denman gave his evidence to the Committee on the subject of employing steam-boats on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade?—I was not present.

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1292. Are you of opinion that steam-boats are a useful class of vessels for that purpose?—I think, if you do not measure by the expense, a steamer is of more use than a sailing vessel; but if a certain amount of money is to be expended, it is more profitably expended I fancy in sailing vessels, as you are able to employ more sailing vessels. In some places steamers are indispensable.

1293. And generally, irrespectively of expense, you think them more efficient?—No doubt of it.

1294. What do you find to be the effect of ordinary cruisers eight or ten miles from the shore?—Eight or ten miles is not far, but I consider that closer would be better; the closer you can keep to the shore the better.

1295. During the time that you were off the shore, at what distance did you usually cruise?—We kept as close as possible; within three miles or four miles; we anchored when we could do so at a convenient distance.

1296. At what distance are the cruisers usually kept?—It depends upon the system which they pursue; in former times, when they could only take vessels full of slaves, they were obliged to cruise some distance off the shore, in fact out of sight of land, for the purpose of catching them when they were attempting to make their voyage. If the system is pursued of blockading the coast of Africa, to prevent slave vessels approaching the coast and embarking slaves, the nearer you can keep to the shore the better.

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1297. Do you find the crews suffer at all in the vicinity of the shore, from the malignity of the climate?—Not except they land; I only lost two men from fever during the four years, and they died from having been exposed on shore on duty, sleeping on shore; I also lost several others while absent in prizes at Sierra Leone.

1298. You are not aware of any objection to vessels cruising close to the shore?—No; I think two miles off shore is as healthy as 20.

1299. Do you consider that there is a greater chance of escape for the slave trading vessels when the cruisers are placed at a distance from the shore?—I have no doubt of it.

1300. You have stated that during the time that you were on the coast, you captured a large proportion of the vessels that came off with slaves?—I captured 40 slavers during the four years, but only 15 of them had slaves on board.

1300*. Are you enabled to form any opinion as to the numbers that escaped?—We always believed that we took during that time three-fifths, from the information of the slave traders themselves, and from the information of the Portuguese officers at that part of the coast, and also from the returns from the other side of the Atlantic.

1301. You have stated that your crew occasionally landed?—Very seldom.

1302. For what purpose is the crew landed?—At the time that those two men were lost, it was for the purpose of getting information; visiting the English factories near the slave factories, for the purpose of getting information. We generally had some persons in our pay to give us information; servants of the kings or chiefs of the place, who secretly gave us information.

1303. On what subject?—On the slave trade: news of any vessels arriving or being expected; they were spies, in fact, over the slave trade.

1304. Did they give you information of the arrival of slaves from the interior?—Any information, in fact, that we wanted.

1305. Was it in consequence of the information which you obtained through such channels that you landed at Cabenda?—We knew by the spies everything that went on at Cabenda as well as if we were in the barracoons ourselves, which we often were; but the orders to destroy those slave factories originated in the Government.

1306. Was it in consequence of an order from the Government that you destroyed the factory at Cabenda?—Yes, and at Ambriz also.

1307. In what year was that?—1842.

1308. Both factories were destroyed in the same year?—Yes; there were eight different factories destroyed.

1309. By you?—By me, under orders from Captain Foote.

1310. Where were they?—There were five factories at Cabenda, and three at Ambriz.

1311. Generally speaking, what were the contents of the factories?—It is what they call a barracoon; a part of it is a slaveyard, another part is a storehouse, and the other is a kitchen.

1312. What were in the storehouses?—They contained goods; manufactures that are exchanged for slaves.

1313. What description of goods?—Goods of all kinds, principally I think common brandy, what they call agoardente; the common cotton goods are the most bulky articles, but the cargoes are what are termed assorted cargoes; in fact, everything from red umbrellas to common small utensils of every kind.

1314. Were the goods, as far as you know, chiefly of English production?—A great number of them, I should say.

1315. Was the yard attached to the barracoon for the purpose of containing the slaves?—Yes.

1316. Did you release any number of slaves?—There were about 1,100 released on that occasion.

1317. 1,100 in all?—1,100 and odd.

1318. Was the burning of the factories attended with a very great destruction of goods?—No; the goods were taken away by the natives; they were given up to the natives.

1319. Were they taken away by you?—No, by the natives; we did not touch the goods; we merely burnt the factories, after every one of the goods had been removed.

1320. Did you positively refrain from destroying the goods?—Yes.

1321. Under

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1321. Under direction?—Yes; it was an understanding with the chiefs; it was a promise, a part of the treaty in fact, that we should deliver up the goods to the chiefs, and take the slaves, and then burn the houses; we burnt nothing but the empty houses. With reference to goods, perhaps I may make a remark. The Chairman called my attention yesterday to Mr. Wise's letter; it is a lengthy document, but well worthy the attention, I am sure, of any person interested in this subject. He dwells a great deal on what he calls goods intended for the African market, and he occupies many pages in enlarging on the guilt of the English nation in allowing their manufactured goods to be employed for the purpose of the slave trade. He also calls attention to the President's message some year or two before, wherein he stated that a great quantity of goods for the purchase of slaves were of British manufacture; manufactured expressly for the purpose of the purchase of slaves. That is a very common misapprehension; there is no such thing as manufactured goods employed for the purpose of the slave trade alone. I have seen a great deal of the trade on the coast of Africa, and I can declare that there is no one article of manufacture that is employed in the slave trade that is not employed in legal commerce, and there is no one article employed in legal commerce that is not employed in the slave trade.

1322. Does not Mr. Wise say the same thing; that there is no distinction between the licit and the illicit trade, in regard to the goods which are in demand there?—He says it is all slave trade.

1323. What became of the goods after you destroyed the factories?—They were taken away by the authority of the chiefs, with their armed soldiers and other natives.

1324. That is to say, that goods belonging to the Portuguese and Spanish slave traders were handed over to the native chiefs?—To the native chiefs.

1325. They, of course, approved of such a distribution of the Portuguese property?—No doubt of it.

1326. In fact, it must have been a great prize for them?—Of course; they got the goods for nothing.

1327. Was there a very large quantity of goods?—Yes. In fact, there was an action brought against me for one of the factories out of the eight, where they laid the damages at 80,000 *l*.

1328. In one factory?—In one of the factories.

1329. When was that tried?—It is going on now, but I do not believe it will ever come to trial; it has been argued, and there have been the pleadings and demurrers; but they say, since the decision in Captain Denman's case, that this will not be pushed to trial.

1330. Did you find that the slave trade had revived at all in those places where you had destroyed barracoons?—Not before I left the coast; there were only the first symptoms of it. Before I left the coast in 1843, the vessels were beginning to come over full of goods, and the very same men that had left the coast of Africa the year before, I met returning from Brazil; men who I was very well acquainted with, and who had before relinquished the hope of carrying on the slave trade.

1331. As far as you have any personal knowledge of the proceedings which took place on those spots where the slave trade was destroyed, did any other trade get up in its stead?—There was hardly time.

1332. Have you heard since whether the slave trade has revived at Cabenda?—Yes, it has, no doubt.

1333. It is now larger than ever?—Yes, I believe it is.

1334. Where you destroyed the factories, has the slave trade revived?—I have no doubt of it; I cannot speak from personal knowledge, but there is no doubt of the fact.

1335. Captain Denman was of opinion, that, after the destruction of a factory, it would be extremely difficult for the slave trade to revive on that spot; do you concur with him in that opinion?—I do, certainly, unless there was a change of policy.

1336. The mere destruction of the barracoon will not effect that difficulty?—It would, if they had the idea that if they built another we would destroy that too.

1337. Is the barracoon itself a construction of much value?—No; it is built of bamboo; it is of very little value.

1338. Are you of opinion, that if that system had been pursued along the whole coast

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coast where the slave trade was carried on, namely, the system of watching the coast closely in shore, and burning the factories and depôts for goods, it would have extinguished the slave trade?—I really have no doubt that it would have extinguished the slave trade, if it had been carried out.

1339. Would it extinguish the slave trade after the squadron was withdrawn?—If you had a treaty with the chief, to enable you to land in his territories and destroy the slave factories, in case of his allowing the slave trade to be revived.

1340. Would the native chief, then, be at all injured by your destroying the factories?—No slave merchant would trust his goods on shore, if he thought they could be destroyed.

1341. Have you any opinion as to the period of time during which it would be necessary to maintain a squadron on the coast, in order to effect the complete extinction of the slave trade?—I stated in the letter which I read to the Committee on the last day, that I thought two years. If the slave trade were actually stopped (not merely checked) for two years, the chiefs would then relinquish all hopes of carrying on the trade; and then, and only then, would they agree to your treaties.

1342. You think that the system of operation which you have described, carried on for two years, would effect the extinction of the slave trade at the expiration of that time?—I do.

1343. You think that if that course had been pursued in 1842 for two years, the slave trade might have been extinguished on the west coast of Africa?—I really have no doubt of it upon my own mind.

1344. Are you of opinion, that if the same operations were adopted on the coast of Africa now, at the expiration of two years the slave trade could be extinguished on that portion of the coast?—Yes; but it would require a much larger force.

1345. That is the only condition?—Yes, that no doubt is the only condition; instilling a belief into the minds of the people that you are determined to do it.

1346. Earl of *Lincoln*.] What circumstance would render a larger force necessary now than in 1842?—Because the slave trade has so very much increased. A stimulus has been given to the slave trade by the admission of slave-grown sugar, and the belief, which is entertained in Brazil and also in Africa, that we are not doing our utmost to suppress the slave trade; therefore it would take longer to persuade the people that you are determined to do it.

1347. Do you apprehend that the slave trade is carried on upon a greater extent of coast now than it was in 1842?—No, except in the rivers north of Sierra Leone.

1348. If, then, there is no greater extent of coast upon which the trade is carried on, why would it require a greater force now than it did then; your plan being, not to have a quantity of ships out at sea to catch the vessels which leave the coast, but a blockading squadron to watch the different ports?—Because I think that the slave dealers, or rather the native chiefs, would persevere longer, on account of our recent failures; that they would hope for better times and some change of policy.

1349. Is not that rather an argument for the suppression requiring a longer time, than requiring a larger force?—I think, both; I do not limit it. A larger force during the two years would rather imply a greater determination to suppress it; if a larger force were not employed it would take a longer time.

1350. Then you attach importance to the larger force which you now advocate, as compared with that employed in 1842, more for its moral effect than for any necessity which exists with reference to an increased amount of force?—The only reason why I think there is a necessity for an increase of force practically, putting aside the moral effect, is that they have employed other means; they have made roads, they have employed more boats, and their system is larger and better organised throughout; and putting aside the moral effect, it would require, certainly, a larger force to blockade the coast; not more men, but more ships.

1351. *Chairman*.] You are acquainted generally with the history of the slave trade?—Yes, pretty well; I have paid great attention to it.

1352. Has not the trade been liable at all times to great vicissitudes, being sometimes carried on with considerable success, and at other times checked by the operation of the means of suppression and force?—I do not think there has been any material change.

1353. You

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1353. You think it has been pretty steady?—Pretty steady; I think the increase and decrease have not been very sudden.

1354. Do you think there have been alternations?—There have been alternations; the discovery of mines in the Brazils is one great cause of the increased demand for slaves.

1355. Have the alternations been created in any way by the operations of the suppressive squadron?—Yes, most certainly.

1356. When steam-boats were first employed on the coast did it produce any change?—Until the new measures of 1844, steamers were not employed; there was one here and there.

1357. Are you speaking of a fact within your own knowledge when you say that steam-boats were not employed on the coast in the year 1844?—Not previously to 1844. I do not think there were two steamers during ten years; there was not a steamer employed, all the time that I was on the coast, for the last five years; about ten years ago there was one steamer, the "Pluto."

1358. When the equipment article first came into operation, did not it give a considerable check to the slave trade?—Yes.

1359. Did not the slave trade revive after the equipment article had been a temporary check?—No; a year after that there was a little increase. After our treaty with Spain in 1835, when they found that they could with impunity adopt the Portuguese flag although they were really Spaniards, it gave a little impetus to the slave trade, but it was almost immediately checked, for they found that whatever flag a slaver chose to hoist, she was judged according to her nationality, and not according to her flag; and therefore when they found that they could no longer use the flag of Portugal with impunity, it continued to decrease from 1835, when we obtained the first equipment treaty, until 1842, when the slave trade was at its lowest ebb.

1360. Are you aware that that opinion is diametrically opposed to the opinion of Sir Fowell Buxton?—I think there are facts to prove the opinion. I was on the coast during the whole of that time, or very nearly so.

1361. Sir Fowell Buxton shows in the course of his book, and shows it by means of official documents, that in the year 1839 the slave trade had been greater than for many previous years; is that in accordance with your opinion?—I have no doubt that Sir Fowell Buxton spoke of the slave trade which was legalized to all intents and purposes south of the line. We could not touch a slaver full of slaves south of the line previously to the year 1839. I fancy that my evidence is not contrary to Sir Fowell Buxton's; I qualify my evidence now by saying, that previously to the year 1839, the slave trade was legal south of the line; and during the year 1838, I suppose, a much greater number of slaves were embarked from the Portuguese possessions south of the line than ever had been for any two years previously; which would agree exactly with Sir Fowell Buxton's account.

1362. Then you are of opinion that the slave trade has always diminished in proportion to the strength and efficiency of the British squadron on the coast?—Yes, and their powers. But it must be borne in mind that we had no authority whatever south of the line, until the year 1839; we could not take a vessel full of slaves; and it was only the expectation of a treaty between England and Portugal that caused them to make a greater push for slaves during the year 1838, which was stopped in the year 1839; and although in the year 1838 a greater number of slaves were exported from Africa to the Brazils than in the previous year or any two previous years, during the year 1840 I do not think that there could have been one-tenth of the number sent from Africa to the Brazils that there were in 1838.

1363. Do you think that the efforts of the suppressive squadron were never frustrated by the means which the slave traders brought to bear against them?—No; I think that all the efforts of the slave traders were frustrated on that part of the coast (I am confining my remarks to that part which is the principal slave-trading coast in Africa) between 1839 and 1842, and that they gave up their establishments and wound up their affairs, and that occasioned the chiefs to enter into the treaties with us.

1364. Mr. E. Denison.] Do you think that if a great demand for slaves should exist in Brazil and Cuba, from the power of importing slave-grown sugar into this country or any other cause, Brazil would not contrive to be supplied with slaves in some way or another?—I do not think so, and I think that the opinion

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of others is much better than my own; I may quote the opinion of the slave traders themselves; and with reference to Mr. Wise's letter, the statements there may be taken as the opinion of foreigners and of Brazilian slave merchants. The same opinion was expressed by a very old Brazilian slave merchant before the Sugar and Coffee Committee, the other day; he did not for one moment doubt, and the people in Brazil now do not doubt, that you could stop the slave trade; and they express their surprise, through Mr. Wise, that we have not done it, and they question our intentions because we have not done it. I can answer for the opinions often expressed to me by slave merchants themselves, with whom I was on very intimate terms; they do not doubt our power to stop the slave trade entirely.

1365. Then, if matters were to be taken up at the point at which they stood in 1842, do you think that now you could get the native chiefs to enter into the treaties which would be necessary for the purpose?—It had already been done in 1842; but it would be now difficult to bring matters back to the state in which they then were. I should like to correct one answer in my former evidence; there is only one correction necessary; I think it is in reply to a question put to me by Mr. Gladstone about those treaties, which I appear to have misunderstood. I am asked in question 1267, speaking of the two treaties, "They were no treaties at all, in point of fact?" I say, "Not those two;" but I consider that they were *bonâ fide* treaties which have not since been acted on, which were of more value than all the other treaties in Africa put together.

1366. Mr. Jackson.] Which were those?—Those of Cabenda and Ambriz.

1367. Were they not acted upon by our Government?—No.

1368. Are you aware that similar treaties were made with King Peppel, of the Bonny?—Yes.

1369. Are you aware that he has never yet received the subsidy promised him?—I am not aware of that.

1370. Are you aware that similar treaties have been made with King Aqua and King Bel, at the Cameroons?—I know that King Aqua and King Bel have received them.

1371. How?—By British men-of-war being sent to them.

1372. Do you know that of your own knowledge?—No.

1373. Are you aware that the claims which King Aqua and King Bel drew on the British Treasury for their first payment were not satisfied by the British Government?—I have an idea that they were refused on the plea that the certificate from British traders there, or some certificate required to show that the slave trade had not been carried on, was not forthcoming. I think that they were refused, but I cannot speak confidently; it is merely from hearing officers on the coast say so. I was informed by Lieutenant Raymond, commanding the "Spy," that he delivered the subsidies to these two chiefs.

1374. Are you aware that similar results took place with King J. O. Honesty and King Eyambo, at Old Calabar?—All that I know is that treaties were made with them, and I believe that they have received subsidies from this Government; I did not see them.

1375. You do not know it of your own knowledge?—No; I did not take them, nor did I see them.

1376. Were you a party to those negotiations?—Not with the chiefs which you mentioned.

1377. They were made by Captain Tucker, were they not?—Some with Captain Tucker, and I think some with officers under his command. Captain Tucker was the Commodore on the station at the time.

1378. Chairman.] Is there not a singular amount of organization along the shore among the slave traders?—In some parts.

1379. Did you ever hear of their communicating by means of fires?—Yes, along the coast.

1380. Along a great extent of coast?—Yes.

1381. And far into the interior?—No; I do not think it was necessary.

1382. The same means might be employed for communication in the interior?—Yes. We were aware of their signals for many years before they knew that we were aware of them.

1383. Would the signal always be visible to you at sea?—Yes, the principal signal; for instance, one bright light was always the signal to come in, two bright

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bright lights were the signal not to come in, and three were the signal to run away as fast as they could.

1384. Were those signals continued during the time that you were on the coast?—Yes; very little advantage was derived to them from that, if any.

1385. Do you think that any organization and any device which they could bring to bear against the squadron would enable them to carry on the slave trade, if the plan which you recommend were strictly adhered to?—I do not think so.

1386. Do you come to that conclusion, even supposing that the demand for slaves at Cuba and Brazil were greater than it is now?—It would no doubt redouble their efforts; and however small the result might be, when the efforts were redoubled and the demand greater it would enable them to export more slaves; more expense would be involved, and their efforts might be rather more successful, and there might be a greater number of slaves exported.

1387. What is the length of the line of coast along which the slave trade might be conducted on the west coast of Africa; is it a distance of 1,500 miles?—Less than that, I should think. I think, picking out all the places where the slave trade could be carried on, the extent of the two parts of the coast put together amounts to about 1,000 miles. I think that picking out all the spots where the slave trade could be carried on, it might be about that.

1388. You think that the slave trade could not be carried on along the whole line of coast of the inter-tropical region of the west coast of Africa?—No.

1389. Why not?—The country for 100 miles sometimes is completely impassable; there is no trade whatever, and there are no inhabitants.

1390. Would it not be possible to march the slaves down to the coast, even in such an inhospitable country as that?—It would not be possible, I think.

1391. Why not possible?—The expense of cutting a road would be more than the value of the slaves.

1392. Is it necessary that the slaves should march along roads?—Yes; it is thick jungle in many places.

1393. Supposing there is jungle, are roads a necessary means of communication for slaves?—A pass must be made; not a road.

1394. Earl of *Lincoln*.] By cutting the bush away?—Yes; and they are obliged to carry their provisions for a great many days, and they could scarcely do it; they could not carry sufficient water for their subsistence.

1395. Mr. *Jackson*.] Do not you think that by means of creeks they could do it?—There are no creeks whatever, except in the Bights of Biafra and Benin, joining the rivers.

1396. *Chairman*.] Have you any knowledge of the east coast of Africa?—No.

1397. You know that slaves are brought from the east coast of Africa?—I know it by report, and from having seen slavers at the Cape of Good Hope.

1398. Is not the trade which is conducted on the east coast of Africa conducted under circumstances of greater cruelty than on the west?—The sufferings in the middle passage must be greater, no doubt, from the east coast.

1399. Do not you fear that if you suppressed the slave trade on the west coast, it would break out on the east coast?—It is of no use suppressing one without suppressing both.

1400. Have they any squadron on the east coast?—There are, I think, three or four vessels now.

1401. Permanently stationed there, or only occasionally visiting the coast?—I think there is always one permanently, and perhaps two, but not more; the squadron will not admit of more.

1402. Then any plan which contemplates the entire suppression of the slave trade must be applied to the eastern coast of Africa, as well as to the western coast?—Yes, unless you choose to allow them to carry on the slave trade on the east coast, and stop it on the west coast, until you can entirely stop it and obtain the treaties with the native chiefs; but it would be more difficult to obtain those treaties with the chiefs if they were aware that the slave trade was going on on the east coast.

1403. Mr. *Jackson*.] You have given it as your opinion, that in two years the slave trade might be, with a sufficient power, annihilated by the British Government?—Yes, I have no doubt of it; it is in the power of the British nation to stop the slave trade in two years.

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1404. And you were understood to say, that if it could be stopped for two years, the natives would turn their attention to other matters, and the slave trade would cease?—Yes, altogether. It is a fact not to be disputed, that where the slave trade and legal trade co-exist, the legal trade will not supplant the slave trade; but in every single instance where the slave trade has been stopped, a legitimate trade has sprung up and superseded it. I do not mention an isolated case, but there is not an instance along the coast of Africa where this has not taken place.

1405. In supposing that the slave trade ceased for two years after it had been put a stop to by careful watching, and the squadron was removed from the coast, do not you think that if a demand arose for slave labour, the trade would be renewed with activity?—No; I think that the squadron, which it would be always necessary to maintain on the coast of Africa for the protection of our own trade, would prevent the revival of the slave trade.

1406. How often have you been called in to protect the natural trade between England and Africa?—Repeatedly.

1407. To settle disputes between the natives and the traders?—Yes.

1408. That is to say, that if a man has been foolish enough to trust his cargo in the hands of a black man, and the black man has not thought fit to pay him, the individual parting with his goods has called for physical force to compel him?—I have no doubt that if it were not for the presence of the squadron in Africa the disputes between the masters of the palm-oil vessels and the natives would be interminable.

1409. Do you think it right, that if you trusted an American with a cargo of British goods, and he did not meet his bills when they fell due, we should send out a squadron to compel that man to pay his debts?—I hardly understand the question.

1410. Apply that principle of compelling the black man to pay by force, to any other nation; is it right that we, as a nation, should go to the expense of compelling any individual trader in America to pay for goods that he has been credited with, when he does not choose to pay?—That is a question more for a lawyer or a statesman than for a sailor to answer.

1411. Whenever you have been called in to settle disputes between the merchant and the native trader, it has been because the merchant has been foolish enough to trust men that he ought not to have trusted, and we have interfered in a way that did not do us any credit?—I do not think that the legal trade can be carried on in Africa without trusting the natives of Africa.

1412. Are you not aware that in the case of the 500,000 *l.* or 600,000 *l.* worth of goods which go out from England to Africa, the whole of that has to be trusted in the hands of the natives before the parties get the palm oil or other produce?—I believe it has.

1413. And the quantity lost in many years is very small; but when there is a great competition in the rivers for the produce of the country, the loss is great from the desire of the English trader to acquire a greater quantity than his neighbour?—That I believe is one cause of the disputes: I have never seen force used to compel a black man to pay his debts, nor do I think it would always be right to do so.

1414. You never heard that the town of Bonny has been knocked to pieces by any of the vessels which are connected with this country, on account of the non-payment of debts?—I believe it was occasioned by a more national question, the imprisonment of some British subjects, than the mere enforcement of a debt: I was not present.

1415. Supposing that the British men-of-war had instructions from the Government here never to interfere between the black men and the white, with reference to any debts that might be owing, would they still need that protection which you say is essential?—They would decidedly need it.

1416. Do you mean to say that at the rivers of the Bights of Benin and Biafra they have invariably at their command a man-of-war to call in?—No; but the belief that there always is a man-of-war to call in, has had a most salutary effect on the native chiefs, and there are many instances to corroborate this assertion. When the French commenced trading with the coast of Africa to any extent, their goods were taken by the natives; they were robbed, and they lost almost the whole of them; cargoes of goods were pillaged. A French man-of-war on arriving at the coast, made reprisals and burnt the towns belonging to the African chiefs;

chiefs; and I believe since that, the feeling that they have a man-of-war to protect them has prevented a repetition of that pillage.

1417. It is quite in the power of a French merchant-man to protect itself in the same way that the English merchant-man used to do before the men-of-war were stationed on the coast?—I do not think that since our trade has commenced on the coast of Africa it has been without a squadron; I speak of the last 40 years. I speak of the complaints of the Americans also. The principal reason why the Americans could not compete with us about the year 1840, was because they had not any squadron on the coast; and I have been repeatedly applied to by American merchants to give the influence of my authority, even the moral effect of it, to show the natives that we were almost one and the same people.

1418. That was on the south coast?—That was on the south coast; the Americans do not trade anywhere except on the south coast; they have a very small trade.

1419. Sir *R. Inglis.*] Will you explain which the south coast is?—South of the line.

1420. Mr. *Jackson.*] You are not aware that they attempted to trade in the different rivers in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, in palm oil; and that having lost through sickness most of their crews, they gave it up as a bad job?—I know that they tried, and failed.

1421. Do you recollect an American vessel called the “Dove” being on the coast?—I heard the name; I did not see her.

1422. How long ago is that?—I am not certain.

1423. You have stated that the goods which you had seen in the different stores, what are generally termed factories on the coast, were precisely the same as the British merchants took out for the purchase of palm oil; that the goods used for the purchase of slaves were precisely the same as the British merchant used for the purchase of produce?—Yes.

1424. Then are we to infer that whatever will purchase a slave will purchase palm oil, and that whatever will purchase palm oil will purchase a slave?—Yes.

1425. You know that from your own knowledge?—I know it as a fact. It depends upon the situation of the place; it depends upon the river and locality, but it does not depend upon whether you want to buy a slave, or whether you want to buy a tooth or palm oil; I speak very confidently on that.

1426. You are not aware then that what will buy palm oil in the River Cameroons will not buy ivory, and that what will buy ivory will not buy palm oil?—No. That does not alter my opinion, because the palm oil and the ivory come from different places; the ivory comes from a long way in the interior, and the palm oil is made on the banks of the river, and the people require different articles; it is a matter of fancy and taste.

1427. Every tribe on the coast, north and south, requires a different article for the produce which they have to sell?—Certainly, to suit their taste.

1428. A different pattern of cloth?—Yes; some require cloth, some muskets, some gunpowder.

1429. Supposing articles were sent out to buy palm oil on the coast, those articles would not buy a slave in the interior, because of the fancy of the person who required the articles in exchange for his slave?—In the River Bonny, whatever goods would buy a slave would buy palm oil; in fact everywhere.

1430. You state that you have been in every river along the whole coast?—In every one.

1431. Have you made an accurate survey of the district lying between Cape Formosa and the island of Corisco?—I have not made a survey, but I have been in a great many of the rivers and creeks.

1432. According to the stream that flows in the Niger, do not you find the channels frequently varied by the operation of the fresh water, so as to give an opening where it did not exist before; a closing and opening in various streams?—No; I believe that slight alterations have been made in the depth of water on the bars, but nothing like a new opening, I believe.

1433. How many creeks do you suppose it possible for a vessel which draws four feet of water to navigate between the River Benin and the Cameroons?—That is a boat: if I were asked as to a vessel which would cross the ocean, I could answer much better.

1434. Are you aware that vessels have been built by Mr. Laird, of Birkenhead, to navigate the Indus, only drawing two feet of water, and carrying 600 tons dead weight: if men intended to persevere in the slave trade, would they not build

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vessels of a light draught of water, capable of entering the river over any bar?—I have no doubt they would; but they would never think of entering the rivers; the slave merchant had given up going into the rivers long before our great efforts in 1839 and 1842; there has been no slave trade in any of those rivers mentioned since 1834 or 1835. Perhaps there is an isolated case here and there; but for all practical purposes the slave trade had ceased long before in all those rivers.

1435. Then you cannot say how many mouths and creeks the Niger would have between the Benin and the Old Calabar or Cameroons, which would allow of the entrance of a vessel drawing four feet of water?—I should say, at a rough guess, that for a vessel which could go into four feet water, there may be ten.

1436. Not more?—Not more. I have been up several of the rivers.

1437. But you have not surveyed that coast?—No, I have not made a plan of it; not a trigonometrical survey.

1438. You have merely boxed about the great rivers?—And have been up a long way.

1439. But you have not made a survey, so as to know whether there are not more creeks that would admit vessels of that size?—No; not a plan.

1440. How many pirates have you seen on the coast during your sojourn there?—I think three or four vessels that were pirates.

1441. How did you know they were pirates?—In the case of one vessel, where I assisted in capturing the pirates, they were all tried and hung.

1442. Will you be kind enough to give us the history, and relate the circumstances?—It is a very long story, and scarcely, I fancy, bearing on the subject before the Committee.

1443. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You were asked, by way of analogy, whether you considered it a right employment of the British force to approach the shores of America, there to protect the rights of a British trader in enforcing the recovery of his debt from an American trader: do you consider that the cases are in point of fact analogous, and that the United States of America may be regarded as in the same state of civilization as Africa; in short, is it as necessary to send a British squadron to New York to enforce the payment of a debt due by an American to a British trader, as it might be in the River Bonny?—The cases are not analogous; in one place there is law, and in the other there is not.

1444. The Committee received evidence tending to recommend the transfer of the English blockading squadron from the west coast of Africa to the coast of the Brazils or Cuba; from your experience in the suppression of the slave trade, would you concur in such recommendation?—No.

1445. Will you state the reasons which induce you to give a different opinion?—I consider the blockade of the island of Cuba to be a physical impossibility. The extent of the coasts of Cuba, I think, is pretty nearly 2,000 miles; a greater extent of coast than the whole African slave-trading coast put together.

1446. Have you been on the coast of Cuba?—Yes; I have been cruising about the island for two years; I have just come from there.

1447. With regard to the coast of Brazil, does it present an almost equal degree of physical impossibility in respect of the presence of a blockade?—Almost, for many reasons.

1448. Will you state the reasons, in reference to the extent of the coast, or any other circumstance to which you wish to direct the attention of the Committee?—We will suppose, for the sake of illustration, that there is a squadron stationed now off the coast of Brazil for the purpose of blockading it, that is, of stopping the slave trade; all that would be required for the slaver to do would be to abstain from approaching the land until it was dark, and then, as the sea breeze generally, or in fact almost always, blows towards the coast after dark, she could always pass through the line of the cruisers, however thick they might be; at daylight in the morning she would be in shore of the line; she would not care if she ran on shore during the night; she would land her slaves, and the parties would sacrifice the vessel, which they would care very little about; and even supposing they did not succeed in getting through the line of cruisers, we will suppose that at daylight there are some 20 vessels in sight of the cruiser; there is a very large trade; it is impossible for you to discriminate between a slaver and a legal trader, particularly lately when they are almost alike; they buy regular merchant vessels; it is impossible for you to know which to chase; whereas the slaver herself could always tell a man-of-war when she saw her, and could dodge and slip out of the way; and it is impossible for any cruiser, even a steamer, to examine many of those

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those vessels, for the examination is not a matter which is done in a few minutes, there are a great many forms to go through, according to our treaties with the nations whose flags they carry, and it would give rise to a very great number of complaints, no doubt, on the part of the government whose merchant vessels were searched; almost every vessel that approached the coast of Brazil would have to be searched; in fact it is an impracticability, I think.

1449. At all events the number of vessels approaching the coast of Brazil, and the island of Cuba, is to your knowledge much greater than the number of vessels approaching the coast of Africa, where the slave trade is carried on?—No doubt; there is no proportion.

1450. Are you enabled to state anything like the proportion of vessels engaged in traffic, lawful or unlawful, on the coast of Cuba or of Brazil, as compared with the number of vessels engaged in traffic, lawful and unlawful, on the coast of Africa?—Where the legal commerce may be said to exist now, slave trade no longer exists; that is, where there are palm-oil vessels (and there are hundreds of them, I believe, every year), there the slave trade no longer exists. On the coast south of the Line, where the slave trade now exists, I should say that for every legal trader there are five slavers.

1451. And on the opposite coast of the Atlantic, what is the proportion between the legal traders and the slavers?—I should fancy that where there was one slaver there were 10 legal vessels; perhaps 20.

1452. In addition to the consideration which you have now opened to the Committee, would you or would you not consider that, even if there were contemporaneously two blockading squadrons, one on the coast of Cuba and Brazil, and the other on the coast of Africa, the horrors of the middle passage could at all but be left in the state in which they are now?—Yes.

1453. Would the horrors connected with the practice of the barracoons be continued the same; must you have barracoons also?—Yes.

1454. Must you have the transport of slaves from the interior to the barracoons?—Yes, all that must take place.

1455. Whether you had or had not a blockading squadron on the coast of Brazil?—Whether you had or not.

1456. The Committee understand that you have had very large experience in the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa; is it correct to state that you yourself were engaged in the capture of one-tenth of all the vessels which have been captured?—I really do not know; I captured 40 during the last four years that I was on the coast.

1457. During the period that you were on the coast you captured 40?—Yes, while I commanded a vessel; I was present during the capture of a number of others, as a subordinate officer.

1458. Those 40 probably form a considerable proportion of the vessels captured during that interval?—Yes.

1459. You have stated to the Committee that you have examined all the coasts on which the slave trade is carried on?—Yes.

1460. And that you have examined many of the rivers?—Yes.

1461. Have you had the means of ascertaining, to your own perfect conviction, the mode in which the slave trade is carried on in the interior?—No; I can only state how it is carried on on the coast; and from the information from the slave traders and the natives, the mode of proceeding in the interior.

1462. From whatever source your information is derived, have you such a knowledge on the subject, according to your own conviction, as to be able to state to the Committee whether it be or be not true that villages are burnt in the interior for the sake of seizing the flying victims as they rush from the flames?—No; I think that that has been very much overrated. I think that that circumstance very seldom takes place; scarcely ever on the coast south of the Line. To the north, where the people are considered a more savage race, it does take place.

1463. The supply of slaves from the north of the Line was at one period, up to the year 1788, much the largest, was it not?—Yes, by the reports; by the statistical information.

1464. At that period, from that region the supply might have been therefore in the mode suggested in a previous question; namely, by setting fire to villages and seizing the unhappy inhabitants; or by war, as has also been suggested?—Yes.

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1465. Are

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1465. Are you aware that wars are now ever carried on, or, in the language of another age, what are called raids, for the purpose of seizing persons to be reduced to captivity?—Those wars, or slave hunts as they are called, now very seldom take place.

1466. From the information which the slaves or the slave-dealers supplied to you, you think that the slaves were procured, not by war undertaken for the purpose, and not by those conflagrations of their villages?—No.

1467. In what other way were slaves generally supplied to the market?—I should fancy that very nearly half of the slaves that are exported from Africa are children or young people sold by their parents. I should say that a quarter of them are debtors, who have sold themselves or have been sold by their creditors; and another quarter, or nearly so, would be criminals; others, to a trifling extent, are kidnapped; but war on a large scale very seldom takes place for the purpose of capturing slaves.

1468. Have you had occasion to know anything personally from your own observation of the horrors of the middle passage?—Yes, I have seen a great deal of it.

1469. Will you state to this Committee any particular instance which you saw?—Indescribable horrors I witnessed.

1470. *Chairman.*] Do you recollect seizing any particular ship which illustrated in a remarkable degree the horrors of the slave trade?—Yes; I recollect boarding one vessel after a chase of a few hours, and a great many of the slaves had confluent small-pox; the sick had been thrown down in the hold in one particular spot, and they appeared on looking down to be one living mass; you could hardly tell arms from legs, or one person from another, or what they were; there were men, women and children; it was the most horrible and disgusting heap that could be conceived.

1471. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Can you state the name of the vessel?—The “*Josephina.*”

1472. Do you recollect how many days that vessel had been out?—But a few hours.

1473. Do you recollect the number of slaves on board?—I think 306; I think it was something a little over 300; she was not very crowded.

1474. Will you state to the Committee whether it be or be not the case, that more slaves are ordinarily embarked than the captain believes he can convey to the coast of Brazil or Cuba?—Yes; the effort of a slave captain is to land as many slaves as he can on the coast of the Brazils; but as it is not possible for the most practised eye to tell a healthy from an unhealthy slave by seeing him in the barracoons, if the vessel could take 300 slaves moderately crowded, the captain would take half as many again, say 450, and cram them on board below and on the decks, for the sake of putting them to the test, knowing that all those who were not likely to cross the Atlantic would sicken during the first 48 hours; then directly they show the symptoms of weakness, on account of their weak constitution, they are put on one side on the deck; no food nor water is given them, and they are allowed to die; they are then thrown overboard. Then at the end of the 48 hours that man has a prime cargo of slaves of those who do not sicken. Those whose constitutions are strong enough to stand the first crowding and the heat will live till they have crossed the Atlantic; they will live during the passage.

1475. You have stated that the sickly slaves are placed on deck; for what purpose are they so placed?—That they shall not live; that they shall be allowed to die.

1476. In other words, you mean to state to the Committee, that it is a deliberate plan of the slave dealer to embark, to take your own illustration, 450 slaves on board, knowing that he cannot hope to carry more than 300 to the opposite coast?—Yes; it is a very common practice.

1477. And that in the process one-third of the whole number will inevitably perish?—Yes; after the first two or three days, perhaps, they will not lose more than one in a week or ten days, or perhaps scarcely one.

1478. How many days does the voyage generally last?—I think from 25 to 30 or 32 days. I am speaking now from the coast south of the Line; it is very different from the north.

1479. What is the passage from the north of the Line to the coast of Brazil?—I should say about double; perhaps 45 days.

1480. Is

1480. Is that difference in consequence of their not getting the trade wind?—
Yes; I do not think the same system is pursued north of the Line.

1481. For how many days from the coast, generally speaking, do you get the trade wind in the passage of a vessel from Congo, for example, or from Loando to Brazil?—Two days; 48 hours, or three days, according to the season of the year; sometimes four days.

1482. Have you turned your attention to the nature of the force which ought to be employed in the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa; that is to say, whether of steamers exclusively, or of sailing vessels exclusively; or if of both, in what proportion?—I stated that fully in my last evidence.

1483. On a general review of this subject, do you or do you not regard that the employment of a blockading force is essential to the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa?—Yes, most essential: and in comparing the employment of it on the coast of Africa to the stationing of a squadron on the coasts of Cuba and Brazil, I might also have alluded to the long time that a vessel must remain on the coast of Africa in our clutches as it were. In the first place she has to approach the coast during several days of light winds and calms; she has to hit the part of the coast from which to embark the slaves; she has then to embark her slaves; and if she has to equip herself, she has to be equipped with water and provisions likewise; and then she has to run the gauntlet again through the cruisers, if not captured in her approach. Such difficulties do not lie in the way of a vessel approaching Cuba and the Brazils, for she can run on shore and land her slaves.

1484. If the British squadron were withdrawn from the coast of Africa, do you or do you not wish this Committee to understand that in your judgment the slave trade would increase?—There can be no doubt of it.

1485. Do you conceive that the presence of the squadron has aggravated the horrors of the slave trade?—I think it has very much aggravated the horrors and the misery to be endured by those who are embarked, because all those who are embarked, whether they escape or whether they be captured, have to undergo a great amount of misery; greater than if the trade were open; not that they would perhaps be in such very roomy vessels as is generally supposed, because it would be still an object to take a very full cargo; but if the trade were open, I should fancy that the aggregate amount of misery to be endured by the natives of Africa would be very great indeed; the horrors of the middle passage would be transferred, in a very aggravated degree, to the mines of Brazil, where the life of a slave would scarcely be worth one year's purchase; it would be economy on the part of the manager of the mines to get the greatest possible amount of work out of a slave in a very short time; in fact to work him to death, and then to go into the market and buy another, and so go on.

1486. To get as many prime men every year as possible?—Yes; to do a certain amount of work in a short time; that is when the price of slaves necessarily gets low.

1487. Do you consider that if 100,000 slaves be exported now, after all the endeavours made to suppress the slave trade, 200,000 or any other given number would be exported immediately after such efforts for the suppression were withdrawn?—A much greater amount, it is impossible to say the proportion, would go to the Brazils; there is a difference in Cuba; but where the mines are to be worked, it is scarcely possible to imagine how many would be sent.

1488. If therefore 100,000 be exported now subject to all the horrors of the middle passage, do you wish the Committee to understand that a large increase of the number would be exported when the English efforts were withdrawn, and that the aggregate of human suffering would be greater?—Very much greater, I should fancy.

1489. And you wish a Committee appointed to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for the final extinction of the slave trade, to understand that in your judgment the presence of a naval blockade on the coast of Africa is essential?—I think so; indeed I have not the slightest doubt of it in my own mind.

1490. Is that your deliberate conviction, after an experience of 10 years in commanding one of Her Majesty's vessels on the coast of Africa?—I have only been in command of a vessel six or seven.

1491. Your experience extends to a period previous to that?—Yes.

1492. To how many years does your experience extend?—Between 1833

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and 1847 I have been almost constantly employed in suppressing the slave trade, either on the coast of Africa or in the West Indies; there have been slight intervals, but I have been on no other station during that time.

1493. What was the price of a cargo of slaves which you ever had an opportunity of ascertaining, or nearly so?—They vary very much in price; I once captured a vessel, and the supercargo told me that he had bought 92 slaves, the day before, for 100 dollars; and 70 dollars is the largest sum I have known given.

1494. And what is the price for a prime slave, so far as you know, in the Havannah?—450 dollars, and even 500.

1495. Each man?—Each man; a prime slave.

1496. *Chairman.*] That would be about 100 *l.*, or 120 *l.*?—Yes. I might here remark that I was at the Havannah when the news of the change in the sugar duties, the admission of slave-grown sugar, arrived; and the value of slaves suddenly rose 15 per cent.

1497. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] When the news arrived that Great Britain had resolved to permit the importation of slave-grown sugar, such encouragement was supposed might be thereby given to slave labour, that the price of a slave rose 15 per cent.?—More than 15 per cent. The price of estates and sugar rose 15 per cent., and rather more; and the price of slaves rose considerably more, from 15 to 20 per cent. and more: that was in 1846.

1498. *Earl of Lincoln.*] You stated at the commencement of your evidence to-day, that while you were in command on the coast of Africa you generally kept your vessel about three miles from the shore?—That was the average distance, I should fancy; sometimes one mile, sometimes eight or 10, never more.

1499. That has not been the practice of most of the captains upon the coast, has it?—It was then, I think. Sometimes it was necessary to keep out of sight; that was in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese possessions, where they could remain snug, under the protection of the forts of Portugal, until they came out full of slaves; we were then obliged to keep outside, in fact out of sight: that was off the territories belonging to Portugal. Outside those territories, where we prevented the vessels having any communication whatever with the shore, we remained close; close to the slave factories, in fact.

1500. Does the distance at which the vessels keep from the shore depend generally upon the discretion of the captain in command of the vessel, or upon the orders received from the Commodore on the station, or upon orders received from home?—I should think it depended a little upon all; it mostly depended on the officer commanding on the station; greatly also on the party commanding the cruiser, and no doubt on the system employed.

1501. When you recommend a system for the blockade which is not maintained at present, that is to say, to keep your vessels nearer in shore than they have hitherto been, do you contemplate a nearer approach to the shore upon the average than three miles?—No; three miles I consider a very good distance; or closer, two miles; it is necessary to be very close sometimes, within half a mile, because a vessel approaching the shore cannot see you, and you do not show yourself until the vessel can see you; the masts are hid by the bushes and trees.

1502. Generally speaking, has not the system hitherto been to keep vessels at a considerably greater distance; generally speaking, not less than ten miles from the shore?—From report, I understand that the system pursued at this moment is, that vessels are kept at a greater distance from the shore; what the distance is I cannot say. I believe they cruize out of sight of land, and the blockade may therefore be considered to have been raised.

1503. You gave some evidence with reference to the English goods that you found in the barracoons, when you destroyed them?—Yes.

1504. Are you enabled to state whether the whole of the goods which you found in the barracoons were English goods, or whether there was any admixture of foreign goods?—There was a mixture of both.

1505. Are you enabled to state what proportion were English goods?—I think the greater proportion were English goods. In one factory I know they were almost entirely English goods; and a very few days before those factories were burnt, the Brazilian slave merchants boasted that they knew the English would not destroy those goods, because they were British manufactures; and so firm was this belief,—they were so sure that we would not destroy their factories,—that they did not take precautions to march their slaves a little way off, which they

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they might have done very easily; they could not have removed their goods, but they might have marched their slaves into the interior; but they firmly believed that those goods would not be destroyed, because they were British manufactures.

1506. Are you enabled to state generally how long those goods had been in the warehouses before you seized them?—In the particular factory that I speak of, they had been about two or three months.

1507. You stated that in one case an action had been brought against you for goods to the amount of 80,000*l.*?—It was this very factory.

1508. So far as you are enabled to form an opinion yourself, do you imagine that that is about the value of the goods?—No; I fancy that that includes the value of the goods and the slaves; the value of the goods in that factory certainly could not have been so much as 80,000*l.*

1509. What number of slaves were there?—In that particular factory I think somewhere about 150; there were 1,100 altogether, but that particular factory I think had a small number; 150 I think.

1510. Are you enabled to state, from your own experience, how the legitimate trade is generally carried on; where the goods imported upon the coast of Africa from England are deposited, with a view to the legitimate trade, in the first instance?—In the rivers they are generally kept on board a vessel; on board every palm-oil vessel, for instance. I am speaking now of the English legitimate trade; there is a kind of shop rigged up on board every palm-oil vessel; there is a little taken out of all kinds of the cargo; two or three pots, a few hankkerchiefs, umbrellas, and everything; in fact, a small shop is erected in every palm-oil vessel; the natives come on board and agree; so many bars for this, and so many bars for that, and they what they call “make trade” with the captain or super-cargo of the vessel.

1511. Is it not the practice to convey the goods intended for the legitimate commerce into factories?—Yes, on the south coast; for instance, at Ambriz, when the five slave factories were burnt, there were five, or six, or seven other factories that were legal factories, English, American, German; they were not touched; they were all full of goods; the same trade was going on, the slave trade in one factory and legal trade in the other.

1512. What means had you of proving that in the eight factories which you destroyed, for instance, none of the goods were intended for legitimate commerce, but that they were all intended for carrying on the slave trade?—We could only tell which was a slave factory and which was a legal factory by the presence or not of slaves in the establishment, in the slave yard.

1513. Then, even supposing that the same individual carried on a legitimate as well as an illegitimate commerce, you equally seized the whole amount of his goods?—Yes, because he was engaged in the slave trade.

1514. Your seizure of the goods depending entirely upon the fact of whether or not he was engaged in the slave trade?—Yes; but I do not think that the slave traders carry on any legitimate commerce; if they do, it is but very trifling indeed.

1515. The general practice is, that the two traffics are carried on distinctly?—Quite distinctly.

1516. What proof did you consider sufficient to establish the fact of a man being a slave trader when you took possession of his factories; was it the finding slaves in the factories, or common repute of the individual being a trader in slaves?—The only proof was finding slaves chained in the factories.

1517. Unless you found slaves chained in the factories, you did not consider yourself at liberty to seize the goods or to destroy the factories?—In no one case. Those factories were left untouched where no slaves were found.

1518. You required clear proof of the party carrying on the trade?—By the presence of slaves being in chains in his factory or barracoon, as they call it.

1519. Was any remonstrance made upon any occasion against your destroying the factories and seizing the goods, upon the ground of their being intended for the purposes of legitimate commerce?—No; they made no protest or assertion of the kind.

1520. They merely protested upon the ground of the illegality of the transaction?—The protest was made afterwards; during the time of our operations no protest was made; I was the officer commanding the party; they made no protest or remonstrance to me.

1521. *Chairman.*] Did you never hear of any complaints in the case of barra-coons

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coons which you destroyed, or which were destroyed by others, that the goods had been deposited in those places for the purpose of carrying on legitimate commerce?—I know one instance; in a river near Sierra Leone, the case of a factory destroyed by the "Iris." I believe in that case some of the factories were destroyed, and the owners of them were carrying on both the slave trade and legal commerce, and that the parties destroying the factories did not find slaves. I believe that is the only instance.

1522. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Will you inform the Committee what steps you took previously to destroying those factories: we presume that you landed and seized them in the first instance?—Yes.

1523. Then did you call the parties to account and enable them to make any statement to you, or did you instantly seize the goods and destroy the factories without giving any opportunity for remonstrance or explanation?—We landed and took possession of all the factories; what is called military possession; that is to say, we posted the marines and armed seamen round every one to prevent any escape of the slaves. Notice was then given to the heads of the factories that we were going to take possession of the slaves. Notices were immediately sent to the chiefs, who resided some distance off, to come and hold what they call a palaver; and then a treaty was proposed to them to be entered into with the Queen of Great Britain, to suppress the slave trade, and not to allow those people to remain any longer in their dominions. It was agreed that the goods in the factories should be delivered up to the chiefs. It was perhaps two or three hours while this was going on; in the meantime the slaves were marched down and embarked; the force consisting of marines and seamen, was withdrawn to some distance, to allow the natives to take possession of the goods, which was done by the chiefs, by men under arms with muskets; soldiers, as they call them. When the factories were cleared, which was done in a very orderly and systematic manner, they were set on fire and destroyed.

1524. Then the inducement which you held out to the chiefs to make those treaties, was the possession of the goods which were found in the factories?—And an annual subsidy for five years from the British Government.

1525. Did you ever form any opinion of your own, or ascertain from any information which you received, the value of the goods seized in any factory; what was the highest amount of goods do you suppose in any factory which you seized?—This 80,000 *l.* was no doubt the highest; it was the most valuable factory.

1526. But you doubt the fact of the goods being worth 80,000 *l.*?—Yes; they were not worth 80,000 *l.*

1527. Mr. *Jackson*.] Were they chiefly bale goods?—Bale goods, rum, and tobacco.

1528. Powder?—Yes, a quantity of powder; one house was full, in fact.

1529. Muskets?—No; few muskets.

1530. You cannot tell how many hundred bags?—No; a hundred was the outside, I should fancy; perhaps there might be 40 or 50; but I recollect thinking more on that subject when the action was first brought against me, and I came to the conclusion that the 80,000 *l.* must include the slaves, and I believe, in fact, that it was so. It was stated in the declaration that it included the slaves.

1531. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Were the whole of the eight factories which you destroyed in the possession of Portuguese subjects?—No; two were Spaniards, three were Brazilians, and whether others were Portuguese or Brazilians I am not sure; but I fancy they were Brazilians.

1532. You believe that the factories were possessed by natives of the three countries, Spain, Portugal, and Brazil?—Yes, no doubt of that.

1533. You stated in your evidence on the former day that you were on the coast of Africa when Lord Aberdeen's letter came out?—I was.

1534. You have been to the coast of Africa since that time, have you not, in command of another vessel?—No; it was the same vessel. I remained there about a year after that.

1535. Then have not you been on the coast of Africa since 1842?—Not since 1843; I left in June 1843.

1536. You are not therefore enabled from your own knowledge to state whether the slave trade has increased or decreased since the period of which you speak, 1843?—The slave trade had not revived in those places between 1842 and

1843;

1843; that is, for the 12 months and a little better that I remained there after the factories were burnt.

1537. You are not enabled to state, from your own knowledge, what alteration there has been on the coast of Africa?—Not since 1843.

1538. Were you enabled to ascertain whether the effect of your destroying the factories was beneficial or the reverse to legitimate commerce; whether legitimate commerce increased in consequence?—Legitimate commerce increased; there was hardly time to show it so palpably as has been done where the slave trade has remained ceased, as it has done north of the Equator; that was at Cabenda and Ambriz.

1539. *Chairman.*] How did you find it there; did legitimate commerce increase after you had destroyed the slave trade?—Yes; the price of British goods and all other goods was less; that is, the wants of the Africans were imperious, and they were obliged to buy the goods; they had not time to cultivate their land or to make palm oil, as they have done northward.

1540. *Earl of Lincoln.*] Might not the fact of British goods being cheaper for a time be entirely attributable to the large quantity which you had thrown upon the market gratis?—I speak of goods selling out of other vessels; not of goods on shore.

1541. Do you speak of the price of English goods at those places where you had given up the goods in the factories to the chiefs?—Yes.

1542. Probably the fact of their being cheaper at that time would be entirely attributable to the large quantity which was thrown upon the market at no cost to the chiefs?—Yes; the goods in Africa were at that moment a drug, as it were.

1543. Are you enabled, however, to speak of the effect upon legitimate trade, after the immediate effect of your operations had ceased?—The Africans turned their attention to bringing other goods, to exchange for European goods; for instance, the trade in orchella very much increased; indeed south of the line it was almost the only article that they could bring to purchase goods. Many hundred tons of it were exported; and a very valuable article it is; I believe somewhere about 70*l.* or 80*l.* a ton. They brought this to purchase European goods to supply their own wants, as well as collecting bee's wax and ivory; particularly bee's wax.

1544. *Chairman.*] What is orchella?—It is a weed for the purpose of making a purple dye; it is very valuable.

1545. *Earl of Lincoln.*] Then you mean to inform the Committee that there was a greater import of goods, as well as greater cheapness, subsequently to your operations upon the coast; that not only the price of English goods fell, but that there was an increased trade; an increase of importation?—I do not think that there was sufficient produce in Africa immediately to create such a great demand for goods as there had been previously; it was only increasing very fast when the slave trade began to revive, which it did in 1843.

1546. You were asked some questions with reference to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, and the necessity which would exist to suppress it on that coast as well as upon the west coast, if means for the latter were made more effectual than at present?—Yes.

1547. Are you enabled to state what amount of slave trade is carried on upon the east coast at present?—No; I have no personal knowledge of the east coast. I believe a very successful trade has been carried on these last few years.

1548. You are of opinion, I infer from your answers to former questions, that any increased force upon the west coast with a view to the complete suppression of the slave trade there, would necessitate a corresponding increase of force upon the east coast?—I think so.

1549. Do you think that if you were completely to suppress the slave trade on the west coast, without taking any steps upon the east coast, there would be as extensive a slave trade carried on from the east coast as there now is from the west coast?—Perhaps not so extensive, but it would render your efforts on the west coast very much more difficult; because in the first place, besides the market being supplied to a certain extent at Brazil, they would not believe in Africa that you intended to suppress the slave trade.

1550. You stated with reference to a question as to the blockade of the island of Cuba, that the amount of coast which we are blockading in Africa was less than 2,000 miles?—Yes.

1551. Are you enabled to state what amount of coast it would be necessary to
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blockade on the east coast of Africa, if an extensive slave trade were to arise there?—I cannot speak from my own personal knowledge, but only from examining the coast upon the map. I know that it is very much smaller indeed.

1552. Do you think it would extend to 1,000 miles?—No; I am sure it would not extend so far as that. I believe there are only spots here and there.

1553. You stated in answer to a question put by Sir Robert Inglis, that you think the practice of obtaining slaves by war, and by the destruction of villages, has almost entirely ceased?—Yes.

1554. And that one-half of the slaves now supplied to the markets of Cuba and Brazil are obtained by purchases from their parents?—Nearly one half.

1555. Is that a system which has arisen of late years, or one which always co-existed with the former system of obtaining slaves by war?—I should fancy that when the system existed of obtaining slaves by war, which it did on the north coast principally, fewer children were exported by being sold by their parents.

1556. Of what age, generally speaking, are the slaves which are obtained by purchase from their parents?—I have seen them sold grown up; I do not know what limit there is; strapping young men I have seen sold, 15 or 16 years old.

1557. Sold by their parents?—Sold by their parents; they are sold by their supposed fathers.

1558. Is it not a fact that the system exists among many of the tribes in Africa, of breeding slaves on purpose for sale?—No, I think not; I never heard of it.

1559. Mr. M. Milnes.] Are you aware of the existence of any trade in slaves between the different states of Africa, in exchange for goods?—Yes; wherever the slave trade exists, it is a medium of exchange.

1560. In the internal commerce of Africa?—Does the question imply domestic slavery?

1561. Will one African chief, who desires to have any article of commerce, exchange a slave with another African for that article of commerce?—Yes, no doubt; but they are only exchanged for the purpose of exportation; slaves are not slaves in Africa for the purpose of cultivating the land; there is scarcely such a thing as domestic slavery in Africa.

1562. You have told us that, for instance, a portion of the slaves were debtors?—Yes.

1563. Would any of those debtors be exchanged for goods, supposing that there was no external slave trade?—No, certainly not.

1564. Do you think, therefore, that the whole notion of using slaves as an article of commerce depends upon the external slave trade?—It does; and I made very many inquiries on the coast of Africa on that head.

1565. Have you never heard of any instance in which slaves were made an article of exchange, for the purposes of internal and domestic trade?—No. They are now articles of exchange; they are the medium of exchange now, because they can be made available to transport, and therefore slaves are exchanged now over the whole continent of Africa; they are the medium of exchange instead of dollars, or anything else which you choose to mention; but that did not exist before European slave trade.

1566. But always with reference to their ultimate destination?—Always with reference to their ultimate destination.

1567. The effect therefore of the abolition of the slave trade would be tantamount to the abolition of that form of slavery in Africa?—Yes; the abolition of the slave trade would, I consider, abolish slavery in Africa, with the exception of women, who are all slaves. Men do not buy slaves for their own use. Of the many inquiries which I made among a number of the chiefs for the purpose of endeavouring to discover whether domestic slavery existed before European slave trade, every inquiry which I have made has induced me to believe that there was no such thing as domestic slavery in Africa previously to the European slave trade. They have no traditions bearing on it; and what is the greatest proof is, that among the whole of the African languages, differing as widely from each other as the Russian, or English, or Italian, they have no word for a slave or bondman; they always make use of a foreign word; the Spanish or Portuguese word "escravo" or "cativo." In trying to ascertain what their slaves or servants are called, I found that they have no term for it in their own languages.

1568. Earl of Lincoln.] Does that observation, which appears a very important one, refer to the whole of the tribes of Africa with which you are acquainted?—

No;

No; principally the extent of the coast south of the Equator; that is a fact, south of the Equator. In every place I have made the same inquiry for the purpose of obtaining the information.

1569. Did you ever make the inquiry with respect to those north of the Equator?—No; I had not the opportunity; my attention was not called to it. I had been latterly, within the last two or three years, always on the south coast.

1570. You are not able to say whether, previously to the commencement of the European slave trade, any kind of domestic slavery existed among the tribes north of the Equator?—No.

1571. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Where have your inquiries upon this point been principally made?—At Mayumba, Loango, Malemba, Cabenda, and Ambriz.

1572. *Chairman.*] Is that in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese settlements?—No.

1573. Do not the Portuguese claim it?—I believe they claim it; they have never officially claimed it; they have never claimed it in any official letter in their correspondence with the British Government. Our old treaty with Portugal stipulated that over the territories of Malemba and Cabenda, the King of Portugal declared that he had maintained his rights, and it was then supposed that he said that he claimed the rights of sovereignty over those places; but the wording of the treaty was plain that he claimed his rights to trade in slaves in those places, which he did, but he has never exercised the slightest authority in any one of those places. A Portuguese officer has never established himself on shore; they have never heard of the thing, and the native chiefs themselves are surprised when you ask even the question, for they have never in any single instance established any authority, or exercised any jurisdiction whatever north of 8° south latitude.

1574. Colonel *Thomson.*] As a general principle, do you consider it advantageous or disadvantageous to English merchants on the coast of Africa that their traffic should be carried on in places within the range of the guns of a British man-of-war?—I think that the presence of a British man-of-war is most essential; more particularly on the coast of Africa, I should think, than in any other place in the world; a British man-of-war should be stationed where English commerce is carried on with the natives of Africa.

1575. In the instances which you have known of the interference of a British man-of-war on the coast of Africa, were they generally at the desire of the black people, or of the British merchants?—Always at the desire of the British merchants. I know no instance where our interference was called in otherwise.

1576. Then we may conclude that the interference of a British man-of-war was never hostile to the British merchant?—I never heard of an instance of its being so.

1577. What do you think would be the consequences of the removal of the possibility of the interference of a British man-of-war, with relation to British commerce on the coast of Africa?—I fancy that the chiefs of Africa would make all sorts of extortions from the masters of British merchant vessels, and also that many masters of British merchant vessels would indirectly engage in the slave trade.

1578. Is there any possibility of any reference, in case of a dispute upon the coast of Africa, to any power but that of a British man-of-war; is there any legally constituted government, for instance, on the coast of Africa, to which a British merchant may complain in cases where he is aggrieved?—There is none.

1579. Does not the slave trade from the east coast of Africa act at a disadvantage, in consequence of the increased distance; must not it lie under a disadvantage, in consequence of the increased voyage?—It involves a much greater expense.

1580. Do you imagine that it is an argument against the suppression of the slave trade on the west coast of Africa, that if it were suppressed there it would be driven to the east coast; that it would be driven from the more advantageous situation to the less advantageous?—No; I do not consider that it is an argument at all.

1581. Will you state to the Committee what you consider to be the smallest description of sailing vessel which would be competent to the service on the coast of Africa; in general terms, for the suppression of the slave trade?—I should say, the smaller the better.

1582. Will you specify what is the smallest, in your opinion?—A small class of steamers or sailing vessels.

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1583. How would you describe the small class of sailing vessels which would be adopted?—They might employ smaller vessels than we have at present in the navy, very advantageously; small sailing schooners of 150 tons or less.

1584. Of how many guns?—One; one is as good as a dozen.

1585. On the principle, which we understand is adopted by the Americans a good deal, of what the sailors call a Long Tom?—Yes; that is all that is requisite.

1586. One gun, carried amidships, for instance?—Yes. It is a question of expense, of course. One of those vessels is more efficient than a frigate, because a frigate can be seen where a small vessel cannot be seen.

1587. How many men would a small sailing vessel, of the kind you describe, carry?—Forty or fifty men, or less.

1588. What do you think would be the smallest description of steam vessel which would answer the service on the coast of Africa?—I think the smallest class of vessels now building, the "Sharpshooter" and the "Reynard," are better than the larger vessels.

1589. Could you tell us the length of the vessel, and the breadth of beam?—They are not so long as the Gravesend boats.

1590. Lord *J. Hay*.] Have you seen either of the Hamburg traders?—Yes; they are rather smaller than the Hamburg traders, I should fancy.

1591. Colonel *Thompson*.] Could you give us a statement of the number of feet in length?—I should think they were about 150 feet; steamers are much longer than sailing vessels, and I know very little about steamers; rather less than 150 feet.

1592. Would the system of one gun be applicable to steam-vessels of that kind?—Certainly.

1593. What would be the number of men in a steam-vessel of that sort?—I should fancy, 50.

1594. Have you ever considered to what extent it might be practicable to man vessels on the coast of Africa with coloured British subjects, either from Africa or from the West Indies?—We man them now by Kroomen; the Kroomen are the most serviceable people in all our vessels on the African coast.

1595. *Chairman*.] In men-of-war?—Yes; every man-of-war has a considerable number; you could not do without them.

1596. Earl of *Lincoln*.] What proportion generally of Kroomen have you?—A large brig has 20, and a small one has 12; but we might have more Kroomen and fewer white men.

1597. You stated that you considered that the squadron was absolutely essential for the protection of British commerce upon the coast of Africa, quite independently of its main object, the suppression of the slave trade?—I consider that it is.

1598. Supposing that it was not considered advisable, for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade, to maintain that squadron on the coast of Africa, what number of ships would you consider essential to the protection of British commerce?—You could not have less than from half-a-dozen to eight or ten.

1599. Half-a-dozen to eight or ten vessels of the same class as those which are now employed?—Yes.

1600. Mr. *Jackson*.] Where would you station them?—In different parts; in the rivers north of Sierra Leone; principally where our own trade is carried on, which is in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and the portion of land just north of the Portuguese possessions south of the line.

1601. Do not you think that one vessel stationed off Fernando Po, boxing about from river to river, would answer all the purpose?—It would require the number that I have spoken of.

1602. Would not a visit once in three months in each river be sufficient to show the natives that a man-of-war was there to protect the British commerce?—Yes; but if you had six, I think you could not visit them oftener than that, the coast is so extensive.

1603. During your sojourn on the coast, did you visit oftener than once in three months to see how the palm-oil trade was going on?—Some vessels visit oftener than once in three months; there is a constant communication.

1604. During the time that the vessel is absent from the river, if the British merchant were inclined to carry on the slave trade, could he do it?—No; because the British man-of-war would come.

1605. Have you ever known an instance of that being done?—Yes; I was very near

near seizing one vessel myself. I visited the River Benin, and found there a British merchant vessel with two slaves on board, in irons; on calling upon the master for an explanation, he said that he had them in pawn, because the chiefs detained his goods, and that if they did not deliver up his goods he would take the slaves away to sea. I think he talked of taking them to Fernando Po. I represented to him the illegality of his conduct; he professed entire ignorance, and immediately liberated the slaves.

1606. He merely took them as a deposit?—No, not as a deposit; he took them by force; he kidnapped them.

1607. Do you recollect the name of the vessel?—No; it was in the River Benin.

1608. Do you recollect the name of the master?—No; I could state, no doubt, by referring to documents.

1609. That is the only instance which you can state to the Committee?—Yes; I have heard of others; I have heard of others in the River Cameroons, but not from my own personal observation.

1610. In that case the master admitted at once that he did not know what he was about?—Yes.

1611. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] You stated that you had heard of other instances; will you be good enough to mention them to the Committee, though not from your own experience?—In the River Cameroons, I think in the year 1839; I believe that one individual had possession of some slaves on account of a dispute with the chief, which he detained as prisoners. I am not aware of the circumstances, but it caused a great deal of disputing, and the Governor of Fernando Po was called upon to interfere; he satisfactorily arranged it. I can mention another instance of great irregularities. Previously to the appearance of the squadron on the coast south of the line, legal trade was going on; I was part of the first squadron that went there in 1840. It then appeared that an English factory had been burnt, and that it had been burnt by one of the servants in the factory, who afterwards escaped. A British captain of a merchant vessel made an application to the chief to have this boy, his servant, given up to him; he was given up, and this boy was tied to a stake in the middle square of the different factories, and was burnt alive. That is a fact which is undoubted.

1612. Mr. *Jackson*.] Where was that?—At Ambriz.

1613. How long since?—In 1839. I know less about the Cameroons affair than I do about that at Ambriz.

1614. Lord *Courtenay*.] Did you speak of the last circumstance which you mentioned, of your own knowledge?—No; it was merely reported to me on my arrival at Ambriz.

1615. As having taken place before you arrived there?—Yes, just before that.

1616. You do not know it of your own knowledge?—No. I have no doubt about the fact; I saw many, who told me, and who had seen it.

1617. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Has it ever come to your knowledge that English traders have been in the habit of supplying goods for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade?—Not so much now as formerly. It was a very common practice indeed when vessels could not be taken equipped for the slave trade, because then vessels went without a cargo at all. Slavers did not bring cargoes; they brought dollars or doubloons, and either exchanged them with British vessels trading in the river, or gave the doubloons to the native traders, and they went on board the English vessels and purchased their goods.

1618. Do you think that that practice has been discontinued of late?—It has lately, because the slave trade has ceased in that part entirely.

1619. Do you think that that practice would be likely to be resumed in case the cruizers were entirely withdrawn from the coast of Africa?—I think so; abuses of all kinds, I am quite sure, would take place; I have no doubt in the world about it.

1620. Mr. *B. Baring*.] Are you at all acquainted with the manner in which the slave trade was carried on south of the Line, whilst it was legal, before 1839?—I was there at the end of 1839; I could only tell from report there; from the information derived on the spot.

1621. Were the slaves then shipped in greater comfort?—Yes, but all crowded. My attention was particularly drawn to the difference of the class of vessels when I went south of the Line, to what I had been in the habit of seeing some years previously; there they were all clumsy vessels; instead of one low deck they

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would have one very high deck, and two or three different half decks above; that is to say, the hold of the vessel would be divided into three different compartments, one above the other, with a space in the centre admitting air, but they put as many slaves as they conveniently could.

1622. Was there great loss of life on the passage?—There was always great loss; always very much more than there was north of the Line; that is a fact admitted by both Spaniards and Portuguese.

1623. How did that arise?—From the cheapness of the slave in that part of Africa, and their not caring about taking sickly slaves. That would not take place where slaves were dear; it would not be worth a man's while to go to that expense, and the slaves were always too dear on the coast north of the Line to admit of it.

1624. *Mr. Jackson.*] Do you know of your own knowledge of the fact of any British merchantman supplying on the coast of Africa any slaver with goods for the purchase of slaves?—Yes; of my own knowledge, in 1833 and 1834. I know it was a common practice.

1625. I suppose you are aware that it is a common practice for a British merchant to buy dollars which are used for the purchase of slaves?—I do not understand the question.

1626. You are aware that the slave dealer took out dollars to purchase slaves with, and that the black sold his slaves for those dollars?—Yes.

1627. But you are not aware that the British traders sold goods to enable him to buy slaves?—I have been told by slave traders and British traders, that in the River Bonny it was a very common practice in the years 1833 and 1834; I have no doubt it would be a very common practice, if permitted.

1628. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Were not the articles for which the native chiefs were desirous of exchanging the slaves, guns, powder, cloth, and other articles of that description, and not dollars?—Yes.

1629. Dollars were of no use to them in their own country, except for the purpose of buying those goods?—None whatever, if there were no goods to buy. Whether it was with a guilty knowledge or not, it was a very profitable trade for those engaged in it.

1630. *Mr. B. Baring.*] Can you state what you recollect of the feelings of the slaves whom you released, with regard to their prospects?—They were very pleased indeed; I took 500 of them on board the vessel which I commanded, to St. Helena.

1631. Did you find any anxiety on their parts to return to their homes?—No, I scarcely ever knew an instance; they all said that they thought that if they did, they would be made slaves again; I have heard the offer made hundreds of times.

1632. Did they often give you their histories?—Yes, repeatedly, through their interpreters.

1633. To what did they attribute their servitude; how came they to have been brought into the situation of slaves generally?—They were mostly sold, as I said before, by their parents, in a proportion amounting to nearly half, from the calculation which I made at the time; others were sold for debt, and criminals, and they were occasionally kidnapped in a small way.

1634. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] The proportion of them sold by their parents, which you describe to be half, must of course comprehend none but those who are very young, it being assumed that no parent would have that liberty in respect of the person of his son when he was as strong as himself; for example, 21?—He brings the power of the chief in; he has nothing to do but to say, "I want to sell him, he is mine." He is his property.

1635. You do not wish the Committee to understand that it is the chief selling his son, but the chief encouraging other people to sell theirs?—Yes; because he gets so much a head for every one.

1636. *Mr. Simeon.*] Although there may not be domestic slavery, do not the chiefs exercise a very despotic power over their people?—Yes; in some cases their power is very despotic.

1637. Do you believe that the power of the chief extends to obliging the people to perform compulsory labour?—No; I think that perhaps they would rebel if he attempted to exact a great amount of labour from a number of people. It is only where reference is made to him; his decision on all subjects is final; it is a law.

1638. In the commerce of the country, the palm-oil trade for instance, how

is that palm oil produced; is it produced by the voluntary labour of negroes who afterwards sell it, or is it an article of commerce sold by the chiefs?—It is sold by different families; different families cultivate the berry, nearly the same as we do in the West Indies. In crop time it is gathered, pressed, and boiled, and the palm oil is manufactured.

1639. Then each family trades in palm oil on its own account?—Yes; sometimes they come down with a canoe with a small quantity, and they come alongside a vessel lying in the river to sell it for anything that they can get.

1640. Then you do not believe that the chiefs have the power of selling any portion of their people whom they wish to get rid of, into slavery?—No; the only people that I think they receive money for are criminals.

1641. Mr. *B. Baring*.] Have you difficulty in manning the vessels when appointed to the African station?—No; we generally were furnished by the merchant vessels; by volunteers.

1642. Have you difficulty in fitting out at Portsmouth?—No; it is a very favourite station with Jack.

1643. From the prize-money?—Yes; and from the excitement. When I was there, it was a favourite station with officers and men; it is not so much so now.

1644. To what do you attribute the change?—I think the officers were more satisfied with their success; and I think there exertions are rather cramped; they feel that the duty is more difficult in relation to foreign powers.

1645. Will you explain in what manner their exertions are cramped?—They are rather afraid of committing errors in the execution of their duty; and there are a great many changes of policy and plans; they fancy there is not sufficient method.

1646. To what foreign powers do your observations apply?—A great many complaints have been made with reference to boarding vessels, principally American.

1647. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is there not considerable delicacy now in the execution of their duty, in ascertaining the nationality both of American and French vessels?—Yes, very great delicacy.

1648. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Do you think that any advantage would be gained by altering the system of prize-money, and by giving it upon the vessel captured, instead of upon the number of slaves?—Yes, I have always thought so. I have often heard it proposed to equalize the prize-money, so as to hold out no inducement, and to give no foreign nation an opportunity of saying that it was the result of interested motives; that, in fact, the officers allowed vessels to pass them empty for the sake of catching them full, and thereby getting more prize-money. There is scarcely an officer in the navy who would do such a thing; I am sure I do not know one instance where I thought that an officer did it deliberately; but it certainly does give others the power of accusing us.

1649. Independently of the advantage of preventing such imputations being cast upon the service, do you think that it would further cripple the slave trade?—I think it would; I think a practical benefit would result from it.

1650. *Chairman*.] When you speak of putting down the slave trade by your plan, do you think that that plan would be efficient without the co-operation of foreign States?—No, it would be very difficult; I think that our co-operation now is sufficient; our co-operation with France is very efficient. Although the French vessels cannot take slavers, they are always inclined to go much further against the African chiefs than ever we have done.

1651. Did not you state that difficulties had recently arisen in consequence of our relations with foreign powers?—Yes; in boarding vessels, for instance, the co-operation with France does not extend to that; we cannot board a French vessel any more than we can board an American vessel, knowing her to be such.

1652. And do not those difficulties offer facilities to the slave trade?—No doubt they do.

1653. You think that Great Britain single-handed could not put down the slave trade, even by adopting your plan?—Yes, I think it could, but it would be more difficult.

1654. You think that the co-operation of foreign States is not necessary for the extinction of the slave trade?—Not absolutely; I think England could put it down, but it would render the exertions very much greater. I think there is not much co-operation now with America, and I consider that one of the failures of our efforts to suppress the slave trade, is the treaty which we entered into

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with America, I think in 1842, by Lord Ashburton. By that treaty we released the Americans from their engagement by which they were bound by the treaty of Ghent, or rather we accepted that treaty, the Ashburton Treaty as it is called, as a fulfilment of the promise contained in the treaty of Ghent. They had promised with Great Britain to do their utmost to suppress the slave trade, and few could say that up to that time they had done their utmost.

1655. Do you think that there is a cordial co-operation on the part of the French squadron?—I think so, from what I can hear.

1656. Mr. B. Baring.] You have not exactly expressed what change was made by that treaty with America to which you have referred?—By the treaty of Ghent the American Government had promised to do their very utmost in conjunction with Great Britain to suppress the slave trade. The British Government had repeatedly accused them of not having performed the stipulations of that treaty; that they had not done their utmost, and it was hard to say what they had done. By accepting the treaty signed by Lord Ashburton, it was accepting that treaty as a performance of this promise, and the treaty has not been of much use. If they had done their utmost, as they had promised by the treaty of Ghent, I think we ought to have had a better and more efficient treaty with them.

1657. Then you object to that treaty because it did not comprise all the advantages which you think might have been obtained; not that it gave up any advantage which at that moment we enjoyed for the purpose of putting down the slave trade?—No; we did not at that time enjoy any advantage, because the promise had not been fulfilled.

1658. You consider that that treaty did not put us in a better position than we were in before?—Practically it was a better position.

1659. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] You consider that the effect of that treaty was to relieve the Americans from using their best endeavours to co-operate with us in putting down the slave trade?—Yes.

1660. Lord J. Hay.] Are you aware that additions were made to the treaty of Ghent by Lord Ashburton; for instance, that the Americans agreed to send an officer of a certain rank with a certain number of vessels to co-operate with us in the suppression of the slave trade?—That was the treaty.

1661. You are aware of that?—Yes.

1662. That was an addition to the article of the treaty of Ghent?—The treaties were quite distinct.

1663. Chairman.] It is under Lord Ashburton's treaty that the American squadron is now on the coast?—Yes; but it was only for five years, I believe.

1664. The nature of the treaty was, that it was to be for a certain period of time?—Yes.

1665. The period has expired, but the notice has not been given?—Yes; but the Americans give greater facilities for carrying on the slave trade than all the other nations in the world together, at the present moment.

1666. In what respect?—By the protection of their flag; we cannot interfere with them.

1667. Do the government of the United States sanction the employment of their flag?—No; whenever they can prove any guilt, it is punished by the United States, and there is no disinclination to convict on sufficient evidence, I consider.

1668. On the part of the American government, you do not think that there is any indisposition to put down the slave trade?—I do not think that they are doing their utmost. I do not think that their laws are sufficient to prevent American subjects from engaging in the slave trade.

1669. In what respect?—That is to say, the laws are, but they cannot carry them out, because they have a small police of their own; and they will allow no other nation to assist in that police.

1670. What does the American police consist of?—Two or three vessels at the outside, on the whole coast of Africa.

1671. Eighty-four guns?—Eighty guns.

1672. The American navy is not so large as our navy?—No.

1673. Is the force employed by the American government on the coast of Africa proportioned to the general naval establishment of the Americans?—I should think it is.

1674. You stated that the slave trade was carried on under the American flag; is not the American flag improperly used?—It is.

1675. Mr.

1675. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is it not the fact that a large proportion of vessels, afterwards employed in the slave trade, come to the coast of Africa under the American flag, and change hands?—A very large proportion, which are actually sold retaining their American character.

1676. Did you ever hear of any active measures which the American government had taken to check that practice?—I do not think they have taken any.

1677. *Chairman*.] You have read Mr. Wise's letter?—Yes, very attentively.

1678. Does not he there state that the American government have made exertions to put down that use of the American flag?—With those over whom they have any control; for instance, they have given general orders to their consuls and ministers to prevent American subjects engaging in the slave trade at all; but Mr. Wise, in his letter, acknowledges how very much his hands are tied. With every good will to obey the orders of the government, he finds himself almost powerless.

1679. Mr. Wise states that the Americans are largely engaged in building for the slave trade, does he not?—Yes, building vessels.

1680. But he says that the American subjects are not more engaged in that auxiliary branch of the slave trade than the subjects of the Queen of England?—That is what I endeavoured to point out the error of, in the first part of my evidence to-day.

1681. That is his allegation?—That is his statement, certainly; but there never was a greater fallacy, I consider.

1682. He states that the American shipbuilders provide the ships, and that the British manufacturers supply the goods?—Yes; but I think you might just as well forbid the coining of doubloons for fear they should be used in the slave trade, as the manufacture of Manchester cottons.

1683. Would that observation apply if the manufacture of the cottons were carried on with a guilty knowledge of their ultimate destination?—No; but I say it is impossible to be carried on with a guilty knowledge of their ultimate destination, because the same species and quality of cotton are employed in all trades, legal or slave trade; there is not one single article used exclusively in either trade.

1684. Are you of opinion that British subjects who are engaged in the various stages of supplying goods for the slave trade are, without exception, ignorant of the ultimate destination of those goods?—Many know exactly that they are to be employed in the slave trade. There are many English, no doubt, at Rio now engaged in the slave trade.

1685. Do you remember the case of the "Agnes," mentioned by Mr. Wise?—Yes.

1686. Do you remember it sufficiently to state it to the Committee?—I think so. It was this: that a certain slave merchant at Rio gave an order to a British merchant in Rio to provide him a cargo of goods to send to the coast of Africa. This order was given by the British merchant at Rio to a British merchant in Liverpool, stating that he wished a certain quantity of goods to be sent to the coast of Africa in this vessel, the "Agnes;" the goods were sent, and no doubt employed in the slave trade. Mr. Wise accuses the British Government, or he accuses the British laws, that they allow such a thing to take place; but it might have been impossible for the Liverpool merchant to know where those goods were going to. He might have participated or not in the guilt of the British subjects at Rio, but the goods went to Africa, and were employed in the slave trade. It is very common; I know dozens of cases precisely similar.

1687. Looking at the description of the vessel in which those goods were used, the nature of the goods, and the destination of the vessel, do you think there could have been that ignorance which you state?—There is a very great error in speaking of the nature of the vessel. All vessels employed on the coast of Africa, except the palm-oilers, are clippers; all our legal vessels employed for gold dust and ivory are clippers, many of them built by Mr. White, of Cowes: none but a fast-sailing vessel can make a coasting voyage, and beat to windward against the current; and on the other side, slave vessels also are clippers; and they are also the most ugly, clumsy vessels that were ever used.

1688. Are not many of the vessels which are employed in the slave trade built to give them the appearance of legal vessels?—Yes; if they are not built so, they are bought and disguised.

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1689. You stated that when you were off the coast of Cuba, in 1846, intelligence was received there of the change of policy of the British Government in regard to foreign sugar?—Yes.

1690. And that the consequence of that was, that the price of slaves rose 15 per cent.?—Yes, sugar, land, and slaves; slaves rose more; the price of estates and sugar rose upwards of 15 per cent.; the price of slaves 15 and 20 per cent.

1691. Notwithstanding that fact, it appears that the slave trade with Cuba has not increased, but has rather diminished since that period?—The slave trade at that time did not exist in Cuba.

1692. Are you aware whether it exists to a greater extent now?—It exists now; it did not exist then.

1693. Are you of opinion that it exists in a state of activity now?—I only speak from hearsay, but I believe that the slave trade has now revived in Cuba; they have made a great many efforts, at any rate; whether they have succeeded or not I do not know. They were fitting out vessels when I left, about this time twelvemonth.

1694. You stated that the horrors of the slave trade had increased in the middle passage; have they not also increased in the part of the trade which consists in disposing of the slaves in the barracoons, awaiting shipment?—In the barracoons they are always very comfortable.

1695. Are they always very comfortably supplied with food?—Yes, they are better fed there than ever with the black traders; they are fed the same as a man would feed his horse.

1696. Have not they been sometimes destroyed in consequence of the expense of keeping them?—I have known of one or two instances, or heard of them. During my whole experience I have only heard of one instance that I can give credit to.

1697. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] Generally speaking, their treatment in the barracoons is kind and considerate, for the purpose of keeping them in good health?—Yes.

1698. Chairman.] But are they not necessarily kept crowded together in the barracoons?—No, because it is so very easy to build another barracoon; sooner than destroy the slaves they would build another barracoon.

1699. Are there contagious diseases affecting the slaves in barracoons?—Yes, there is the *craw-craw*, as they call it, which is a kind of mild itch.

1700. And also the small-pox?—Yes. They always separate them.

1701. Do they often perish in numbers, in consequence of such diseases as the small-pox?—Not in any number; I have seen several barracoons and several thousands of slaves, and there are buildings where the small-pox cases are kept, amounting to a small number; they are little places.

1702. Mr. Simeon.] Are not the slaves generally chained in the barracoons?—The men, not the women.

1703. Ten together?—Yes; a light ring is put round their necks, with a chain passing through each, and they walk about in gangs of 10.

1704. You stated that you were aware of one case where slaves had been murdered?—Yes, in the River Nun.

1705. Is that the case stated by Captain Mansel, of the *Actæon*?—No; I have heard of that lately.

1706. Have you heard that in Africa it is the custom, on the burial of a chief, to burn a number of natives?—I have heard of it, but do not believe it; if it exists at all, it is in the northern part: a number of barbarous customs common to Central Africa 25 years ago, now no longer exist.

1707. You do not suppose that any story which you have heard of the murder of slaves results from such a custom?—No.

1708. Chairman.] In the case of a vessel proceeding to a slave factory, however strong your conviction that she was intended to carry off a cargo of slaves, if she had not on board what are called equipments, could you capture her?—No, you could not touch her.

1709. How soon might a vessel be equipped for the slave trade?—I have known of a vessel being equipped, and all her slaves on board, between 400 and 500, in 24 hours.

1710. How long would it take to put 400 or 500 slaves on board?—It depends upon the position of the harbour.

1711. Supposing

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1711. Supposing there were the ordinary facilities of shipping the slaves, how long would it take to put the slaves on board?—It is very different; in some places on the north coast it would take, perhaps, two days, because it is very difficult to launch the boat through the surf.

1712. But you have known instances where they were put on board in 24 hours?—Yes; under more favourable circumstances, 400 or 500 slaves might be put on board in two or three hours, supposing the vessel already equipped.

1713. The rapidity with which those two operations, namely, the equipment of the vessel and the shipment of the slaves, are performed, of course would render it very necessary that the British cruisers should always be on the spot?—Yes.

1714. And that there should be a sharp look-out off that very place where slaves could be so shipped?—Yes; so long as barracoons are allowed to exist, that system would be always very easy to be carried out.

1715. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] It would be only necessary to watch those spots where by long previous arrangement the barracoons had been built, and a settlement made for the embarkation of the slaves?—That is all, because they cannot move those articles for equipment from one part of the coast to the other easily.

1716. These spots are few in number?—Yes.

1717. So that the labours of the cruising squadron would not be extended over a very large amount of coast?—No.

1718. Is it your opinion that if the squadron for suppressing the slave trade were withdrawn, any large number of cruisers would be required to be permanently there for the purpose of protecting the regular trade of the country?—Six or eight, I think, would be necessary.

1719. You would consider it necessary to keep six or eight for the purpose of protecting the trade?—Certainly; I think it more necessary there than in any other part of the world.

1720. Why do you entertain that opinion?—Because there is no law: if a British subject has any complaint to make of any ill-treatment whatever, there is no person to apply to but the commander of one of the cruisers belonging to his own nation.

1721. Did you often receive applications from the merchants for the presence of an English ship-of-war?—Yes, they are always very anxious for it.

1722. Merchants on the coast of Africa are always very anxious for the presence of an English ship-of-war, as a protection for them in carrying on their trade?—Yes; so much so, that eight or ten years ago the merchants of Liverpool made it a rule to send out a number of things as presents to the men there; I recollect that Mr. Tobin's ships always took a large cargo of potatoes, hams, and cheeses, to make their position as comfortable as they could; there was generally a great delicacy in accepting them; it was objected to.

1723. In short, the English merchants were very glad to see English ships-of-war, and did all they could to encourage them?—They gave them every encouragement.

1724. Lord *Courtenay*.] Is it within your knowledge that, after the capture of a slaver has taken place, a very considerable delay has elapsed between the taking of the ship by an English cruiser and the arrival at Sierra Leone; while in the hands of the British ship, have great inconveniences resulted from the length of time which has elapsed before you could get rid of your slaves?—Yes.

1725. During that time has it often been necessary to crowd them close together?—They are obliged to remain, unless the man-of-war can take some herself, to relieve the slaver.

1726. Have you any suggestion to offer to the Committee to obviate the inconvenience which you now state to have arisen from that cause; are not you bound at present to take them to Sierra Leone?—No, not always; I hardly know exactly what the orders are now.

1727. You refer to 1843, when you were there?—Yes; an order which I considered very prejudicial at that time existed, that you were not allowed to send full vessels to the island of St. Helena on account of the expense, but you were ordered to go to the Cape of Good Hope or Sierra Leone. Now, to send a vessel to the Cape of Good Hope that was only fitted out to go across the Atlantic with a trade wind to Brazil, was almost an impossibility; some went full of slaves, and lost an immense number.

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1728. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] Are not you obliged to send the vessel to the place at which there is the nearest court for the purpose of adjudication?—Not the slaves; I do not know exactly what the instructions are at present, but they were, I think, erroneous, and I not aware that they have been changed. I have in my hand a letter that I wrote to Lord Haddington, which, with the permission of the Committee, I will deliver in.

[*The Witness delivered in the same, which is as follows:*]

25, Westbourne Place, Eaton Square,
3 August 1844.

My Lord,

I BEG leave respectfully to call your Lordship's attention to the instructions that have lately been issued to Her Majesty's cruisers employed in the suppression of the slave trade; some parts of which, I consider, are calculated to perplex and mislead officers in the execution of their duty, and, if obeyed to the letter, will render abortive all attempts of Her Majesty's Government to suppress the slave trade.

As the duties of officers are in these instructions so very minutely defined, every possible case being apparently provided for, there is little left for an officer but to obey them to the very letter; but to do so, in many cases, would be highly mischievous, and in some cases physically impossible.

I will confine my remarks chiefly to the instructions relating to the capture and detention of Portuguese, Spanish, and Brazilian vessels; for whatever flag a slaver may hoist, she will, in most cases, be found to belong to one of those nations; most certainly so if she have slaves on board.

Portugal.—The instructions that apply to this treaty direct that “no part of the crew or passengers, or of the cargo, or of the slaves found on board the vessel seized, shall be withdrawn from it until the said vessel shall be delivered over to one of the Mixed Commissions, unless the transfer of the whole or part of the crew or passengers, or of the whole or part of the slaves found on board, should be considered necessary either to preserve their lives or for any other humane consideration, or for the safety of the persons charged with the conduct of the vessel after its seizure.

“In this case, you or the officer charged with the said seized vessel, as the case may be, must draw out a certificate, according to form No. 3, in which the reasons of the said transfer are to be specified; and the master, officers, sailors or passengers, so transferred, must be conducted immediately to the same port as the vessel and its cargo.”

The insertion here of the word “immediately,” which does not appear in the treaty, would oblige a cruiser to leave her station immediately on taking a prize, instead of remaining until she had taken several; she must immediately follow her prize into port, at whatever distance it may be, instead of waiting to send the detained crew by any early opportunity that might offer, or of keeping them on board until she had taken one or two more vessels, and have communicated with the senior officer or another cruiser, by which means one vessel might be sent with the detained crews of several, instead of all leaving the station at the same time.

If the cruisers are to be thus driven from their stations, the slave traders, by arrangements among themselves, would easily clear the coast of them; and they would very soon become masters of this manœuvre.

All officers would not, perhaps, act alike under these circumstances, but all would be more or less perplexed, and the belief would be generally entertained that if they delayed obeying this order for a week they would be liable to censure; and if they delayed for a month, they might be dismissed the service by the sentence of a court martial.

I am aware that in some cases inconvenience might arise at the place of adjudication if there were any considerable delay in forwarding the crew. But this applies only to a vessel that is to be judged by the tribunals of the country to which she belongs, and not to a vessel that is to be judged by a Court of Mixed Commission. The crew of a French vessel must be tried at the same place and by the same tribunal which tries their vessel; but the crew of a Portuguese vessel cannot be tried in a Mixed Commission Court, they must be tried by the laws of Portugal; and if their vessel be adjudicated at the Cape of Good Hope or at Jamaica, they must be forwarded from thence to a Portuguese port.

There should certainly be no unnecessary delay in bringing the crew of a slave vessel to justice, but the stipulations of the treaty can be most faithfully fulfilled without so stringently curtailing the powers of a British cruiser.

Brazil.—The instructions that apply to this treaty, direct that “the negroes must not be disembarked until the arrival of the vessel at the port of adjudication, unless urgent reasons, arising from the length of the voyage, their state of health, or other causes, require that they should be disembarked, entirely or in part, before her arrival there. In this case, you or the officer charged with the said seized vessel, as the case may be, must draw up a certificate according to form at No. 3, in which the reasons of the said transfer are to be declared,”

declared ;" and negroes so transferred must be conducted immediately to the same port as the vessel and its cargo.

If then a Brazilian slave vessel be captured in the West Indies, the slaves, instead of being landed in a British colony, and remaining there until the judgment of the Mixed Court pronounce them to be free, must be sent back again across the Atlantic to Sierra Leone. Or in the more probable event of a Brazilian slave vessel being captured in the Mozambique Channel, or in sight of the Cape of Good Hope, the slaves, instead of being landed at Mauritius or the Cape, must be sent with (or immediately after) the vessel to Rio Janeiro, where they eventually become slaves, or are again removed to a British colony.

Such surely cannot be the intention or wish of Her Majesty's Government; and there is not anything whatever in our convention with Brazil that calls for such a proceeding, which is now apparently to be adopted for the first time since that convention was signed.

By the convention of 23d November 1826, Great Britain and Brazil agreed to adopt and renew, "*mutatis mutandis*," the treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, of 22d January 1815 and 28th July 1817, and their several explanatory and additional articles; we are still bound by the stipulations of those treaties. The instructions to cruizers, contained in the last-named treaty, state that, "If urgent motives, deduced from the length of the voyage, the state of health of the negroes, or other causes, required that they should be disembarked, entirely or in part, before the vessel could arrive at the place of residence of one of the said Commissions, the commander of the capturing ship may take on himself the responsibility of such disembarkation, provided that the necessity be stated in a certificate in proper form." But there is no stipulation concerning the ultimate disposal of the negroes.

This treaty was in force for upwards of 20 years, during which time a great many Portuguese slavers were captured in the West Indies. In every single instance the slaves were landed in a British colony, and remained there; the vessel proceeding, according to treaty stipulations, to Sierra Leone for adjudication. Some officers now capturing a Brazilian slave vessel in the West Indies or Mozambique, would unhesitatingly disobey these orders; others would undoubtedly attempt, cost what it might, to carry the slaves to the port of adjudication, wherever that might be.

The instructions for Brazil direct that "No vessel can on any account whatever be visited or detained whilst in a port or roadstead belonging to Brazil, or within cannon-shot of the batteries on shore; but in case suspicious vessels should be found so circumstanced, proper representations must be addressed to the authorities, requesting them to take effectual measures for preventing such abuses." I do not think that it is quite clear whether this includes a roadstead at a distance from any constituted Brazilian authorities; I presume it does. A vessel, in that case, may land a cargo of slaves in many parts of the Brazilian coast, wholly unmolested; and she may, in her outward voyage, successfully dodge her Majesty's cruizers. I would respectfully submit whether a certain authority be not given, or implied, by the 3d Article of the Instructions to Cruizers, which forms part of the treaty between Great Britain and Portugal of 28th July 1817, which says, "The high contracting powers, having in view the immense extent of the shores of Africa to the north of the equator, along which this commerce continues prohibited, and the facility thereby afforded for illicit traffic on points where either the total absence, or at least the distance of lawful authorities, bar ready access to those authorities, in order to prevent it have agreed, for the more readily attaining the salutary end which they propose, to grant, and they do actually grant to each other the power, without prejudice to the rights of sovereignty, to visit and detain, as if on the high seas, any vessel having slaves on board, even within cannon shot of the shore of their respective territories on the continent of Africa to the north of the equator, in case of there being no local authorities to whom recourse might be had, as has been stated in the preceding article."

Whether this part of the treaty can be applied to Brazil is a question for a statesman or a lawyer, and not for a sailor to decide. But I think that it would appear to many, unacquainted with nice points of international law, that part of this 3d Article might be applied to Brazil, as well as the article immediately preceding it, and which forbids us to meddle with slave vessels in Brazilian waters.

Spain.—The instructions that apply to this treaty direct that, "If you suspect that a Spanish vessel under convoy of a Spanish ship-of-war, is engaged in the slave trade, you are to communicate such suspicions to the commander of the convoy, and offer to accompany him on the search to be made. The commander of the convoy, accompanied by you, is to proceed to search the suspected vessel. If the suspicion appear well founded, the vessel is to be taken by the commander of the convoy before one of the Mixed Courts of justice established under the treaty. Should the commander of the convoy omit to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, you have no authority to take any further steps." But the treaty itself does not so stringently forbid the interference, or rather the active co-operation of the British officer. The 5th Article of the treaty states, "Thirdly, that if at any time the commander of a cruizer of either of the two nations shall suspect that any merchant vessel, under the escort or convoy of any ship or ships of war of the other nation, carries slaves on board, or has been engaged in the traffic in slaves, or is fitted out for the purpose thereof, the said commander of the cruizer shall communicate his suspicions to the commander of the convoy, who, accompanied by the commander of the cruizer, shall proceed to the search of the suspected vessel; and in case that the suspicions appear well founded, according to the tenor of this treaty, then the said vessel shall be conducted or sent to one of the points where the Mixed Courts of justice are stationed, in order that the just sentence may there be pronounced."

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The treaty does not say by whom the slaver is to be conducted into port; and supposing that it be not convenient for the commander of the convoy to take or send the suspected vessel for trial, or that he has doubts as to her equipment, or is afraid of offending the colonial authorities of Cuba, on whom he is entirely dependent for his situation, his pay, and bread; supposing that for either of these or any other reasons, best known to himself, he does not choose to take possession of the vessel (and the treaty does not, like the Portuguese, oblige him to do so), would not the commander of the British cruizer be authorized, with the sanction of the commander of the convoy, to take or send the suspected vessel for trial? Supposing that after the search the two commanders should differ in opinion, would not the British officer be authorized to state his opinion in writing, and offer himself to take or send the suspected vessel for trial; and if the commander of the convoy should accede to this request, would he not be authorized to take possession of her accordingly, always remembering that he can do nothing without the consent of the commander of the convoy? Such a proceeding is in nowise contrary to the letter or the spirit of the treaty; but it is positively forbidden by their Lordships' instructions.

The commander of the convoy might say to the British officer, "the vessel is undoubtedly a slaver, but it is more convenient for you than it is for me to fulfil the conditions of the treaty. I cannot do so." The hands of the British officer are tied, for he cannot "take any further steps" if "the commander of the convoy omit to fulfil the conditions of the treaty." The slave vessel might then escape, and the treaty be infringed by the British officer.

There would be a greater probability of a slave vessel being condemned at Havannah, were she prosecuted by a British instead of a Spanish officer. I recollect a case in point, which occurred while I was serving in the West Indies in 1837-38. One of Her Majesty's cruizers (I think the "Ringdove") met a number of merchant vessels convoyed by a Spanish vessel of war, one of which was suspected to be a slaver. The British commander made known his suspicions to the commander of the convoy, and the vessel being searched agreeably to treaty stipulations, these suspicions appeared to be well founded. The commander of the convoy thereon took possession of the vessel, and promised to send her for trial to the Mixed Court at Havannah; he failed however to do so, and sent her to St. Jago de Cuba, where she was tried by the local authorities and liberated. Her Majesty's Government afterwards called upon the government at Madrid to punish the commander of the convoy for having failed to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and stated that the British commander had not interfered with the vessel, owing to the promise made by the commander of the convoy. The Spanish government replied that they had directed their officer to be severely reprimanded, and informed that his punishment was so lenient solely on account of the extenuating circumstance of the vessel being in a leaky condition, and unable to reach Havannah.

Some of the objections I have here stated are, I believe, common to a number of the other instructions. I will only mention one more: several slave vessels have been captured belonging to the different Mediterranean States. I will now suppose the possible case of one of Her Majesty's cruizers capturing a vessel belonging to the Two Sicilies: if it were a vessel of 60 tons, she would have a crew of 25 or 30 men; if 150 tons, a crew of 45 or 50. It would not be possible to allow these men to remain on board, and the instructions direct that, "if the master, officers, sailors or passengers have been removed, they must be conducted immediately to the port of Naples."

All officers would not act alike under these circumstances, but all would be more or less at a loss, if at a distance from the senior officer; and it is not impossible that some, looking strictly to the letter of their instructions, and feeling no personal disinclination to a few weeks' cruise in the Mediterranean, would proceed immediately with their prize to Naples.

I trust, my Lord, that I have said enough to show that this simple word "immediately" may prove a heavy clog to our exertions in Africa. I will not trouble your Lordship with any remarks on what I consider the minor imperfections of these instructions, and only trust that I may be excused for having expressed my opinions so plainly.

I have, &c.

(signed) H. J. Matson.

1729. Lord *Courtenay*.] In the evidence given before the Committee on the West Coast of Africa, in 1842, which formed afterwards the subject of the Report, the establishment of small block-houses in different parts of the coast was recommended; viz. a small tower, with a serjeant and a few men, at particular places. Those places were named, such as Bulama on the coast between Sierra Leone and the Gambia, the River Cestos, and some other places along the coast. Have you ever had under your consideration any suggestion of that sort; and what would be your view upon it?—I think the only part of the coast at which any station of that kind could be placed, would be the coast just north of the Portuguese possessions, which is a very salubrious part of the coast.

1730. The island of Bulama is especially mentioned here?—That is a very unhealthy part; I should fancy that it would be very dangerous. It is a fact that all our efforts to civilize Africa have been directed to the most deadly and unhealthy

unhealthy parts, and attention has never been called to the most salubrious parts.

1731. With reference to the treaties with the native chiefs, are you able to tell the Committee whether any feeling of distrust has been produced in their minds in consequence of the non-fulfilment of them?—I never heard of it.

1732. In the evidence given before the Committee on the West Coast of Africa, it is stated, "First comes a captain and makes a treaty, and then another comes and says, 'this treaty shall be null and void,' and he tears it up;" and it is stated as the result of that, that king Peppel turns round and says, 'One white man come and make book, and another white man come to-morrow and break it; white man be fool; best treaty is in my head.'" Do you think that that is a pretty fair representation of the state of feeling?—Certainly not.

1733. It is not within your knowledge?—Certainly not.

1734. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Has your attention ever been called to the expediency of having a migratory court of judicature, with reference to the slave trade?—No, I have never thought on the subject; but I should scarcely fancy that it would be practicable.

1735. You are aware of the great difficulties sometimes incurred in sending up, at particular seasons, captured vessels, from the Bight of Benin for instance, to the court of Sierra Leone?—Very great.

1736. Do you conceive that such a suggestion, if adopted, would diminish the risk of human life in the case of the slaves so sent for adjudication, by shortening the duration of their voyage?—I fancy that you might have another Mixed Commission Court; but it would be attended with a great many inconveniences to have it migratory, because you would not exactly know in what particular spot this Commission was established at the particular time when you wanted to send a vessel. It does not appear to me to be practicable.

Martis, 4^o die Aprilis, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Lord Courtenay.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Gladstone.
Lord John Hay.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

John Carr, Esq., Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, called in; and Examined.

1737. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] YOU are Chief Justice of Sierra Leone?—Yes.

1738. How long have you filled that station?—I was appointed chief justice in August 1841, but I was upon the coast before that period.

1739. How long have you been upon the coast altogether?—I arrived in July 1840.

1740. Has your attention been greatly directed to the best modes of suppressing the slave trade on the coast of Africa?—I think to effect that our measures should be directed to two ends; first, to prevent any slave from being sent from the coast; secondly, to change the disposition of the native chiefs on the subject of slave trading.

1741. What measures would you recommend for the prevention of the export of slaves from the coast?—That the present cruisers should continue upon the coast, and be made more efficient, if possible.

1742. When you say that you recommend that the present cruisers should continue on the coast and be made more efficient, do you wish that the increased efficiency

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efficiency should be derived from increased numbers of vessels, from the altered character of the vessels, or from what other circumstance or combination?—I think if it should be found that the present cruisers are not sufficient to prevent vessels from leaving the coast, that by making some alteration in the tonnage, lessening the expense of each vessel, we might have a larger number of vessels upon the coast.

1743. You consider it essential then to the perfection of the system of blockade, that the number of vessels should be such as that each should communicate with the other along the line of the slave-trading coast?—Decidedly.

1744. Can you state to the Committee what is the length of the slave-trading part of the coast of Africa?—I do not exactly know, but I believe it has been stated not to exceed from 300 to 400 miles; that is taking together the places where the slave trade is carried on; so it is said, but I do not know exactly.

1745. From your experience on the coast, do you recommend a smaller or a larger proportion of steam vessels in the blockading squadron than the proportion which actually subsists?—I think we should have both sailing vessels and steamers; sailing vessels with from four to 10 guns, and steamers with from two to four or six guns, and a large steamer for the commodore, because it is his duty to go all along the coast. Then I would add, that to each of those larger vessels two or three gun-boats might be attached; boats of from 50 to 60 tons, mounting one gun. They would be attached to the centre vessel; for instance, if you placed a centre vessel, and attached two or three gun-boats to each of those vessels, as a matter of course more space would be covered; you would have a greater number of vessels upon the coast, without any very great additional expense. I am assuming that the present force be not sufficient to prevent any slave vessel from leaving the coast.

1746. You consider then that the presence of a blockading squadron is the first essential pre-requisite for the suppression of the slave trade?—Decidedly.

1747. What would you place as the second measure in respect to the suppression of the slave trade?—Means should be adopted to punish the people who engaged in the slave trade.

1748. You consider that the existing laws are not sufficient to repress the slave trade by punishing the parties guilty of the crime?—As a matter of course, if you attached a penalty to the carrying on of the slave trade, persons would be deterred from engaging in the trade. At present, I believe, the vessels found upon the coast are either Brazilians or vessels sailing without a flag.

1749. Do you consider that any amount of pecuniary penalty would be sufficient to repress the slave trade?—No, the vessels might still be condemned when seized; but means should be adopted to punish the individuals engaged in the trade.

1750. In your judicial character you think that personal penalties ought to be superadded to pecuniary penalties?—To the condemnation of the vessel, if possible.

1751. You have adverted to vessels sailing without a flag?—Yes.

1752. Have you in your experience had before you judicially, or do you individually happen to know any cases in which slavers have been found sailing without a flag?—Many such vessels have been condemned before me at Sierra Leone, as the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court. Under the unrepealed portion of the 2 & 3 Vict. c. 73, vessels are seized if found upon the coast without a flag, and are taken to the Vice-Admiralty Courts, and they are condemned, but hitherto the individuals have not been punished.

1753. Would you recommend that any measures should be passed by the Legislature at home, giving to the courts on the coast the power of inflicting personal punishment upon any parties found in slavers, or connected in vessels with slave trading?—I think if the parties in vessels coming upon the coast to obtain slaves without any national flag, were to know that they would be liable to be tried as pirates, and to be punished, they would not come upon the coast; if they did come upon the coast it would be under some particular flag.

1754. What national flag can at this moment cover the slave trade north of the line?—At present vessels sail with the Brazilian flag upon the coast. If a vessel were to come upon the coast with the Portuguese flag and she were seized, as matter of course the vessel would be condemned in one of the Mixed Courts established to condemn such vessels, and the individuals found on board would be liable to be sent to a Portuguese colony, to be punished. It would be the same with the Spanish flag; the vessel would be condemned by one of the Mixed

Courts,

Courts, and the individuals would be liable to be sent to a Spanish colony and punished; but with regard to vessels coming upon the coast without a flag, the vessels are taken to the Vice-Admiralty Court, under the Act which I have just mentioned, and condemned, but the parties are not criminally punished. But I may state, that by the French laws I understand that if a vessel is found without a flag sailing upon the seas, it is considered to be a pirate. It would be a question for the British Government to take into consideration whether they would attach such a penalty to a vessel found upon the high seas, engaged in the slave trade, without any national colours.

1755. By the universal law of nations, is it or is it not the case that a vessel sailing without a flag, and engaged in a warlike enterprise, is a pirate?—A vessel may not hoist its colours.

1756. Then by the terms of the question it is a vessel sailing without a flag?—Without a flag.

1757. I assume that it is a part of the law of nations that no vessel can sail armed for warlike purposes without a shelter of some flag?—If I am asked to state what I consider piracy, piracy I understand, by the law of nations, is robbery and depredation upon the seas; a pirate may be said to be a sea robber; but there are many offences that may be deemed and treated as piracy by the municipal laws of different nations.

1758. By international treaties?—Yes, and by municipal laws; for instance, slave trading is declared by us to be piracy, and other offences also have been so declared at different periods of the history of this country.

1759. Therefore so far as an English subject might be engaged in slave trading, you would consider that such person was a pirate in the strictest sense of the word?—The law has made him so.

1760. You have stated as the first prerequisite for the suppression of the slave trade the continuance, and if needful, the increase of the blockading force on the west coast of Africa?—Yes.

1761. You have stated as the second measure for the suppression and final extinction of the slave trade an increased rigour in the law in respect of persons engaged in the slave trade?—Yes.

1762. Inflicting by law a personal punishment independently of the confiscation of the vessel?—Yes, if possible.

1763. What would you consider as the third measure?—I should think making treaties with the native chiefs, by which legitimate commerce would be protected in their country in the first place; secondly, that they should abolish the external slave trade altogether, and give power to the British Crown to destroy any establishments that might be erected in their territories for carrying on the slave trade.

1764. That is, any barracoons or other receptacles for the deposit of slaves waiting for their embarkation?—Yes; another provision of the treaty might be, that power should be given to the British cruisers to seize vessels in the waters of the chiefs, which should be taken to a Vice-Admiralty Court for adjudication. A provision somewhat similar to what exists in the treaties with foreign countries also might be introduced, that after the condemnation of the vessel the half of the proceeds should be delivered to the chief, just the same as in cases of foreign powers with whom we have treaties.

1765. From the period that you have been as chief justice in Sierra Leone, and the preceding period, have you obtained such information as to enable you to state to this Committee whether the greater part of the slaves who have been brought before you, or brought into Sierra Leone, had or had not been captured in wars in the interior?—I cannot state exactly in what way all the slaves that have been brought to Sierra Leone were taken; but I think from information that I have obtained on the coast that a great number of them must have been taken in war or kidnapped by chieftains, and carried to the coast and sold. I believe there can be no doubt upon that point.

1766. When you say, "kidnapped," you refer more particularly to private rapine, rather than to capture in open war?—Private rapine as well. For instance; a chief would be anxious to obtain slaves; he would go and attack a town; and if he had a number of war-men with him he would perhaps surround the town at night, and in the morning would capture as many as he could: those would be taken to the coast, and sold. I believe that that has been the system which has been carried on. I do not think that the chiefs are always anxious to sell

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sell the people bred up in their own towns; they sometimes seize the people of other towns.

1767. You do not consider, then, that any large proportion of the slaves sent down to the coast are obtained by sentence of condemnation, issued upon them as either criminals or debtors?—When a person is condemned, and fined a certain sum of money, if he is not able to pay the sum he is sold; a number of criminals certainly are sold.

1768. What proportion of slaves are made of those who are debtors?—As a matter of course it would be quite impossible to answer that question correctly; it is impossible to state the proportion; but I should say, the greater number of persons sold upon the coast do not belong to the towns of the chiefs who sell them, but are persons kidnapped or brought from other places.

1769. And your decided impression is, that the larger proportion of the slaves are persons either captured in open war or kidnapped by private rapine?—I should say so; there may be some sold from the town in which the individuals were brought up, but I should say that they do not form the greater proportion.

1770. Have you ever received such information from liberated slaves as can enable you to state to this Committee your own conviction, aye or no, whether wars are instituted for the purpose of making slaves?—There is no doubt about that. There is an instance, I think, just brought to my recollection; I believe the person seized is now a priest; he is a clergyman; he was ordained by the Bishop of London some time back; his name is the Rev. Samuel Crowther. If I recollect aright, he was in a town in the Yarraba country, with his family; that town was attacked by a number of war people from other places, and himself and many others seized. Many from the town escaped, but the rest were seized and carried down to the coast. He was captured by a British cruiser, and brought to Sierra Leone; he went to the Church Mission School, and after some years he was made a teacher in the school; he conducted himself very well, and the Church Mission sent him to England. After studying here for a short time he was ordained; he has returned to the coast, and he is now in the Yarraba country.

1771. At Abeacoota?—At Abeacoota, in his own country; he was sent with some other missionaries; they were well received in the Yarraba country; after a time he discovered his own mother; his mother was a slave, I believe; and from his own means, with some assistance from the missionaries, he redeemed his mother, and they are now living together in the Yarraba country. He is now a priest, and he delivers sermons in the Yarraba language. The chiefs of Yarraba have been very much pleased with the conduct of the missionaries, and the mission is now progressing, I believe, and doing well. I recollect the case of another man, now a member of the Wesleyan Society; he was seized in the same way; was afterwards captured and taken to Sierra Leone; there he was educated; he was at last brought forward, and he is now a native preacher, and a very well-informed man he is; his name is Mr. Wright, I think. These are men who were actually seized in their towns and conveyed to the coast; and passed through a great deal of trouble, being tied and put in irons, and so forth; they were at last shipped off, and fortunately they were captured and taken to Sierra Leone; there they received an education, and now they are useful men, and are endeavouring to convert their own countrymen.

1772. You have mentioned those as instances in which wars have been carried on for the purpose, or certainly with the effect, of making slaves to send down to the coast for sale?—I think so, as far as I recollect.

1773. If, then, it be true to say that the slave hunts, such as the travellers in the east of Africa have described, and some even in the west, as ordinarily the practice for the purpose of procuring slaves, be not so extensively as formerly the source of the supply of slaves from the west coast, you are prepared to state to the Committee whether such wars, or public or private rapine, do constitute a large source of the supply of slaves?—Certainly. They constitute a large source of the supply.

1774. You have referred to the mission at Abeacoota, of which the Rev. Samuel Crowther is now chief minister; do the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone take much interest in the progress of that mission, and in the welfare of their countrymen who may have gone from Sierra Leone to the Yarraba country, to Badagry, and Abeacoota?—They do. I recollect in 1841, after the death of Sir

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John Jeremy, I administered the government for a little time; several petitions were addressed to me, as the acting governor, by Akoos, requesting permission to go to Badagry; I gave them permission, and a number of them went away. Some time after this, I believe, they wrote to the missionaries at Sierra Leone, requesting that a missionary might be sent to instruct their country people. I believe it was in consequence of this application that the Church Mission in England sent a missionary to ascertain the facts, and afterwards they established a mission.

1775. As a collateral advantage, arising from the presence of the blockading squadron on the coast, directed as it is immediately to the suppression of the slave trade, do you also consider that it is a protection to those liberated Africans now located in Sierra Leone, in removing to the interior or along the coast to their own countries?—Decidedly; the blockading squadron is very essential upon that coast I should say.

1776. For that purpose?—Certainly; it gives protection, and it prevents persons from being shipped off in those places where the cruisers are stationed.

1777. May an increase of such emigration, or return of natives from Sierra Leone to their own country be expected so long as the present protection continues?—I think that you may expect a number of people from Sierra Leone to return to their country, and carry with them some degree of civilization. They have acquired civilized habits at Sierra Leone, and in returning to their country they will, in some measure, impart their knowledge to their country people.

1778. And you would consider such seed plots so conveyed as very advantageous, as one of the modes of extinguishing the slave trade?—Decidedly. I think that they will do a great deal of good. I may also mention, that at Sierra Leone now you have an institution for the training of native teachers, to be sent afterwards into the interior. You have an establishment now conducted by the Church Mission, and also another by the Wesleyans for this purpose.

1779. Do you refer to the Church Mission establishment at Foulah Bay?—Yes; they have expended a large sum of money in erecting a very fine building for the purpose of instructing young men, to be afterwards sent into the interior.

1780. Do you consider this also as a measure calculated to promote the final extinction of the slave trade?—It will be productive of great good, certainly.

1781. Will you state to the Committee what in your judgment has been the general influence of missionaries and missionary labours on the west coast of Africa, more immediately in Sierra Leone?—They have been productive of good; they have done a great deal of good. The instances which I have already specified would show that.

1782. Can you specify at all, for the information of the Committee, what has been the progress during the last few years of the liberated Africans; for example, in social improvement take as an illustration their dress; are they all dressed?—The social improvement of the Africans has been upon the increase for many years back.

1783. Do they all wear dresses?—The people connected with the missions generally do. There are a number of labourers coming from the interior who are not always all dressed; the Kroomen and Sherboro people are not always properly dressed; but I think the people belonging to the missions are generally properly dressed.

1784. *Chairman.*] Decently dressed?—Decently dressed.

1785. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Can you state to the Committee what progress they have made in intellectual culture?—They were brought to Sierra Leone without any instruction, and they have learnt to read and write; they have acquired information in the schools; they have received instruction in the schools of the missionaries, and also in the Government-schools at Sierra Leone. I believe there are about 8,000 children in the different schools.

1786. Do you regard their progress as equal to the progress of others enjoying the same amount of advantage for the same space of time?—Decidedly. Formerly the education given was not very extensive; at present, I believe, they obtain a better description of education. Formerly they were confined entirely to reading in the Scriptures, but latterly other books have been introduced in the schools. I may also state that there is a grammar school, conducted by the Church missionary at Sierra Leone, some 20 to 30 boys are educated in that school, and they receive a very good education; it is conducted by the Rev. Mr. Peyton, and they are there able to obtain a very good education.

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1787. Yourself have not only been present at those examinations, but have contributed to their success by offering prizes?—I contributed something.

1788. And you are satisfied that the encouragement which has been extended by the governor and by yourself has not been unrewarded?—Certainly not. I believe there was a boy educated at the Church Mission Establishment at Foulah Bay; I have understood he was lately examined at the institution at Islington, and that he distinguished himself; he obtained the first prize, I think.

1789. By the institution at Islington you mean the Church Missionary Institution?—Yes. I have understood that he was examined, and that he was the first upon the list.

1790. Was he a boy born at Sierra Leone, or had he been a slave?—That I cannot state; I believe he was educated at the establishment at Foulah Bay.

1791. Was he a pure African?—I have not seen him since he has been in England.

1792. You do not recollect whether he were or were not a pure African?—I understood that he was brought from Sierra Leone.

1793. *Mr. E. Denison.*] Was he a pure African or a half-caste?—I think a pure African, but I cannot state exactly; I have not seen the boy here.

1794. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] You have now stated the success of the endeavour made at Sierra Leone with respect to the liberated Africans; first, as to their social improvement; secondly, as to their intellectual culture; and thirdly, as to their commercial enterprise: can you give us any instances in which the natives Sierra Leone, or slaves liberated at Sierra Leone, have engaged in commercial enterprise as men of capital, industry, and skill?—A number of the people brought to Sierra Leone in slave vessels have acquired property at Sierra Leone by trading; they have engaged in trade, I may say, successfully; many of them are worth property to a large amount.

1795. Can you state what is the maximum amount?—Many, from 500*l.* to 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.*, I may say.

1796. Those having been liberated Africans or natives of Sierra Leone?—Yes.

1797. Including liberated Africans?—I am speaking of liberated Africans. I think that one man purchased a house worth 1,000*l.* some time back. I should think certainly from 500*l.* to 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.*; many of them possess property to that extent.

1798. Do they trade with the West Indies, with Brazil, with Europe, or with the interior chiefly?—Many of them have sent to England for goods, I believe; they have imported goods from England direct; some of them have, I believe, agents here.

1799. Have any of them vessels of their own?—They have coasting vessels, I believe.

1800. What is the aggregate population of Sierra Leone?—I should say about 50,000.

1801. Of which 50,000 how many are Europeans, including the garrison?—I should say, about 100.

1802. Is order well observed in the colony of Sierra Leone?—Certainly; the people are very orderly and well behaved, and very easily governed.

1803. What is the circulating medium there; is it English money, or Spanish dollars?—English money and dollars.

1804. Is it generally a trade conducted on the principles of European commerce, or is it much in barter?—A great deal in barter; the goods are sent from England, and produce is sent in return.

1805. But through an agency similar to that of commerce in any other part of the world?—Yes; many of the houses here have agents upon the coast.

1806. You have stated the prosperity of Sierra Leone now in three points; in the social improvement, in religious and intellectual culture, and in commercial enterprise; can you state to the Committee anything in reference to the highest point, namely, the religious and moral conduct of the liberated Africans forming the chief part of the population of Sierra Leone?—I have stated that I believe they are a well-behaved and orderly people, and easily governed. I think missionary labours have contributed in a great measure to that.

1807. Will you state what proportion of persons there are going habitually to any place of worship, whether of the Church or of the Wesleyan Missions, or any other denomination of Christians?—A very large proportion of the population

lation attend Divine service. On the Sabbath the people always go to church in the morning and in the evening.

1808. Comparing Sierra Leone with other towns having a population of about the same amount, 50,000, will you state to this Committee whether upon the whole the Lord's day be or be not as well observed, or better observed, as the case may be, as in other equal cities?—I should say that the Sabbath is as well observed in Sierra Leone as in any part of the world; I have been in the West Indies, in England, and on the Continent, and I should say that the Sabbath is as well observed at Sierra Leone as in any part of the world. The people belonging to the Church Mission and to the Wesleyans always go to church in the morning; when I say in the morning, I mean about five or six o'clock in the morning; then they go to church again at the usual hour of 11; and also in the evening. Others not belonging to those missions also have their chapels; they are called West African Methodists and Lady Huntingdon's Society, and other denominations; they also attend service in the same manner. While I was living in the town there was a chapel opposite to my house, and in the morning, at five o'clock, the people would be there. This chapel did not belong to the Wesleyans or the Church Mission, but to the native people; and they always attended service there on the Sunday in the morning at five o'clock, also at 11 o'clock, and in the evening; on weekdays in the morning often, and sometimes in the evening.

1809. From your observation of the state of society in Sierra Leone, do you wish the Committee to understand that the people regard themselves as at home?—They do; they are contented.

1810. The great body there being liberated Africans, regard that colony as their home?—Yes; there are a number of young people now brought up in the colony; they consider the colony as a home, certainly; there are a few others who are desirous to return to their own country, with a view of bettering the condition of their own country people.

1811. Their object in leaving Sierra Leone being to carry the same blessings of civilization which they enjoy there to their own less happily circumstanced people in their own country?—Yes; many of them have a great desire to return to their country to convert their countrymen; they have seen the good effects of a well-regulated colony, and they are anxious also to impart the benefits which they have received.

1812. Under all the circumstances of the state of society which you have now described to the Committee, do you wish the Committee to understand that there is or is not much prospect of finding a supply of persons willing to go as free labourers from Sierra Leone to the West Indies or elsewhere?—At Sierra Leone I do not think you would find any large number of persons disposed to emigrate.

1813. If, however, they were so disposed, they would be perfectly free in their judgment so to go?—Decidedly they would.

1814. Have you reason to believe that free labourers, in the highest sense of the phrase, can be found on any part of the coast of Africa, where the British protection is not felt?—On the Kroo coast, I think, some persons might be obtained, though at the same time I may state that the Kroo country is not a very extensive country.

1815. Do you wish the Committee to suppose that females also could be taken from the Kroo coast, as well as males?—No; I do not think that many of the Kroo women would leave.

1816. What number can be obtained on the Kroo coast?—That I cannot state.

1817. Have you any other observations which you wish to address to the Committee?—I have made three recommendations; the first has been to render the cruisers more efficient, if possible, supposing any number of vessels were found to leave the coast with slaves; secondly, I mentioned the additional stringency of the law, with the view of punishing criminally the parties found on board slave vessels; and thirdly, I spoke with regard to making treaties; but I would mention in the fourth place, that trading posts should be established along the coast. I should recommend that very strongly, because I think that with the view of putting an end to the slave trade, our measures should be directed, not only to prevent the slave from being sent off the coast, but also to effect a change in the disposition of the native chiefs in regard to the slave trade.

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1818. By trading posts, do you wish the Committee to understand factories strongly built, and in any degree armed?—At those posts I would put a resident magistrate in the first place, and an officer with 30 men. I would also have an agriculturist; an emigration agent might be likewise stationed at those posts; moreover, every facility should be afforded to the missionaries to extend their labours. The duty of the agriculturist would be by advice and persuasion to teach the natives the best way of raising produce in exchange for the goods imported into the country, and I have no doubt that coffee, cotton, and sugar to some degree might be raised in time, if proper measures were adopted. By extending legitimate commerce, as a matter of course you prevent the slave trade from being established in any particular place.

1819. Colonel *Thompson*.] Can you inform the Committee what would be the legal condition of men found in an armed vessel in the Mediterranean, who were unable or who refused to give any certificate or explanation of their origin, or the nation to which they belonged?—I would not wish to speak upon a point that might afterwards be brought before me, on which I might have to decide judicially; a vessel might be found in the Mediterranean which did not wish to hoist its colours. I do not presume that you could trouble the vessel merely upon not wishing to hoist its colours.

1820. Do you think that such a vessel would be taken possession of as dangerous to the public good?—If it were discovered to be a pirate it would be taken.

1821. If it were manifestly armed for the purposes of war?—Yes.

1822. Can you tell us what would be the legal condition of men who should be found in an armed vessel in the British Channel with spirits on board, and who should absolutely refuse to give any explanation of their origin, or what country they belonged to?—It would be within the discretion of the officer who saw that vessel to take the vessel to some place, if he thought he had the power, and to take the decision of a court upon the subject; an officer seizes a vessel upon his own responsibility.

1823. Do you think that these parties would come within the definition of pirates by the existing law of nations?—No; it was decided by Lord Stowell that slave trading was not piracy by the law of nations.

1824. Can you give us any opinion of what would be the condition if men found without a flag in the British Channel in an armed vessel, and with the manifest intention to carry on an illegal trade in spirits, or whatever the case might be?—If a vessel attempted to smuggle in spirits in any particular place, the vessel would be seized by the persons who had to prevent it.

1825. Can you tell us what would be the condition of smugglers found without a flag; supposing the system of smuggling were set up in the British Channel, and part of the plan was, that they should refuse to acknowledge any country, do you think that those men would be treated as pirates by the law of France and of England, or would not, in the existing state of the law?—If a vessel attempted to introduce smuggled goods, as a matter of course it would be seized by the preventive service.

1826. Would any alteration be made in their condition from the fact that they refused to show any flag, or give any explanation of their origin; would it take them, do you think, out of the class of ordinary smugglers and put them into any other class, for instance, the class of pirates; will you inform the Committee what you conceive to be the existing state of the law in the British Channel, or in any other part of the world, under such circumstances?—As I have already stated to the Committee, I do not wish to answer any legal questions of that kind, because it would not be right. What I stated was this, that a number of vessels now are found upon the coast, without a flag, engaged in the slave trade; they do not show any flag, in order to escape punishment by the laws of their country. The vessels are seized and brought to the Vice Admiralty Court, and are condemned there. The law does not authorize the courts to proceed to punish the parties criminally at present, but by the law of France it does appear, that if vessels are found on the seas without colours or flag, the individuals are treated as pirates. Now it would be for the Government here to consider whether, if vessels go upon the coast to engage in the slave trade, and the parties throw away their flag, and their papers, to escape the punishment of their own country, we should not enact a law by which they should be deemed and treated as pirates when found engaged in the slave trade without any flag or colours. At present they are not punished,

punished, from the very circumstance that the law does not authorize the court to do so. I believe that reaches the point.

1827. Mr. *E. Denison*.] You have stated in the early part of your examination, that if it should be found that the present ships are not sufficient, you would add more?—Yes; I would add more, but without increasing the expense, by sending smaller vessels.

1828. Have you an opinion whether the ships are efficient or are not efficient as they stand at present?—If by the opinion of the officers upon the station they were found to be sufficient, then it would be unnecessary to increase the number.

1829. What is your opinion upon the subject; will you be so good as to give us the advantage of your own opinion, whether the blockading squadron, under your own experience, is or is not efficient for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade?—A number of vessels have been seized, but I have understood that a number of slaves have been sent away from the coast; I do not believe that so large a number as 60,000 to 70,000 persons could have been sent from the coast with the present number of cruisers upon the coast; the vessels necessary to carry this number could not have escaped. If we take the average number of slaves found on board vessel seized, it would be about 300. To land in Brazil or Cuba 60,000 or 70,000, it requires that some 200 vessels loaded with slaves should have escaped last year. Now, I do not think that such a large number of vessels could have escaped the cruisers upon the coast; but if it should be found that any large number of vessels had escaped, I think we might prevent them from escaping, by adopting some such plan as that I have suggested.

1830. According to your own knowledge, to what degree do you believe that the blockade has been or has not been efficient?—I think it has been efficient, because a number of vessels have been seized; some 50 vessels per annum have been seized upon that coast by the cruisers, and that would certainly show great activity and zeal in the discharge of their duty.

1831. Nobody, I believe, doubts that they have been very zealous, but what is meant by efficiency in the question is, whether they are successful in stopping that trade?—I think that they must be successful and efficient when they have taken so many vessels.

1832. That is only reasoning upon the matter. According to your positive experience, as a resident in that country, will you state as nearly as you can give it, your own judgment whether the blockading squadron is efficient in stopping the slave trade?—Yes, I should say it is. From the Gambia down to about the Isles de Los, near Sierra Leone, I believe very few vessels are now seized; I believe very few vessels are seized upon the Sierra Leone station also; along the Bights, I believe, not a very great many; the vessels are generally seized about Congo and that part. Now, I should say that the squadron had been efficient and successful in preventing the slave trade from being carried on to any extent upon the parts of the coast above specified.

1833. Your answer was, that if the ships should not be found efficient, you would then recommend another course?—Yes.

1834. Do you think or not that the efficiency of the squadron, as it exists at present, has been so complete that it is not necessary to add ships, or to take any different course from what is now pursued?—I think the greater the number of vessels you had upon the coast the more certain you would be of preventing vessels from leaving the coast with slaves; because the cruisers are obliged to leave to go and take provisions, and go about. When I used the term, "If it should be found that the squadron was not sufficiently efficient," it was owing to the circumstance that it was said that a very large number of slaves had been sent away from the coast during the last year. I think that by increasing the number of cruisers in the way I have suggested you would prevent any vessels from leaving the coast. By a strict blockade, as I have stated, and by taking measures at the same time to change the disposition of the native chiefs, I think that we might be able to put an end to the slave trade; I think both should go together, that if you sent a squadron upon the coast without taking measures to change the disposition of the chiefs, if at any time you removed the cruisers, a number of the native chiefs would return to the slave trade; and although many might not do so at first, yet, when they saw their towns seized, and their people seized and sold, they would retaliate.

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1835. If it should be proved by evidence that as many as 60,000 slaves had left the coast in the past year, would your opinion of the success of the blockading squadron in that case be changed?—I would say that it was not altogether efficient if so many vessels could have left with slaves; but I say that you might prevent the slaves from being taken away from the coast by changing the system.

1836. Have you yourself paid much attention to the operations on the coast, or has your attention been rather turned to other branches of the matter?—I have had occasion to know a great deal that has been going on upon the coast from residing at Sierra Leone for the last seven years.

1837. You have stated that the extent of coast that required blockading and supervising by a squadron was about from 300 to 400 miles?—So it is said; I believe it was stated so in the committee-room here by Captain Denman. I think some 300 to 400 miles are mentioned as comprising all the places where the slave trade is carried on.

1838. Do you think that if from 300 to 400 miles of the coast of Africa were to be as closely blockaded as you pleased, there would not be very great districts of coast, and more than twice as much coast, that would still be left open to the operations of the slave trade?—No; there are many parts, I believe, where the slave trade cannot be carried on.

1839. What is the extent of the whole of the African coast?—The western coast I cannot state exactly, but I believe it has been stated to be about 3,000 miles.

1840. Do you, upon reconsideration, think that a blockade of 400 miles would accomplish the purpose of preventing the slave trade on the whole coast of Africa?—I think that you are able to do it.

1841. Would the blockading of from 300 to 400 miles effectually check the slave trade upon the coast of Africa?—If you blockade all the parts where the slave trade is carried on, as matter of course you do prevent it.

1842. If you blockade from 300 to 400 miles, do you blockade all that part of the coast of Africa which might be made available for the purposes of the slave trade?—If you prevented slaves from being shipped at the places where slaves are now shipped, and you found that the people went to other parts and established factories there, you might carry on the same system, and prevent them from doing so there also, because it must be understood that slaves must be collected before they can be shipped.

1843. That would be an indefinite extension of your blockade as the operations changed upon the coast?—Where the slave trade has been destroyed, and you have a trading factory, and the people have turned their attention to legitimate commerce, you may then merely leave, perhaps, a cruiser at that part of the country, and blockade any other part where the slave trade has taken rise or been established.

1844. You have also suggested that there should be trading posts along the coast?—Yes.

1845. Can you give us any idea how many trading posts along the coast would be necessary to meet your view?—You might put as many as you pleased, but you might commence with a few; you might have one at the River Nunez, one at the Sherboro, or the Gallinas, another at Cape Mount, one upon the Grain Coast, and one in the neighbourhood of the principal rivers; for example, the Benin, the Nun, the Calabar, and the Congo. Were posts established at these places you would extend legitimate commerce, and at the same time destroy the slave trade.

1846. Those are to consist of an officer and 30 men, with a magistrate, with a practical agriculturist, and an emigration agent?—Yes; and every facility afforded to the missionaries to extend their labours.

1847. Those would be establishments of some expense, would they not?—Not much; the resident magistrate might receive 500*l.* a year; and I must add, that I would put those posts under the superintendence of the commodore, who would be able to go along the coast and visit them, and afford protection when required.

1848. As you have suggested these, upon consideration how many of these posts do you think would really be available for the purpose for which you have suggested them?—I have mentioned the River Nunez, the Sherboro, and the Gallinas, Cape Mount, one upon the Grain Coast, one at Whydah, one at Lagos, and the Calabar, and another in the neighbourhood of Benin.

1849. *Chairman.*]

1849. *Chairman.*] Another at the Bight of Biafra?—Yes, and one at the River Congo; that would be about eight or ten, I think.

1850. Would you place one at the Cameroon's River?—Yes; you might commence with about ten, and place others in any part that might be selected afterwards. The commodore would be able to state oftentimes the places where the slave trade was carried on, and where those posts could be established. It would always be much better to establish them where the slave trade is carried on, because you would put an end to the slave trade in that particular part. I think we should not merely prevent slaves from being carried off the coast, but we should endeavour to take measures to change the disposition of the native chiefs upon the subject; and when they see that they can obtain their goods by legitimate commerce, as matter of course they will not carry on the slave trade.

1851. *Mr. E. Denison.*] You have suggested whether or not some means should not be adopted to punish individuals who are engaged in the slave trade?—Yes.

1852. Will you be so good as to define, as exactly as you can, what sort of punishment you propose in that suggestion?—At present, by our law, if a person engage in the slave trade he is punished by transportation or imprisonment for any term not exceeding three years.

1853. A British subject?—A British subject; that is the punishment now for persons engaged in the slave trade by our law; and, of course, if it should be deemed necessary to make a law that persons found engaged in the slave trade, and not being entitled to any national flag, should be liable to punishment, it would be something similar.

1854. Then you mean that persons who are found engaged in the slave trade, sailing under no flag, should by the law of England be treated as pirates in the way that they are treated by the law of France?—I think it would be a question for the British Government to take into consideration, whether they would not attach a penalty after condemning the vessel as we do now in the Vice-Admiralty Court, whether the individuals should not be afterwards punished; that is a question for the consideration of the British Government.

1855. In your opinion, is that a thing which is necessary for the accomplishment of this purpose on the coast of Africa?—Decidedly; because if a vessel came upon the coast with the Spanish flag, the individuals on board would be liable to be arrested by the Mixed Court, and sent to a Spanish colony. If a vessel came upon the coast with the Portuguese flag, after the vessel had been condemned in the Mixed Court, the parties would be liable to be punished criminally also by the Portuguese law; but when they come upon the coast without any flag, the vessels are condemned, and the individuals are not punished; they therefore come upon the coast without a flag.

1856. This plan of coming upon the coast without a flag obtains for them a greater immunity than any other means would?—Decidedly; they are not punished; only the vessel is condemned.

1857. You have also suggested the making of treaties with the chiefs and kings upon the coast?—Yes.

1858. You think that in the present temper of those parties it would be easy to obtain such treaties?—Decidedly so, with a little management; after a little time, I have no doubt that all the chiefs would make treaties with the British Government, because when you prevented vessels from being sent from those parts of the country with slaves, the chiefs would themselves consent to any treaty that you pleased; with a view of getting legitimate commerce extended in their country, I have no doubt that they would be willing to enter into treaties.

1859. *Colonel Thompson.*] Is it a part of your proposal, that men found on the coast of Africa without a flag should be treated in the manner that the French treat them, or that they should be liable to the same punishment as a British subject?—It was merely an illustration, that by the French laws vessels found without colours are dealt with as pirates, and I say it would be a question for consideration whether, as we take those vessels and condemn them in the Vice-Admiralty Court, the law might not be extended and those persons criminally punished, because they act in such a way now as to escape punishment from the laws of their own country.

1860. Then would your proposal be that they should be punished in the same manner that the British subjects are punished, or would it be anything different

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from that?—We could not inflict any punishment different from what we inflict upon our own subjects; it would be the same.

1861. *Chairman.*] How long is it that you have been acquainted with the coast of Africa?—Since July 1840.

1862. When did you leave Sierra Leone?—I left in July 1847.

1863. The information which you have given with respect to the slave trade does not quite correspond with some official communications made to the Government. I think you consider that the slave trade has been stopped in the Bights. Are you aware that during last year the slave trade was particularly active in the Bight of Benin?—Of late years fewer vessels have been taken, I think, in the Bights, than formerly.

1864. With respect to that particular fact, did you not know that the slave trade had been in a state of considerable and unusual activity in the Bight of Benin during the last year?—It might be so; but I think that of late years there have not been the same number of vessels taken in that part of the country. It might be so, but I am not acquainted with the fact.

1865. You doubt also the accuracy of that report to the British Government, which represents the number of slaves imported into America to be as great as 60,000 or 70,000?—Yes, I do. Taking 300 slaves to be the average on board a vessel, it would require that some 200 to 250 vessels should have escaped the cruisers, and I do not think that so many vessels could have escaped the cruisers.

1866. Would you entertain that opinion if you found that various parties, who are in the habit of communicating with the different departments of the British Government on that subject, all agreed in the same statement, and that in addition to their positive assurances you had the circumstance that slaves had fallen in price very considerably in Brazil; and that in fact the market of Brazil was said to be in a state of glut?—The slaves are sold there, I believe, at 50 *l.* to 100 *l.* each; good slaves.

1867. Considering all those circumstances, would you still adhere to the opinion which you gave, that there is some mistake in the representation that so large a number as 60,000 or 70,000 slaves were carried away from the coast of Africa during the last year?—I cannot bring my mind to believe that so many slaves have been taken away; and I may moreover state, that we ought to receive with great caution the statements of the people in Brazil upon the subject, because they have a direct interest in magnifying their success, to induce us to remove our cruisers.

1868. But the officers of the British Government have no interest in magnifying the number of slaves imported?—But they obtain their information from persons connected with the trade in some measure.

1869. And your opinion would not be at all influenced by the circumstance that the price of slaves had considerably fallen in the markets of Brazil?—No; there might be a great demand for a particular article of commerce, and there might be a transference from one description of cultivation to another. I believe coffee is sold very low in Brazil, and a number of persons have given up their coffee plantations, and have taken to producing sugar; now there might have been a greater number of persons in the market for sale when those coffee plantations were given up, and you might have had a lower price asked for slaves.

1870. That is the way in which you would explain the fact of the reduction of price?—I should say so. If there were a number of persons on hand unemployed, as a matter of course the price would not be high for a slave; supposing a number of coffee plantations were thrown out of cultivation, the people upon the plantations would be sold, there would be a greater number of persons in the market for sale, and the price would be lower.

1871. *Mr. Gladstone.*] But do you understand, in point of fact, that there have been a number of plantations thrown out of coffee and taken for sugar?—I believe so; some of the people have taken to produce sugar instead of selling their slaves, I suppose also.

1872. Do you understand that that transference from coffee to sugar has taken place because the cultivation of coffee had become ruinous, or because the cultivation of sugar had become more profitable in consequence of the increase in the European demand?—If sugar fetched a high price and coffee was not worth cultivating, as a matter of course a number of persons would be transferred from coffee plantations to sugar plantations.

1873. Have

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1873. Have you understood that coffee had become not worth cultivating?—I believe that the price has become very low; so I have understood, and a number of persons have given up their coffee plantations.

1874. The Committee clearly gather that you understood that a number of persons have turned their plantations from coffee to sugar?—Yes.

1875. What is your understanding as to the cause; do you believe that it was because the coffee had become ruinous, or because, though the coffee might have continued to be profitable upon a certain scale, yet sugar offered an increase of attraction; which did you understand to be the cause of the transference?—That coffee had been lowered in price. I may state, that although a man may sell his slaves upon a coffee plantation, it would not follow that he would be able to establish a sugar plantation; he may not have the means to do so; he may sell his slaves, and if there were a large number of persons in the market for sale, the price would be lowered.

1876. If the transference of estates from coffee to sugar was not caused by coffee having become ruinous, but by sugar having become more profitable, then that fact would go to cause an increase in the price of slaves in Brazil, rather than a diminution, would it not?—No; it would bring into the market a number of slaves for sale. I mentioned that a number of persons, who had coffee plantations, would not be able to establish sugar plantations, and therefore they would sell their slaves. If there were a large number of slaves in the market, as a matter of course the price would be lower, though at the same time the transference from coffee cultivation to sugar cultivation would account for a greater increase in the sugar produced from one year to the other.

1877. If the estates were transferred from coffee to sugar, in consequence, not of coffee having become ruinous, but of sugar having become more profitable, then that transfer of estates, so far from causing a diminution in the price of slaves in the market of Brazil, would cause and would be connected with an increase in their price, would it not; would it not show that the labour of the slave was about becoming much more valuable, and would therefore fetch a higher price in the market; the import remaining the same, of course?—I think it does not altogether follow that because the coffee plantation is given up all those people would be converted into people for the cultivation of sugar. I perhaps do not understand rightly the question.

1878. Are you cognizant of the fact implied in a recent question of the Chairman, that there has been a diminution in the price of slaves in the Brazil market?—I cannot exactly state whether it is so. The Chairman may be better informed upon the matter than I am; but it would not follow that a greater number of slaves have been sent from the coast from that circumstance.

1879. *Chairman.*] I have an extract from a letter from the British officer commanding the squadron off the coast of Brazil, dated 9th May 1847, and in that I find this sentence: "Slave trading is increasing, and is going on in an unprecedented manner along the whole line of Brazil." Taking that fact into consideration, would you hesitate to admit the statement to which we before turned our attention, that as many as 60,000 or 70,000 Africans have been imported into America in the course of last year?—It is difficult for me to believe it, from what I have already stated, that it would have required some 200 to 250 vessels to have taken those people over to the coast, and I cannot bring my mind to believe that so many vessels could have escaped the cruisers.

1880. Are you aware that the slave trade is carried on upon the east as well as upon the west coast of Africa?—Yes, I believe so; but so far as I can understand, not a very large number of persons are taken over from the eastern coast.

1881. Not so many as from the western coast?—No.

1882. Since you have been acquainted with Sierra Leone, has the slave trade increased or diminished?—I should say diminished. From all accounts some 100,000 to 150,000 persons were shipped from the African coast some years back.

1883. How many years back?—Before 1838, I think; before the power was given to the Vice Admiralty Courts to condemn Portuguese vessels, I believe it was stated that some 100,000 to 150,000 persons were taken annually from the coast.

1884. I am not comparing the present state of the slave trade with the state of the slave trade in years prior to your acquaintance with Sierra Leone, but since you have been at Sierra Leone, from the year 1840 to July 1847, has the slave trade increased or diminished?—Diminished, I should say; I should say that

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that the cruisers had contributed to diminishing the slave trade; they have taken a vast number of vessels; I believe they have taken on an average about 50 vessels per annum during the last few years, and that would show great activity, and that they have done their duty with great zeal.

1885. Do you think that the slave trade diminished to any extent during the period of seven years for which you were acquainted with Sierra Leone?—I should say so.

1886. That it considerably diminished?—I should say so; that upon many points where slaves were shipped there are no slaves now shipped. Very few persons are sent off from the coast between the Gambia and Sierra Leone; and below Sierra Leone very few also; the Gallinas used to be a famous place, but of late years I do not believe that many vessels have been sent away from that part of the country; the principal trade has been carried on to the south of that part, I think, and you have a number of vessels cruising upon that part of the coast; and I cannot believe that very many vessels could have escaped them.

1887. If you were informed that during the last year there were as large a number of slaves imported into Brazil as had ever in any previous period been imported into Brazil, you would not believe such a statement?—I should hesitate to believe such a statement; but even if it were so, by adopting some of the measures which I have suggested, you might prevent any slaves from being taken away.

1888. You are, I believe, in your capacity of Chief Justice, the presiding Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court?—I am.

1889. Can you state the number of vessels which have come before you for adjudication during the last one or two years?—In 1845 I think I adjudicated 15 vessels.

1890. In 1846 how many?—In 1846 I think 10.

1891. In 1847?—In 1847, to July, I think 10.

1892. Those were about the numbers?—Yes.

1893. Were any vessels during those three years adjudicated by the Mixed Commission Court?—Latterly, I believe none at Sierra Leone; I may take the last 18 months. I do not believe that there have been any at Sierra Leone, in the Mixed Courts.

1894. Can you state with respect to the years 1845 and 1846?—In the early part of 1845 there were a large number I believe, because the Brazilian Treaty I think had not then been put an end to; but after the middle of 1845, I think there were very few.

1895. In fact, if the slave trade is to be carried on exclusively under Brazilian colours or under no colours at all, under those circumstances the vessels would altogether come within the jurisdiction of the Vice-Admiralty Court?—Yes, they would.

1896. The Commission Court would have nothing to do?—But as a matter of course a Spaniard might be found, and there would be no court but the Mixed Court to adjudicate upon a Spanish vessel.

1897. Practically speaking, during the last 18 months no vessels have been brought before the courts at Sierra Leone, except vessels under Brazilian colours or under no colours?—Eighteen months, ending July last, when I left Sierra Leone.

1898. You have stated to the Committee, that you consider it very desirable to maintain the blockading squadron, but that you would wish to increase its efficiency; do you think that the blockading of the coast of Africa is not unaccompanied by some evils to the slaves?—It is accompanied with some evil where you allow a number of persons to be collected in the barracoons, but the question is, whether a greater amount of evil would not be caused by removing your cruisers, and I should say that a greater amount of evil would be produced.

1899. On the whole?—On the whole, decidedly.

1900. With respect to the persons who are confined in the barracoons, are they not exposed to great suffering and mortality occasionally?—Occasionally they are; but that might be prevented, as I have stated, by entering into treaties with the chiefs that no barracoons should be established in their country for slave-trading purposes.

1901. If there were no barracoons there would be no suffering?—Just so; and moreover very few slaves could be taken away, because they could not be collected.

1902. Supposing

1902. Supposing the barracoons existed, and the practice of confining the slaves in the barracoons for the purposes of shipment were continued, does not that necessitate a considerable degree of suffering and mortality to the slaves confined?—No doubt at times, if the people were kept in barracoons, and could not be shipped off, some suffering would be occasioned.

1903. Did you ever hear of slaves being destroyed in barracoons, because the owners of them would not be at the expense of maintaining them there?—I have heard of a case, but I cannot speak as to the truth of the statement upon the subject.

1904. You never heard from the government of Sierra Leone any statement to that effect?—No.

1905. Did you ever hear of any case which occurred in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone?—I believe not.

1906. This suffering and mortality arising from the detention of the slaves in the barracoons is a necessary attendant of our system of suppression, is it not?—Not so; certainly not, I think.

1907. Not at all?—If the trade were free, there would be factories established of a similar description for the collection of the slaves.

1908. There would be factories established, but there would be a facility afforded of shipping the slaves?—There would be considerable facility afforded for shipping them.

1909. Consequently there would not be that forced detention which takes place at present?—No; the persons that were in the barracoons might not suffer so much, possibly; if the spot were blockaded and the people could not be carried away, they would suffer, if they had not sufficient means of subsistence at hand.

1910. Do you consider the colony of Sierra Leone a prosperous colony?—I think that many statements have been made against Sierra Leone without reason. Sierra Leone is progressing; and in time Sierra Leone may become a valuable colony. I think that if the people were instructed in agriculture, they might produce articles in exchange for goods from this country, and increase the trade of this country.

1911. Looking to the actual state of things, do you consider the settlement a thriving and prosperous settlement?—I think that it is progressing.

1912. Is there much trade?—The exports, I believe, for the year 1846 amounted to 125,000 *l.*, the imports to 105,000 *l.*; in 1840 I think the exports amounted to 72,000 *l.*, and the imports to 80,000 *l.*; that would show an increase in the trade. In the article of ginger, I think the estimated value of ginger sent from the colony in 1839 amounted to about 1,600 *l.*, and during the year 1846 to about 14,000 *l.* The article which I have just specified is produced in Sierra Leone.

1913. You have stated that the exports have considerably increased since the year 1840; are the articles which you speak of as exports entirely the produce of the settlement itself?—Not entirely; a large portion of the timber is collected out of the colony, in the neighbourhood of the colony; the ground nut also is collected in some measure from the colony, and also out of the colony.

1914. But they are all exported from the colony?—Yes.

1915. Is there any extent of fertile soil around the settlement of Sierra Leone?—At Sierra Leone I think coffee, cotton, ginger, the ground nut, and, in some places, the sugar cane might be cultivated.

1916. Do you consider that the quantity of fertile soil around Sierra Leone gives ample facility for the cultivation of those articles?—I think especially for the cultivation of coffee; upon the whole of the peninsula you might cultivate coffee with success. The coffee of the colony is of every excellent quality, and has been said to be almost as good as Mocha, and that cultivation might be carried on I think successfully.

1917. Generally speaking, do you think the population an industrious population?—The people have never been sufficiently instructed in agriculture. As matter of course, to establish plantations persons must have capital; they must also have the requisite knowledge. Now, if you consider in what way the people have been taken to that colony, it would be impossible that they could have become acquainted with tropical agriculture. They are taken there and located in the villages; after a time, some of them go to Free Town and engage in trade, and engage in trade successfully, for many of them have acquired property, as I have previously mentioned.

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1918. Generally speaking, do you consider it an industrious community?—I should say that, generally speaking, they are industrious, and would be willing to work if persons established plantations and gave them work.

1919. You have mentioned some cases of free Africans, who have, I presume by their industry, arrived at a considerable degree of prosperity?—Yes, several of them.

1920. Did you ever hear of any of those free Africans being connected with slave-trading operations?—Certainly not. I think that they would not engage in the slave trade.

1921. You never heard of any such case?—I do not recollect any of those liberated Africans being engaged in the slave trade.

1922. Or in any way connected with slave-trading operations?—I do not recollect any; if any such instance had come to my recollection, as a matter of course, the people would have been prosecuted in the colony.

1923. You think that if the plan which you have recommended to the Committee, which comprises, I observe, two heads, viz., to prevent the people from being sent away by means of force, and to change the disposition of the inhabitants of Africa, were carried out, you would effectually put down the slave trade?—We should effectually put down the slave trade I think by those means; they both must go together hand in hand.

1924. You feel pretty confident of that?—I am fully confident those measures, if properly managed and directed, would put an end to the slave trade entirely; that not a single slave would be sent from the coast.

1925. East or west?—East or west, if you extended the same plan.

1926. You have taken into consideration, of course, the possibility of there being a very high demand for slave labour?—As matter of course, in Brazil.

1927. Do you think, notwithstanding the slave trader might obtain a very high rate of profit, that even under such temptations as those it would be utterly impracticable for him to carry off a cargo?—It would be impossible, because, in the first place, you would have the coast well guarded; secondly, in no part of the coast could a factory be established; thirdly, the persons would be liable to punishment if you could effect that object; and fourthly, the people would have their attention turned to legitimate commerce; they would, in time, see that they could obtain the goods which they wanted by legitimate means, and they would not revert to the slave trade even afterwards, should the cruisers be removed; but at present I should say that many of them would revert to the slave trade if the cruisers were removed, because their attention has not yet been sufficiently called to legitimate commerce.

1928. Would not the execution of your plan contemplate a very large expense?—Not beyond what is now expended, I should say.

1929. You think that for the present expenditure your plan could be satisfactorily carried out?—Yes, or with very little increase.

1930. Mr. Gladstone.] Have you estimated at all the probable expense attending the foundation of those new trading posts which you have recommended?—They might range from 2,000*l.* to 5,000*l.*

1931. Per annum, each of them?—Yes; not beyond, certainly.

1932. I think 500*l.* a year was the salary which you proposed to assign to the resident magistrate, who would be the chief person?—Yes; and the post might be put under the superintendence of the commodore upon the station, because he has the facility of going from place to place and seeing that everything is carried on properly. When the colony was permanently established, it might then be placed under a governor; but in its early state it might be placed under the commodore on the station.

1933. What would be the rest of the staff besides the resident magistrate?—A resident magistrate, and an officer with about 30 men, would be quite enough. Then you would have traders establishing themselves at those posts as a matter of course, selling their goods to the native chiefs; and the native chiefs, when they were able to obtain those goods by proper means, would not sell their people. Those posts would also be guards, as it were, to prevent them from engaging in the slave trade.

1934. Would there be no civilians except the resident magistrate?—That would be all the establishment which you would require, and a few policemen. You would have a number of traders from Sierra Leone and other parts of the coast establishing themselves at those places, and extending legitimate commerce; then

then you might have an emigration agent, as I have already stated, to collect free emigrants, if such were to be had in that part of the country; and a practical agriculturist you should have, to point out to the chiefs the best mode of cultivation, a person from the West Indies.

1935. At each of the posts?—At each of those posts. They might do a great deal of good by pointing out to the chiefs the mode of collecting their produce, and the best means of preparing these things; they might be the means of changing the disposition of those chiefs upon the subject of the slave trade. I am fully of opinion that if the chiefs could obtain all the goods they require by proper means, they would not engage in the slave trade; they would be against selling their people, if they saw their labour was of value to them.

1936. When you speak of from 2,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* a year, do you include in that the whole expenses chargeable upon this country for an officer and 30 men?—You might place a small per-centage upon the goods introduced into those places; that would contribute.

1937. I am not now speaking of the source from which the cost would have to be defrayed. What would be the total expenditure of each of those establishments. Upon reflection, looking at the numbers of persons whom you have specified already, and at the estimate which you have given, would not 5,000*l.* a year be rather a moderate estimate for each of those posts?—I think you might so manage as not to exceed 5,000*l.*

1938. Would not that be the minimum?—£. 2,000 to 5,000*l.* I think.

1939. When you speak of 2,000*l.*, is it within the range of possibility that a resident magistrate with 500*l.* a year, policemen, an agriculturist, a military officer, and 30 men under him, could be supported on the coast of Africa at a total expense, after charging everything that belonged to it, of 2,000*l.* a year?—I say from 2,000*l.* to 5,000*l.*

1940. Is not 5,000*l.* much nearer the mark than 2,000*l.*, or below it?—The agriculturist would not receive a very large salary; perhaps you might get a person from the West Indies at from 100*l.* to 150*l.* a year, overseers or the head people, who are employed on the estates there. And those posts would be places for the establishment of schools by the Church Mission and the Wesleyan Mission.

1941. Do you contemplate having a commissioned officer at the head of the 30 men?—A lieutenant. By a small per-centage upon the goods introduced at those places, as a matter of course a portion of the expenses might be defrayed.

1942. *Chairman.*] Did I rightly understand you to say that you never heard of any case of slave trading at Sierra Leone, or that you never heard of any case of slave trade in connexion with the liberated Africans?—I understood the question to be to this effect, whether the liberated Africans engaged in the slave trade. I do not recollect that the liberated Africans have taken to engage in the slave trade; there have been one or two cases brought before the court of slave trading. I recollect some time back that I sentenced three men, but they were strangers to the colony; Mandingoes, I think.

1943. Residing in Sierra Leone?—They had just come to Sierra Leone; but, generally speaking, I do not think that the liberated Africans have taken to the slave trade. I could not speak positively that none of them have done so; but I should say, generally, that they have not taken to slave trading.

1944. With respect to the cruelties which may be attributed to the system of suppressing the slave trade which we have adopted, is there not a considerable degree of suffering and mortality occasionally to be observed on board those ships which have been captured to the southward, and afterwards brought up to be adjudicated at Sierra Leone?—Sometimes there is great mortality.

1945. Is not the voyage sometimes as long in respect of duration of time from the point where the slaves are captured as if the vessel were to proceed at once to Brazil?—I cannot answer the question exactly; I believe sometimes they have been some weeks coming up.

1946. Did you ever hear of a vessel being a month coming up?—I believe it must be in evidence before you, although I would not wish to give an opinion upon the matter, because I do not recollect.

1947. Do you recollect any fact?—I do not recollect any fact as to time at present.

1948. Do you remember the case of a prize made by the *Hydra*, and brought into Sierra Leone, in the year 1845, for adjudication?—If the facts were stated to me I should, perhaps, be able to recollect the case.

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1949. The circumstance was made remarkable from the fact of the slaves having entered into a struggle with one another, which occasioned the death of a large number of them. It was in the year 1845, at Sierra Leone?—I believe some persons were killed there.

1950. Do you remember the ship?—I do not remember the name; some persons died, I believe.

1951. Died in consequence of what?—They died from suffocation, I think, being below; I believe that that is the case now referred to.

1952. There were a great many who were killed; the men had assailed each other with billets of wood?—I do not recollect that.

1953. You must have been there at the time?—I think I was, but the circumstances may not have been brought to my knowledge.

1954. Colonel *Thompson*.] Can you suggest any defects capable of remedy, by which the process of adjudication in the court of Sierra Leone might be made more prompt and effective in locating the captured negroes?—If a Spanish vessel be seized it must be taken before a mixed court established between the two countries, Spain and England; there is a mixed court established at Sierra Leone for the adjudication of Spanish vessels, and another at the Havannah; so that if a vessel be taken under the Spanish flag it must be taken to either of those places. If a vessel be taken under the Portuguese flag it may be taken to Loando or to the Cape de Verd Islands, or to the Cape of Good Hope, where mixed courts are established for the adjudication of Portuguese vessels.

1955. Then what is your suggestion for improvement?—You must have the court stationed somewhere; for instance, if you take the Spanish court, you must have it stationed somewhere, and Sierra Leone is as good a place as any, I should say; you must station the court in a British colony; under the treaty, one court is established in a British colony and another in a Spanish colony.

1956. Is it your suggestion that certain mixed commission courts should be removed to Sierra Leone?—No, there is a mixed court already there.

1957. Then what is your suggestion for improvement?—The courts must remain as they are so long as you have treaties with Spain and Portugal; they must remain established in the places pointed out by the treaty.

1958. Then what is the point which you consider capable of improvement with reference to those courts?—In what way; a change of place?

1959. In any way. Are you aware of any defects capable of remedy connected with the Admiralty Courts which you can state?—I am not aware of any defects.

1960. You think that no alteration with respect to the courts, or their position, could be made, which would be an improvement?—I do not exactly understand the question.

1961. For instance, are there delays in the proceedings of those courts which you think could be altered?—None.

1962. You are not aware of any?—No; in the mixed courts, when a vessel is brought, the monition issues, and after eight days the vessel is adjudicated; in the Vice-Admiralty Court, according to the case, the monition runs 14 days, and after that period the case is heard and judgment given; the slaves are always landed immediately after arriving in the colony, if there be no contagious disease on board.

1963. Do you consider, that in general terms, the population of Sierra Leone keep themselves; that they gain their own living?—Decidedly.

1964. For example, are they or are they not supported by means of the expenditure of the government there?—No.

1965. Do they keep themselves distinctly from the expenditure of the government?—They keep themselves by their own labour; many are engaged in trade; others cultivate their provision grounds in the villages.

1966. What are the facilities for locating them upon the soil in the case, for instance, of an arrival of fresh parties?—My opinion is, that no additional number should be introduced into Sierra Leone; the new people should be taken away to the West Indies after emancipation.

1967. But supposing that they are not, as has been the case hitherto, what are the provisions for locating them upon the soil?—When a vessel arrives, after the vessel is condemned and the people are liberated, they are sent into the villages; pieces of ground are allotted them, and they are maintained for a little time, after that they must gain their own livelihood; but we have a large population at
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Sierra Leone now, and I think the newly-captured people brought to the colony for emancipation, after emancipation might be taken to the West Indies.

1968. Have the new arrivals access to the use of land, if they desire it?—If they are located in the villages.

1969. Is rice grown in the colony now?—Not much rice is grown in the colony; the rice is grown in the neighbourhood of the colony.

1970. Is it eaten in the colony?—It is.

1971. Why is it not grown?—Because the land in the neighbourhood of the colony is better for rice; it is swampy ground; a good deal of rice is cultivated in the Sherboro country and in the Timmanee country.

1972. If from any cause a large accession of newly liberated Africans were to take place, how do you think they could be disposed of?—I think that the population of Sierra Leone is large enough now to be left to itself, and that the new people might be taken to the West Indies after emancipation; I think that their condition would be bettered in the West Indies, whereas at Sierra Leone there is not much employment for them at present.

1973. Then does that amount to an opinion that they cannot efficiently employ themselves at Sierra Leone?—Yes; they have not a field for their industry at Sierra Leone, as they have in the West Indies; if you had plantations established at Sierra Leone, there would be plenty of ground for a larger population; but as you have not plantations there on which the new people could be employed, they would obtain employment, and, perhaps, raise themselves in the scale of society, if sent to the West Indies.

1974. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Has there been any attempt made to grow cotton in Sierra Leone?—At one time some attempt was made, but upon a very moderate scale, and not by any cotton cultivator, but by some of the officers of the colony. To cultivate a plantation, there must be capital, and also persons acquainted with agriculture to conduct the plantation.

1975. What was the quality of the cotton?—I believe the cotton was considered good; it was sent here, and it was reported that the cotton was very good.

1976. Has any sufficient inducement been held out to continue or extend the cultivation?—No; no cotton planter, no person with capital has ever attempted to establish a plantation. We require an example of the kind. The liberated Africans have made progress in trading, and acquired property. If some example were put before them of successful cultivation, they very likely would turn their attention to that also. Upon the whole peninsula, I think coffee plantations might be established, and the coffee of the colony is said to be very excellent.

1977. Have any of the liberated Africans of Sierra Leone been to the West Indies and returned again?—Some of them have.

1978. Have you yourself seen many?—I have seen some that have returned to the colony.

1979. What was their feeling about it?—They considered that the islands in the West Indies were somewhat different from what the colonies upon the coast were; they worked there for some time and they returned. I do not think that many persons from Sierra Leone would go to the West Indies, because although they would obtain higher wages, yet as living is dearer, they consider altogether that they are as well off at Sierra Leone as in the West Indies.

1980. You do not think that the report which those liberated Africans in Sierra Leone have made of the treatment which they have received in the West Indies, and of the success which they have met with, would induce any large number of the inhabitants of Sierra Leone to go over?—Not the residents of Sierra Leone; they are able to obtain 6 *d.* a day in Sierra Leone for a day's labour; they have their own provision grounds, and their houses; their condition could not be much bettered in the West Indies, the residents I mean; but the new people, I think, might be sent, because there they would have a field for their labour which they would not possess at Sierra Leone.

1981. Did not several of those parties who went over to the West Indies return with money?—Some of them did with a considerable sum of money, I believe.

1982. Lord *Courtenay*.] As to the influence of the existence of the colony of Sierra Leone upon the neighbouring states; beyond the limits of the peninsula of Sierra Leone itself, do you consider that much influence, if any, results from the existence of that colony?—Many of the people must have gained by intercourse with the colony, from seeing a different state of society there from that which exists in their own country.

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1983. Are you able from your own knowledge to say whether any beneficial influence, religious or moral, has resulted to the neighbouring states from the existence of Sierra Leone?—In the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone the people are generally Mahomedans, and, as a matter of course, they consider their religion to be much better than any other religion, and they adhere to their religion, but I believe in other parts the natives have been anxious to have missionaries sent to them. I think some little time ago a missionary, by the name of Mr. Ehemann, went up to Rokon, up the River Rokelle; he went there with the view of ascertaining whether the chiefs would permit the Church Missionary Society to have an establishment there, and after some delay in collecting the chiefs together, they came to the conclusion that it would be for the advantage of the place if the missionaries were to establish stations there, and I believe permission was given. Many of the people educated at Sierra Leone become secretaries or clerks to the chiefs; they are the persons who write their letters for them.

1984. You think then, that upon the whole the existence of that colony is a means of diffusing something of European civilization to the neighbouring states?—Decidedly.

1985. Do you look upon it as a means of extending commercial intercourse into the interior?—I think so too. You have a direct road from Sierra Leone to the interior, to the Timbo country. Many of the gold strangers come down from Timbo to Sierra Leone and purchase goods in exchange for gold, and they return.

1986. In your judgment is that fondness for legitimate trade increasing in the interior, or has it any perceptible effect upon it?—Decidedly. I would further beg to state, that I think if the cruisers were removed from the coast, the internal wars would be renewed; secondly, legitimate commerce would suffer; and thirdly, I think also that the West Indian colonies would suffer by such a measure. The chiefs at present are engaged in legitimate commerce. If the cruisers were removed, and the slave trade made free, although some of them would continue in their present trade, yet others would revert to the slave trade, and by engaging in wars to supply the slave market, they would seize the people of other chiefs; those chiefs, now well disposed, would retaliate, and would seize their people, and they would also in time return to the slave trade. I think also that the West Indian colonies would suffer if the cruisers were removed, because a number of Brazilian vessels would immediately come to the coast for slaves, with those slaves a greater quantity of sugar would be made, and that sugar would be sent to this country to compete with our sugar. It may be said that we might obtain labourers also, but I think not; the direct effect of removing the cruisers would be to increase the value of slaves upon the coast, and also to lower the value of slaves in Brazil. At present the parties who are the great gainers by the slave trade are the dealers, those persons who risk their capital in carrying on the trade; but when this risk would be at an end by making the trade free, slaves would fall in price in Brazil, and would increase in price upon the coast; and supposing even that we were permitted to redeem slaves, the West Indians could never pay the amount that would be charged for a person upon the coast, to compete with the Brazilians. It may be said that it would be a meritorious act to redeem a slave, and place him in the West Indies, but the price would be such that it could not be done; the Brazilians therefore would be the only gainers by such a measure. I think, looking at the matter upon the score of humanity, as well as of the interest of all parties concerned, it would be very impolitic to remove the cruisers from the coast.

1987. *Chairman.*] You think that if the cruisers were removed from the coast a much larger body of slaves would be imported into Brazil and into Cuba?—I have not the slightest doubt of it.

1988. Having that very strong opinion, are you aware that the slave trade with Cuba has almost entirely ceased?—In some measure, decidedly, at present, but it would be renewed.

1989. How do you explain the circumstance, that while the slave trade with Cuba has almost entirely ceased, although the productions of Cuba have very largely increased, the slave trade with Brazil has considerably increased?—At Cuba you have a limited quantity of ground, at Brazil you have a vast territory, uncultivated and not sufficiently peopled. As long as there is a great demand for the produce of that country, you will always find persons to establish plantations. Cuba is a small place, Brazil is a vast empire, and for years together you

you would never be able to people Brazil. I think that some 200,000 to 300,000 persons would be shipped from the coast annually, if the slave trade were left open altogether to the Brazilians.

1990. Do you think that in Cuba there has been no extension of agricultural operations in consequence of the restricted quantity of the available soil?—I believe more sugar has been made of late years.

1991. Has it not been doubled within ten years?—I believe so.

1992. Has not the exportation of tobacco been very largely increased?—Yes; but I believe a number of coffee plantations have been given up also.

1993. And have not mining operations been carried out to an unprecedented extent in Cuba within the last three years?—I understand that there has been an increase in those respects.

1994. Notwithstanding those increased demands for labour, still we find that with Cuba the slave trade has almost ceased?—Very likely they may think that it would be impolitic to introduce any very large number of Africans into that country, which is a limited territory. But I mean to say this, that the slave trade is not altogether given up in Cuba, and if the trade were free, other slaves would be introduced, because they have a very large proportion of men, in comparison to women, and, as matter of course, they must supply the hands wanted to carry on their plantations.

1995. I think you have explained the circumstance of slaves not being imported, by the fact that the government consider it impolitic that they should be imported?—Latterly, and from a desire to carry out the treaties with us; but I think if the trade were free, and we gave up our present measures, they would import other people.

1996. Why should they change their policy?—Because the slave population would decrease; if there were a great demand for their produce and the slave population decreased, it would be necessary that they should be supplied with new hands.

1997. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] May not one of the reasons why the importation of slaves has not been so numerous to Cuba as to Brazil be, that the difficulty of transporting them to Cuba is considerably greater than that of transporting them to Brazil?—I believe so.

1998. Is not it also notorious that of late the Spanish government has not given encouragement to the introduction of slaves into Cuba, whereas, as far as we have ascertained, no impediment has been put in the way of importing slaves into Brazil?—I believe that is correct.

1999. With regard to the increase of the cultivation of sugar, have not you been given to understand that that has been in a great measure in consequence of the failure of the coffee, and the labour of the slave being employed upon sugar?—Transferred from coffee plantations to sugar plantations.

2000. *Mr. Gladstone.*] What do you understand by “the failure of the coffee”?—That many estates have been given up. I believe it is in evidence that a number of coffee plantations have been given up, and the persons transferred to sugar plantations.

2001. You simply refer to the fact of a transfer, not to any failure of crops?—I do not know exactly whether the crops have failed. I believe that by the hurricane some of the coffee plantations have suffered; but I also believe that a vast number of coffee plantations have been given up, and the slaves transferred to sugar plantations.

2002. That is all that you meant?—Yes.

Thomas Keogh, Esq. M.D., called in; and Examined.

2003. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] ARE you a Surgeon in Her Majesty's Army?—I am; in the 2d West India Regiment.

2004. You have been upon the coast of Africa?—Yes, I have been stationed there.

2005. Have you been up its principal rivers?—No; I have been only stationed on the coast. I have not been up the rivers.

2006. Have you paid attention to “the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave trade”?—Yes, I have. I am inclined to believe that we must ultimately look to legitimate commerce as a means

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means of finally suppressing it. I do not believe that that alone will be sufficient, or that that will be immediately sufficient; it will take a very long time; but I do believe that we may largely increase our present legitimate commerce by judicious means. It is the opinion of all merchants upon the coast, those who are intimately acquainted with it, that we can do so, and I should think that very important benefits would gradually result from turning the people to legitimate commerce.

2007. The Committee understand that you have been resident upon the coast?—I have.

2008. In the service?—In Her Majesty's service, stationed at Sierra Leone.

2009. You refer to commerce as most influential in finally extinguishing the slave trade?—Yes.

2010. Taking the state of things as you find them, what measures would you recommend in the meantime for the suppression of the slave trade?—I would not be in favour of doing away with the present suppressive squadron on the coast, because I should fear the immediate effect might be the making an increased demand for slaves; but I believe that the squadron never can succeed, managed as it at present is, at least, in effectually suppressing the slave trade; and I believe that we can only ultimately look to changing the feelings of the people in respect to it as the means of suppression.

2011. When you say that you believe that the present squadron can never succeed, do you wish the Committee to understand that you regard the squadron as deficient in numbers and in power of communication with each other, and that you recommend an increase of such squadron?—No; as far as I understand the question—but I do not wish very much to enter into questions on which I am imperfectly informed—I am inclined myself to believe that the suggestions which have been given by Captain Denman, and other naval officers, as to the management of the present squadron, would be likely very much to check the slave trade.

2012. So far then as you are at present informed, you wish the Committee to understand that you do not recommend the removal of the present blockading squadron?—I do not.

2013. Have you paid attention to the subject of treaties with native powers, as one of the means of enabling that squadron to exercise its functions more effectively?—Yes; I have given some attention to it.

2014. Have you seen the good effect, in any instance, of any treaty contracted by Her Majesty's commanders on that coast with any of the native chiefs?—I should doubt the fact of native chiefs ever observing treaties made with us, but I believe that treaties may be of service by enabling us afterwards to compel them to observe such parts as we may consider wise and necessary for the purpose.

2015. Do you consider yourself entitled, from your judgment, to give any opinion to the Committee with respect to the expediency of increasing the stringency of the laws against slave dealers?—No; I am not informed upon the subject.

2016. You wish then the Committee to regard your evidence as chiefly intended to show them the value of commerce as a means of extinguishing the slave trade?—Yes; I should wish to show that I believe a settlement may be formed up the chief river in Africa, the Niger, which would lead to a very large commerce, and which would enable us to enter into relations with the more important powers in the interior, who at present are the chief makers of the slaves, and that by that means we might gradually hope to effect the thing without any loss, but rather with a gain to this country.

2017. Have you published a pamphlet on the subject of such commercial establishment at the confluence of the Chadda and the Niger?—I have.

2018. In collecting the materials for that pamphlet, have you been in personal intercourse with those who have been on the spot?—I have.

2019. And from the concurrent testimony of such persons, do you arrive at the conclusion that it is expedient and most beneficial to endeavour to establish such a depôt of commerce at the confluence?—I have been in communication with the merchants who reside at Sierra Leone, and who are largely employed in trade along the whole western coast; with some Europeans who have been up the Niger; with native traders from different countries on the Niger, and also with some of the captains of our merchant ships, and others who have been trading

trading in the rivers, and I think that the whole appear to be perfectly satisfied that by the establishment of such a settlement we may very largely increase our trade; that the expense of that settlement need not be very large, and that it would be almost immediately remunerative to this country.

2020. Does the evidence which you have received enable you to state to this Committee, as your own conviction, that such settlement could be made and maintained without a large risk of human life?—Yes; I am perfectly satisfied that there would be little or no risk of loss of human life, if judiciously managed.

2021. Do you wish the Committee to understand that your projected enterprise there should be conducted wholly, or in a great proportion, by native Africans, or in any and what proportion by Europeans?—There must be a few Europeans, but those persons should be persons already acclimated to the coast, and who have had the fever, the other persons should be either mulattoes, of which there are a considerable number of persons very intelligent at Sierra Leone and other places, or native blacks, many of whom are also exceedingly intelligent persons, and I consider that a moderate military force would be required.

2022. It has been stated that a small proportion only of the slave trade, if any, at present passes down the Niger; is that your opinion, founded upon any evidence which has reached you?—I am inclined to believe that a very considerable proportion of the slave trade, from what I have been told, is still carried on in the Bight of Benin; that it has been put a stop to in a great measure in the Bight of Biafra, but whether in consequence of the effect of the squadron, or in consequence of commerce, I am unable to state; that is to say, which preceded the other, I cannot of my own knowledge state.

2023. But you attribute the suppression of the slave trade, so far as it has been suppressed in the Bight of Biafra, to the concurrent operation of the blockading squadron on the one hand, and of legitimate commerce on the other?—I am inclined to believe that both are necessary.

2024. Do you conceive that a large proportion of the slaves which may pass down the confluent stream forming the Niger, are carried from the banks of the Chadda?—I think the Feelatahs, whose capital, Soccatoo, is about 600 miles from the coast, are perhaps the principal captors of slaves in all Central Africa.

2025. The question referred to the Chadda?—I believe that the people of Bornou make a large number of slaves, and that a considerable portion of their slaves probably pass down the Chadda; but we have so little information with respect to the Chadda, that I am unable to say positively.

2026. In what year did you arrive at the colony of Sierra Leone?—In the beginning of 1846.

2027. What is the period of your experience?—I was only there for one year.

2028. Have you any further observations to make in reference to any question which may have been addressed to you by the Committee through me?—No.

2029. Mr. Jackson.] Where would you fix this commercial settlement of which you speak?—At the confluence of the Niger and the Chadda, which is about 200 miles from the coast in a direct line.

2030. The whole of your information has been derived from other parties?—From other parties entirely.

2031. It is an experiment?—I do not think it is; I think that where there are a number of persons, many of them of great intelligence, who have been some of them up the country themselves, and where the testimony of all concurs, it can scarcely be called an experiment.

2032. In coming to the conclusion that a settlement there would be beneficial, have you taken into account the nature of the commercial transactions which have already taken place with the natives upon the banks of the Niger, by those parties who went up with the first expedition, which sailed from Liverpool, and also through Captain Becroft, who went up in the "Ethiope" last year?—I should wish to state, that all the expeditions which have been up the Niger have certainly failed. Two of them were commercial expeditions; one of them failed in consequence of the death of persons. I have seen Mr. Laird and Mr. Oldfield; I have conversed with them both, and they are both satisfied that their failure was in consequence of the imperfect information which they then had with respect to the trade, and if persons acclimated had even then gone out, and instead of looking merely to ivory, they had combined that with the vegetable oil trade, they should have succeeded.

2033. Have you ever ascertained from parties who have been up the Niger

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how far the palm-oil tree is found up the Niger?—Yes; I think it is at every part which is properly called the Delta of the Niger, which is 200 miles up; but we have been informed by other travellers that the palm-oil tree, though not in any great abundance or luxuriance, does extend one or two hundred miles further up than that.

2034. Seeing that the whole of the palm oil has to be exported from the mouths of the rivers, do you think that if a settlement were established at the spot which you name, you would be able to compete with the native merchant in supplying that palm oil for manufacture?—Yes. I would also wish to state that I do not look to palm oil only in speaking of vegetable oils, but I believe that the shea-butter tree would produce equally as valuable an oil as the palm. For all purposes for which Russian tallow is used, the shea-butter would be much more valuable than palm; it is, I have been told by persons engaged in the trade, at least 5 *l.* a ton more valuable. This is only to be obtained in the interior; it is to be obtained, we have positive proof, in every part of the interior; all our travellers concur in this, that we should be able to get down by the Niger and by the Chadda, by water communication of at least 3,000 miles, from all parts of the country, this vegetable butter, and bring it down to within 200 miles of the coast; the native traders themselves would do so for the purpose of exchanging it for our goods; there would be little or no expense in afterwards carrying it down to any of the large rivers, say the Benin, by means of the large canoes or boats of 60 or 80 tons, which we know are used by the natives on the Niger, and then putting it into our vessels, and I believe that we should more than compete with the persons who trade on the coast at present; because a considerable part of the expense I think is now owing to the length of time which the vessels are detained in the river, and in a great part to the mortality also; if, therefore, by having the oil collected at one of our depôts, we were able at once to load a vessel which came from Liverpool or London with the palm oil and vegetable oil, and other articles, so that the vessel would not be detained for any great length of time in the mouths of the rivers, it is the opinion of those merchants, and I believe they are correct, that the palm oil or butter oil could be obtained more cheaply, and I am perfectly satisfied, from medical evidence, that a considerable portion of the mortality would be saved.

2035. You are not aware, then, that there are one or two merchants in Liverpool who already adopt that plan; that they send out a vessel to Africa, dismantle her, make her a depôt or settlement, that the articles are collected on board of her, and that the ship is not detained longer than in discharging her outward cargo and taking in her homeward cargo?—Yes, I am aware of that; the Liverpool merchants have told me that a vessel has been out only eight months; however, that is not very common.

2036. Have you ever turned your attention to conversing with parties who have been in the interior, upon the subject of cotton?—Yes.

2037. Indigo?—Yes.

2038. Coffee?—Yes; I believe we might eventually look forward to a very large trade in those articles in the interior, but I believe that the first thing that we must look for, is for articles like vegetable oils, gum, and ivory, which do not require much care and cultivation.

2039. The first thing which you would look to would be that which the natives themselves now have the power, from your knowledge, of producing?—Certainly.

2040. If you wished to make a permanent establishment, you would take steps for the producing of the other articles that I have named; if I understand you rightly, you say that instead of having an English settlement altogether, you would have a settlement composed of a mixed class; you would then, I suppose, think that it would be a prudent step to take, to give the greatest facilities for the introduction of a class of labourers from the West Indies, who, being well inured to the tropical climate, would readily stand the climate of Africa, and being already instructed in the cultivation of the sugar, the coffee, and the cotton, would be enabled to take their knowledge, and use it beneficially in Africa?—I am sure that such a thing would be of great service, but that was not immediately my object. My object merely was a commercial depôt, a depôt to which the English merchants could bring their cottons, and hardware, and other things, and to which the natives could bring their produce for exchange. Means might be used for inducing a more careful cultivation of cotton, rice, and other articles among
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the natives. I am sure it could be done, but I think that would be more a question for private merchants than for the Government; it does not form any part of the plan which I propose.

2041. You are perhaps aware that in the 200 miles which you go up the Niger, from the mouth of the Benin, or the Nun, you pass through many various tribes or nations?—Yes.

2042. Each of those tribes or nations demands tribute for everything that passes?—Yes.

2043. How would you regulate that; would you make it compulsory upon them to pass upwards and downwards all the British goods and produce of that country?—I believe that there has been no difficulty found by Mr. Jamieson's steamer, that they did not demand tribute from him, and a very few hundred dollars in the whole, I believe, would get over any difficulty of that kind. I do not like to use force without an absolute necessity. I do not believe that there would be any such absolute necessity. From what I have seen of the natives themselves, supposing that those upon the mouth of the Niger are about equally civilized, I am satisfied there would be no difficulty.

2044. Have you been up the rivers?—I have been up some of the small rivers.

2045. You have not been up the great rivers flowing into the Bights of Biafra and Benin?—No, but I have been told by others who have been up, Mr. Oldfield, Mr. Laird, and the captains of ships, that they anticipate no difficulty at all.

2046. All your knowledge is derived from the opinions of others, not from your own personal observation?—Yes; but some of those others, as I said before, are native merchants, who have come down from those countries. Some of the people of Hoosa are at this moment in Sierra Leone, trading there. A part of the information I have derived from men who, like Mr. Oldfield, and Mr. Laird, and others, have been up themselves, and as I find that all the evidence coincides, I have very little doubt that they are correct.

2047. You have come to this conclusion, that if a settlement were established there, you have no doubt whatever of having a great commercial trade with the natives, and greatly extending our commercial operations?—I am quite sure that if we do not injudiciously interfere with the natives, that if we show them that our object is commerce, and commerce only, and if we attempt nothing more with the natives in the interior, we shall do so.

2048. *Chairman.*] Did you ever hear of any quantity of coffee having been produced by the natives themselves?—I never could get any positive information with respect to coffee; I do not believe that it is largely produced in the interior; I believe that there is a good deal produced in Abyssinia and that part of the country, and that probably a considerable portion of the so-called Mocha coffee comes from some of the eastern coasts of Africa, but I have no information.

2049. *Mr. Jackson.*] Were you ever at St. Thomas's?—No.

2050. Or at Prince's Island?—No.

2051. Are you aware that coffee is produced there?—Yes; I have seen coffee produced at Sierra Leone; I have no doubt it could be produced; I have not the least doubt that every part of the country will produce what may be called almost every tropical production. I am only now speaking of the things which we may immediately look for as an absolutely paying commercial speculation.

2052. *Chairman.*] We understand that you rely for the suppression of the slave trade partly on force, and still more on the promotion of commercial intercourse between this country and Africa?—Yes.

2053. With a view to the suppression of the slave trade, are you not of opinion that it would be very desirable to engage the slaveholders of Cuba and Brazil in the cause of suppression?—Certainly.

2054. In the report of the Commissioners of Sierra Leone in the year, I think, 1845, there is a statement to the Secretary of State that we must look rather to the slaveholders themselves than to any exertions of our own for the suppression of the slave trade; do you concur in that feeling?—That eventually it may become the interest of those people, as it is becoming their interest in Cuba, not to import slaves, I do not at all doubt, but I fear that in Brazil a very long time may elapse before that would be the case, and I fear that in the present prices of Brazilian produce, if we removed our fleet from the coast, there being a considerable demand for slaves, there would be a great increase of the slave trade. It might be only temporary; we might glut the market; we might by doing so make it the interest

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after some time of the slave proprietors of Brazil not to allow more slaves to be imported in order to raise the value of the slaves at present in the country, or we might alarm their fears by having too great a number of slaves in the country; but it would be all a work of time, and I fear that the immediate effect would be that there being a large demand for slaves, a large number would be immediately imported.

2055. Notwithstanding any exertions made by the governments of the countries to keep them out?—If the government of the country were really sincere in keeping them out, of course it could succeed at once; but I doubt it.

2056. Are you aware that in 1830 the Brazilian government, in accordance with a treaty entered into with this country in the year 1826, gave a very important check to the operations of the slave trade?—I was not aware of that.

2057. Are you aware that at this moment, in consequence of the exertions of the government of Cuba, the slave trade has very considerably diminished?—I am aware that the slave trade has very considerably diminished in Cuba, but I am not sure that it proceeds very much from the government; however, I have no very positive information, no positive knowledge. I am inclined to think that it is more from the unwillingness of the people themselves to import very largely, that they are afraid.

2058. During the time that you were on the coast did you see much of the slave-trading operations?—There was only one vessel with slaves brought into Sierra Leone during the time that I was off the coast.

2059. Brought in for adjudication?—Yes, at the Admiralty Court.

2060. Do you recollect the name of that vessel?—No.

2061. Did you go on board of her?—No; I was in fever at the time, but I afterwards brought a considerable number of the slaves over to the West Indies as soldiers.

2062. Of those slaves?—Of the slaves from that vessel.

2063. Did they form pretty good recruits?—Very good indeed; we got 180 very fine young men.

2064. Were they volunteers?—Yes.

2065. Strictly so?—Strictly volunteers; they had their choice of either settling at Sierra Leone, or of becoming emigrants to the West Indies as labourers, or of becoming soldiers; they were strictly volunteers.

2066. To what part of the West Indies did they go?—Part of them I took as military labourers to Barbadoes, and also detachments for the free labourers, some in Barbadoes, and some in Jamaica, and some at Nassau.

2067. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Are there many native Africans in the West India regiments in the West Indies?—They are almost entirely native Africans; very few of the soldiers have been born in the West Indies. There is no difficulty at any time in getting the slaves who are brought in to volunteer in our regiments; they appear perfectly willing and anxious to do so.

2068. *Chairman*.] And they are good soldiers?—Yes, generally speaking.

2069. Do you imagine that there would be any great difficulty in inducing the slaves brought into Sierra Leone to volunteer as free emigrants to the West Indies?—No, I am satisfied that there would not be the least; they merely go into the regiments in preference, because some of the old soldiers go down, and though they are strictly volunteers, they tell the usual recruiting stories, that they wear fine clothes, and have little or nothing to do, and they usually go; but I have no doubt that if that were not offered to them, they would become emigrants.

2070. Did those men express any disappointment when they got to the West Indies?—Not at all; I meet great numbers of those who had been brought over as soldiers in the West India regiments; they are all very well contented and satisfied, and those who are labourers in the West Indies I believe are very well contented, generally speaking; at least they are not discontented with their labour; a black is naturally lazy, and if not made to work, he will not do very much.

2071. Is he more indisposed to toil than a white man?—He is more indisposed to toil than an Englishman, but I am not aware that he is more indisposed than the people of some other European countries.

2072. Were any of the soldiers who had been discharged willing to engage as labourers in the West Indies?—No; they generally get small portions of land; I cannot speak of my own knowledge as to that; they are generally old when they are discharged.

2073. What

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2073. What part of the West Indies are you best acquainted with?—I have not been very long in the West India islands.

2074. Were you at Trinidad?—No; only at Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Nassau,

2075. Would the introduction of a number of Africans into those islands be considered advantageous to the planters?—I know that the planters themselves consider so; but I believe they are even more anxious to be enabled to make regulations by which the slave would not be allowed to wander about the country in the way that he does now.

2076. Vagrantly?—Yes; by Vagrant Acts. I believe, from the knowledge which I have of the Africans (and I have a pretty intimate one), and from my brother officers, who have been with them for many years, that Vagrant Acts which would throw a difficulty to a certain degree in the way of the black wandering about, would be a great advantage to him, if done with moderate kindness.

2077. You think that the formation of commercial factories on the coast of Africa would be an important auxiliary to the suppression of the slave trade?—I am sure they would, but I am not sure that it is the duty of this country to establish any commercial factory which would not immediately pay itself.

2078. You would not recommend it?—No, I would not at present; I have no doubt it would be good for the African, but I think it would be asking this country to make too great a sacrifice. Besides, I think it more important to endeavour to get into communication with the people of the interior, than merely to confine ourselves to the people on the coast. I think we have abundant evidence that the people of the interior are more civilized generally than the people on the coast. Those on the coast, in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and the Old Calabar, are very much improving, in consequence of the present legitimate commerce which they carry on; but generally speaking the people on the coast are in a very inferior state to the people of the interior; I do not mean to say that those in the interior are civilized. The people on the coast, except in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, are nearly naked; they merely have a cloth on the waist; those in the interior, on the other hand, are almost entirely dressed in cotton clothes.

2079. Would the chiefs on the coasts, who act as agents for the slave trade, be willing to renounce those practices unless they were indemnified for it?—No, not unless they were indemnified in some way; I am satisfied they would not.

2080. Do you think it would be sufficient for naval officers on the station to enter into treaties with those chiefs, to induce them as a matter of morality and principle to abandon the slave trade; do you think that if the natives concurred in those treaties, they would respect them afterwards?—No, not for a day, unless they were obliged to do so; I believe that they will make any treaty which you pay them for making, and that you afterwards can enforce them to observe those treaties; and I also believe, that although they would not perhaps look forward as more civilized persons would do, yet that they may be brought to see, that if legitimate commerce be established, it will not be their interest to sell their slaves, and that they will gradually cease to sell them.

2081. Do they not obtain a considerable revenue for the slaves passing through their hands?—Very considerable.

2082. Of course they would not give up that revenue without some compensation for it?—Certainly not; there is another question with respect to that; I believe that many of the kings and chiefs could not give it up if they were inclined; they would not be allowed to do so by their nobility, as we may call them. For instance, the King of Dahomey told Duncan, our traveller, that his chiefs would not allow him to give up the slave trade; when a number of slaves are taken in war the king or head chief has a certain number, but each of the chiefs who take the slaves gets his proportion; and however willing the king might be to give up the trade, I do not believe that the chiefs would allow him to do so, or that he dare do so; that is, speaking of the larger powers.

2083. You never were on board a slave vessel?—No; in the case of the only one which came in, I was in fever at the time.

2084. And you never saw a barracoon?—I never saw a barracoon.

2085. Mr. Jackson.] How far south have you been?—I was only at Sierra Leone.

2086. Chairman.] Did you go to the Gambia?—No, I did not.

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2087. You must have conversed, of course, with many persons who have seen the operations of the slave trade?—Yes.

2088. Was it supposed that any parties in Sierra Leone were concerned in the slave trade?—In the external slave trade I do not believe there is much concern; but as respects the internal slave trade, I know that the Foulahs and the Mandingoes who reside at Sierra Leone boast themselves that they are concerned in buying and selling slaves; they have boasted so to me and others.

2089. A slave trade exists among the nations of Africa?—Yes, among themselves; and that at Sierra Leone some of them may be sold, I do not doubt.

2090. Do you consider that those operations tend to give facilities for the external and foreign slave trade?—As to the internal slave trade, it is the custom of their country; it is one of their institutions, and we can no more do it away than we can do away with domestic servitude in this country. I do not think that the two things have a great deal of relation together. I should wish to mention with respect to the advantage of a settlement at the confluence of the Chadda and the Niger, that we know that some of the powers on the coast, such as the King of Dahomey, and I believe also the King of Ashantee, will not allow English goods to pass up through their territories, and will not allow the native ivory and other things to pass down, and that the Feelatahs, who reside immediately behind Dahomey on the coast, got any English goods which they had, only by the tributaries of the Niger; they were brought a very long distance, while they might have got them immediately up; and I believe, therefore, that unless we can get water communication into the interior, we cannot hope to introduce our goods in anything like the same quantity as we should if we had water communication to those countries.

2091. *Mr. Jackson.*] You have gathered I suppose from parties who have been there, that our commercial relations with Africa might be increased tenfold?—I believe that they might be increased at least tenfold. I believe that there are people in the interior sufficiently civilized to be anxious to trade with us. The limit of trade with any country, of course, is their having articles to give us in exchange for ours.

2092. You would increase the number of articles by turning their attention to butter, cotton, coffee, and maize?—And all tropical productions. At first we should seek to obtain articles which require little care in preparation, and which they could immediately give us, such as vegetable oils, gold, and ivory, and endeavour to turn their attention to cotton, coffee, maize, dyes, and all tropical productions, which we might in time obtain from them in unlimited quantities.

Mr. Joseph Smith, called in; and Examined.

Mr. Joseph Smith.

2093. *Chairman.*] YOU are a native of Africa?—I am.

2094. Of what part of Africa?—Cape Coast.

2095. Are you acquainted with any other portion of the coast of Africa?—No, not further than Accra.

2096. How long have you been in this country?—Upwards of five months.

2097. When did you leave Africa?—I left it on the 27th of August last.

2098. You must have seen in the course of your residence on the coast something of the operations of the slave trade?—Not in that part of Africa.

2099. Have you seen it in any part of the coast of Africa?—No. I believe since the Abolition Act was passed the shipping of slaves has not taken place there.

2100. Personally you have not seen anything of it in any part?—No, not in any shape.

2101. You speak English perfectly well; are you acquainted with any of the native languages of Africa?—With my own.

2102. What is your own?—The Fantee.

2103. Do you know anything of the interior of the country?—Very little; but I have communication with the interior by means of trading with the people from the interior.

2104. Have you yourself been engaged in trade?—Yes, I have.

2105. What is your own occupation?—A merchant on the coast.

2106. Have you been engaged in commerce on that coast for many years?—It is nearly four years that I have been in business.

2107. Are

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2107. Are you acting on your own account, or as the agent of the mercantile houses in this country?—On my own account; but of course I get supplied from a house in this country.

2108. What is the nature of the commerce that you carry on?—It is legitimate.

2109. What is the nature of the exports from Africa?—We export gold dust, ivory, palm oil, and maize.

2110. Is the exportation of those articles increasing at Cape Coast?—It has been increasing very much for the last 10 years.

2111. Are facilities opening out for the conveyance of those articles from the interior?—Very much indeed.

2112. Do you find great readiness on the part of the natives to engage in commerce?—Yes.

2113. And there has not been for many years in that part of the country any slave trading?—No.

2114. Do you attribute the cessation of the slave trading entirely to the introduction of commercial intercourse with the two countries?—Partly to that, and partly to the establishment of the forts on the coast.

2115. Does the squadron ever appear off the coast?—They generally pass there on their way down to the leeward coast.

2116. They do not cruise off the coast?—Not much.

2117. There is no occasion for it?—There is no occasion for it.

2118. Would there be any facility in obtaining free emigrants from your part of the country to the West Indies?—There might be if the trial were made; but it occurs to me that there are large fields open there, and that it would be much better if the people were instructed in agriculture by any person from this country or any civilized part, and the country would be much improved.

2119. You think it would be more advantageous that the people should be employed on their own soil, than that they should be sent to the West Indies?—Yes, that is my feeling.

2120. More advantageous for the purpose of civilizing Africa?—Just so.

2121. And you consider that the occupation of the people in industrial pursuits in Africa has a tendency to diminish the illicit trade in slaves?—Just so; because when the Ashantees, who are in the interior, come down to trade with us, they take very good care to bring nothing but gold dust; they have communication with the people behind them in the interior, and sometimes they are offered slaves, but they would not have them, because when they come down to the coast that is not a trade that we are engaged in; consequently, they are very anxious to get gold dust to come to trade with us.

2122. Do you understand that the Ashantees do not trade in slaves at all?—No, they do not.

2123. They do not carry down slaves to any other part of the coast?—No, they do not.

2124. Have you ever been in that country?—No.

2125. But you have seen a great many of the people, of course?—A great many.

2126. And that is your impression, that they do not engage in the slave trade?—Yes.

2127. Are there any of the tribes in the neighbourhood of Cape Coast who are concerned in the slave trading?—Not any.

2128. Do you on the whole, therefore, consider it more advisable to promote industrial habits in Africa, than to transfer the people of Africa to the West Indies. If the question were put to you, whether there would be a difficulty in obtaining such emigrants, how would you answer?—The difficulty would be from the West Indies having been the spot where slaves were generally exported. Those people would be afraid that when they were there they should not have the opportunity of coming back again to their own country.

2129. They would fear that they would be carried away into a species of slavery?—Yes.

2130. Would it be difficult to disabuse their minds of that feeling?—It would be, but if the trial were made and a few of them were sent over to the West Indies, and at a given time to come back again and bring a favourable report, there would be no doubt that others would venture to go.

2131. Are they generally a fine race of men about Cape Coast?—They are.

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2132. You have heard the opinion of the last gentleman who gave evidence here, that they were rather an indolent people in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. Does that attach to the people of Cape Coast?—There are parties who visit that part of the world, and in consequence of their short visit, and the crude information that they get from parties who do not understand them properly, they misrepresent matters very much.

2133. On the whole, are you of opinion that they are more indisposed to toil than other people?—They only want the capital, and also the knowledge.

2134. Have you ever been on board a slave ship?—No; but acting under the late Governor Maclean, when he was the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, there were some suspicious vessels that anchored there, and we had to send off to search them.

2135. What was the result; did they turn out to be slavers?—The result was that one of them, the *Guiana*, was sent to Sierra Leone.

2136. As a suspicious vessel?—Yes.

2137. Was she condemned?—I believe she was eventually condemned.

2138. She had no slaves on board?—No.

2139. But she was equipped for the trade?—Yes.

2140. Did you see her?—I saw her. That vessel was afterwards sold at Sierra Leone, and was christened by the name of “*John Foster*,” and came to Coast again as a legitimate trader.

2141. To what country did the vessel belong; do you know what colours she carried?—She was under American colours, I believe.

2142. Do you know what they call the slave deck?—No, I am not acquainted with that.

2143. Did you see anything on board the vessel which would have led you to conclude that she was engaged in the slave trade?—I was not on board myself, but from the evidence of some of the seamen, it left no doubt that she was engaged in the slave trade.

2144. How far does your country extend?—It extends from Cape Apollonia to the River Volta nearly.

2145. Do you know what is the distance?—Between 200 and 300 miles in line of coast from east to west.

2146. And how far into the interior?—About 60 miles from Cape Coast there is a large river which separates the Fantee country from that of the Ashantee; the River Bara.

2147. Do you understand that there is no slave trading carried on upon the Gold Coast?—No.

2148. Or the Ivory Coast?—I am not aware of any.

2149. You do not know?—No.

2150. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Will you describe to the Committee the mode in which you carry on your trade with the interior?—We get British manufactures, such as cloth goods, ardent spirits, gunpowder, and hardware of various descriptions.

2151. How do you make your bargains with the people in the interior; do the agents come down from them to Cape Coast to purchase goods from you, or do you send agents of yours into the interior and make bargains with them for sending their produce?—Chiefly they come down themselves to make bargains with us and purchase so many goods, and they are carried by their people. Sometimes a trader brings down with him about 50 or 60 men, and those people come and convey the goods into the interior.

2152. Do they carry them off in a caravan with mules?—No.

2153. Upon the heads of men?—On the heads of men.

2153*. Do many of those traders come from far in the interior?—Yes.

2154. From what distance have you ever heard of any?—They all come from the territory of Ashantee.

2155. None beyond that?—None beyond that, because the King of Ashantee will not permit anybody to go beyond his territories.

2156. If the slave trade were allowed at Cape Coast, would it be probable that the King of Ashantee would like to resume it; would he be willing to send slaves down in case it were permitted?—I dare say he would.

2157. You think that generally the chiefs of Africa would wish to renew the slave trade if they were not prevented by the presence of English cruisers, or the existence of British settlements?—I do not think so; I think it is owing to the

the inducements which are held out to them by those European nations who like the traffic that those people are induced to pursue the trade; but I find that where there is a legitimate trade carried on, the people are more disposed to engage in it than the slave trade; they find that it has been the ruin of Africa; they have expressed that themselves.

2158. Then you attribute their engaging in the slave trade more to the encouragement which they meet with from Europeans than to their own wish to prosecute that trade?—Just so.

2159. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Have you ever been at Abbeokuta?—No, but I have a brother who has been there.

2160. From his information, is it your belief that the settlement of liberated Africans, removed from Sierra Leone to that place, is advancing in general prosperity?—Yes, but there is an opposition to meet with in going from Badaggry to Abbeokuta; the roads which they have to pass are infested with people of very bad principle, who, if they could, would capture them and send them off again.

2161. Do you consider that the presence of an English squadron on the coast has a tendency to render safe the transit of liberated Africans from one part of the coast to the other?—Yes, it has a great effect upon the people, although the slave trade is carried on; but I think that the presence of the English cruisers has a very great effect upon the people; were it not for that, the amount of the slave trade would be very much increased.

2162. How long have you known the coast?—I have known the coast 13 years.

2163. If it be not disagreeable to you, will you state to the Committee your history; where were you born in short?—At Cape Coast.

2164. Were you under Governor Maclean in any civil employment?—Yes, I was; I was educated in one of the colonial schools there, and after some time I became one of the teachers; eventually I had the management of the school as master, and when peace was settled between the Ashantees and the British, two young men were sent from Ashantee as hostages, with 600 or 400 ounces of gold, I forget which now, to Governor Maclean; those youths were placed under my care, and when Governor Maclean was about to visit this country, it was arranged that those youths should be sent over here to get instruction, and that I should accompany them in the meanwhile to get some information for the benefit of the schools; and I accompanied them here about 12 years ago. I stayed in this country about 14 months, and after that I returned to the Coast again. On my return I resumed my duties in the scholastic department, and was also employed as acting secretary to the President and Council of the time; I was there until the change of Government took place recently; then I gave up my appointment and entered into business; and it is what I am engaged in now.

2165. Were the two young men to whom you have referred the sons of the King of Ashantee, who were afterwards in this country?—They were nephews.

2166. Were they known here by the name of the Ashantee princes?—Yes.

2167. And they returned about five years ago?—Yes.

2168. Are they living now?—They are.

2169. Do you know anything of the American mission in Liberia?—Some of the missionaries passed down the coast from that part.

2170. Do you know anything of the Danish mission at Accra?—I have not been to that part where they have their mission, but I have seen some of the missionaries.

2171. Do you know the efforts of the missionaries of Sierra Leone?—No.

2172. Your information is limited then to Cape Coast?—Yes.

2173. Along what is called the Gold Coast the Committee understand that there has been no slave trade for some time?—No slave trade.

2174. To what do you attribute the cessation of the slave trade on that portion of the coast of Africa?—Chiefly to the British establishments there, and the influence which, ever since Sir Charles M'Carthy was on the coast, has been felt by the people around the country.

2175. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Do you find an increasing disposition to trade on the part of the inhabitants in the interior?—Yes.

2176. And do you find that there is an improved demand for fresh articles from this country?—Every year.

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2177. What is, generally speaking, the character of the goods with which you supply them, beyond those of quite the ordinary description of clothing, spirits, and hardware?—Cotton goods chiefly.
2178. Improved articles of clothing?—Yes.
2179. *Chairman.*] Are cotton and woollen goods both imported?—Not much of the woollen goods, all the Manchester goods.
2180. *Mr. Jackson.*] Earthenware?—Yes.
2181. *Chairman.*] Is any gunpowder imported?—Yes.
2182. And fire-arms?—And fire-arms.
2183. Are clothes made, such as can be used?—It is only on the coast that a few of the natives wear the European costume; the costume of the country generally is with the men a piece of cloth thrown round their shoulders.
2184. What is that cloth?—They are called wrappers.
2185. Is it calico?—Romalls.
2186. What is it made of?—Cotton.
2187. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Have they ever made any attempt to grow cotton in the neighbourhood of Cape Coast?—Cotton grows wild.
2188. *Chairman.*] Has it ever been exported?—No; one gentleman tried the experiment, and he had grown a large quantity, and afterwards he was unfortunate in business, and we could not very well say whether he succeeded or not.
2189. It did not meet with a ready sale?—No.
2190. Was it complained of as not equal to the cotton introduced into England from other parts of the world?—He did not live to carry it on; he died.
2191. As a merchant yourself, why do you not export that sort of cotton; would it not pay?—I think it would require some process to bring it to such a state as that it would pay.
2192. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] To clean it?—Yes; and then I have my doubts that perhaps it will not pay, there being a duty upon it in this country.
2193. *Mr. Jackson.*] I suppose you find palm oil pay better?—It does.
2194. As long as palm oil is 36*l.* a tun you would rather send palm oil to England; suppose palm oil were 19*l.* a tun, you would try cotton?—Perhaps so.
2195. *Chairman.*] I suppose the palm oil costs something?—Yes.
2196. What do you pay for the palm oil?—I cannot say particularly, because it varies; it depends upon the seasons.
2197. What is the present price of palm oil on the coast?—It is about 20*l.* I believe, and upwards, because there are people now opposing one another.
2198. There is a good deal of competition?—Yes.
2199. And the price is high?—Yes.
2200. Did you ever see any coffee exported from the coast?—No, except what the missionaries tried, and that was only an experiment.
2201. *Mr. Jackson.*] It does grow there?—It does.
2202. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Do you export any Indian corn?—Yes.
2203. To England?—Yes.
2204. *Chairman.*] Some coffee, you say, was grown by the missionaries as an experiment?—Yes.
2205. And was it exported?—No.
2206. It was consumed in the country?—It was.
2207. Was it considered to be good coffee?—Very good; I tried some myself.
2208. You considered it good?—Yes.
2209. Still the nature of the exports has not changed; you have more confidence in the exportation of palm oil, gold dust, and ivory, than in any of those new articles of which we have been speaking?—Yes, they are sure at present.
2210. You do not like to try experiments in others?—No.
2211. *Mr. Jackson.*] Do you export maize in large quantities?—Yes.
2212. There has been a large increase in the export of maize?—Yes.
2213. What is the price of maize on the coast?—From 15*d.* to 20*d.* a bushel.
2214. That is paid for in British goods?—Yes.
2215. What profit is put upon those goods which pay for it; take a romall of 4*s.* 3*d.*?—In some cases, say 33 per cent.

2216. Before the 15*d.* a bushel is paid 33 per cent. is added upon the cost price of the goods here, so that in fact it would bring it down to 10*d.* a bushel for maize?—Yes.

2217. Colonel *Thompson.*] Among the goods which you send up, do you send any writing paper?—No, that we import from England.

2218. Does it ever go up the country?—No.

2219. Do you ever send any silver spoons?—No.

2220. Do you ever send any watches?—No.

2221. Do you ever send any muslins?—Yes.

2222. Mr. *Jackson.*] Is the trade carried on by ounces or by bars?—By ounces.

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MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Bingham Baring.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.

Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ., IN THE CHAIR.

Commander *Thomas Francis Birch*, R. N., called in; and Examined.

2223. *Chairman.*] YOU are an Officer in Her Majesty's Navy?—I am.

2224. Have you been on the coast of Africa?—Yes.

2225. What vessel did you command on the coast of Africa?—The "Water Witch."

2226. When did you leave the coast of Africa?—Last September.

2227. How long have you been acquainted with the coast of Africa?—About two years and nine months I was actually on the coast.

2228. Had you been on the coast previously to being commander of the "Water Witch"?—Never.

2229. During the time that you were on the coast of Africa, did you come to the conclusion that the slave trade had diminished or increased?—Increased latterly, most decidedly.

2230. To what circumstance did you attribute that increase?—I have been informed by the men that I have taken, the Spanish or Portuguese captains, that they attribute it to the extra demand for sugar in England.

2231. You understood that the slave trade had received a considerable stimulus in consequence of the increased demand for the production of sugar?—Yes, from Brazil.

2232. Did you make many captures during the time you were on the coast?—Twelve.

2233. Did you understand that those vessels were proceeding to the coast of Brazil, or to Cuba, or to both?—All to Brazil, with the exception of one.

2234. You did not fall in with any vessel that was proceeding to Cuba?—The first one which I took in 1845 was the last Spanish vessel that was ever taken; that was on the North Coast, at New Sestos.

2235. Did it ever occur to you to explain the cause why those vessels were proceeding to the coast of Brazil, and not to the coast of Cuba, when there would be, of course, the same demand for sugar in both countries?—I was informed by the same men, who formerly had been some of them sailing out to the Havannah, that they intended, when they had prosecuted the voyage in which I took them, to return to sail out of Cuba. Those men were Spaniards, natives of Cadiz, I believe.

2236. That was the statement made to you?—By the Spanish captains, or the men commanding; they were sailing under no flag when I took them; which is generally the case on the coast.

2237. Are you speaking of the last capture which was made?—The two last.

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2238. On

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2238. On what part of the coast of Africa were you stationed?—Principally, for the last 20 months on what they call the South Coast, from Lopez to St. Paul de Loando, and for the first 10 months on the North Coast.

2239. What portion of the North Coast?—New Sestos; it is below Cape Mount; I do not think it is marked on the map.

2240. Was the slave trade carried on there with any activity?—Not when I was there; I believe it had been nearly put a stop to.

2241. That was in what year?—In the year 1845, but since that it has increased rapidly, particularly on that coast, within these last 18 months.

2242. You found the trade proceeding with more activity to the southward?—Yes; latterly more than when I first went on that coast. A number of new barracoons were being erected on different parts of the coast, where they never were before, I believe, to the knowledge of any officer in the navy.

2243. Do you know Cabenda?—Well.

2244. Were there any new barracoons established there?—No, not at Cabenda; and the reason is that it has been so well watched lately by our cruisers, but they have gone down further to the northward, nearer Cape Lopez.

2245. There are no factories established there?—Yes. In Captain Matson's evidence he said it was impossible, from the state of the country, that they could have gone there; but I know it of my own knowledge, because I have seen them, and been into them.

2246. Were there any factories established at Cabenda when you were there?—Numerous.

2247. But there have been no slaves shipped at Cabenda, in consequence of the place being so well watched?—They are shipped by the men who actually live in Cabenda, but they transport their slaves coastwise; they drive them down from one part of the coast to the other.

2248. Had you any opportunity of ascertaining at what price those slaves were sold?—Between 20 and 25 dollars.

2249. That would be in English money about 4*l.*?—£.4. 10*s.* It very much depends upon what the goods cost.

2250. Are you of opinion that if the system which was adopted in 1840 and 1841, of destroying the barracoons, had been perseveringly pursued, it would have stopped the slave trade?—I do not know about stopping it; it would have done an immense deal towards hindering it; if it had been effectually carried on, I have no doubt it might have ceased.

2251. You think it would have given it a serious check?—I have not the slightest doubt of it.

2252. The barracoons which were destroyed were near the shore?—Close to the shore.

2253. Do you think if the slave traders found that the barracoons near the shore were destroyed, they would place their barracoons a little further from the shore?—They might; but I think that they would not find it answer, on account of having to transport the slaves down to the coast; and the way that the slave trade is carried on now is, that the vessel is on the coast not more than three or four hours, some of them never anchor even; and it would be a great hindrance to them in carrying on the trade, having to send up information to drive the negroes down.

2254. Do not they now march the slaves from the barracoons to various points of the coast?—Yes, I have seen them marching on the beach.

2255. This would only be a different line of march; marching them from the interior, instead of marching them along the line of beach?—Yes; but then they have the information beforehand; they send small boats out, row galleys, 50 and 60 miles off the coast (I have met them), to fall in with slavers, and they have information to go to a particular part of the coast, not to go to the actual place where the barracoon may be.

2256. As to the necessity of establishing the barracoon a little distance from the shore instead of close upon the shore, you think that that change would introduce some difficulty in the way of carrying on the slave trade?—I think so.

2257. But you do not think it would make it impracticable?—Not in the least.

2258. It would of course expose the slaves to a greater degree of suffering?—I think so.

2259. Would it be equally easy for the officers in command of vessels on the coast to destroy such barracoons?—I think so, decidedly.

2260. Would

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2260. Would it not expose the men to the effects of the African climate, to land them and march them three or four miles into the country, in order to destroy the barracoons?—Not in the least, if they are embarked at night again.

2261. Have you been much on the shore?—A great deal.

2262. You say, if they are embarked at night?—Yes. I believe that the climate has an effect upon a European constitution, if you remain on shore during the night; but I think not, if you do not sleep on shore.

2263. Then if the destruction of the barracoon could be effected without the necessity of the men remaining on shore all night, you think that they would not be exposed to the injurious effects of the climate on that account?—Not in the least.

2264. From the experience which you have had, are you of opinion that any plan of force, or any plan which united force with the system of treaties with the native chiefs on the coast of Africa, would put a stop to the slave trade?—I think the force must be very much increased beyond what it is now, to actually put a stop to it

2265. What is the present establishment on the coast?—Twenty-six vessels, by the treaty with France.

2266. Are there 26 vessels there now?—Yes; that is the number we are obliged to have by treaty.

2267. What augmentation of that force would you think sufficient to put a stop to the slave trade?—Treble, I should say, to put a thorough stop to it; and to be allowed to destroy barracoons on the beach, and all property belonging to people who were known to be actually embarked in the trade, which is not at all difficult to find out; to know those that are engaged in the trade, and those that are not.

2268. And you think that such an augmentation of force, combined with the other measures of which you have spoken, would be sufficient to stop the slave trade, notwithstanding a very high demand for slaves in Brazil?—I think that another great thing would be, the punishment of those who were engaged in the trade, because they return immediately; and the vessels that they sail in now-a-days are so worthless that the actual money which is disbursed is nothing, and they do not care whether their vessels are lost or not.

2269. The vessels are of a very inferior construction?—Very much so indeed.

2270. In what respect?—Old vessels that are fit for no other employment; they are using now mostly leaky vessels.

2271. Scarcely seaworthy?—Scarcely seaworthy. I have been obliged to burn them myself on the coast; I have been afraid to trust my officers and men over with them.

2272. It was stated to the Committee by a witness who was previously examined, that those inferior vessels were not used for the purpose of conveying slaves, but merely as decoys; that does not appear to correspond with your experience?—I have taken them in them.

2273. Have you taken slaves on board such vessels?—Not actually on board, but they had the slave deck, and they had the remains of the smell of the slaves that they had taken on the former voyage.

2274. Are you of opinion that the system of suppressing the slave trade by force aggravates the sufferings of the slaves?—I should think so, most decidedly. I have understood formerly that the slaves went across in a better class of vessel; they are very much crowded now.

2275. Do the vessels ever put to sea without a sufficient supply of water and provisions?—Yes.

2276. To what circumstance do you attribute that insufficiency?—To not having the time to embark them, perhaps.

2277. Do you think the dispatch with which the slaves are placed on board causes the owners of the vessels to put to sea without having taken the necessary precautions for the voyage?—Yes, especially now the slaves that are carried from the coast are taken away in American bottoms, a great part of them. American bottoms are brought there for the purpose of being sold to the slave dealers; and if they see the cruiser absent from the coast, they take the chance of shipping the slaves in the vessel at once, after she has been sold, without waiting.

2278. You have no doubt at all about that fact?—I have not the slightest, because I have taken two vessels with the American names on their sterns.

2279. You have captured two vessels with slaves on board?—Two.

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2280. Were they very much crowded?—No, they were not very much crowded.

2281. How many slaves were in the vessel which had the greater number on board?—Five hundred and sixty.

2282. What was the size of it?—She was about 290 tons; I think she was condemned; she had an immense hold, but they were in a dreadful state; they had nothing to lie upon except logs of wood, firewood that was used for burning. I had to remove the children on board of my own vessel; 200 of them; but they were not actually crowded to the extent to which I have read and heard that they generally crowd slave vessels.

2283. Was that vessel considered to have taken a full cargo?—A full cargo.

2284. Whereabout did you capture that vessel?—Between St. Helena and the coast, just half way, about 600 miles from each.

2285. How did you find the slaves stowed?—There was a tier of casks, and the wood that they had procured on the coast had been just thrown down on the top of the casks, and the slaves were lying on the wood; small billets of wood.

2286. Were they chained?—No.

2287. Were they all below at the time?—Mostly all; some children were on deck; they were all below at the actual time that I went on board; every one of them.

2288. Were those Africans in good health, or had they suffered from disease at all?—They were suffering from dysentery; I had, on account of the state they were in, to disobey my orders and take them to St. Helena, instead of sending the vessel to Sierra Leone, which are the orders of the station.

2289. How many days had that vessel been out?—I never could make out, but I should think about 10 or 12, perhaps.

2290. You mention that there were a great many children on board?—Yes, upwards of 200.

2291. What part of the coast had they put to sea from?—Just to the northward of Ambriz, a place called Ambrizette; it is about 20 miles to the northward of Ambriz; she was going towards the coast; I was coming from St. Helena at the time, and overtook her.

2292. Had they suffered any loss at all?—I believe a good many.

2293. Do you know how many?—No, I cannot say; we lost, I think, five or six on our passage, and there were about 15 or 16 died after they reached St. Helena, before the condemnation.

2294. Have you understood that it is the practice of the slave traders to put on board their vessels a larger number of slaves than they expect to be able to land alive on the coast of Brazil?—I never heard so, except from Captain Matson.

2295. You have never heard it on the coast?—No, I have not.

2296. Did you ever see the slaves in the barracoons?—No, I never have; I have seen the barracoons and been into them, but I never saw the slaves; I have heard them; I have seen slaves driven down for water to be washed, but I never saw a slave actually in the barracoon.

2297. With respect to the slaves whom you captured between the coast of Africa and St. Helena, had the disease of which you have spoken broken out since the vessel had left the coast of Africa?—I believe it had.

2298. That is a common complaint, I believe?—I believe it is very common indeed; in both the vessels that we took the slaves suffered from the same complaint.

2299. How long did you remain at St. Helena after bringing your prize in?—Three days.

2300. Were the negroes landed immediately?—Immediately she came in, in the morning, and they were all on shore by four or five o'clock.

2301. Did any of the slaves die after they were landed?—Upwards of 20, I think; I am not quite certain, but I could tell by referring to my remark book.

2302. You mentioned another prize that you made with slaves; what was that vessel?—An American.

2303. What was the name of it?—The "Beulah," of Portland; at least that was her name on the stern.

2304. Was she sailing under any colours?—None.

2305. What were her papers?—No papers.

2306. What was the size of that vessel?—About the same size as the other; perhaps about 260 tons.

2307. And

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2307. And the number of slaves?—Five hundred and ten.
2308. Whereabouts did you capture her?—Not 30 miles from the point at which I took the other vessel.
2309. In the same course?—In the same course. I was going to St. Helena that time; the first time I was coming from St. Helena.
2310. Will you be so kind as to state to the Committee the age of the children on board the first vessel?—From a few days old and upwards; some of them had been born on board; all those I took into the "Water Witch," for protection.
2311. Were they of all ages, from infancy to manhood?—All ages.
2312. There were, I presume, many adult persons?—Yes.
2313. And women?—A number of women.
2314. To revert to the second vessel; you state that there were about 510 slaves on board?—Five hundred and ten, when I captured her.
2315. How many had she had on board?—I was informed that she had lost a great many; and she lost above 30 before she got to Sierra Leone.
2316. You took her out to Sierra Leone?—I sent her.
2317. Where had she shipped her slaves?—At a place called Mazula, about eight miles to the southward of Ambriz, in the Portuguese settlements.
2318. You understood that there had been great mortality on board?—I did; but they were much better when we fell in with them, and I did not send her into St. Helena because I had been reprimanded by my superior officer for having done so on a former occasion.
2319. Were there many women and children on board that vessel?—There were.
2320. How long was that vessel getting to Sierra Leone?—Nineteen days.
2321. How long would it have taken that vessel to go to St. Helena?—Three or four, at the utmost.
2322. Do you consider it a matter of importance that you should have been able to send the vessel where the slaves could have been liberated most expeditiously?—Most decidedly, if it had rested with my judgment.
2323. Did you hear the result of the voyage; did many slaves perish on the voyage?—A great number died; the officer that went with her never returned to me, because he died, but I understood so from the crew that I have seen since I came to England. I came to England without the crew that I had sent with her; I met them in Portsmouth the other day, and they told me that they had lost a good many.
2324. Did they mention the number?—Upwards of 40, I should say.
2325. And how many of the crew suffered?—None of them at the time; an officer and a man died after reaching Sierra Leone, from the African fever.
2326. Was it supposed that they had taken the fever from the slaves on board?—I cannot say.
2327. Lord *Courtenay*.] Are there instances within your knowledge in which evil has resulted from the necessity of carrying slave vessels, after capture, to Sierra Leone?—The case which I mentioned just now is one.
2328. Are there any others within your knowledge?—I think that a vessel captured by the "Devastation" lost an immense number; but she was in the Bights, and perhaps it might have taken them nearly as long to go to Sierra Leone as to St. Helena, because she has to work out of the Bight.
2329. Has any remedy for that state of things every suggested itself to your mind; would the establishment of a court of mixed commission at St. Helena or at Accra, or anywhere on the Gold Coast, be better?—I think Fernando Po would be a good situation, especially if vessels are captured in the Bight; there is a fair wind, and you might get to Fernando Po in two days or three days after the capture, instead of, as now, it taking six weeks.
2330. Would the opportunity of avoiding the voyage to Sierra Leone be beneficial, both with respect to your own crews and the slaves taken in the prizes?—Most decidedly; because all the men I have ever lost in the "Water Witch," except one, died in Sierra Leone or from the effects of the Sierra Leone fever.
2331. Having been sent up to Sierra Leone in charge of the captured vessels?—In prizes.
2332. Mr. *B. Baring*.] Has your health suffered?—No, not in the least.
2333. *Chairman*.] Had you occasion to go up the rivers at all?—The only rivers I have ever been in are the Bonny and the Congo.

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2334. There is no slave trading carried on in the Bonny, is there?—None, to the best of my knowledge.

2335. Do you know whether the slave trade is carried on now in the Gallinas?—I have no doubt of it. There was a vessel captured by the "Ferret," which was not actually in the Gallinas, but from people who perhaps may reside within a few miles of the Gallinas, between Cape Mount and Shebar, which I believe generally goes by the denomination of the Gallinas.

2336. Are there barracoons established there again?—I have heard so, and I heard that there was one erected between Cape Mount and Monrovia, or Liberia.

2337. From your experience on the coast, do you approve of the plan of destroying the barracoons, as a means of preventing the slave trade?—Most decidedly.

2338. Is it not a very considerable suffering upon the slaves who come down to the coast for the purpose of being located in the barracoons, to find that no shelter and no sustenance are in store for them?—It might be for a short period, but I think it would have a great effect in putting a stop to it; and I believe that the chiefs or the natives of the coast, if they knew that we were there and had the power to destroy the barracoons, immediately a Spaniard trusted his goods on shore they would rob him.

2339. Do you think it would lead to the formation of barracoons at some distance from the shore?—Perhaps it might be tried; I have understood now that there are barracoons a long way in the interior, at least 15 miles from the coast; perhaps they may be only trading houses.

2340. Would it not be practicable for the slave trader to take up his position a short way from the coast, from which he could command several points available for shipping his slaves; so that if impediments were thrown in his way at one point, he might ship his slaves at another?—Yes; that is why I say that the squadron which we have now on the coast is not sufficient; for the cruiser may be guarding in the vicinity of the well-known barracoons, and the slaves in the meantime may be marched down the coast, and embarked 30 or 40 miles to the leeward of the barracoon, which is done continually.

2341. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Do you or do you not consider that the presence of a blockading force is the first essential towards the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes.

2342. Do you or do you not consider that treaties with the native powers, permitting the Queen's officers to land and destroy barracoons, are either the second, or very nearly the second requisite for the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes, they are one of the requisite things most decidedly; but I believe that they find it so very profitable, that it would take a large amount of money to bribe the chiefs; and by what I have seen on the coast of Africa, I should say that a chief has very little power except within the small limit of his own village.

2343. In whatever order you may rank the formation of treaties with native powers as one of the means for suppressing the slave trade, you regard such treaties as at all events a pre-requisite?—Yes, most decidedly. I believe that if they would enter into those treaties, it would be of immense service; but I doubt a great many of them agreeing to enter into them.

2344. Exactly in the proportion in which the native princes or chiefs may decline to enter into treaties, do you or do you not regard that the presence of a naval blockade is more than ever indispensable?—Yes, I do.

2345. In what rank of the measures which Great Britain may adopt for the final suppression of the slave trade do you place legitimate commerce?—If the slave trade were driven out by a blockading force, then by the presence of a man-of-war legitimate commerce perhaps might keep the slave trade from re-establishing itself upon the coast.

2346. Do you or do you not consider that the presence of a blockading force is, if not essential, very desirable in respect to the encouragement of legitimate commerce?—I believe myself that a man-of-war ought to visit all places where we have legitimate commerce with the native African.

2347. Do you or do you not consider that there is an analogy between commerce with a country which we call barbarous, and a country which we call civilized?—I believe that they are very different, because in the one case justice perhaps is administered; but on the coast of Africa, the African only looks to the power that may compel him afterwards. If it were not that they knew that
a man-of-war

a man-of-war might sometimes visit them, I believe that they would rob the merchants; that is my idea.

2348. Then whether or not the presence of a blockading squadron may be essential to the protection of legitimate commerce at the very moment when it is carried on, do you or do you not consider that such blockading squadron is essential, either in the prevention of wrongs, or in the punishment of wrongs which legitimate commerce may sustain?—Most decidedly I think so.

2349. Are you aware of any emigration from Sierra Leone of liberated Africans in any direction; for example, towards Badagry?—No, I am not, except what I have heard in this room.

2350. You are not personally acquainted with that?—Not in the least; I have been very little in Sierra Leone. I am, however, able to state that, from my own knowledge, large numbers (many thousands) of natives belonging to the south coast, that is, between the third and eighth degree of south latitude, are willing and wishing to emigrate for a limited period; but I think they would require their return to their native land, when their period of service was expired, to be guaranteed by an English Government officer, in whose word they have implicit faith. I wished to make the above statement as I understand emigration from Africa to our colonies in the West Indies occupies many persons' attention in England at present, and I have never seen that natives from that part of Africa are enumerated amongst those likely to emigrate.

2351. Lord *Courtenay*.] With respect to the effect of a squadron on legitimate commerce, you give it as your opinion that the presence of a blockading squadron is beneficial to legitimate commerce; have you, within your experience as an officer commanding one of Her Majesty's ships there, known any instance in which your presence has been beneficial to the interests of the legitimate traders?—Yes; I have been informed so by the Liverpool merchants in the Bonny River.

2352. They have borne testimony to what you have done yourself?—Yes.

2353. Of what nature was the interference that you were called upon to exercise there?—I was called upon by the captains of some Bonny ships; there had been some Englishmen murdered there, and there were numerous outstanding debts that had not been paid for some years, I believe; and I have been told that those debts have mostly been paid since my quitting the Bonny.

2354. What did you do in consequence of the application?—I removed a chief or juju man from the river, who had been the instigator, I believe, of the murder of those Englishmen, and, I believe, who had been the instigator also of keeping back the oil that was due to the English traders.

2355. You say you removed him; where did you take him to?—He is at present at the Island of Ascension.

2356. And in consequence of that step, have you reason to believe that the engagements into which the natives had entered with legitimate traders have been carried into effect?—Yes.

2357. You believe that to have followed?—Yes, I believe so; I do not know that all of them have, but principally, I believe.

2358. What has become of that chief whom you carried off to the Isle of Ascension?—He is on board of the "Tartarie" at the Island of Ascension now as a prisoner, awaiting, I believe, Lord Palmerston's decision what is to become of him.

2359. Is it your impression that the opinion generally on the part of those engaged in legitimate trade on the coast is, that the presence of the squadron there is beneficial to their interests?—I should say so, most decidedly.

2360. You think that that is the general impression?—I have understood from all captains of merchant ships on that coast that they wish for the presence of a man of war.

2361. Mr. *B. Baring*.] Do not you think that they presume upon your support?—I have had very little to do with it except in that case; I do not know that they do. They are obliged to pay very heavy dues in the river before they trade; after paying those dues the king ought to have supported them (that is my idea), and ought to have seen that his subjects paid their debts to them. The debts of those men had, some of them, I believe, not been paid for two years, and other vessels that had only been in the river six or eight weeks had got their full cargoes.

2362. Did you suppose that it was your duty to interfere to recover the debts due to British subjects?—I considered so, but I was told afterwards that it was not my duty.

2363. Mr. *Jackson*.] When were you in the Bonny?—In March 1847.

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2364. At whose request did you go in?—I was sent in by Commodore Sir Charles Hotham.

2365. You do not know the names of the traders in the river that sent to Sir Charles Hotham for assistance?—No, I do not; there had been some requisition sent to Sir Charles Hotham, but it had not reached him, he did not know of it; at least I believe so.

2366. You state that you went in to recover certain debts?—No, I went in to look after what was going on in the river, and was then applied to by the captains of the ships; I have their requisition in my pocket. (*The Witness produced the same.*)

2367. *Chairman.*] I see that in a despatch from Sir Charles Hotham, dated 7th April 1847, he communicates to the Lords of the Admiralty the fact that the plan of transporting masses of slaves from one point to another is pursued on the coast. Have you seen large bodies of slaves?—I have seen what I consider to be slaves transported along the beach, and I have been informed by the slave traders themselves that they do that.

2368. Do you know whether that is a new practice incidental to the slave trade?—I cannot say.

2369. It must be accompanied by considerable suffering to the slaves?—I should say it must, in the heat of the weather. Generally the barracoons now are very hard-up for provisions, and they must be in a very weak state, I believe that they are in a very weak state when they embark; and in that state they must suffer much in being driven 30 or 40 miles under a tropical sun, on no road.

2370. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Has the case ever occurred of a body of slaves being walked from the interior of the country, and finding the barracoon destroyed when they came to the coast?—The barracoons were all destroyed before I went to the coast of Africa.

2371. Have you known of a case of a body of slaves being brought from the interior, and finding the barracoon destroyed when they came to the coast?—I have not.

2372. Under those circumstances, what do you suppose would be done with the slaves?—It was reported, and I believe with truth, that a man off Lagos, I think, destroyed 2,000 of them; I have heard so, and I believe from very good authority.

2373. Then the destruction of the barracoons might lead to some great immediate slaughter of the slaves?—With respect to the man in that part of the coast, no vessel had arrived on the coast for some months to take those slaves from him; those slaves were in a barracoon; perhaps they might act in the same manner if they had no barracoon or no place to put them in, but still a native hut or barracoon is run up in a few days; they might place them in the huts of the village, because the whole of the natives on the sea-coast have an immense interest in the slave trade.

2374. Therefore the destruction of the more regular barracoons would not prevent a temporary erection of them when required by the persons who brought down the trains of slaves?—No.

2375. Are the villages on the coast of sufficient size to accommodate large bodies of slaves which come down?—Yes, quite; some of them are very large villages, and very thickly populated where I have been, and I have seen a great many of them.

2376. What is the feeling of the inhabitants of those villages respecting the slave trade?—They all desire it to be carried on; from it they procure most of their clothes, or the articles which they consider the luxuries of life.

2377. The slave trade, therefore, receives every assistance and protection from the natives on the coast?—From every one, in every village, in preference, I believe, to the legal trade, where they are in the same locality together. I have been informed by the agents there that if there was much slaving going on, the legal traffic was put on one side for the time being.

2378. Would then the destruction of the barracoons make so much difference in the circumstances as considerably to impede the slave trade?—I should say so, because the property that was in them to buy slaves would be destroyed.

2379. You consider the destruction of the barracoons more important for destroying the property, than for destroying the mere shelter to the slaves?—Yes, because the shelter for the slaves in the barracoon is a mere temporary shed, and most of the huts on the coast are only temporary sheds, run up in a few days, made of the palm leaf and wattle bamboo.

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2380. *Chairman.*] You have spoken of the slaves marching 20 or 30 miles along the coast?—Yes; I have heard of more.

2381. Supposing the barracoons were made 30 miles up the country, would it be very easy for officers commanding vessels on the coast to destroy such barracoons?—My idea is that they could be destroyed; perhaps, on account of the distance, the parties might get the information, and the barracoons themselves would be destroyed, and the slaves and the property in it might be taken out, and perhaps the barracoons might be found empty; but I do not think it would ever answer for a length of time for those men to keep their barracoons; they might try it, but I should not think myself it would answer.

2382. Why would it not answer?—Where there was one chance formerly there would now be 50 of capturing the slaves, by the barracoons not being on the beach.

2383. Cannot they communicate with the interior by means of signals?—They cannot communicate with the interior by signals, because it is all one mass of bush and forest.

2384. There would be no means of communicating with the interior?—I should say not, except by natives.

2385. I believe you have not been on the eastern coast of Africa?—Never.

2386. Do you know whether slaves ever march from the eastern coast to the western?—No, I do not, except that in evidence I have heard so; I have read it, not in this Committee, but in the evidence taken before a Select Committee in 1842.

2387. Have you any acquaintance with the coast of Cuba and Brazil?—I was on the coast of Cuba when I was a boy.

2388. How do you explain the circumstance, that notwithstanding the activity of the slave trade in connexion with Brazil, so very few vessels have been detected in connexion with the Cuban slave trade?—I have understood, that until within these last two years they were very much afraid in Cuba the slaves were too strong for them, and that they would rebel, and another thing is, that the great slaveowners there are averse to more being allowed to come into Cuba, for it would depreciate their property, consisting of slaves; the slave would become of less value.

2389. Then in fact, from one circumstance or another, the Cuban slave trade has been stopped by the people and government of Cuba?—I should say so, a great deal; I have not much knowledge upon it, but I have understood from very good authority that it has been re-established within these last two years.

2390. On what authority have you understood that; from rumour?—From Captain Matson, for one.

2391. Has Captain Matson been on the coast within the last two years?—On the coast of Cuba. And another thing, I should say, is this: all the trading to the north of the Line, at least as far down as Palmas, was carried on by the Spaniards, which was nearly put a stop to, and it seems by the papers that numerous vessels have been taken within the last 18 months on the coast; only by the last week's paper I see that two vessels were taken in Sargos, and those men could never have been running to the Brazils; they must have been returning to some port on this side of the Equator.

2392. I suppose Spaniards are engaged in the Brazilian slave trade?—I have met some of them myself.

2393. It is not the blockading squadron which has prevented the slave trade with Cuba?—No, I should say not.

2394. If you had prevented the slave trade with Cuba, it would have prevented the slave trade with Brazil?—Yes, on the north coast of Africa; all the slaving, I believe, was principally on the north coast, to the Havannah or to Cuba.

2395. But from whatever part of the coast of Africa the slaves have proceeded, it has not been the intervention of the blockading squadron which has prevented the importation of slaves into Cuba?—I should say not. I was wrong in what I said about the north coast; in the Bight of Benin I believe an immense quantity of Spanish slavers load.

2396. Do you not think that the exertions of the slave-holding states, Cuba and Brazil, would be more effectual to put down the slave trade than any blockading squadron that could be devised?—I believe so, if they entered into it.

2397. Do you think that the slave trade can ever be put down effectually without it?—It might be put down with some immense force on the coast, but I think that still the remuneration is so very great that you will always find people embarking

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in it, unless stronger measures are adopted, either by our Government or by theirs. There are large companies of those men; I believe they are joint-stock companies; the slave owners on the coast of Brazil are men of immense wealth, and where there is no punishment, they will for a few hundred dollars risk making thousands of pounds.

2398. Mr. Jackson.] Was it not stated to you when you went to investigate the matter in the River Bonny, that Captain Kirkley, who was murdered by the natives, had gone with his boats to take palm oil by force from the canoes of this man, in payment of a debt due to him?—No; I know that he had gone up; that he had been up some creek or other. It was never stated that the palm oil was to be taken by force; I think that could not have been the case, because he had only a few Kroo boys with him in the boat, and those unarmed.

2399. But are you aware that the traders in the River Bonny think they have a right to intercept a canoe with palm oil, to take it on board their vessel, and write it off in discharge of a debt due to the owners of that vessel?—I never heard of it.

2400. I see Mr. Ward is one of the parties who signs this requisition?—Yes.

2401. Mr. B. Baring.] If you are not allowed to destroy the barracoons, except in those cases in which you have treaties with the chiefs; if the force upon the coast is not doubled, and if the crews engaged in the trade are not made punishable, are you of opinion that under such circumstances we can effectually put down the slave trade?—No, I do not think so; I believe that we may go on with the squadron that we have on the coast now to eternity.

2402. Captain Matson has stated that one half of the slaves were obtained by purchase from the fathers, that one quarter were criminals, and that one quarter were debtors; do you agree with him?—No, I do not; there may be a few pawns, which I believe there were in some of the vessels which I took, because they spoke Portuguese or Brazilian, some of the boys that had been attending upon the merchants, but principally all the slaves that I have taken are a perfectly different race to what you see on the beach. I have been told that they come 50 or 60 days' march from the interior, so that it is really hard to tell how they are taken.

2403. Are they a more civilized race than those on the coast?—No; they are vastly inferior in every way; they are quite a different being, at least in look: what they might become if they were in contact with the coast negro, I do not know; but they are quite a different race in every respect to the coast negro.

2404. Have you any reason to suppose that they were taken in war?—I really cannot speak to that. I have been told that they have been taken in war, and that they hunt them. I have been told so by African chiefs myself, or African gentlemen, as they were called.

2405. Of what slaves are you speaking; are you speaking of those that were taken upon the south coast?—Upon the south coast. I never took any upon the other coast; the south coast is from Cape Lopez to the Cape of Good Hope.

2406. Do any of the slaves which are taken show any wish to get back to their own country?—I cannot say. A very few of the people even attending on them can speak their own language. I met some of them that were landed in St. Helena afterwards, and they did not wish to return to their country; they were all very happy with their lot, and laughed at the idea of being sent back.

2407. Did those that you took generally speak a language not intelligible to the coast negro?—Quite unintelligible; there were some few, as I mentioned before, that understood them, but very few; some of them spoke Portuguese, and some of the women spoke Portuguese; and I have been told that there is a system of what they call pawn there. I have been told so by the Africans themselves, that they are sold to the chiefs; that they become his slaves, and that he has the power of life and death over them.

2408. They are debtors?—Yes; they have had money from him in the shape of clothes or something.

2409. Have you reason to suppose that any are made slaves except those who become debtors?—I should say not.

2410. You know of no domestic slaves?—I believe they are all in a state of slavery under the chiefs, a sort of slavery; every one of them, I believe. I do not believe that the chief has the power of selling those men. Supposing I were to buy a fowl from a man, or anything, part of that, I believe, the chief could claim; so that he has a sort of control over the whole of them.

2411. Chairman.]

2411. *Chairman.*] It is a sort of serfdom?—Yes; I know that to be the case; it is something the same as it is with the head Kroomen on board of our ships. There is a vassalage on the part of the Kroo boys; a portion of their wages goes to the head men of the town that they belong to, till they become of a certain age; after that age I believe that, as they become older, people pay them, and so it goes on. It is a very intricate thing; I have tried to understand it, but I never could. I have asked a great many of them, but I never could come actually at the bottom of it.

2412. *Mr. B. Baring.*] Do you suppose that the demand for our goods in commerce upon the coast is unlimited; is it only limited by the difficulty of purchasing them?—I should say that there is an immense deal of legal commerce to be carried on in Africa.

2413. Is the trade limited by their wants, or by our wants?—I believe they would take an immense deal more of our manufactures in legal traffic if the slave trade did not exist; but their wants are so few in most parts of the coast, that what they gain in the slave traffic is sufficient for the head people who can embark in the slave trade.

2414. Supposing the slave trade were legalized, would there be a much larger demand for imports?—I think as it became known what we wished for from them, there would be a much larger demand. In Ambriz, within these last few years, I believe they have found an immense deal of copper ore and other valuable substances which were not known before. An immense deal of copper ore was brought down there, and it is increasing, I believe, yearly; I have understood so.

2415. In that case did we find any difficulty in paying in English goods for the copper so exported?—No; it is all done by the same articles that carry on the slave trade; the cargo for legal and illegal traffic is just the same; they demand the same article both for slaves and for legalized commerce.

2416. Do you suppose that the demand for our goods is limited, or that they would take as much as they could pay for by produce or slaves?—I have no doubt there would be a much larger demand for such things, and that the trade would go on increasing; but I believe that the slave traffic will always beat down the legalized traffic, because it is so much more remunerative, and because the Africans, as is well known to those who know them, hate toil.

2417. Is the demand for our goods restricted to the coast, or do they go far into the interior?—I believe they are transported right up the country, for hundreds of miles I believe; I have always understood so.

2418. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] You have stated that the slave trade will always beat down the legitimate trade. You have stated in a former answer that the slave trade is the great impediment to the furtherance of legitimate commerce in that country; and as a witness before this Committee, appointed by the House of Commons "to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the slave trade," you have been asked whether, if the slave trade were legalized, there would or would not be a greater introduction of legitimate commerce. Are you able from historical knowledge, or from any personal observation, or from any inquiries which you have made, to state to this Committee whether, when the slave trade was unhappily legalized by England, there was concurrently with it a greater amount of legitimate commerce than has existed since the legal suppression of the slave trade by England?—I believe there is more legal commerce now than there was when England permitted slavery.

2419. You do not consider therefore that the revival of the slave trade, as a legal trade, could even in its more secular objects promote legitimate commerce?—I believe the legitimate commerce might still go on increasing, because we have more demand for the commerce and we have more communication with the coast than we had formerly. I do not believe that legitimate commerce will ever beat the slave trade out. My idea is, that as long as there is a demand for slaves, whatever legal commerce there may be, it will never drive the slave trade out.

2420. With respect to another point: you were asked by the Chairman whether the slave trade could ever be effectually prevented without the co-operation of Cuba and Brazil, and you replied, the co-operation of their government; Cuba being still a colony of Spain, are you aware whether any treaty more stringent than that which binds the two Crowns together for the suppression of the slave trade, can be made?—If the Spanish government were to carry the full effect of that treaty out I believe it would be effectual, but they do not do so; I believe myself

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that both the Brazilian government officers and the Governors-general of Cuba have had great interest in the slave trade.

2421. So far as relates then to the government of Spain, a treaty has been made, which, if the Spanish government were sincere in carrying out its provisions, would effectually repress the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish colonies. With respect to the other power, namely, the power of the Emperor of Brazil, can you state to this Committee in what way the co-operation of that power could most effectually be invited in conjunction with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade?—I believe by the treaty of 1817 the Emperor of Brazil made it piracy (I will not be certain as to the year); and I believe piracy is punished by hanging.

2422. In short, you consider that it is not so much treaties which we require, as the *bonâ fide* carrying out of those treaties?—Yes; if they were carried out I think the treaties are very good ones, but we perfectly well know that they are not carried out. One man I took twice; I have seen a man taken by another vessel, whom I had previously taken in the 20 months that I was on the coast; he was captain of the vessel.

2423. Does that circumstance suggest to you as a necessary pre-requisite for the suppression of the slave trade, that in addition to the confiscation of the vessel and any pecuniary penalty imposed upon the owner, or suffered by the owner, there should also be some personal punishment?—I think so, most decidedly; because the pecuniary punishment to large bodies, as they are constituted, would avail nothing; but I believe that even any punishment such as transportation would be very effectual in putting a stop to it. I can mention one case: in the first vessel which I captured the captain hoisted Portuguese colours in lieu of Spanish; the reason he hoisted Portuguese colours was that he had understood, which I believe was not actually the case, that he would otherwise be confined two years in a prison, and the reason he hoisted Portuguese colours was to get clear of this imprisonment, which was not then in force in Portugal; the man told me he was a Portuguese, but I know perfectly well that he was a Spaniard, because the crew swore to me that she had left the Havannah under Spanish colours, and she was condemned in Sierra Leone as a Spanish slaver.

2424. You were upon the coast two years and eight months?—About that.

2425. In the course of your experience have you taken many slavers?—Twelve.

2426. Will you state to this Committee what was the treatment of the slaves by the slave dealers and their crews in the vessels so captured by you?—I cannot say, because immediately on capturing a vessel the management of the slaves is taken out of their hands.

2427. In any instance within your knowledge were the crews of the slave traders landed on the coast of Africa?—I have landed them myself.

2428. Not in Sierra Leone?—The first vessel I took was landed at Sierra Leone; two men that went down in the full prize were landed.

2429. Did you ever separate the slaves from their reputed owners, the dealers, and land the dealers on the coast, sending the slaves under the protection of your own officers and men, for adjudication, to Sierra Leone or elsewhere?—Yes; from the first vessel some of them I believe were taken back to the coast at their own request; some were landed in St. Helena, and four I think I took back to the coast and landed them at Cabenda.

2430. At the town of Cabenda?—Yes; where there are numerous Portuguese.

2431. You are not aware, from your own personal experience, of any instance in which those slave dealers, pirates though they may be, have been landed on the coast and left to struggle as they best might for life?—I have never done so; it would implicate others if I were to say; but I have never done so myself; I have been told of such.

2432. But you do not personally know?—Except from hearsay; I have never done so.

2433. You consider them as pirates?—I do.

2434. Mr. Jackson.] What did you do with them?—I landed some at Cabenda, some at Ambriz; all at settlements where there were some of their countrymen; I do not know whether they were Brazilians or Portuguese, but white men.

2435. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You regard those men, whatever sufferings they might bear at the hands of other captains, as pirates?—I do.

2436. They were engaged in an unlawful traffic in taking their fellow-creatures and making them slaves?—I consider so.

2437. They

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2437. They were subjecting those fellow-creatures to all the horrors of the middle passage?—Yes.

2438. And when they had been landed in Brazil or in Cuba, if not stopped by British vessels, they would have been condemned to the mines or to the sugar plantations as slaves?—I believe so.

2439. If a portion of those sufferings were inflicted upon all pirates captured, would you or would you not consider that such treatment was deserved?—Most decidedly I think it was deserved.

2440. Colonel *Thompson*.] Will you inform the Committee what is the general law at sea with respect to men found in armed vessels without either flag or papers?—I should consider them, if I commanded a vessel and took them, as pirates; I should send the vessel in which they were to the Vice-Admiralty Court, to be judged as a pirate.

2441. Then if they were not judged as pirates, the fault would be with the Vice-Admiralty Court; the remedy would be there?—Most decidedly, and I must say in this Committee that I think that we have not justice given to us in our courts.

2442. *Chairman*.] In what courts?—In the courts of St. Helena.

2443. Do you mean the Vice-Admiralty Courts?—Yes, most decidedly.

2444. Not the commission courts?—No; there is no commission court at St. Helena.

2445. Colonel *Thompson*.] Do you think, if an armed vessel were found without either flag or papers, in the Mediterranean for instance, the crew would be treated as pirates?—Most decidedly so; I should say so.

2446. If such a thing were to take place in the British Channel, for instance, as that a vessel fitted out for smuggling were found without even flag or papers; if such a scheme were set on foot, and a vessel were so found, how would the crew be treated, supposing them to be armed?—I should say she was a pirate, myself.

2447. *Chairman*.] You would not hesitate to treat a vessel so taken as a pirate?—Not in the least; if I did not do so I should consider myself as neglecting my duty.

2448. Colonel *Thompson*.] Would you then think, that if such men were not treated as pirates it would not be from the want of an existing law, but from the want of putting it into execution?—I have always understood that there is a law to punish people at sea as pirates, but I should say, from what I have seen on the coast, that it is not put into execution.

2449. Then it is not a new law which wants making, but an existing and acknowledged law which wants executing?—Most decidedly.

2450. Mr. *B. Baring*.] What induces those vessels to sail without colours or papers?—Latterly the Portuguese government transport them; they make converts of them, I believe; and just before I left the coast, an Act came in force that the crews of Spanish vessels engaged in the slave trade were to be punished; there was a ratio of punishment; the captain had the most punishment; but that only came out about a fortnight before I left the coast; at least it never reached me till then.

2451. So that, in fact, you have the power of taking any vessel sailing under the British, the Spanish, or the Portuguese flag?—Yes; but I doubt whether they put those punishments into effect, either with Spaniards or Portuguese; I believe that at St. Paul de Loando they do, because the governor there is very much against slavery, and he has done all he can to put a stop to it individually, but I believe that none of his officers second him.

2452. But the apprehension of punishment has been sufficient to induce those vessels to sail without flag or papers?—Yes; they have no punishment in the world given to them; we know perfectly well that if they are taken to St. Helena, and we ask the Vice-Admiralty Court to punish them, they laugh at us; even when they have fired at our men and shot them down in the boats boarding them, they have done the same.

2453. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] In conclusion of a series of questions which, with the permission of the Committee, I have addressed to you on the subject of the treatment which the slave dealers have experienced at the hands of British cruisers, do you or do you not wish this Committee to consider that that treatment has been one of the means of discouraging the slave trade?—No, I do not think so; because, as I mentioned before, some men preferred being landed on the coast of

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Africa to St. Helena; but I believe that that was because they thought they would sooner get back to Brazil in one of their own slave ships, or in an American bottom.

2454. Then, in point of fact, it would be the means of encouraging them?—In that case it shows that they preferred it; I gave them their choice which they would prefer.

2455. Mr. *Jackson*.] Suppose you had the power of hanging the captain of a slaver which you captured, would not that tend very much to put a stop to the trade?—I believe it would very soon put a stop to it.

2456. Are you aware, from your intercourse with the captured crew, that a great many of those men are kidnapped on board the vessels, for instance, Spaniards; that they are taken on board the slavers, not knowing what they are shipped for?—I should say most decidedly not.

2457. You are not aware of that?—No. I think that it says very much against that argument, that they prefer going back in slave vessels, where they are paid immensely high if they make a successful voyage. In a legalized trade in the Brazils, where a man gets a dollar a day on an average, he will get ten in a slaver.

2458. You consider that it is the high rate of wages which they get that induces them to go on board?—I have been told so by themselves.

2459. Do they share profits?—No; they share only if they land their cargo; they get nothing if they are taken.

2460. But do they go upon the principle of division of profits?—I believe not; I should say not.

2461. It was the practice when the slave trade was legalized to give the doctor of the ship a share of the profits?—The practice now is, I believe, that the agent gets it. I have been told so by themselves; they get 10 dollars a head.

2462. Then they only get the wages?—The actual wages or nothing. I believe that the captains generally have a venture in the vessels, and that some of the sailors too may have a slave a-piece; they came up and asked me to let them take each the slave that belonged to himself; he had paid for it.

2463. That is, they are allowed on going on board, in addition to the wages, to have one or two slaves given to them as a further encouragement?—Yes, which they buy themselves, and they stamp them with their own mark.

2464. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You have been asked whether in some cases the Spaniards forming the crew may not have been kidnapped. It is assumed that the captain of such vessel cannot have been kidnapped; would you then consider that the power of hanging at the yard-arm the captain of any vessel where slaves were found, would be one of the best modes of suppressing slavery?—I believe that even transportation would be one very good method of doing so.

2465. The last question was put to you because the suggestion was thrown out of hanging the captain?—Yes, I believe it would be very effective; I believe that it would put a stop to it at once.

2466. And you consider that the law which authorized the hanging of a pirate in Stangate Creek, in the River Thames, till within the last 20 years, might be repeated with efficiency as a means of suppressing the slave trade in the case of any vessel found with slaves on board?—Yes; it is clearly shown in the Mediterranean; it put a stop to piracy there.

2467. One life then being so sacrificed would in your judgment save the lives of what proportion of slaves embarked?—I should think it would very soon put a stop to slave-trading altogether.

2468. There are 450 slaves, for instance, embarked in a certain ship; how many of those slaves are landed in the Brazils on the average?—I should think two-thirds, or more; sometimes the vessels, I believe, go across without one landing; I can mention a case of the "Senator."

2469. Then you consider that this mode of suppressing the slave trade would eventually save many human lives?—Yes, I believe so.

2470. Mr. *Jackson*.] The average loss of life being one-third of the cargo, and each cargo averaging 450 when shipped, the hanging of one individual would save 300 lives?—Yes, and numbers of others that I believe lose their lives from working in the mines in Brazil.

2471. But merely in the middle passage, one life would be set against 300?—Yes, I should say so.

2472. *Chairman*.] You think that if that law were carried into execution, it would

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would stop the slave trade, without any of the methods of which we have been speaking?—Yes; if the treaty with Brazil of 1817 were carried out, and it were called piracy, I have always understood that piracy is punishable with hanging; if that were properly carried into effect, it would put a stop to it.

2473. Of course the slave trader would not submit quite so readily as he does now, if he knew that the punishment was death?—No, perhaps not; but I believe that where a man knows that he will not get any support in life if he is maimed, he will not defend his vessel.

2474. Not even if he knew that his life was to be sacrificed?—I do not think they would engage in it; I believe that the principal reason now why they never defend their vessels is this; the captains are all willing to defend them, having a large amount of property in them, but the men will not fight for them; they may get maimed in the action and lose a limb; and for after-life, if a man loses his arm, or other limbs, he is hindered from supporting himself.

2475. Mr. Jackson.] Then if the captain only were to be hung, and the punishment of death were inflicted upon him on the capture, do you think that the crew would be deterred from fighting, knowing that he would be the victim, and that they would be saved?—It would be a very hard case to find who the captain was, because now they never own who is the captain; you are obliged to pick out whom you think is the captain; they always declare there is no captain.

2476. Chairman.] Whereabouts was the French fleet cruising on the coast?—In the same place as ours.

2477. Did the fleet keep together, or were the vessels detached?—They were detached.

2478. Were they very active in stopping the slave trade?—Not in the least, I should say.

2479. Did they make any captures that you know of?—They did at first, but latterly none I believe; the reason I heard was, that they were all thrown out of court, that they had no law to condemn slave vessels.

2480. Did that relate to vessels sailing under the French flag, or vessels sailing under any flag?—The Brazilian flag, I believe. I have heard, and they have told me so themselves, that if they find a vessel without any papers or nation, they transport the parties; so that they are always unwilling to be captured by a French cruiser; they always preferred to be captured by an English cruiser.

2481. Are the French vessels fine vessels?—Very fine vessels indeed.

2482. Do they practise much in competition with our own ships in sailing?—No, they are generally at anchor.

2483. How were they occupied then, if they were not engaged in taking vessels?—They were doing nothing, I believe.

2484. Were they extending the French possessions on the coast of Africa?—I have understood that they are very anxious to do so.

2485. Earl of Lincoln.] Was the same scale of reward given by the French Government for the capture of slaves as by ours?—They had nothing.

2486. There was therefore no encouragement afforded to the ships for any increased activity?—None.

2487. Chairman.] What American force was off the coast when you were there?—I believe there were three or four vessels. I never saw but two myself; they are obliged to keep a force of 80 guns on the coast by the treaty; but that does not mention the number of ships, so that they have the number of guns.

2488. In case of your falling in with a vessel showing American colours, did you board her?—I always made the captain prove that she was an American.

2489. How did you do that?—By his papers.

2490. You went on board?—Yes, always.

2491. Then in fact you visited the ship?—Yes, which we were ordered to do.

2492. Would that enable you to satisfy yourself entirely whether the vessel was an American or not?—I think so.

2493. In the case of a vessel coming out with American colours conveying goods which you had reason to suspect were intended for the slave trade, how would you treat that vessel?—You cannot touch her; you cannot touch an American if she is full of slaves. They do not deny it: they tell you.

2494. Are American vessels often found with a cargo of slaves on board?—Those that have been American; I have taken two.

2495. Under American colours?—No, but vessels which had been American.

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2496. You have taken vessels which had been built in America?—And to the best of my knowledge sold in Rio.

2497. Had they been American vessels?—Yes.

2498. Would they have two sets of papers?—They would have no papers at all; when an American captain lands he takes his papers with him.

2499. Then the vessel was only connected with America from the fact of having been constructed in America?—Yes, at the time the slaves were on board; because I believe they are punished if taken by the American cruisers.

2500. The vessel would be the property probably of a Brazilian subject?—I believe so.

2501. Having been sold in Rio?—Yes, but I believe that it might be proved that they were still American property; that they are only sent over for the run.

2502. Mr. B. Baring.] You have stated that the French navy punish the crews of vessels that are taken without papers or colours. Do you know at all how the American men-of-war deal with them?—I believe that they are imprisoned or made convicts of; I have understood so.

2503. That is to say, the crews being Spaniards or Portuguese, but sailing in vessels without papers or colours?—If a vessel has papers and colours you may know, or suppose to be aware, to what nation she belongs; but if the captain hoist no colours or has no papers, we treat him as of no nation at all.

2504. You mentioned that such crews the French punished?—I have understood so; those without colours.

2505. How do the Americans deal with them?—I cannot say; I have never understood.

2506. Is there any American commerce upon the coast?—There is, I believe; I know that there is, because I have been into their factories, but nothing to the extent that we have.

2507. Have they appealed to you for protection?—Never.

2508. What part of the coast do those American traders frequent?—What we call the South Coast, the Gold Coast, and the North Coast; they all trade there.

2509. Do not they seem to get on very well without the protection of armed vessels?—The natives on that coast are perfectly well aware that an American officer has a great deal more power in his hands than we have; and if what is due is not paid, or the Americans make the slightest complaints to one of their naval officers, the case is remedied the next day. They have destroyed some of their towns for it.

2510. Are the French equally peremptory?—Equally so.

2511. There is more forbearance in ourselves?—We have no power at all.

2512. Lord Courtenay.] With respect to the mode of remuneration of our ships on the Western Coast, in your judgment is the present mode of remunerating the officers and men employed in that service a satisfactory one?—I believe people think so; I have seen something started by Captain Denman, but I do not know that it would be any more advantageous than as it is at present.

2513. Chairman.] Have you any further observations to make to the Committee?—None.

William Mackintosh Hutton, Esq., called in; and Examined.

W. M. Hutton, Esq.

2514. Chairman.] YOU are, I believe, engaged in the African trade?—I have been occupied in the African trade for, I may say, these 35 years.

2515. And are so still?—And am so still.

2516. Have you ever been on the coast?—No, I have never been there.

2517. Do you find commercial intercourse between this country and the coast of Africa gradually extending itself?—Materially, I should say.

2518. Do you consider the slave trade as opposed in itself to the interests of British commerce?—Diametrically opposite.

2519. Will you be so kind as to explain in what respect it is opposed?—I may illustrate the opposition that is given to the legitimate trade by two or three circumstances that have occurred to our trading factories, in the pursuit of legitimate commerce, which have been set fire to. It is perhaps hard to tax individuals, but we can only impute it to slave-trading interests that they have been set fire to. The first case that occurred was in 1843, at a place called Ahguay.

2520. You state that factories belonging to British merchants have been set on fire?—Yes.

2521. What

2521. What was the nature of those factories?—Palm-oil factories.
2522. With what object were they placed on the coast?—For the collection of palm-oil.
2523. Were there any deposits there of English goods?—Considerable.
2524. For the purpose of being exchanged?—For the purpose of being bartered for palm-oil.
2525. And that is the course in which the trade between this country and the coast of Africa is carried on?—Not altogether.
2526. That is one of the means?—That is one of the means. I am not aware whether the Committee have been informed upon the double nature of the trade on the coast of Africa; it is of two descriptions. I think the Committee should distinctly understand those two descriptions of trade; the one may be called the floating trade; it is done by means of vessels which are loaded with the manufactures of this country; they are sent out, not to land those manufactures, but to barter them with the natives, who come off to the ships; that trade is chiefly carried on by the Liverpool merchants, in the River Bonny, in the River Calabar, in the River Benin, and the rivers of that delta; the whole trade pursued there may be called a floating trade; there are hardly any factories.
2527. Will you explain the trade which is carried on by means of factories?—The trade carried on by means of factories is that which is done on the Gold Coast; we will commence at Appolonia, that is to the westward of Cape Three Points; I do not think that there is any factory to the westward of Appolonia. The factory system extends as far eastward as Badagry.
2528. You complain that those factories, the property of British merchants, have occasionally been destroyed?—Yes.
2529. Who do you suppose have been the authors of that destruction?—We consider that it is impossible for those natives who pursue legitimate trade to have been instrumental in doing it, because it is so contrary to their interest; what vindictive motive can a negro, who obtains the supply of his wants from a legitimate factory, have against that factory?
2530. You think it cannot have been the work of rival traders?—It has occurred at places where there are no rival traders.
2531. Then you attribute it to the act of the slave trader?—We do not know whom else to attribute it to.
2532. Has legitimate trade been very much annoyed by those practices?—Yes, it has.
2533. Can you mention any particular instances in which those acts of destruction were committed?—I do not like to trouble the Committee with too much detail, but the one that I was going to mention occurred in October 1843, at a place called Ahguay.
2534. Is that in the Bight of Benin?—It is a little to the eastward of Cape St. Paul. I do not know that I need trouble the Committee with the details of the affair, but the factory was set fire to on that occasion by parties who never could be discovered, and the loss was about 1,500*l.* sterling in value, chiefly in goods which were in the storehouse for the carrying on of the trade.
2535. British goods?—British goods. The young man who was in command of the factory ultimately applied to Commander Cumberland, of Her Majesty's brig "Spy;" Commander Cumberland sent a very peremptory letter to the head cabooceer and the chiefs of Ahguay, and the factor had no reason to doubt the sincerity of those chiefs, but even they could not find out who were the parties who set fire to the palm-oil factory.
2536. In the course of the last seven years have such acts been frequently repeated?—They assume different shapes. There has been another fire recently; the government gave every assistance to detect the parties concerned in the fire in 1843, but have not been successful in detecting who they were; it remains a matter of suspicion.
2537. Independently of the ordinary motives for wishing to see the slave trade extinguished, you, as an African merchant, have the additional motive of finding that trade hostile to your interests as a merchant?—Decidedly so. There is a matter which has recently occurred, about a twelvemonth since, at the same place, or near to it; I should like to trouble the Committee with a little of the details, because it will enable the Committee to form a tolerably correct notion as to the mode of proceeding which some of those slave traders adopt. I have a letter, dated 17 March 1847, from which I will read an extract: "We have

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many difficulties to contend with; the Portuguese do not mind this, as they can afford to lose on the oil, they making their profit on the slave trade, and they pursue the oil trade to induce ships to bring them out cargoes, and occasionally, when a lucky opportunity offers and no man-of-war is in sight for a day or two, they buy their slaves, and off the vessel goes, the master and crew having been transhipped to another vessel;” there are two vessels employed, one for the slave, the other to keep up the appearance of lawful trade. “The master and crew having been transhipped to another vessel, in which he takes his payment; thus it is there are always three or four ships lying at Whydah, for legitimate or illegitimate trade. The slave dealers throw such quantities of goods into the market, at such low prices, and of such good quality, that you would be perfectly surprised could you but see it, and know their system of trade that induces them to sell at such rates. They will have slaves, and it is upon the sale of them in the Brazils where they make the profit, not on the goods they sell, which they purposely sell cheap to the native chiefs to induce them to bring slaves. Mr. A. is now old; unfortunately, the rising spirit, B., is worse than the old man. This B. was a man before the mast; the ship in which he sailed was captured, she belonged to A., and all hands were sent on shore at Whydah;” that is to say, the crew. “A. met with a heavy misfortune by fire, in which he lost some hundred thousand dollars. B. and others, in this calamity, thinking themselves incumbrances on A., requested his permission to embark for Lagos;” Lagos is a place a little further eastward than Ahguay; “and B. got into the employ of the head slave trader there, to whom the ‘Dos Amigos,’ of blue-book notoriety, belonged; he remained with this person some 18 months, and assisted in shipping several cargoes of slaves; his employer died, and B. loaded all the ships then out, and wrote to the house in the Brazils that if they would consign ships and cargoes to him, he would carry on the business; they did so, and the devil’s fortune so favoured him that in the course of six years he was supposed to have become worth between one and two millions of dollars; he embarked to the Brazils, and there bought a splendid house.” The letter goes on to say, that the style of living was not suited to him, and that he came back to the coast to live at Porto Novo, in the neighbourhood of Ahguay. “He has come back to live at Porto Novo in a bamboo hut, to carry on the slave trade, to amass riches which he knows not how to enjoy. He visited the King of Dahomey three months ago, and took with him splendid presents, one item was 1,000 doubloons,” that is more than 3,000*l*. “He told the king he hoped he would carry on war in the interior; that he need not fear a demand ceasing for slaves; that he could take all that he, the king, could send him.” The writer of this letter says, “I have been to Dahomey since this, and visited the king; but strange enough, this man has been up again since my return. Besides this he has been giving large presents to the chiefs of Badagry, and is endeavouring to get up a war; all is quiet at present, but how long it may remain so it is impossible to say.” That shows the nature of that man’s operations in order to pursue the slave trade. If the Committee will allow me, I will continue a little further respecting him from another letter. This is a letter dated from Badagry, on the 8th of April last year, just a twelvemonth ago: “I forward you a few particulars of recent events here, connected with the slave trade, which continues to alarm all the peaceably disposed people of these parts, and in short prevents them from settling down quietly to business, or following any agricultural occupations. Whilst I was occupied in landing some goods which Captain Sims of the American brig ‘Oregon’ had undertaken to land for me here, I was surprised to find that a large party of Dahomey soldiers were on their march for this place, though from reports which the natives had brought me I feared that troubles were gathering; there were about 3,000 men, and they halted close to us; the presence of so many ill-disposed men compelled me to suspend my business, nor could my people be induced on any account to proceed with the landing of my goods, which would have been a work but of three or four days at most, and the ‘Oregon’ was thereby detained 21 days in delivering my goods. But I should inform you that these people came down in charge of Mr. B.,” the same person alluded to in the former letter, “the great slave trader, of whom you have already heard so much.”

2538. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Is that the slave dealer who made his fortune, went to Brazil, and returned to the coast of Africa?—Yes. “He has had a quarrel with the present King of Lagos since his return from Brazil; he brought out with him four large brigs, all with slave cargoes on board; he has been employing two

of his ships in collecting all the provisions he could procure, and the other two in conveying troops and ammunition; he hired and bribed the townspeople between Whydah and Lagos, and after four months' of exertion in this way collected a force altogether of 8,000 strong. He had 15 sets of canoes and canoe-men at his disposal, to cross the water and proceed towards Lagos." The crossing of the water, I should observe, refers to the lagoon which runs parallel with the sea coast.

2539. *Chairman.*] From Whydah?—At Whydah; in some parts it is five or six miles wide.

2540. *Lord Courtenay.*] Parallel to the shore?—Yes, nearly so.

2541. *Chairman.*] It does not run all the way from Whydah to Lagos, does it?—It runs for nearly 300 miles, and it is an important feature; it assists the slave traders of that quarter so materially that they harbour and resort there now more than at any other part of the coast; in fact it is the part of the coast where the slave trade chiefly now lingers.

2542. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] What is the average breadth of the portion of land which intercepts the lagoon from the sea?—It varies at different places, but the average does not exceed a mile, I should think; in many places it is not so much as half a mile.

2543. Vessels on the lagoon can be seen from the sea then?—There are none; no British vessel has yet been into it.

2544. *Chairman.*] Can a vessel at sea see over that tongue of land, and observe vessels which are going along the lagoon?—I am not aware; if there were ships with masts I have no doubt they could be seen, but the only craft that move on the lagoon now are the canoes, and chiefly the canoes of the slave traders.

2545. You have no local knowledge?—I have no local knowledge.

2546. Will you be so kind as to proceed with your letter?—"He had 15 sets of canoes and canoe-men at his disposal to cross the water and proceed towards Lagos; all advanced towards that place together, but from circumstances which I am not informed of, the expedition has been unsuccessful, as after three weeks detention there, and many fruitless attempts, the people began to disperse and return to their own homes; a body of these in passing here" (this is at Badagry) "seized upon 200 puncheon packs" (those are for the reception of palm-oil) "which I ventured to land; they broke them all up and strewed them over the beach, carrying away the iron hooping with them. I do not know where to look for protection or redress against such infamous proceedings; they make the people think it is useless listening to our overtures of business, as all their labour and work may be upset and done for in one hour. The cruizers off the coast are not up to the tricks that the slave traders practise, and if they were it would be difficult to take their vessels; expense seems no object; two or three ships," meaning slave ships, "being generally together; one takes in 30 or 40 casks of palm-oil," to have the appearance of pursuing legitimate trade, "and the day they want to ship slaves all the ships get under weigh; one goes one way, another the other, and one to the place where the slaves are to be taken in; good seas or bad it is all one to them; the slaves are made fast to ropes, and if the canoes are upset they are hauled ashore dead or alive; the canoes bring back the palm-oil as the slaves go on board; this is the way the shipping is done here. It is villainy and cruelty throughout, and makes one sigh and long for a remedy; but what can I do but hope to be allowed to pursue my business without personal molestation? The profits of slave trade are great, and the chiefs quite understand one another; they agree among themselves to attack a town of inferior strength and seize the people; all they can secure are deemed legal slaves, and it is by this sort of work that the slave markets hereabouts are at present supplied." This comes from a person resident at the place, and I have no doubt whatever as to the perfect accuracy of the information.

2547. It appears from the information which you have received from the coast, that the slave trade is in a state of unusual activity?—I am not disposed to think so; it may be at particular parts, but taking it as a whole I am not disposed to think that the slave trade has increased.

2548. Since when?—Since 1840 we will say, or about that period. I am not prepared accurately to fix the year. If you will allow me, I will call the attention of the Committee to two or three circumstances about the year 1835; we will enter into a comparison as regards that time and the last year.

2549. A comparison of the state of the slave trade?—Yes. This is an extract

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of a letter that was written from the coast of Africa in 1835. I see it was written in the River Bonny: "We arrived in the River Bonny in May last; on our arrival there were at anchor in the river three slave-trading vessels, and during our stay of three months, five more came, making altogether eight ships; in the above time four vessels sailed with full cargoes of slaves, the other four we left in the river." Without going into any detail as to what has occurred at the Bonny since, I would only remark to the Committee that I believe in the River Bonny there is now no slave trade. This is written by a person who was at Loando in 1835. He says, "In September last," that is September 1835, "there were lying in the harbour of Loando 18 slaving vessels." I have no recent information from Loando, but Her Majesty's Government have resident at Loando now a commissioner; and I believe that the slave trade, if not wholly discontinued there, is very much so. Another letter, dated the 9th of March 1836, says, "I fell in with several slavers in the vicinity of Cape Palmas. They had factories on shore, and I passed close to a small schooner under Spanish colours, whose decks, as well as her hold, were filled with slaves for the larger vessels. We passed Whydah Roads in the latter part of January. I did not anchor there, but I counted nine vessels under Spanish colours." I think I may say to the Committee, that at Cape Palmas there is now no slave trade. The Committee will observe, that this letter states that in 1836 there were several slavers in the vicinity of Cape Palmas. I observed that the slave trade now chiefly lingers in the neighbourhood of Whydah, and I am not disposed to believe, at least I have no information, that the slave trade, to any extent, is carried on at any other part of the coast to the northward of the Line, than at places between Cape St. Paul's to the River Benin, or to Lagos. I may put it Lagos, because from Lagos to Benin there is an impossibility of the trade being carried on, owing to the natural qualities of the beach. The sand beach ends a little to the eastward of Lagos, and the other is mud beach. Now you cannot land boats or canoes on the mud beach, which commences at Cradoo Lake.

2550. Lord *Courtenay*.] It is mud from Cradoo to Benin?—Yes, you come to a mud bank, extending to Benin River.

2551. *Chairman*.] Your information would not seem to accord entirely with the information which has been transmitted to the Government on the subject of the slave trade. By official papers, a copy of which I have before me, it appears that the slave trade increased very largely from the year 1835 to 1840, that from 1840 to 1842 it diminished considerably, especially in the years 1840 and 1841, and that since that time it has largely increased?—I have very little doubt that it has increased latterly, but I am not aware of the precise information which the Government may receive; of course their information is correct, but probably I may be allowed to refer to the evidence of Lord Palmerston, given before the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting, a few days ago.

2552. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] When you speak of the diminution of the slave trade, do you speak more particularly of the slave trade north of the Line?—I do, certainly; I may say I am scarcely acquainted with what goes on upon the east coast of Africa, and very little with what goes on upon what we call the south coast.

2553. Are you aware that it has been given in evidence that the great increase seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Ambriz, south of the Line?—I believe that if it has increased, it must be there.

2554. *Chairman*.] I observe that in this evidence which you have placed in my hand, Lord Palmerston states that the slave trade with Cuba has diminished in a very remarkable manner, but he also seems to state that the trade with Brazil has increased; he mentions, "as far as we can judge from different reports, the number imported into Brazil in 1846 may be calculated at something about 50,000 or more; I should say perhaps 60,000." According to official statements I think it appears that 65,000 slaves is the largest amount which has ever been imported into Brazil?—There must be some difficulty in getting accurate returns, and I cannot help thinking that the slave-trading interest in the Brazils may attach an importance to exaggerating the amount of their trade, in order to represent to the British Government how futile their attempts are to put it down. I think that on what is called the north-west coast of Africa, say to the north-west of the Line, the slave trade lingers at scarcely any places excepting at Whydah and its neighbourhood.

2555. Lord *Courtenay*.] Will you state the extent of coast with which you have such a degree of commercial relation as enables you to give definite information upon

upon the subject; between what points do your commercial relations exist?—*W. M. Hutton, Esq.*
From the River Gambia to the Bight of Benin.

2556. The whole length of that coast?—The whole length of that coast.

2557. *Chairman.*] But your information would not lead you to suppose that the slave trade had diminished within the last five years?—It has diminished on that portion of the coast, but it may have increased at Whydah. When the slave trade has been driven from one place it may resort to another, although that is a matter of difficulty, because every impediment that is thrown in their way deters their operations, and presents obstacles to their trade that render it more difficult for them to pursue it.

2558. *Lord Courtenay.*] It is your decided impression, that with the exception of Whydah, in reference to the whole coast to which attention has been called, the slave trade has diminished within the last few years?—The slave trade has diminished, decidedly.

2559. To what period does your information extend?—To the latest dates which we have from the coast of Africa, about the early part of January last.

2560. *Chairman.*] You must have had occasion to observe with great interest the attempt at suppressing the slave trade, which has been conducted by the British Government; has that attempt been in its results satisfactory to your own mind?—Not upon the whole; the experience that I have had with the coast of Africa may perhaps warrant me in saying that as regards the slave trade, two courses of measures are necessary for its suppression; there must be coercive measures, and there must be measures to wean the chiefs of Africa from pursuing it. Now it is in the latter measures that our Government has been wanting.

2561. What description of measures would you recommend the Government to adopt for the purpose of turning the chiefs of Africa from the slave trade?—That at those parts of the coast of Africa where there is a fair prospect of legitimate commerce being carried on, to the advantage both of Africa and of this country, something like a trading factory should be established, with Government protection.

2562. Would you propose to form such establishments on many points of the coast of Africa?—Unquestionably I would. If I may refer to the Report of the Parliamentary Committee which sat in the year 1842, the third paragraph under the head "Gold Coast," in page 4, is as follows: "We recommend the re-occupation of several of the forts, such as Appolonia, Winnebah, and Whydah, abandoned in 1822, when the government was handed over to the committee of merchants; and the re-construction of others, on however small a scale, on other similar points." That is one sentence to which I would call the attention of the Committee; another is at the termination of the same paragraph in the Report: "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 have particularly alluded, as well as others." I would also beg to direct the attention of the Committee to the last part of the Report, within a few lines of the conclusion in page 21: "Encouragement and ample protection at the same time should be given to lawful trade in every shape;" and referring to a note in the margin, it states: "Perhaps one or two vessels," meaning one or two of Her Majesty's vessels, "might have this specific duty assigned to them, apart from the general operations of the cruizers connected with the slave trade."

2563. Those are the measures which you recommend?—Those are the measures which I would humbly recommend to be carried out.

2564. As one part of the means for suppressing the slave trade?—As one part.

2565. Will you explain the other?—The other is coercion; the measures of coercion must be blockade to prevent it.

2566. Do you recommend any augmentation of the present force?—I have no sufficient knowledge to pronounce an opinion upon that point.

2567. Do you expect that the combination of the two measures to which you have adverted would be of itself sufficient to prevent the slave trade?—I think that the coercive measures would prevent it, and that the encouragement of lawful commerce, when it became fully established, would most effectually suppress it.

2568. Coercive measures, up to a certain point, have been in practical operation; the slave trade, however, appears to be going on. You would attribute that

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circumstance to the neglect of the other measures recommended by the Report of the Committee of 1842?—I think I may give that answer generally in the affirmative. We have reason to say that on the Gold Coast, where there has been the protection of forts, for very many years past the slave trade has been entirely extinct, there is no such thing as slave trade known; and we can only impute that to the protection which is given to lawful commerce, and lawful commerce there has been the instrument in suppressing, and now prevents any desire on the part of the natives for a revival of the slave trade.

2569. Is commerce actively pursued on the coast of Africa by other nations than the English?—Yes, it is. I will not say so actively as by the English, because there is not so much capital employed by any foreign country as there is by British merchants.

2570. What countries besides England are actively engaged in the legitimate trade of Africa?—The French, the Germans, and the Americans.

2571. Have any of those been supposed to be concerned in the slave trade?—I do not know how to answer that question. The commerce to which we are alluding is the lawful commerce, and I thought the question put to me referred only to lawful commerce; you are drawing a comparison between the British trade on the coast of Africa, and the trade of the French, the Germans, and the Americans.

2572. None of those nations are concerned in the slave trade, are they?—Not directly. I should say the French and the German, certainly not. With respect to the American vessels, I think the gentleman who was last examined stated that American bottoms were frequently employed for the purposes of the slave trade.

2573. That is only indirectly?—Indirectly.

2574. The Committee are to understand from your evidence, that you attach great importance, as a means of suppressing the slave trade, to the extension of legitimate commerce?—Yes, certainly.

2575. That more attention should be paid to that subject by the British Government than has heretofore been extended to it?—I am decidedly of that opinion: you may prevent the slave trade from being carried on as long as your blockade of a place exists, but directly that blockade has been withdrawn, unless another trade has been established, the natives are anxious to pursue slave trade again: and though I dare say the Committee may understand it sufficiently, I should wish to observe that it is not generally considered that the natives of Africa or the chief people of Africa do not regard the slave trade with the horror that we do; that they look to it as their means of procuring the supply of the wants which they have; they want their clothing; they want certain articles which they consider articles of luxury, and they only know the slave trade as a means of supplying those wants. If we point out to them what we consider a better mode of getting those wants supplied, and can persuade them that that other mode is a better mode, my impression is that they will willingly, and even gladly, adopt that other mode; but until they are instructed in that other mode, they consider our measures to prevent the slave trade as inimical to their best interests; so that our coercive measures, without the introduction of legitimate commerce at the same time, bring us into antagonistic opposition to the natives of Africa.

2576. Have you any other suggestions to make as a means of promoting legitimate commerce, than the re-occupation of those abandoned settlements?—I would not fix the re-occupation of those abandoned settlements as the particular recommendation for the means of suppressing the slave trade, but I would say the occupation of points on the coast of Africa where legitimate commerce can be advantageously pursued.

2577. Would that involve considerable expense?—I do not think that it would; not an expense that the House of Commons ought to make a difficulty. If the House of Commons would do as much now for the protection of legitimate trade as it did at the commencement of the present century for the protection of slave trade, the slave trade would be very quickly put down. In the year 1800 the House of Commons, I think, voted 40,000 *l.* for the support of the forts and factories on the Gold Coast; in the year 1801, 20,000 *l.*; in 1802, 18,000 *l.* Since 1829 the highest amount voted by the House of Commons, in any one year, has been 4,000 *l.*

[*The Witness delivered in the following Paper :*]

STATEMENTS of Amounts, under the head of "Miscellaneous Expenditure," for African Forts, in each of the Years 1800 to 1844.

W. M. Hutton, Esq.

6 April 1848.

Year.	—	Year.	—	Year.	—
	£.		£.		£.
1800	40,000	1815	30,000	1830	4,000
1801	20,000	1816	23,000	1831	4,000
1802	18,000	1817	23,000	1832	3,500
1803	16,000	1818	28,000	1833	3,500
1804	18,000	1819	28,000	1834	3,500
1805	20,054	1820	25,000	1835	3,500
1806	20,138	1821	258	1836	3,500
1807	18,000	1822	26,742	1837	3,500
1808	23,000	1823	17,500	1838	3,500
1809	23,000	1824	52,354	1839	3,500
1810	23,500	1825	29,500	1840	4,000
1811	—	1826	36,096	1841	4,000
1812	35,000	1827	41,000	1842	4,000
1813	25,000	1828	12,000	1843	4,000
1814	25,000	1829	4,000		

2578. Do you think that if the sum of money which has been voted for the squadron had been devoted to the extension of commerce, it would have been a wiser application of the money?—I will not say but that the amount which has been voted for the squadron may have been required for the preventive or coercive measures; but if Parliament had voted a sum of money for the extension of forts and factories on the Gold Coast, let us suppose that such had been in existence 10 years, then I should apprehend that at this time, instead of having to vote 300,000*l.* last year to defray the aggregate charge for Her Majesty's ships of war employed in the suppression of the slave trade, it might have been 200,000*l.* or 250,000*l.*

2579. Lord Courtenay.] Am I correct in supposing that the sum of 4,000*l.* was the whole of the expense on the Gold Coast for those settlements?—The whole of the colonial expense.

2580. Are there other sources from which other expenses are met?—There is the Ordnance, and I believe a small military expense.

2581. Are you able to inform the Committee what is the whole expense of maintaining the forts at the settlements on the Gold Coast?—I am not. From 1829 to 1843, the whole expense did not average 4,000*l.* a year.

2582. Has the government of the Gold Coast been resumed by the Crown?—Yes, it has.

2583. Chairman.] That is since the Committee of 1842?—Yes.

2584. Lord Courtenay.] In accordance with their recommendation?—Yes.

2585. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] What is the scale of the establishment which you would propose at those posts which you recommend?—A very small establishment would be necessary; it would partly depend upon the particular place; here and there certainly a larger establishment might be required. Supposing that the Government were to resume their occupation of Whydah, Whydah might be regarded as an important station; there should be either a governor or commandant, or some person subordinate to the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, and I should suppose that he ought to have a secretary and a captain of the guard, who would have 50 men under him; that establishment might be sufficient for Whydah, but at small factories generally I should consider that a commandant and 15 or 20 men would be amply sufficient, supposing that a block house or factory were built; a little fort capable of containing an officer and 20 men; I should consider that that would be a sufficient establishment.

2586. Would it require the residence of any European on the coast?—I should say there should be a European head.

2587. But it would not be necessary to have the assistance of any other Europeans, either civil or military?—No; I think one would be quite sufficient.

2588. Attaching great importance, as you do, to the establishment of commerce with the natives of Africa for the purpose of putting down the slave trade, and thinking, therefore, that one of the best means for doing that would be by establishing those posts, is it your opinion also, that for the purpose of

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enabling you to establish commerce and to protect it, the cruisers should continue upon the coast?—I should consider that a simply protective force would be necessary at all times; but when a preventive force shall become unnecessary, the protective might be wonderfully less than the present force.

2589. Do you think that it is possible to establish a legitimate trade at places where the slave trade exists, without previously putting down the slave trade?—I have established legitimate trade at such places, but I have not put down the slave trade; I am only afraid the slave trade will put down me.

2590. Then if coercive measures were not to be continued, do you think that in those places the slave trade would so increase as to extinguish the legitimate commerce?—I suspect that my factories would be driven into the sea.

2591. Then in point of fact, if the system which has hitherto been pursued for the purpose of repressing the slave trade by the presence of a squadron upon that coast, were discontinued, you think that the legitimate trade would be extinguished?—I should think the sooner I got my property home the better; I should be a fool to continue it there an hour longer than I could help.

2592. From the experience which you have had, have you found that merchants settled upon the coast are anxious for the presence of a man-of-war, independently of any feeling in regard to the slave trade?—Yes; they are always anxious to see a man-of-war occasionally; because, although it may not be necessary, the mere knowledge of a man-of-war being in the neighbourhood, or being likely to call within a short period, has its influence over the minds of the chiefs and the black people to keep them in order, and to repress any excitement which they may be entertaining, or any desire to encroach upon the British interests or commerce. It has this influence over their minds, to maintain order, and to restrain aggressions which they might contemplate.

2593. Have you ever heard any complaints on the part of the British merchants, that the ships-of-war on the coast for the purpose of the suppression of the slave trade, have in any way been prejudicial to the pursuit of their own legitimate trade?—Never.

2594. *Chairman.*] I understand you to say, that though you think a naval force is absolutely necessary for the protection of our interests on the coast, you do not think that such a naval force as is now established there is necessary?—Not when the slave trade is put down.

2595. I am speaking of existing circumstances. Do you think that a force to the extent which is now kept up there is necessary?—Under existing circumstances I think it is.

2596. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Do you think it would be safe to withdraw any portion of that force, and to give the impression to the people of the country that England had become indifferent to the suppression of the slave trade?—I should consider that it would be a very serious calamity to give them that impression; that anything should be done to convey such an impression to them.

2597. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Do you think that such an impression would be conveyed by the withdrawal of the squadron?—No question of it; they would consider that this country had become indifferent to the suppression of the slave trade, and that they were at liberty to pursue it in any way they pleased.

2598. You think that such would not only be the impression, but the fact; not only that the natives would consider that we desired to discontinue our efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, but that the slave trade would, in fact, be revived?—The slave trade would, in fact, be revived; the slave trade would, in fact, increase throughout the coast of Africa.

2599. *Mr. B. Baring.*] Is there any ill will in the minds of the chief attached to the English merchants, in consequence of our interference with the slave trade?—I should say decidedly there is, where the chief is a great slave trader.

2600. Is not that injurious to your trade?—No doubt of it.

2601. You stated that the slave traders throw goods at ruinous prices into the market?—Yes.

2602. They therefore interfere with your trade; in short, it prevents you from knowing at what price you can sell your goods to the natives?—While that continues we do not know how to make a price.

2603. Does not that arise from the interference of this country: if the slave trade were regularly carried on, if a given number of slaves were annually exported

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exported from a given part, in that case prices would not be interfered with in the manner which you have described?—I do not comprehend how the legality of the slave trade could influence the prices of British commodities. Supposing the slave trade to be legalized, the slave trader could always outbid the innocent trader by throwing his commodities away at a lower rate than the innocent trader; he shuts the innocent trader out of the market.

2604. That presupposes that the demand for English goods in the African market is limited?—I do not consider that that follows. The legitimate trader, if he sold his goods at all, would be compelled to sell them at a rate to compete with the slave trade. Now, if the slave trader so reduced the legitimate trader's profits that his trade was a losing one, he must abandon it. For instance, if the slave trader will give 100 pieces of cloth for a slave, and I can only give 50 for a puncheon of palm oil, and to give 100 would ruin me, and if a puncheon of palm oil and a slave are equivalent quantities or values, I must abandon my trade, because the slave trader can get a price in Brazil or Cuba for his slave that will give him a large profit, whereas no market in Europe will afford me a compensating price for my puncheon of palm oil, for which I have been obliged to pay 100 pieces of cloth. I must abandon my palm-oil trade.

2605. Could you not sell palm oil at a higher price than you now do in the English market?—I cannot sell it higher than the buyers will give.

2606. Is there any article which would come into competition with it, and which would prevent its use, supposing the price to be increased in the markets of this country; if the price of palm oil were increased in the proportion which you have stated, is there any other article of the same nature which would come into competition with it, and prevent its use in England at that price?—I do not think that there is any article in England which would prevent the use and consumption of palm oil, so long as palm oil can be got, but there are many articles that come into competition with it, and by which its price is regulated; it is regulated by the price of tallow, and tallow is the chief article with which palm oil has to compete. Every ton of palm oil that we consume in England must throw a portion of tallow out of consumption, because tallow and palm oil are applicable for the same purposes; that is, we make soap and we make candles of tallow; we make soap and we make candles of palm oil, but there is no limiting the consumption of palm oil; we only get at present from about 20,000 to 25,000 tons from the coast of Africa during the year, but that is a very large increase if we go back 10 years, upon what was obtained 10 years ago, and what was obtained 10 years ago is a very large increase upon what was obtained the 10 preceding years.

2607. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Is not palm oil applicable to purposes, with respect to railways, for example, to which tallow is not applicable, or at least in anything like the proportion?—I have heard that it is so; I know that it is used largely in railways; I was speaking of the chief uses to which it is applied; I am not prepared to say, but I should not suppose there were 500 tons in a year used for railways, whereas 20,000 tons a year are used for soap.

2608. Earl of Lincoln.] You have stated that there has been an increase in the consumption of palm oil in this country in the last 10 years; are you enabled to state what has been the increase of price during the same time?—In the year 1832 it was 33 *l.*; in the year 1828 it was 24 *l.* 10 *s.*; in the year 1823 the average price was 27 *l.* Price does not follow increased consumption, but is regulated chiefly by the stock or quantity in the market to meet consumption.

2609. What is the price now?—The price now is 37 *l.*; the present stock is low, and an increased demand of course enables us to procure an increased price. The importation last year, I think, was larger than in any preceding year; it hardly does to compare year with year; but if we take the present time and 10 years ago, we see a vast increase. In 1837 the importation of palm oil was only 11,165 tons, and in the year 1847 it is upwards of 25,000.

2610. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] Has the cost price very much increased in Africa, in proportion to the increased demand in this country?—There are so many markets in Africa that the price of one market does not at all regulate the price of another; and the price varies very considerably according to the number of ships that there are at the particular place to buy it; it may be got in the River Bonny at a very cheap rate, provided there are only two or three vessels; if there should be 10, 12, or 15 ships, they would have to pay very dearly to get it; competition will raise the price, so much so that no one of those 12 or 15 ships

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would have a profitable voyage; but if a merchant ship should be so fortunate as to be in the river when there are only two to compete with, she would have an abundant supply of palm oil at a price which was only half the cost of that given by the 15.

2611. The principle of supply and demand in Africa obtains precisely as it does here?—It is precisely the same in every part of the world.

2612. *Mr. B. Baring.*] You have alluded to another element of price; that is, the value of the article which is given for the palm oil, namely, the value of the British goods?—When you speak of the value of British goods, the trade in Africa is carried on through the medium of a nominal value, by which the price of the oil is regulated, and the price of the commodity which is given in exchange for it. Although it is a barter trade, yet the price of the palm oil on the one hand, and the price of the British goods on the other, blend or meet in a denomination which the black man understands. In the River Bonny the medium is bars; on the Gold Coast it is ackees; in the Bonny a bar is tantamount to 1 s. or thereabouts, but on the Gold Coast an ackee is a dollar. In buying the African produce a man estimates his palm oil at so many ackees or so many bars, and you have to pay him that number of ackees or bars in certain goods, the prices of which goods are so many bars or so many ackees.

2613. You stated that if the slave dealer were allowed to interfere with your trade, he would so far lower the value of English goods as very much to raise the value of palm oil to the English trader?—I do not mean to say that the slave trader could do so upon a regular system, because to admit that he could do so upon a regular system would be to admit that his store must always be abundantly supplied with British goods, which it very rarely is; but it is occasionally the case that the slave trader steps in, and by paying away his British goods so improvidently, he for the time ruins the trade of the legitimate merchant.

2614. If the demand of the slave dealer for slaves were regular, he would not interfere with your trade to the same extent which he now does on account of the fitful and uncertain nature of his dealings?—If the demand for slaves were regular his competition would be permanent.

2615. In that case would his trade interfere with your trade?—His trade would exclude our trade; I should apprehend so.

2616. In what manner would it exclude your trade?—Because the African chief will more readily part with his slaves than be at the trouble of cultivating the ground in order to raise produce by which he may supply his wants.

2617. That is to say, at a lower price he can buy English goods?—Not only at a lower price, but with less labour and trouble to himself. If a black chief wants a dozen pieces of cloth it may be thought perhaps less trouble to him to part with one of his surplus slaves to get those dozen pieces of cloth, than to set 20 men to work to till the ground and cultivate a palm-oil plantation, or any other plantation, cotton, or whatever produce may be saleable; the one can be done momentarily, the other is a process of time; and the momentary mode of gaining his object, the black man looks upon as the most desirable.

2618. Would not the demand for English manufactures increase even beyond that quantity which could be purchased by the export of slaves, in a short time?—The English merchant, in trading to Africa, can only trade there for the produce of the soil; he can take nothing else from Africa but gold dust, palm oil, ivory, peppers, cotton, or whatever the soil will produce. If the slave trade were legalized by the British Government it would give such an impetus, as I consider, to the chiefs of Africa to pursue the slave trade, that they would abandon at once all idea of cultivation; they would think it a laborious, troublesome, and circuitous mode of providing for their wants. As I observed just now, to part with a surplus slave is so ready a means for the chief to satisfy his momentary want that he applies to it immediately; but put a hindrance to him, stop him from doing that, let him see that he cannot do it, by the coercive measures which are adopted to prevent him; he must have his wants supplied some how or other; he must have his cloth, or his beads, or his caps, or those things that he desires; and in order to supply those wants he will then send men into the fields and cultivate something.

2619. Then you suppose that the demand is altogether limited, that he could supply all the wants of the coast upon which he resides by the sale of slaves, and slaves only?—If the slave trade were to be legalized, and the chiefs of
Africa

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Africa found that they could carry it on without let or hindrance from the British Government, the very knowledge of that circumstance would crush, I observe again, as I consider, all those little desires after better articles which are now rising up in the minds of the Africans; because when the African man, the poor negro, has once worn a piece of cloth he will not go bare any more; and after he has indulged in one piece of cloth he will want two, and probably he will visit some factory where there are British traders, and he will find that they wear trowsers; he will no longer be satisfied then with a piece of cloth, he will want a pair of trowsers; and then he will want a jacket, and then he will want a cap, so that their communication with the legitimate trader gradually creates those wants in the minds of the African people, and the chiefs more especially are anxious not to possess one or two articles of clothing, but to furnish themselves, as may be said, with whole wardrobes. The King of Dahomey has an annual custom of exhibiting all the splendid things which have been made presents to him during the past year, and some of them are very handsome; it is a portion of his custom to exhibit his articles of clothing, those which he possesses, to display them to the people, and show them what beautiful things he has to wear.

2620. Clothing would be cheaper in Africa if they could buy it by the exportation of slaves than by the exportation of palm oil?—The clothing then would almost all be confined to the chiefs, because it is only the chiefs and better classes of the inhabitants of the coast of Africa that can be slave merchants. Now, in the legitimate trade, a man may do a very little trade and he may get his living by it, but in the slave trade to get many slaves a man must attack a neighbouring village, or he must sell his family; he must do various horrible things in order to get a quantity of goods; but in pursuing legitimate trade he would want those very hands to raise produce, which hands the slave trade induces him to sell.

2621. Am I to understand you that, under such circumstances, the agriculturist would not find means of purchasing English manufactures, but the chief alone?—I cannot say that he would not find any means of purchasing them; his means would be crippled.

2622. He would still have the same quantity of palm oil upon his hands?—How can he, if he has not the hands to employ to get it?

2623. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] He would sell his hands instead of employing them in getting palm oil?—Yes.

2624. *Mr. B. Baring.*] Do you mean to say that every petty chief would sell his own people; the very people whom he now employs in cultivating palm oil?—I cannot undertake to say that every chief would do that, but I say this, that the legalising of the slave trade would induce him to do it; that is to say, the selling slaves would be a readier mode to him of supplying his wants than cultivating the soil.

2625. Is the soil generally cultivated by the slaves?—I do not know; I cannot answer who are the cultivators of it; there must be some to do it, and every hand that you occupy in the cultivation of the soil you save a man from being sold as a slave.

2626. Your answer supposes that the persons who are now employed by the chiefs in the collection of palm oil would, if the chiefs had the power, be sold by them in exchange for English manufactures?—I cannot answer so positively one way or the other, because it would be to suppose that the legitimate trade has done nothing; the legitimate trade, I think, has done a great deal, and I do not doubt that it has prevented some chiefs altogether from slave trade, and those chiefs would, probably, very reluctantly resume it again; therefore the good which legitimate trade has done would, in some measure, be continued; but it would be very much diminished by a revival of slave trade.

2627. In your trade do you trade principally with the chief and head men, or with their subjects?—I think that the palm oil trade is pursued by all classes; whoever takes a pot of palm oil into a factory gets an equivalent for it in the shape of British goods.

2628. Those individuals so bringing a pot of palm oil would still continue to have a wish for English manufactures as they have now?—Those people who bring the palm oil might be sold as slaves. Some neighbouring townspeople might come down upon them and carry them away.

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2629. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Are not the Committee to understand that your opinion is that the continuation of the slave trade would have a tendency to perpetuate the barbarism of the chiefs, and prevent them from pursuing legitimate commerce?—Yes.

2630. Is it your opinion that the substitution of legitimate trade would induce the African chiefs to employ their labourers for the cultivation of the articles which would be in demand by the English merchant, in exchange for the goods which he had to supply?—Yes, it is.

2631. In point of fact then, the tendency of the continuation of the slave trade is to limit the consumption, whereas the tendency of the substitution for it of legitimate trade is to extend the consumption?—The tendency of legitimate trade is to extend consumption and to increase the number of consumers.

2632. *Chairman*.] You seem always to assume that there is an unlimited demand for slaves in Brazil and Cuba; is that your opinion?—I could not entertain that opinion, because there must be a limit to that.

2633-4. But you consider that there are the means of disposing of a very large amount of slaves in Brazil and Cuba?—Such appears to be the case, judging from the information which the Committee possess.

2635. You were understood to say that we never can withdraw the present large squadron on the coast of Africa until we establish a legitimate trade along the coast where the slave trade is now carried on?—The squadron certainly ought not to be diminished or withdrawn till that legitimate trade is established; but in many parts of the coast that legitimate trade is established already, and the services of the squadron on those portions of the coast are not wanted. I think there is no occasion whatever for any frequent visitation from vessels of war, between Cape Palmas and Cape St. Paul.

2636. But so long as the slave trade is carried on upon any part of the coast, the present amount of our naval force must be kept up?—It should be kept up, in my opinion.

2637. Have not the French settlements on the coast?—They have recently formed one at the River Assinee, about five years ago.

2638. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Where is that?—The Gold Coast commences at the River Assinee.

2639. *Chairman*.] Is that the latest settlement which the French have formed upon the coast?—They have formed one at Gaboon.

2640. Have they not formed others lately?—I have not heard of any.

2641. Have not you heard that the officers of the French fleet are now contracting with the native chiefs, with the view of forming French settlements on the coast?—It has not come to my knowledge; I know that they interfere a good deal.

2642. I understand you to say that it is by means of commercial establishments on the coast that we shall put down the slave trade?—When put down it will be effectually suppressed by those means.

2643. Can any commercial establishments which we may place upon the coast effect the suppression of the slave trade in the French settlements?—I do not consider that there is any slave trade at Assinee; I am not aware of any.

2644. You are not aware that the British Commodore in command of the squadron has represented to the British Government that the French settlements may be a means of carrying on the slave trade?—No, I am not; that has not come to my knowledge.

2645. Or that such a representation has been made by the British Commission at Sierra Leone?—No; I was not aware of it.

2646. Lord *Courtenay*.] Did I understand you correctly to state that you thought that the presence of an English man-of-war on the coast, making occasional visits to different commercial establishments, was a means of protecting trade?—Most decidedly.

2647. You think it essentially necessary to commerce?—Most essential.

2648. You think, therefore, that commerce in the British interest would suffer in that point of view, if the squadron were withdrawn?—It would be difficult to foresee the mischief which might ensue if the squadron were withdrawn.

Martis, 11^o die Aprilis, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Bingham Baring.
Mr. E. Denison
Lord John Hay.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. *James Frederick Schön*, called in ; and Examined.

2649. *Chairman.*] HOW many years have you been acquainted with the continent of Africa?—Since 1832, when I first went there ; about 16 years. Rev. J. F. Schön.

2650. With what portion of Africa are you best acquainted?—I have been resident at Sierra Leone principally ; and I have been in almost every village of the colony, stationed for a time. 11 April 1848.

2651. In what capacity did you visit Africa?—As a missionary, a minister of the Church of England.

2652. What was your object in going to Africa?—Missionary objects amongst the negroes.

2653. You proceeded in the first instance to Sierra Leone?—Sierra Leone was my first station.

2654. Did you make any stay there?—I stayed there from December 1832 to March 1839 ; only now and then paying visits to the neighbouring countries, the Timmanee and the Sherbro country, and the Bullom shore.

2655. After you left Sierra Leone, did you go to the Sherbro country?—Those were only occasional visits, for two or three weeks at a time.

2656. Were your visits connected with the Niger expedition?—I accompanied the Niger expedition in 1841 up the Niger. I joined it at Sierra Leone, and went with the "Albert," as long as the "Albert" remained, and then returned ; then to Fernando Po, and from thence to England.

2657. Are you acquainted with the country which lies between the Niger and Sierra Leone?—With the great outlines ; I cannot enter into minute particulars.

2658. Have you seen anything of the slave trade in the course of your acquaintance with Africa?—I have been at two or three slave factories.

2659. Where?—At Shebar, in the Sherbro country ; that would be about 60 miles from Sierra Leone.

2660. South-east?—South-east.

2661. Are many slaves shipped from Shebar?—There were at that time, and shortly before, many shipped from that place.

2662. At what time was that?—In 1839 I was there.

2663. Were there many factories there?—I was at three factories ; I believe there were more.

2664. Were there any factories at Shebar?—Yes.

2665. How many?—At three places I was where there were slave factories.

2666. Do you speak of three factories at Shebar, or three factories at other places?—At Shebar, in the river, in the vicinity of York Island.

2667. Were there many slaves in the factories at the time you were there?—I have seen, I dare say, between 100 and 150, but was told by the inhabitants that I had not seen the chief depôts.

2668. In different factories?—In different factories.

2669. Are those factories now in existence?—I believe not.

2670. Is the slave trade discontinued, according to your information, at that point?—At that point it is discontinued. Before I left Africa, the last slave dealer, I understood, Mr. Lewis, was driven away, and his companion was murdered by the natives.

2671. Was he the owner of all those factories?—No, he was only the owner of one factory when I was there.

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2672. Is he an Englishman?—No, he is a Spaniard.

2673. Who were the other parties owning the factories at Shebar?—One old man spoke principally French; he spoke French better than English, though he spoke English well; and on arriving there he said he came for the purpose of trading in rice, but I soon found that he had slaves. He gave himself out as a Frenchman, but this was only his own account, which I cannot believe. I heard from the natives that he was a Spaniard too.

2674. Did he carry on any other description of trade besides trade in slaves?—He said so, but I do not believe it, and the people contradicted it. While I was in his house one of his servants came and informed him that he had bought five slaves of the Cossoo nation. He spoke to the servant in the Sherbro language, and asked him what he paid for them; and he said, for one, five dollars; I cannot exactly say the whole number, but it averaged about seven or eight dollars for each slave. He then said that they were cheap, but that they were Cossoos, and that Cossoos were mere cattle, and more should not be paid for them.

2675. What did he mean by that expression?—He meant that they were of the lowest people.

2676. Are they a feeble race?—No, they are a healthy, strong people generally.

2677. What led him to undervalue them?—I suppose he spoke of them with regard to their temper and their dissatisfaction with the condition of slavery. He showed me the wreck of a vessel, which slaves of this nation had occasioned only a few months before the time I am speaking of, and who had occasioned great loss to him, and made his stay unsafe for a long time.

2678. The difficulty of keeping them under restraint?—Yes. At the same time I saw an instance while I was sitting in his house: the slaves who were chained together in the yard heard that an Englishman was there, and they pressed out before the slave-dealer's doors, and asked me to help them. I could do nothing of course, and the slave-dealer became most furious, swearing most dreadfully against me, wishing I had been drowned a thousand times before I ever reached his place; he took a large whip and his pistol in his hands, and drove them back, and I left his place.

2679. Were they chained by the feet?—By the feet and by the arm; generally the left arm of one and the right arm of another were chained together.

2680. There were two sets of irons on each?—Yes.

2681. Is that usual?—I have seen it so with grown-up persons; children have a long chain around their neck, and they are so joined together, eight or ten in a gang.

2682. Between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas have there been recently many stations from which slaves have been taken?—As far as I know, from the Gallinas only.

2683. Sherbro?—The Gallinas form a part of the Sherbro country.

2684. How many places in all?—As far as I know, Shebar and the Gallinas were the principal slave establishments. Slaves would of course be brought to those places from adjacent countries.

2685. What was the effect of the slave trade amongst the people which you observed on the coast?—The effect, especially in the Sherbro country, where I had a great deal of intercourse with the mass of people, in a great number of towns and villages, was this, they always complained that as long as slavery existed they could not advance as we did at Sierra Leone. When they came to Sierra Leone, they saw there fine houses, good streets, the land cultivated, and the people comfortable; in their country, they could not do the same.

2686. Did they attribute the absence of those establishments of civilization to the slave trade?—In a great measure. When we asked them, "Why do not you plant your own soil with rice; you will always find a market?" they replied, "We do not know that we shall reap the rice we sow."

2687. Then, is the state of the country so lawless that a man who sows the rice runs any chance of losing the crop?—In the Sherbro country it is often the case, on account of the slave trade; and I know that native chiefs prevented their subjects from selling their rice to any but to the slave traders.

2688. How is that lawless state of society attributable to the slave trade?—From neighbouring tribes invading the country, at the instigation of the slave dealers.

2689. For

2689. For the purpose of capturing the slaves?—Yes, certainly.

2690. Had you any opportunity of observing the internal slave trade of Africa?—I have seen a great deal of it; and from intercourse with the people at Sierra Leone and in the neighbouring country, the Timmanee and Bullom shore, near Sierra Leone, and from what I observed, as far as domestic slavery goes, it differs little from the hiring of servants; there is just one difference, that they can be sold to other masters.

2691. There is a clear and obvious difference among the slaves who are intended for the domestic purposes of the Africans, and those slaves who are intended for the foreign slave trade?—There is.

2692. How are the slaves generally procured in that country who are kept for the supply of the foreign slave trade?—By war. There is this, too, in the Sherbro: there are several crimes which are always punished by being sold as slaves; they are invariably sold as slaves.

2693. Will you be so kind as to specify the nature of those crimes?—Rape and murder. I know, in many cases, that adultery is punished with slavery too, and persons suspected of it; and where a chief has many wives, he will easily succeed in persuading them to make confessions and involve persons quite innocent.

2694. Are those penalties inflicted for the purpose of supplying the slave market, or do you rather attribute them to a desire of repressing crime?—For the sake of gain on the part of the chiefs.

2695. It is less for the purpose of repressing crime and outrage than for the sake of gain?—I am afraid it is less for that purpose.

2696. Still, as far as it goes, it perhaps has rather a beneficial effect than otherwise?—It has a good effect, I believe, on the people, as far as the repression of crime is calculated to prove beneficial.

2697. With respect to the slaves who are procured by means other than war; are they numerous?—I think in those factories there were very few except those procured by war; few had come by other means; they may have been, many of them, kidnapped, or brought to the slave dealers under false pretenses, and then sold to them; and I have witnessed an instance: I stood at the side of a slave dealer while he purchased a child from his own father, a boy of about 10 or 11 years of age. He brought this boy in a little canoe, sitting at the side of his father; he walked up to the slave dealer and offered him for sale. The slave dealer offered him a gun, a small keg of powder, and half a piece of blue baft, about two gallons of spirits, and a little tobacco.

2698. Did you observe that they were generally attached to their children?—They are attached to them while they are little (I speak of heathens, of course); while they are quite little and helpless they do everything for them, and seem very fond of them: when they are grown up they are glad to get rid of them, especially to give them to Europeans to bring up; they would give them as many as they wanted in Africa.

2699. Still such practices, I suppose, must be the cause of much domestic misery to the people of the country?—No doubt they occasion great misery; it prevents them from advancing in everything good. I have witnessed in the Sherbro country especially the evil influence of slavery with regard to commerce. Many of our Sierra Leone people were trading there, taking their own canoes and British goods. The slave dealers would do all they could to prevent them entering the rivers; if they could not prevent it themselves, they would give presents to the chief, and he would either prohibit it altogether or take a very large sum for his permission to trade there; and then, when the chief had taken large sums of money for his permission, he would at the same time prohibit all the people from trading with them, and not seldom seize the free traders' goods, on some trivial pretence of having offended against his laws.

2700. Generally speaking, do the slave traders consider that legitimate commerce is opposed to their interests?—Yes.

2701. Did you observe that?—I observed that, and I heard it stated by the slave traders themselves. When I told one of them that my purpose was missionary operations, for which I had come to the country in which he was, and to see whether I could find a place where we might have a good settlement, he said the Sherbro people were not a race who would listen to missionaries; neither did he think that missionaries would be long continued at other places. The reason which he gave himself was this, that the natives did not like them.

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He said, too, that he supplied the natives with everything they needed. European comforts would not improve the natives of Africa; and with regard to the civilization of the Africans, no one had done more in promoting it than the slave dealers.

2702. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] Was this a native slave trader, or a Spanish slave trader?—A Spanish slave trader. He expressed a confident hope, too, that a time would come when England would be engaged otherwise, and would not send her cruisers to Africa again; his opinion was that she would do much better if she were to assist the Poles against the Russians than to liberate the Africans.

2703. *Chairman.*] Under what impressions do the slave dealers oppose themselves to legitimate commerce?—Because it interferes with them.

2704. In what way do they conceive it to interfere with them?—The chief in those countries is generally the monopolist of trade; he receives his goods from the slave dealers, and the whole population are dependent on him for what they want; he can fix his own prices, and can get his goods without that industry which is necessary for free trade; and he supplies inferior articles.

2705. Then the slave merchant, importing European goods for the purchase of his slaves, underbids the import of goods for legitimate commerce?—Yes. The same slave trader told me too, that if once the cruisers were withdrawn but for a short time, they would have Sierra Leone again the chief slave market of the coast: that those very buildings where now the liberated Africans receive their protection, would be the very places for slave factories.

2706. Are you under that impression, that if the cruisers were withdrawn, the slave traders would possess themselves of Sierra Leone?—I hope not of Sierra Leone; I should not think so; but of other places they certainly would.

2707. Are the natives themselves desirous of abolishing the slave trade?—Wherever I have had communication with the natives of any country in Africa, with the mass of people, the impression is always this: "We are oppressed on account of the slave trade. If it were not for England, what would become of us we do not know." They know that slave trade keeps them in this low condition, and is opposed to their real interest. They always say this too: "We gain nothing by it; it is a few chiefs and associates, their servants, those who commit outrages under the chief's direction, who are gainers by it; the rest are losers throughout."

2708. Was the slave trade very active when you left Africa?—I thought at the time it was less so than before. I have left about 12 months; but it has been very active since.

2709. Are the slaves exported from Africa usually men, or is there any due proportion of the sexes?—There is a greater proportion of men, I believe, that are liberated at Sierra Leone. I can only judge of the general character from those.

2710. What has been the effect of the missionary operations on the slave trade in Sierra Leone and the neighbourhood?—One of the first effects which I would mention is this, that the natives themselves have become Christians in great numbers, and seen the enormity of the slave trade, and have learnt to consider it a crime. From Sierra Leone they have made an attempt to return and establish themselves in their own country, and have settled at Abeokuta. They have made a most favourable impression on their own country people, and on some of their chiefs; and shown to them how much they had been benefited by the instruction in Christianity, and the habits of civilized life. They carried the name of Christ to their native country, in which heathen superstitions keep the people in gross darkness, and have set before their benighted countrymen a proof of what liberty and Christianity can effect. And the natives themselves have been able to discover how much slavery is in their way, and a hindrance to their own prosperity. One of the chiefs replied to the slave dealers' agent, who entreated him not to allow missionaries to settle in his country, because they were poor men, "The slave dealers take away our children and ruin our land; the missionaries bring them back to us much superior to ourselves; so that we can learn from them." Through the influence of those emigrants legitimate commerce has increased in that part of the country, and many slaves have been redeemed by them.

2711. Do I understand you correctly to say that the people of Sierra Leone are in the habit of redeeming their own countrymen from slavery?—Yes, the Sierra Leone people established in other places.

2712. Do

2712. Do you mean from a state of slavery in Africa?—In Africa.

2713. Not in Brazil or Cuba?—No.

2714. Did you ever hear of any such instance?—No; they have no information; they do not know where their country people are except in Africa.

2715. When you speak of redeeming their countrymen in Africa, you speak of those who are destined for the foreign slave trade?—For the foreign slave trade principally, though some of them have also been redeemed from domestic slavery.

2716. What is the state of Sierra Leone in respect of civilization?—It has made wonderful progress; from the time I first entered Sierra Leone I perceive a very great change for the better; the people amass wealth.

2717. The liberated Africans amass wealth?—Yes, they amass a great deal of wealth, and engage in commerce. Some of them have built very fine houses, which could have cost them no less than 700*l.* or 800*l.*

2718. What is the population of Sierra Leone, or what was it when you left?—I think the population was between 45,000 and 46,000.

2719. Of that population what proportion may be liberated Africans?—I do not suppose that, besides the liberated Africans and their offspring, there can be more than 2,000. There are some Maroons from the West Indies, and settlers from Nova Scotia; all the rest are liberated Africans and their offspring, and temporary visitors from other ports.

2720. Is there generally a due proportion of women among those liberated Africans?—There have always been fewer women than men. I know, at one time, there were in the few villages about 2,000 that could not get wives. I believe it is better now.

2721. Is that found to lead to immoral practices?—It has, no doubt, led to many immoralities in former times.

2722. Speaking of the liberated Africans generally, should you say that they are an industrious and well-disposed set?—They generally are an industrious people.

2723. And you think that the colony of Sierra Leone is itself a prosperous and thriving colony?—Certainly; it has been thriving very much.

2724. Is there a facility of giving occupation to a larger population than now exists at Sierra Leone?—They find their occupation very much in trading, fishing, and timber factories; much of the land has never been occupied.

2725. The cutting of timber, I presume, is at some distance from Sierra Leone?—It is, but of late years much timber has been obtained from Sierra Leone.

2726. And the timber is brought down to Sierra Leone to be shipped?—No; to a few small islands in the river, of which some are part of the British possessions there.

2727. Is the timber trade increasing?—I think not, about Sierra Leone; nor in our neighbourhood.

2728. Do the observations which you have made with respect to the missionary operations apply equally to the other portions of Africa which you visited?—I may mention the same, in some degree, in the American settlements, Liberia and Cape Palmas. I have not been at Cape Palmas myself, but am well acquainted with some of the missionaries there, and Cape Coast.

2729. Do you know Badagry?—I have not been there myself.

2730. Do you know Abbeokuta?—I have not been there myself. I am in correspondence with the missionaries there, and read all their communications to the society.

2731. With respect to the operations of the cruisers on the coast of Africa, are you led to suppose that they are very beneficial to the people of Africa?—I do believe they are.

2732. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You have used an expression, quoting from a Spanish slave dealer, that under certain contemplated circumstances, Sierra Leone would again be a mart for slaves. Do you wish the Committee to understand that at any time Sierra Leone has been a mart for slaves, or was the expression one which you desire to withdraw?—Sierra Leone, where the capital is now built, has, I believe, never been occupied as a slave market, but the very vicinity of it, Buues Island, was once a slave market, which amounts nearly to the same; and there were likewise slave factories at the Banena Island in times past, and at the southern coast of Sierra Leone.

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2733. You do not, however, mean that Sierra Leone, since it has been a place of European occupation, has ever been a slave market?—No, never.

2734. You have stated that in your own presence a father sold his child to a Spanish slave dealer?—Yes.

2735. Do you wish the Committee to understand that such practice is or is not according to the law of the country?—I believe, to credit general expression about slavery, that it would be against the law of the country.

2736. If it be against the law, can you state to this Committee that the party selling or the party buying the slave, were or were not subjected to any punishment; was the father punished for selling the son, in short?—No, not that I know of.

2737. You have stated that the price paid for this child of 11 years of age was a gun, a small keg of powder, half a piece of blue baft, about two gallons of spirits, and a little tobacco; what was the aggregate value of the articles so passed from the Spanish slave dealer in your presence to the African father, as the price of his child?—I should say not more than 30 s.

2738. You have already stated that the average price of a slave is a price between seven and eight dollars?—Of five individuals, I stated that that was the average price.

2739. Then the price paid for this child was not greatly above the average?—I suppose that if the one were paid in cash and the other in goods, it would be much the same to the slave dealer.

2740. You have stated that the character of domestic slavery in Africa differs little from domestic servitude in European Christian countries; do you understand that the master of a domestic slave has or has not the power of selling such slave for exportation to another country?—It is generally stated that he has not the power of selling him for that purpose. And when I say that domestic slavery differs little from servitude in European countries, I mean chiefly to convey the idea, that the domestic slave is not harshly treated; I know too, that where cruel treatment has been proved against masters, the slave obtained his liberty by a judicial sentence.

2741. By "not having the power of selling him," you wish the Committee perhaps to understand that he has not the legal power?—He has not the legal power.

2742. In point of fact is he restrained, so far as your knowledge of African society extends, by the want of the legal power, from exercising actual control over the body of his slave, and selling such slave?—I know that for some crimes, as those mentioned before, he may sell him.

2743. The question was irrespective of a judicial punishment, such as might be inflicted for rape or murder, or for adultery; it had reference to the power which a proprietor of one human being might have to sell that human being and export him out of his own country, at his own pleasure and for his own profit; do you wish the Committee to understand that any such power is exercised according to any law or custom in the interior of Africa?—I know that they do it secretly; they sell such a person, but it is done in an underhanded way; I know that persons too have made their escape afterwards, and have got back and got their liberty on account of it.

2744. You wish the Committee to understand generally that the principal source of the supply of the slave trade is by rapine?—Principally so.

2745. By rapine, either of public war, or of private kidnapping?—So I mean to say.

2746. Can you state to this Committee what is the proportion, so far as you have collected it from observation in any barracoon, or in the slave yard of Sierra Leone, of the number of slaves there found who have been caught by private rapine or in public war, or who have been condemned judicially for crimes and sentenced to imprisonment?—I could not state any precise number. There is one thing to be observed; a person sold for a crime is apt to deny it, and to say that he was taken in war. For many years there have been no slaves to any considerable number brought from the interior, I mean from the Hausa and Nufi country; if it now happens that one of this nation comes, the others will say, "Ah, this man was a bad man, because in our country they do not make slaves now, and this man being sent adrift" as it were "from his own country, from one nation to another, has been a bad man; he has committed himself in some way

way or other; for this reason he has been made a slave." That is one of the reasons why they will most likely deny having committed a crime.

2747. You have been asked as to the commercial enterprise and general industry of the people of Sierra Leone, and you have stated that since you first knew that settlement it has greatly advanced; will you state to the Committee what is your judgment in respect to the progress and the actual state of Sierra Leone as regards religious observances, during the period of your acquaintance with the colony?—At the time when I arrived in Africa the Church Missionary Society had about 500 communicants in the various stations through the colony.

2748. Meaning Wellington and Bathurst?—Wellington, Bathurst, Kissi, Regent, Free Town, Gloucester, and Charlotte.

2749. What was the number of communicants when you left?—Two thousand, or very nearly 2,000, or perhaps above that.

2750. The number of children, when you arrived, in the course of education was how many?—There could not have been more than about 900, or mostly 1,000; there were nearly 4,000 when I left. I am speaking of those only who are in connexion with the Church Missionary Society. Another difference which I beg to notice is this: at the time when I arrived the children were supplied with every necessary school material from the society's store; even some of them with articles of clothing. Since that, in 1836, we introduced the plan of the scholars paying a halfpenny each per week.

2751. A week?—A week; but two years since we made it a penny, and from that time the schools have been much better attended, instruction is much more appreciated, and the society relieved of a great expense.

2752. Has the increase in the number of communicants and the number of scholars proceeded from a corresponding increase in the population, or has it proceeded from greater zeal on the part of the teachers and ministers, and greater disposition on the part of the people to attend the ordinances of the church or the instructions in the schools?—My belief is, that the people who were brought in great ignorance to the place, could not at once appreciate the instruction, nor lay hold on the means of grace; and that within the last few years they have made progress in knowledge and understanding, and thus come forward in much greater numbers to embrace Christianity; and a few more stations have been taken up.

2753. The Committee have received information as to the number of places of religious worship for the Christians in Sierra Leone, but have not as yet received information as to the number of persons attending those places. Assuming that the population of Sierra Leone, according to your estimate, is about 45,000 in the aggregate, can you state to this Committee how many have the means of attending religious worship, and how many do attend?—I should say that the number associated with the various Christian denominations, as members, could not be less than about 20,000.

2754. You do not wish the Committee to understand by your use of the word "member" any strict definition of Church membership, but rather the number of those who stately attend public worship?—Who stately attend public worship. I should use that expression.

2755. Do you know a larger proportion attending public worship in any country with which you are acquainted?—I do not.

2756. Do you wish the Committee to understand that their ordinary life and habits accord with the profession of religion which they thus make?—I do mean to say so; there are examples of piety amongst them showing it in a way that is most gratifying and cheering. I have had information of a friend, a missionary, who had lately told his congregation that a church was being built for the people of their own nation at Abbeokuta, and they had instantly come forward and contributed most liberally the sum of 19 *l*.

2757. Was that for the benefit of natives of Africa who had been liberated at Sierra Leone, and had gone from Sierra Leone to Abbeokuta, or of natives of Africa themselves found in Abbeokuta?—For natives of Africa in Abbeokuta principally, because the number of those that have emigrated is comparatively small.

2758. It was simply their being brethren of the same Christian profession which induced them to raise a subscription for those whom they had never seen?—The church is intended for new converts of their own nation, and the contribution was made with a view to support missionary operations.

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2759. For the purpose of building a church for their worship?—Yes, in their own country.

2760. You have stated that the number of children in the schools at Sierra Leone has greatly increased; can you state to the Committee, from your own experience, as having examined them, that their progress is proportioned to the labour bestowed upon them, and that in general they are boys and girls of orderly habits and proficiency in the subjects of their instruction?—They have advanced and made great progress in those branches of instruction. I can only say I have been in various village schools in England, and I have not in one instance found them equal to our village schools in Sierra Leone.

2761. Will you state to the Committee how the Sunday is observed in Sierra Leone?—The Sunday, from early to late, is strictly kept holy. Early in the morning, at daybreak, most of the inhabitants attend, in the villages especially, a prayer meeting in the church. At nine o'clock Sunday-school begins, and lasts till half-past ten; the schools are always full. From half-past ten to twelve, or after twelve, there is Divine service. At two o'clock they are again in the school, for the afternoon, till four. At half-past four the evening service begins; and so most of the people are attending on those means almost all the day.

2762. Is the attendance, so far as you can judge, an attendance of active and cheerful regularity, or is it constrained?—There is no constraint whatever used to make them attend; but you can calculate upon seeing your people before you from Sunday to Sunday, sitting in their places as regularly as can be.

2763. All decently clothed?—Very much so.

2764. After the European fashion?—Yes; with the exception of not wearing bonnets; but a straw hat or a handkerchief around the head of the females, but most becomingly and decently dressed.

2765. From your knowledge of those schools, can you state to the Committee whether the children generally have gardens, in which they cultivate particular articles, such as arrow-root?—Every house has a small piece of land connected with it, and well cultivated with arrow-root and ginger, and of late years they have grown cabbages; they sell them very well at Free Town market; cabbages, cucumbers, and salad. A neighbour of mine sold every week, through I dare say five months in the year, 20 s. worth of vegetables.

2766. Will you state to the Committee whom you mean by “a neighbour”?—A native; a liberated African.

2767. A former question addressed to you, in reference to the children's gardens, was addressed to you with the view of asking whether you know of any schools which have gardens from which the children manufacture arrow-root?—There are some in Wellington.

2768. Colonel *Thompson*.] Do you think that any of the domestic slaves are sold to foreign slavery?—They are sold.

2769. Do you think that the owner of domestic slaves can sell his domestic slaves upon getting up a case against them?—Many say that they have been accused falsely; I have heard that complaint often of them.

2770. You were asked whether you thought that selling slaves for crimes was beneficial; do you mean to say that you think the existence of the slave trade is good, in consequence of its virtue in repressing crime?—No, I could not say any such thing. Other punishments might prove more beneficial.

2771. What do you think would be the general effects in Africa, of removing the British cruisers against the slave trade?—I have no hesitation in saying that the slave trade would rapidly increase as a matter of course; that the horrors of it would be doubled very soon by war between the different tribes, and even one city with another; it would most certainly put a stop to missionary operations; it would put a stop to the extension of British and legitimate commerce of every nation.

2772. Is the settlement of Abbeokuta under the laws of Sierra Leone?—No.

2773. *Chairman*.] Is it under the protection of British authority?—It is under no colony; British cruisers have hitherto protected the place, and they have had a most beneficial effect on the place, otherwise most likely the missionaries would long since have been obliged to leave. I have here some papers with regard to that, where the missionaries were obliged to address a man-of-war against the aggressions of a neighbouring chief; the officer of the man-of-war arrived, and it had a most beneficial effect in quieting the people there, and giving protection to the missionaries and to British colonists.

2774. Colonel

2774. Colonel *Thompson*.] Then the settlement at Abbeokuta is acknowledged in some sort as a British settlement?—In this way, that British cruisers have, as I understand, received orders to visit the places and protect them.

2775. Can you tell us what is the form of government at Abbeokuta?—I cannot particularly say; there are many chiefs at Abbeokuta; those Africans who return to that place are dispersed among the whole population at Abbeokuta.

2776. Then they do not form a distinct settlement of their own?—No. The population of Abbeokuta is very great; one says 80,000, another speaks of 100,000 inhabitants.

2777. In fact, there is not a distinct settlement at Abbeokuta?—When I speak of a missionary settlement among those that have emigrated from Sierra Leone, I do not mean a distinct settlement.

2778. Then they live under the protection of some native chiefs there?—Yes.

2779. Can you tell us their names, or the name of any one of them?—Sagbua is one. With regard to this very question, here are some extracts of letters from missionaries there, which give very good information.

2780. Do you think that there would be a possibility of making the same kind of settlements in other parts of the coast of Africa?—I do believe it.

2781. The native chiefs have not evinced an unwillingness to receiving offsets from Sierra Leone of that nature?—Not in general; there may have been one or two unfriendly to it, but I believe in general the majority are friendly towards it.

2782. Mr. *Simeon*.] Is the system of domestic slavery the same in all the parts of uncivilized Africa which you have visited?—I think it is much the same, as far as I know.

2783. Have you been able to discover what constitutes the difference between the chief and the domestic slave?—The domestic slave expects not to be sold to the foreign slave market.

2784. How is it that some of the Africans are chiefs and some are slaves; is it a difference of caste, or an hereditary distinction?—There is no difference of caste; there is nothing of that sort existing.

2785. Is it an hereditary difference, then?—No, I do not think so. By power they may bring their men into subjection; generally the chiefs have a very great power over all their subjects.

2786. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Are all the children of a chief, chiefs?—No.

2787. What do they become; do they become slaves?—They would be principally about the chief, and be his assistants in carrying on the slave trade.

2788. Are the children of a chief considered in the light of freemen or as slaves?—They would be free.

2789. Mr. *Simeon*.] Is the agricultural or commercial employment of the slaves at all profitable to themselves, or does all the profit accrue to the chief whom they serve?—Not all the profit accrues to the chief. In the Eboe country, with the domestic slaves there, it is somewhat of this effect: the chief can claim the labour of all his slaves for a certain number of days in the year when it suits him; then he can claim a certain portion of the produce of their fields; a number of their sheep; and I understand from the natives, that after some years a man becomes entirely free from domestic slavery.

2790. In the district over which he exercises authority, is the chief the only trader?—Principally so.

2791. Is that the case both for slaves and for produce, that the chief would be the principal or the only trader?—I believe it is so.

2792. Mr. *Jackson*.] You were in the last expedition which sailed up the Niger?—Yes.

2793. Did you turn your attention to what the country above the Eboe country produced?—I was as much on shore I could be, and looked about as much as I could. The country above the Eboe country is I believe finer, and the people are a more intelligent people than along the coast; their conduct in every respect is much more becoming than along the sea.

2794. Did you see what the country produced; for instance, did you see much maize growing?—Very much.

2795. Did you see the butter tree there in any quantity?—I have not seen the tree myself; I have seen the nuts and the butter.

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2796. *Chairman.*] Can you state generally what are the articles which are produced in that country?—Indian corn is one of the articles, and ground nuts, rice, and yams, palm oil, Guinea corn.

2797. Is the exportation of the produce of the ground nut increasing?—In Sierra Leone it is; I suppose in the Niger they are not known as export.

2798. Did you ever see it growing?—Yes.

2799. Does it reproduce itself rapidly?—Very rapidly; I think there is only one crop a year, but it produces very well.

2800. Are ostrich feathers exported from that district?—I have only seen a few; only one ostrich and a few feathers.

2801. Ivory?—Of ivory I have seen a good deal, and was told that much might be obtained. The expedition not being engaged in trading, we could not see what we should have seen had we taken any commercial interest in those things.

2802. Bees-wax?—A good deal.

2803. Palm oil?—Palm oil was in the Delta in great abundance. Above the Delta, from Idda, the palm tree which produces the palm is not growing; but another kind of palm, which is not so profitable.

2804. *Mr. Jackson.*] Was there much rice?—There was not much the year we were there.

2805. But they do produce it?—Yes.

2806. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Did you see any cotton?—Yes, a great deal; the state of the cotton weaving at Egga was most pleasing; there were perhaps 20 or 25 looms engaged in one yard. The cloth which they make is not more than about four inches wide, but the cotton is all prepared at the place, neatly spun and sewn, and the weaving is done there in a very small handloom; they dye it in various ways. There was a plant which was always conceived to be indigo; I heard it mentioned some time since that it was not the indigo plant; the name I have forgotten.

2807. *Chairman.*] Did you ever see the plant itself?—That which is called indigo I have seen.

2808. *Mr. Jackson.*] From what do they dye their red?—Camwood.

2809. Did you see much camwood up the Niger?—A great deal. High up the Niger, I understand, it is not to be found; but in the Delta, and near the Calabar river, and those places, there is an abundance of it.

2810. You know the difference between the barwood and the camwood, I suppose?—I believe that is the barwood which they have; I heard it frequently mentioned that the barwood was obtained at Calabar.

2811. Does the ground nut grow wild, or is it produced by cultivation?—It grows wild too, but it produces much better by cultivation, and is much cultivated now. There are various kinds of ground nuts.

2812. Did you see much of the butter nut; any quantity of it?—I have not seen a great quantity of shea butter.

2813. From your observations would you suppose it possible to carry on any considerable trade if there were a demand for the butter?—I was told so; that if we could get to Rabba we might load our vessels with it; we were told so by the natives. There are various kinds of African vegetable butter; the shea butter is one, and then there is another kind. How it grows I cannot say, but I know it is brought to Sierra Leone in great abundance from the interior. It might be used for purposes of machinery; not for eating. The shea butter is eaten.

2814. *Chairman.*] Is it eaten by the natives?—By the natives; and I understand that some Europeans like it very well.

2815. *Mr. Jackson.*] Do you think that a considerable quantity of cotton could be procured if there were a demand for it?—I do believe so. There is at present an immense quantity of country cloths, as they are called there, made and sold at a high price, all along the coast from the interior of Africa, from the Hausa country, Egga, and other places. I believe if that cotton could be brought to Manchester, and the natives persuaded to receive the Manchester goods, it would be a mutual advantage.

2816. Supposing that cotton were brought to England, and manufactured here into country cloths and sent out there, there would be a still greater demand for those country cloths if they could be produced at a less price than the native could supply them at?—I have heard that it was tried and failed.

2817. Carrying out the same principle of cotton being grown in the several States

States of America, and coming to England to be manufactured into cloth, and being sent out there to be sold as cloth, do you think that the experiment if tried in Africa would succeed?—I understand that it has been tried, but that they could not make it so cheaply in Manchester as in Africa; I have heard it from a merchant at Sierra Leone.

2818. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is the cotton which is used in that country the produce of the wild plant, or of a cultivated plant?—It is quite wild; no attention apparently is paid to it; it is merely collected when it is ripe.

2819. Do you observe it growing in large quantities?—You see it growing almost everywhere, without much attention being paid to it.

2820. In short, it is merely the natural produce of the soil, without any cultivation?—There is no cultivation, as far as I know, bestowed upon it there.

2821. Mr. *Jackson*.] But you think that large quantities might be procured if attention were paid to the cultivation?—I believe so.

2822. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is it of the same species as the American cotton; are you aware whether there is any difference?—I cannot say whether there is.

2823. Mr. *Jackson*.] Did you see any coffee; did you see the coffee plant?—I have seen the coffee plant; there have been many more planted of late in Sierra Leone. I have seen the coffee tree growing quite wild too.

2824. Have you ever seen the sugar cane?—The sugar cane in the Delta of the Niger was much larger than I have seen it at any other place; a great deal of it was planted along the shore, where alone we could see it.

2825. Do you think that sugar and coffee could be produced in considerable quantities if attention were paid to the cultivation?—I should say so; coffee especially might be cultivated to any amount.

2826. Then what is wanted is the knowledge how to cultivate the land, to produce those things?—It is one of the things wanted, and some person to take an interest in it in laying out capital.

2827. Supposing persons who were accustomed to plant the cotton tree and to attend to its cultivation, and the same with reference to coffee and to sugar, were sent out there, do you think that they would succeed in producing a large quantity?—I do, with respect to cotton and coffee especially; of sugar I cannot say so much; I know that the cane will grow well, but there is one objection which I have often heard mentioned, that the white ants destroy the plant even while it is growing, and that this circumstance would ever prove a serious obstacle.

2828. But supposing no hindrance existed, what should you say?—The cane might be grown to any amount in some parts of the western coast of Africa; in others not; Sierra Leone is not much calculated for the cane.

2829. Mr. *Simeon*.] Are you aware what description of cane it is; whether it is what is termed the Otaheite cane, the fine cane, or the coarse-grained cane?—I cannot say.

2830. Mr. *B. Baring*.] You stated that you were acquainted with Monrovia and Liberia?—I have been for a few days at Monrovia.

2831. Is the settlement there prosperous?—I had not that impression when I was there.

2832. Are they increasing their cultivation?—I saw very little under cultivation.

2833. Are they extending their cultivation at all?—I heard from the governor of Monrovia at that time that he had planted 15,000 coffee trees that very year. I have not seen them.

2834. Does the population consist principally of immigrants from America, or of natives who have poured in from the neighbouring districts?—The settlement of Monrovia consisted, I believe, chiefly of immigrants from America, but there could not be more than between 400 and 500; there were settlements not far from it, I believe, which I have not seen.

2835. Do you know at all what the population of the district is?—No.

2836. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Do you regard the general prosperity and improvement of the African race on the coast as one of the means most likely to suppress the slave trade?—I am fully convinced that in the same degree in which the prosperity of the natives is promoted, slavery in its various forms and shapes will be checked, and that the time will come when the Africans would consider themselves insulted by the landing of a Spaniard for the purpose of trading in their own flesh and blood.

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2837. *Chairman.*] I BELIEVE you were examined before the Committee of 1842, on the subject of the West Coast of Africa?—I was.

2838. You have not been on the coast of Africa since that period?—No, I have not.

2839. Has your attention been directed to that country continuously since then?—I have paid a great deal of attention to the subject since I returned from the coast in 1834.

2840. Has your attention been generally given to the subject of the slave trade?—Yes.

2841. Both before you were in the country and since?—Both before and since, and I believe I was the principal cause of the modification of the system pursued upon the coast in 1837.

2842. What was the system of repressing the slave trade which was pursued in 1808, immediately after Great Britain declared that the slave trade should be abolished by its own subjects?—The system then adopted was, to effect treaties with the foreign powers that had transatlantic possessions. To the Portuguese we paid large sums of money and procured certain treaties. To Spain we offered 800,000*l.* if they would declare it piracy, but they refused; but afterwards agreed to a treaty abolishing the trade in five years, except for the supply of the transatlantic colonies of Spain. Those treaties have been going on; and in 1837 Lord Clarendon made a great change in them, by getting what was called the Equipment Clause acceded to by Spain.

2843. By getting what was called the Equipment Article inserted in the treaty with Spain?—Yes.

2844. What was the result of the introduction of that article into the treaty with Spain?—The introduction of that article had the effect of nearly destroying the trade under the Spanish flag, and of driving it into the Portuguese, which the Equipment Clause did not at that time have effect. When the Equipment Clause was conceded by the Portuguese government, the trade went into the Brazilian flag; and the Brazilians having refused to enter into any further treaty, I believe the Brazilian flag at present is the principal flag under which the slave trade is carried on.

2845. Was the effect of the Equipment Article very materially to reduce the number of slaves imported into Cuba?—It had no effect upon the number of slaves.

2846. Not upon the number imported even into Spanish colonies?—No; the number of slaves seems to be regulated entirely by the demand.

2847. In point of fact, between 1835 and 1840, which would include the period of the introduction of that article into the treaty with Spain, was not the number of slaves unusually large?—Very large. Up to 1840 the number of slaves was exceedingly large; but there was then a period of great commercial depression, and the price of sugar fell; the demand ceased in Cuba, and the supply fell off.

2848. Up to the period of the year 1840, that is, to the end of the year 1839, there had been a very large importation of slaves from Africa?—Yes.

2849. Then the Equipment Article, on which great reliance was placed, and from which very sanguine hopes were excited, did not effect any material reduction of the slave trade from the coast of Africa?—None whatever.

2850. Various other expedients have been resorted to, oftentimes with equally sanguine hopes of beneficial results, and have almost always concluded with disappointment?—They all failed.

2851. Can you mention any particular one?—I believe that the late Sir Fowell Buxton and his friends had great hopes of the system which they recommended, that is of multiplying stations upon the coast and in the interior, having a great effect upon the slave trade.

2852. Do you recollect the circumstances under which that experiment was carried into execution?—Yes; I am perfectly conversant with them.

2853. Was the plan suggested by Sir Fowell Buxton ever fairly tried?—The principle has been tried at Sierra Leone since 1787; but there was no station formed in the interior.

2854. What do you consider to have been the result at Sierra Leone?—I should

should say it was a most melancholy instance of the impossibility of forming a flourishing settlement upon that coast.

2855. You consider that the experiment has failed?—It has failed as far as suppressing the slave trade goes; it has notoriously failed in that respect. It has failed as far as forming a flourishing colony goes, from its not producing any exportable produce. It has succeeded as a depôt for trade.

2856. You say it has failed as a means of suppressing the slave trade; how do you show that it has failed?—I think it will be found that the slave trade has flourished in its immediate vicinity; the Sherboro was a noted slave place.

2857. Do you understand that the slave trade is still carried on in the Sherboro?—I have not looked at the slave-trade papers. I believe it is the case; I believe it is pretty well acknowledged that the slave trade flourished in the immediate vicinity of Sierra Leone.

2858. Then you consider that the squadron which the British Government has placed on the coast of Africa has not materially reduced the African slave trade?—I do not think that it has affected in any measurable degree the supply; it seems to be regulated entirely by the price of tropical produce in the European market.

2859. At the present moment do you understand the British squadron to be both large and efficient on the coast of Africa?—It is very large.

2860. And in a high state of efficiency and order?—Yes; they are splendid vessels. I suppose that the finest class of small men of war in the world are now upon the coast of Africa.

2861. What is the present state of the slave trade?—From the last accounts it is in an exceedingly flourishing state.

2862. By what law do you consider the slave trade to be governed?—Entirely by the price of produce in Cuba and the Brazils

2863. The fact is, there is a large extent of fertile land in Cuba and Brazil, which is made valuable by cultivation?—Yes.

2864. That produces a strong attractive power on the labour of Africa, which you conceive it is very difficult for the British Government to overcome?—I think that our experience of the last 40 years, since 1808, has proved it to be quite impossible to check the supply while the demand continues.

2865. The slave trade has been liable to various vicissitudes; it has sometimes been extensive, and occasionally it has fallen considerably. Do you explain those vicissitudes by the operation of the British squadron, or by the alternations in the market of tropical produce?—The principal cause is this: of course, if the governments of Brazil and of Cuba were sincere in their desire to put down the slave trade, they could do it; but they not being sincere, and winking and conniving at it, I consider that the supply of slaves entirely depends upon the price of produce, or the expected price of produce in this country and on the continent.

2866. Have they not occasionally made efforts to stop the slave trade?—Yes; I believe the Commander-in-chief in Cuba before General O'Donnell, General Valdez, did more to put down the Cuban slave trade than all the cruisers which we employed.

2867. Do you think that he could have maintained that power of suppressing the slave trade within his own territory?—I have never visited Cuba myself, but from all the information which I have been able to procure upon the subject, there is no doubt that any Governor-general in Cuba can efficiently put it down, for there is a very strong party in Cuba against the continuance of it; they are very much afraid of Cuba being turned into a second St. Domingo, in fact.

2868. They are afraid of the black population overpowering them?—Exactly; and there is another cause, the cessation of the foreign import would materially enhance the value of property on hand, if I may so express it.

2869. Have you ever heard of any efforts being made by the Brazilian government to stop the slave trade?—No, except the decrees of Don Pedro declaring it piracy.

2870. You do not recollect any efforts being made in the years 1830 and 1831, by the Brazilian government, to put a stop to the slave trade?—No, except those decrees which I allude to. Don Pedro, in 1830 or 1831, declared it piracy; he declared all slaves imported into Brazil free, and declared it piracy by the Brazilian law, I believe. There is not a single instance of slaves being freed under that Brazilian law, except by the interference of British subjects; and there

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there is not a single instance of any punishment for carrying on the slave trade.

2871. Do you recollect whether the Brazilian government at that period did not station several men-of-war off the coast in order to stop the slave trade?—I think they have Brazilian men-of-war off the coast now, with orders to stop the slave trade.

2872. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Are you sure of that?—I have been told that they still keep up the pretence.

2873. *Chairman.*] You spoke of the measures which had been proposed for the repression of the slave trade up to the year 1840; do you know anything of the measures which have been subsequently taken with the same object?—After the return of Captain Trotter and the Niger expedition, there was the inquiry of 1842.

2874. A Committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate the state of the west coast of Africa in 1842?—Yes; which in reality was an inquiry into the slave trade. The system then adopted in preventing the slave trade came under general revision. I gave evidence then very much to the same effect as I have stated to-day, that I believed the only way of affecting the slave trade, was to destroy the demand for it in the western world.

2875. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] How are you to do that?—By growing cheaper sugar; producing more cheaply.

2876. How are you to produce it more cheaply?—By getting free labourers.

2877. *Chairman.*] You are of opinion that the best mode of suppressing the slave trade would be by under-selling the productions of slave labour?—Exactly.

2878. And you propose to effect that object by a free introduction of labourers?—By opening a free communication between the British colonies and the whole coast of Africa.

2879. Are you of opinion that there are on the coast of Africa a sufficient body of Africans who would be willing to emigrate to the West Indies for that purpose?—I believe there are at present upon the coast of Africa a very large number of free men who are ready to work for very moderate wages with any parties in whom they have confidence. I believe that they have such confidence in the British Government and the British flag, that under their protection, if they were offered a free passage to the British West Indies, and a free return passage, there would no difficulty in getting any amount of labour to those islands.

2880. You have paid attention to the subject of labour in the West Indies, I presume?—Great attention.

2881. Would the West Indian proprietor be able to undersell the proprietor of Cuba and Brazil unless the wages of labour were low?—I am not engaged in the West Indian trade myself at all, but from the information which I have received from practical planters, I do not think it is so much the nominal amount of wages as the quantity of labour which they require. A man, we will say, invests 50,000*l.* in a sugar plantation, that 50,000*l.* will produce 5,000 tons of sugar; but if his labour is only sufficient to make 2,000 tons, the expense of the establishment swallows up the whole profit, which would otherwise be produced if he were able to produce the 5,000 tons; that is a serious evil.

2882. I will put to you a question, which was addressed to you in the year 1842, and ask you whether, after you have had greater experience upon the subject, you still adhere to the opinion which you then expressed. You were asked the question, “Would an extension of the naval force, adequate to the extent of the coast of Africa, be effectual in putting down the slave trade altogether”?—I am quite of the same opinion that I was in 1842, in my answer to that question.

2883. Will you state what that opinion is?—I should suppose that the extent of the western coast is 4,000 miles, and on the east coast it extends from Cape Guardafui to Port Natal, say 8,000 miles in all; I hold it to be quite impossible to put down the slave trade along the whole coast. I suppose that we have now one-fourth in number of our navy employed in suppressing the slave trade, and if we employed every pennant we have on the coast of Africa the slave trade would still go on, and with more aggravated cruelty, if the demand on the other side of the water continued.

2884. You have since that time had opportunities of considering the subject under some changes; have those changes at all affected your opinion upon that subject?

subject?—They have confirmed me in the opinion that in the present state of the governments of Brazil and Cuba the supply of slaves is little, if anything, affected by the blockading squadron, and that it varies exactly as the price of sugar, which you may take as the standard of tropical production in the European market.

2885. You have stated that the slave trade would be carried on with more aggravated cruelty if the naval force for putting it down were extended; do you imagine that the cruelties attendant upon the slave trade now are as great or greater than they were when the trade was unprohibited by this country?—I should imagine much more so; I think all the evidence goes to show that.

2886. Why do you think that the cruelties are greater now than formerly?—Because we have converted it into a smuggling trade, and every quality is sacrificed to the swiftness of the vessels; and the difficulty of keeping a slaver upon the coast for a short time till she gets her slaves necessitates her to take in a smaller quantity of water. Also, in the build of the vessels; they cannot carry weight; they take less water and provisions.

2887. They sometimes, according to your information, take a quantity of water and provisions inadequate to the length of the voyage and the number of persons on board?—Very inadequate.

2888. Is there not consequently both an increase of suffering and of mortality?—Very great.

2889. Was your attention ever directed to the system of barracoons, a system which seems to have been introduced in consequence of our efforts of forcible suppression?—I have paid a good deal of attention to that subject.

2890. Is there not a very great degree of suffering and mortality in the barracoons while the slaves are kept in detention, waiting for the period of shipment?—I should say very great; and the reason is obvious, that provisions are generally brought down from the interior. The coast is, generally speaking, very barren, and of course if the slaves are detained there a long time, the holders of them feed them very poorly.

2891. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Have you any personal experience of that?—No, except about the provisions; that I know.

2892. *Chairman*.] Did you ever see a barracoon?—I have seen them in the River Nun.

2893. You have stated that you have some knowledge of the fact that the slaves are occasionally inadequately supplied with provisions?—I have no positive knowledge from personal observation; I merely know it from the notorious fact. I know the fact about the production of provisions: Bonny, for instance, grows no provisions, it is all supplied from the interior; Calabar very much in the same way, though not to so great an extent; the Nun and Brass Town and that neighbourhood entirely.

2894. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is it a benefit to the slave dealer himself that he should ship his slave in a deteriorated condition, or lose him in the barracoon before he has an opportunity of shipping him?—No.

2895. *Chairman*.] The circumstances of dispatch and hurry under which the slaves are embarked, do not enable the slave dealer to take the precautions which are necessary for the health or comfort of the cargo?—No. Commercially speaking, it is impossible that he should do it; he cannot carry his water; he cannot carry his provisions; he is obliged to employ a very sharp fast vessel to carry the slaves.

2896. What has been the effect upon the British trade with Africa, of the suppressive squadron?—I do not think that the British trade was at all affected up to the Clarendon Treaty, one way or another.

2897. That is up to the introduction of the Equipment Article, in the year 1837?—Yes; since that time, in the palm oil rivers especially, it has been very much benefited.

2898. In what respect has it been benefited?—Because the Equipment Clause prevented slavers lying and resorting to those rivers in numbers, and waiting with their provisions and stores and water on board, until the cruiser was out of the way, and then getting out. When I was upon the coast it was very common to have three or four slavers in those palm-oil rivers. In 1833, I think there were six in the Bonny and New Calabar, and they interfered exceedingly with legitimate trade. If you refer to the imports of palm oil, you will see at once that

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that when the blockading system was established in 1837, the exportation of palm oil jumped up directly in a most extraordinary degree.

2899. Is our commercial intercourse with the coast of Africa increasing?—
Yes.

2900. Largely increasing?—I think you can hardly call it largely increasing, but increasing in a considerable ratio; and it might of course increase very much more if the slave trade were abolished.

2901. From what you have seen of the African trade, is it your opinion that the extension of legitimate commerce affords a good means of promoting the civilization and improvement of the people of that country?—There is no doubt of it.

2902. As a means of extending legitimate commerce, do you consider the settlements or trading posts along the coast as an advisable plan for this country to promote?—Wherever it is at all healthy, and Europeans can live, it is very advisable to have a fixed settlement; but in the parts of the coast where our greatest trade is carried on it is quite impossible for Europeans to have a settlement; they cannot exist in the Bonny, for instance, which is one of the principal trading ports; Europeans cannot live on shore; it is certain death to them.

2903. With respect to the management of the forts on the coast in the hands of the African merchants, do you think that the manner in which that was conducted had a tendency to promote the commerce and civilization of the coast?—Very greatly; the late Governor, Mr. M'Lean, was a very extraordinary man; there were few men like him.

2904. What plan would you recommend to the adoption of the British Government as a means of suppressing the slave trade?—I would observe first, that the present system I do not think can be justified, for I think we enhance greatly the cruelty of the whole trade for the chance of doing good to a very small per-centage of it. The British nation at large have such a responsibility regarding the slave trade, which they encouraged and fostered for so many years, that they are bound to do what they can to abolish it. I think the simple plan, and it appears to me the only plan to do that, is to offer an African a free passage to our free colonies in the West Indies, where he can meet with a superior race, who can exist there while they cannot upon the coast of Africa; and if he does not like his locality, offer him a free passage back.

2905. Would you apply the same system to the Spanish settlements and to Brazil?—I would not meddle with them; I would leave them to follow their own system.

2906. You would leave them to carry on the slave trade?—I would not interfere at all with them.

2907. If they were disposed to carry on the slave trade, you would not interfere?—I would not interfere at all.

2908. Should you think it desirable to enter into negotiations with them to ameliorate the character of the trade?—I think all the experience which we have had of those negotiations, has proved them to be futile and productive of a great deal of jealousy of our interference.

2909. Are you at all acquainted with the trade between this country and Brazil?—Merely generally; I am not engaged in it.

2910. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You stated in the early part of your examination that the colony of Sierra Leone has failed as a means of suppressing the slave trade; will you state to this Committee whether there be at this moment, to your knowledge, any slave trade carried on to the north of Sierra Leone at all, or to the south of Sierra Leone, at a distance nearer than the Gallinas; in other words, a distance of something approaching 150 miles in a straight line?—I cannot state from my own knowledge that there is any slave trade carried on in the immediate vicinity of Sierra Leone at present.

2911. Then you wish the Committee to understand that the answer which you gave before is a general answer, which you cannot sustain by any reference to particular facts?—I have not any positive information upon that particular point.

2912. You have stated that Sierra Leone has failed also as a colonial settlement; will you be pleased to state to the Committee in what respect you regard it to have failed as a colonial settlement?—In its production of exportable tropical produce.

2913. Do you consider that the export of colonial produce is the test and prerequisite

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requisite of success in the establishment of colonies?—In all colonies that are not for naval and military purposes solely, I should think that the export of produce was one of the great tests, unless it is a colony for receiving the surplus population of this country.

2914. It is understood that one of the objects for which the establishments at Sierra Leone have been maintained for the last 25 years has been to furnish a receptacle for the liberated Africans. Do you conceive that the colony of Sierra Leone has failed in that respect?—Up to the time when Dr. Madden made his report, I should say that it had decidedly failed in improving those people in the degree that they would have been improved if it had been under more favourable auspices.

2915. Were you ever in Sierra Leone yourself?—I was a week there, and only a week.

2916. Does your own observation confirm the unfavourable impression which Dr. Madden's report is supposed to have conveyed?—I had a very unfavourable impression of Sierra Leone when I visited it.

2917. The period of your visit to Sierra Leone was about the year 1832?—1832.

2918. Have you been present in the room to-day during the examination of the colonial chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Schön?—Part of it.

2919. You do not therefore concur with him in his estimate of the progress of Sierra Leone, in respect to the social condition of the people, and their moral and religious character?—It may have altered exceedingly since Dr. Madden's report, who was sent out by the Government.

2920. At all events you were there for one week, and the witness to whose evidence you have now been referred has been for many years resident in the colony?—I was only there for one week.

2921. You left Africa generally in the year 1834; your knowledge since that time has therefore, it is presumed, been that of an intelligent gentleman residing at home?—Decidedly, I have no personal knowledge whatever since that time.

2922. You have stated that nothing can check the slave trade so long as the demand continues; will you be pleased to state to this Committee whether it be within your meaning that the slave trade did, in point of fact, almost entirely cease from the year 1840 to the year 1842?—The slave trade was very much diminished, both in Brazil and in Cuba, during those years.

2923. To what cause do you attribute that diminution?—To the extreme depression in all colonial produce, and to the entire cessation of trade, and the high rate of interest for money in Cuba; I believe it was 24 per cent.

2924. Has it ever come within your knowledge that it has been stated by officers in command of Her Majesty's vessels on the coast, that such diminution of the slave trade, or suppression in ports, might be attributed to the presence of an increased force on the coast of Africa?—I have heard that stated by officers, and I think it is exceedingly natural that an officer engaged in carrying out the system should think that his exertions, or the exertions of his brother officers, had been the cause.

2925. Are you aware whether, in point of fact, the squadron on the west coast of Africa were diminished after that period, namely 1842?—I do not know that it was diminished to any great extent. One or two vessels might have been withdrawn, but I cannot say.

2926. You have no knowledge which you oppose to the statements of naval officers, to the effect that when the force on the west coast was diminished by decreasing the squadron, a great increase took place in the slave trade?—No, I have no knowledge whatever.

2927. You have been asked certain questions in reference to the supply of free labour from the coast of Africa to the West Indies; have you ever been in the West Indies?—I have never been in the West Indies.

2928. Have you ever been on the Kroo coast?—I have never landed upon the Kroo coast; I have been off it.

2929. Do you regard the Kroomen as the first of the natives of Africa for labour whom you have ever seen?—I would prefer Kroomen, from my experience of them, to any tribe that I have seen upon the coast.

2930. Do you consider the Kroomen to be the first of the natives of the coast, in respect to their qualities as sailors on board Her Majesty's ships, or on board

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the merchant ships of this country?—Yes, I think them most valuable for that purpose.

2931. Are you aware whether the Kroomen, eminent as they are for their skill and qualities as mariners, have paid any great attention to the pursuits of agriculture?—I cannot say that from my own knowledge; I know that the Kroomen in the West Indies have been of most essential service to friends of my own, who have brought them over from the coast of Africa and employed them upon their plantations.

2932. You have reason to believe so?—Yes, I know them to have been very valuable.

2933. What number of Kroomen, under the most favourable circumstances for the purpose, do you suppose that any effort of the British Government, or any amount of private enterprise, could induce to emigrate to the West Indies?—I do not think that any man can say within 1,000 or 2,000 of the amount that might go in the first 12 months, because it would take some time to produce confidence and a regular return of the emigrants.

2934. If it should be stated, that so far as the Kroo country is concerned, 2,000 would be the extent of persons who might go forth as free emigrants to the West Indies, would you consider that number at all approaching the reality, or would you consider it greatly below what might be expected?—I should think it far below.

2935. You were asked as to the extent of the African coast, and you stated that the west coast might be about 4,000 miles, and the east coast about 4,000 miles also?—Yes.

2936. Do you wish the Committee to understand that in your judgment the whole of the 8,000 miles so described by you to be the extent of the coast of Africa from Morocco, is equally open to slave trading?—I believe that the slave trade is carried on at those points upon the coast where slaves can be got with the greatest facility; that if you check it upon one point it will go to another.

2937. Are there not parts of the coast of Africa in which it is all but physically impossible that a slave trade, or any trade, should be carried on?—There is the part to the north of the Senegal.

2938. Does not that occupy a considerable portion of the west coast of Africa?—Yes.

2939. It has been stated by naval officers that the slave trade commences at 16 deg. north, and extends to 15 deg. 30 min. south, and that there is none to the north of Cape Verd; does your observation or experience enable you to contradict that statement?—I dare say it does not go north of Cape Verd at present.

2940. It has been stated that the slave trade cannot from natural causes be carried on for more than a very limited portion of the whole extent of coast; namely, about 300 or 400 miles. Such statement coming from naval officers, does that statement induce you to reconsider the opinion which you have given to this Committee?—Certainly not; I think it is against all facts for the last 40 years.

2941. When you say, “against all facts for the last 40 years,” will you be pleased to state to the Committee what is the extreme point north at which you individually know or have reason to believe that the slave trade has been carried on, and terminating at any point which you may be able to suggest at the south latitude?—I think, since I have paid attention to this subject, it has been carried on from Goree to St. Paul, Benguela, down to the Portuguese settlements upon the coast.

2942. Do you wish the Committee to understand that in your judgment the slave trade exists now in any degree, in the export of a single slave, for the whole extent of that coast; or if not, within what points do you conceive that it is practically carried on?—I think that the slave trade at present, at the north of the Line, has ceased in a great measure, or rather, has shifted its quarters south of the Line; and I think that that has been caused by the fact of the demand being brisker in the Brazils than in the Havannah.

2943. Do you consider, then, that the slave trade has practically been extinguished to the north of the Line?—No.

2944. Do you wish the Committee to understand that it has been in a greater degree transferred to the south of the Line?—In a greater degree.

2945. You

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2945. You have referred to certain barracoons which you saw yourself on the River Nun; is there any slave trade on the Nun at present?—I have not heard of any lately.

2946. Have you heard of any slave trade on any of the rivers opening into the Bight of Benin since the presence of Her Majesty's squadron on that coast?—I saw slavers there myself; in 1833 I saw several.

2947. Have you heard of such since the treaties with Spain and Portugal, and the enactment of the Equipment Article?—I have not been upon the coast since then.

2948. You have stated that while, in your judgment, the present system cannot be justified, you suggest as the first recommendation which ought to be adopted in lieu of it, that a free passage should be offered from Africa to the West Indies, to encourage free labourers to emigrate; do you wish the Committee to understand that the parties who are to be transported as free labourers are to be the liberated Africans now located at Sierra Leone, or are they to be persons whom you are to collect at different points of the coast, and instruct in the advantages of the proposed emigration?—I think it would benefit the inhabitants of Sierra Leone very much if they were removed to the West Indies, and with regard to other emigration, all that I think the British Government should do, would be to offer to any parties wishing to emigrate a free passage.

2949. How would you explain to a native of Africa that the passage which he was encouraged to take, and which was to be free so far as money was concerned, would be free so far as his own labour was concerned?—I do not think you would have any difficulty in explaining that. You have got the English language; it is spoken imperfectly all down the coast; they have great confidence in the English people; I think if the experiment were tried, it would be tried with great success.

2950. Were there slavers in the Bonny when you were there?—There were five slavers in the Bonny and New Calabar when I was there; that was before Lord Clarendon's treaty; in the Calabar there were three, I think.

2951. Has the slave trade been "pretty well done up" in the river Bonny?—I should think it had almost entirely ceased in those rivers since Lord Clarendon's treaty. Perhaps a stray slaver has gone in now and then, but those rivers being bar rivers, it would be almost impossible for a slaver to escape if she got in and had her stores on board.

2952. Do you attribute the suppression of the slave trade, in respect to the River Bonny, to the presence of the blockading squadron?—Entirely to the blockade of those ports.

2953. Then if the blockade were made more generally efficient, that would be a mode of suppressing the slave trade?—If the African slave trade were only carried on in the rivers, it might be put down by a blockade; but the African coast being accessible at all points, there is hardly a point upon the coast where a vessel cannot anchor; there is no instance of a gale of wind blowing on the African shore; slaves can be shipped from the beach, and it is impossible to put it down by a blockade.

2954. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Is it not necessary for the shipment of slaves to establish barracoons upon the coast, and to make previous arrangements as to bringing them down to some particular spot?—The slave dealers must have communication with the slave purchasers; they must establish depôts, and they must communicate their position to the Portuguese and Spaniards.

2955. It is not, therefore, correct to say that they might embark the slaves upon any part of the coast without having previous arrangements in the way of establishing barracoons, and communicating with the Brazilians or Portuguese?—I do not think I stated that; I stated that they could be shipped from any part.

2956. They could not be shipped from any part of the coast without some previous arrangement; without having settled the particular locality?—Certainly not.

2957. You stated in the early part of your evidence that you considered the Equipment Articles under Lord Clarendon's treaty to have been most efficient and successful in putting down the slave trade, as far as the Spanish flag was concerned?—Yes; I said as far as regarded the Spanish flag, the trade shifted to the Portuguese; and when the Portuguese acceded to the Equipment Article, it shifted to the Brazilians.

2958. Then, in point of fact, the effect of that treaty with those Equipment

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Articles, was first to put an end to the slave trade under the Spanish flag, and secondly, when the Portuguese adopted the same treaty, to put an end to the slave trade under the Portuguese flag?—Yes, in a great measure; it has not put quite an end either to one or the other; but in a great measure it put it down under the Spanish flag, and then under the Portuguese.

2959. You also stated that under General Valdez, who observed the treaties with England in Cuba, the slave trade was pretty nearly put an end to in the island of Cuba?—Yes.

2960. How then do you reconcile the statement which you made, when you stated that all treaties had proved to be futile, and that they had no effect whatever in diminishing the slave trade; and yet you have stated that the effect of the Equipment Articles in the treaties with Portugal and Spain was to put an end to the trade under the Spanish and Portuguese flags, and that by a faithful observance of the engagements with England in Cuba by General Valdez the slave trade was nearly put down in that island?—It did not affect the total amount of the slave trade, it only shifted the flag under which it was carried on. It is the nature of commerce to fly to the readiest means of carrying it out. If the Portuguese flag offered greater facilities than the Spanish, it would be used; if the Brazilian offered greater facilities than either the Portuguese or the Spanish, they would fly to the Brazilian flag. But the total amount of the slave trade was not affected at all by the Equipment Clause.

2961. Is there any other nation besides the Brazilian under whose flag the slave trade is still carried on to any great extent?—I think the reports of the vessels seized show that there are other flags used, and no flags at all; vessels are seized with name of country unknown.

2962. Would you have reason then to hope that in case the Brazilians were to adopt the same treaty, and faithfully to observe their engagements, there would then be no flag under which the slave trade could be carried on?—I think if the Brazilians and the Spaniards would faithfully observe their treaties, there would be no slave trade, because the demand would then be checked.

2963. Then in point of fact, you think that treaties would not be futile, but would be advantageous if they were observed by the parties with whom England entered into them, and provided those parties included all the principal flags of the world?—No, not all the flags of the world; I do not think that necessary. But taking the governments of Brazil and Cuba, and Porto Rico, which are the importing countries for the slaves which are carried across the Atlantic, if you had treaties with them prohibiting the traffic, which they would observe, the slave trade would be as completely put down to those countries as it is to our West Indian possessions.

2964. Notwithstanding that the demand might continue on the part of the Brazilian planter?—But the demand would not continue then.

2965. Why so?—Because the demand is permitted by the Spanish government; the demand continued when we abolished the slave trade in 1808; but the moral power of the British people interfered, and said, "Though the demand continues, you shall not have a slave;" and it would be the same there.

2966. Then, in point of fact, you think the demand would not continue, to bring the virgin soil into cultivation, provided the Government were faithful to carry out their engagements to put a stop to the slave trade?—I think you misunderstand me; there is a very great demand for labour in those colonies at present, in Trinidad and Guiana, because there is a great amount of virgin soil there.

2967. *Chairman.*] There is a great amount to cultivate?—Yes, for slave labour or free; but there is no actual demand upon the African coast, because the British Government come between them and say, "You shall not have them."

2968. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Is that from the British Government forbidding it, or from the moral feeling of the planter preventing him from availing himself of the slave labour?—It is the fact (there is no denying it) that there is English capital employed in growing sugar at Cuba and in the Brazils; there is not an English commercial house connected with one place or the other whose capital is not more or less (it is quite impossible to draw the line) engaged in bringing slaves from the coast of Africa, in one sense, you may say.

2969. Do you think that more slaves would be imported into the Brazils if they were cheap, or if they were dear?—Of course if they were cheaper there would

would be a greater demand ; the same capital would purchase a greater number of slaves.

2970. Then, in point of fact, anything that renders a slave dear, is, to a certain extent, a check upon the importation of a number of slaves into the Brazils?—There is no doubt that if you can buy a certain number of slaves for 1,000*l.*, and you can increase that quantity 50 per cent. by making the trade free, more slaves will be imported. It is a question with me whether more slaves would be exported from Africa, because I think, if the slave trade were free, the mortality would be reduced to some very trifling amount.

2971. Would it be the interest of the Brazilian planter, if an unlimited supply of slaves could be obtained, to import nothing but males, and so to use them up as to have the smallest quantity of unprofitable slaves on his estate?—I am very sorry to say that that is the case in Cuba to a dreadful extent at the present moment.

2972. But if there were a very great difficulty in importing slaves, would not it be necessary for him to import a fair proportion of females, and to treat them well, so as to raise a stock by breeding and good treatment?—There is no doubt that if you could make the value of the slave twice or three times as much as it is now, common sense and common judgment would suppose that to be the case ; but unfortunately we know, that while sugar cultivation is conducted by slave labour, there is hardly any instance of the population increasing. I believe, in our own sugar colonies, the slave population did not increase ; in Demerara, for instance.

2973. *Chairman.*] Do you know how the case is in the United States?—Yes, I know how the case is in the United States; when I say I know it, I have not been in Louisiana. I should like that question to be gone into. The slavery in the United States is divided into two parts ; there are the breeders and the consumers. The consumer of the slaves is in Louisiana and in the rice grounds to the south, where the mortality is excessive. The breeder of the slaves resides in Virginia and Maryland, and there he breeds, just as you breed horses and cattle for the market; but the mortality upon the sugar plantations in Louisiana is exceedingly great.

2974. And yet notwithstanding that mortality, it appears that the black population of the United States has increased beyond the increase of the white population, with all the additions which the white population has received from immigration from Europe?—Yes, it increases in a greater ratio ; the blacks are very prolific indeed ; the proportion of children to grown-up persons in a black town is something quite extraordinary.

2975. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Nothing then but extreme ill-usage can prevent that increase?—It is a very curious case that they are the only enslaved nation that do increase. If I may be allowed to refer to the Report of the British Commissioners to substantiate my opinion, that it is the high price of produce which governs the supply of slaves, I will read an extract from it. In the despatch from the Havannah, of the 1st January 1836, the Commissioners write thus: "Never, since the establishment of this Mixed Commission, has the slave trade of the Havannah reached such a disgraceful pitch as during the year 1835. The actual high price of colonial produce, which has risen here most remarkably in value since the emancipation of the negroes in the British colonies, is without doubt one of the principal causes of the increase in the demand for Africans." Now, I think it will be found that as soon as the alteration in the sugar duties was made, the Havannah slave trade began to increase. I should say that though the actual importation, according to the last advices, may not have taken place yet, one of the officers who has just returned from the coast of Africa, told me that he understood that a demand was springing up again for the Havannah ; that it had been formerly altogether for the Brazils.

2976. *Chairman.*] When did you learn that?—I learnt it from a friend of mine who has recently returned ; he was examined before the Committee the other day (Captain Birch). It has always followed, that as the price of sugar has got up, the slave trade has increased. There is another point which I would beg to be allowed to quote, that is the opinion of the late Mr. Henry William Macaulay.

2977. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] When he was a Commissioner?—When he was a Commissioner.

2978. *Chairman.*] What is the date of the Report of which you are speaking?—The Report is dated 31st December 1838, Messrs. Macaulay and Doherty

state :

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state: "If the present system is not altered, this country has no alternative but retiring at once from the contest she has so long waged, baffled, beaten, and insulted by a set of lawless smugglers."

2979. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Do you think that the presence of cruisers upon the coast is advantageous to the trade?—I think it very advantageous to the palm-oil trade,

2980. You think that if the slave-trade squadron were to be put an end to, it would still be desirable for the purposes of trade to have a certain number of cruisers upon the coast?—If the present system of preventing the slave trade were done away with, the palm oil would have no effect upon the presence of slavers in those rivers.

2981. You think that slave traders would again resort to those rivers?—
—There is no doubt of it.

2982. You think that the withdrawal of the squadron, then, would have the effect of reviving the slave trade where it has ceased, and of continuing it with greater vigour where it already exists?—I think the withdrawal of the squadron, without any other measure taken by this Government, would certainly have the effect of filling those rivers again with slavers, as they formerly were, before the Equipment Clause was passed.

2983. And you think that the return of those slave traders to the rivers would be very detrimental and injurious to the British trader?—All experience has proved that. It is a very remarkable thing that the slave trade annihilated British legitimate commerce at first. The first trade with Africa was commenced with what we call legitimate commerce now; but as soon as Sir John Hawkins commenced the slave trade, the legitimate commerce disappeared entirely, the direct trade: and the principle is very plain; the slave trade pays better than the other.

2984. Then you think it essential, for the maintenance of British commerce, that the slave trade should be abolished or suppressed, or that every effort should be made to suppress the slave trade?—That every effort should be made to suppress the slave trade; and I think that the plan of giving every African a free passage to our own colonies, and a free passage back if he did not like his location, would effectually prevent the slave trade, and disable the chiefs from supplying slaves.

2985. *Chairman*.] Do you think that the operation of the system which you are recommending, of supplying the West Indies with free labour from Africa, would be injurious to British commerce?—I should think it would be of the greatest possible advantage, because no person could support any plan of taking the Africans to the West Indies without giving hem a free passage back; and if that were carried on for a few years, I think Africa would be filled with people who had been partially civilized in the West Indies, speaking the English language, and coming back with a knowledge which would enable them to produce cotton and coffee, and with other advantages.

2986. When you say that if the British squadron were withdrawn, the rivers on the west coast of Africa would again be filled with slavers, as in former years, I suppose you consider that the limit to the trade in slaves is the demand for slaves?—Exactly.

2987. Does it appear to you, from the information which you have on the subject, that the demand for slaves during the last few years has not met with an adequate supply in Brazil?—From all the information which I can gather, the supply into Brazil has been very great; there has been a great demand and a great supply. A time of pecuniary pressure and low prices has always diminished the trade; a time of high prices and ease of money has always increased it.

2988. You consider the presence of a British squadron on the coast of Africa to be desirable for the purposes of legitimate commerce; do you think it desirable that we should keep up 26 ships of war on the coast of Africa for that object?—No; when I speak of the presence of the British squadron, I do not mean the slave-trade preventive squadron, but the presence of cruisers, as on other coasts, is very desirable to protect commerce. The experiment of free emigration I think is worth trying. I should like to draw a parallel case with that of the Southern States of America. There are societies formed all through the Northern States for assisting runaway slaves into Canada. The average number has been stated at something like 4,000 or 5,000 that annually escape from the

the Southern States; they run the gauntlet through the Northern and Eastern states, and get to Canada at last. Now they are the same race as those people that I consider this country is bound to endeavour to improve, the African race. If you were to put two vessels (we will take the Cameroons river, or any other river), a slaver and an English ship, the one offering perfect freedom, with men on board who had been to the West Indies, their own countrymen, and the other purchasing slaves; judging of Africans like other men, you would say that the free vessel would get more, because the proportion of slaves to free men is very great. If they can escape and run the gauntlet through all those Yankees who are hunting them in the United States (they are the same race of men), why will not they escape from their own country?

2989. They might not have the same inducement to escape from their own country?—They have the inducement of either being forced on board the slaver or making their escape, and getting on board the free ship. Now I have never found any difficulty in getting free labourers in Africa. We were several days running down the Kroo coast, and there were constantly canoes coming off with men offering their services. I shipped some men there, and some at Sierra Leone.

2990. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Are you at all aware what the probable number of Kroomen is?—I do not think that any person can give an adequate idea of the extent of that population: it seems a very populous coast; there are numerous villages, but the coast is not a very extensive one. I believe there never was any difficulty in merchantmen getting the number that they wanted.

2991. That is comparatively a very small number?—Yes.

2992. Are the Kroomen, generally speaking, slaves or free themselves?—All the Kroomen that I had were free. I shipped some at Sierra Leone, they appeared perfectly free there.

2993. Do they make the engagements with the captains individually, or does the head man or chief make them for several?—In our case we made them individually; we paid the navy rate; we were going upon rather a particular service, and we took picked men, and paid the same sum as the navy; four dollars a month, I think.

2994. Do you think that that system of engagement would be practicable at other parts of the coast, or would it be necessary, in order to secure a full supply of free labour, to enter into transactions with different chiefs?—I do not think it would be at all necessary to enter into transactions with the chiefs. The chief of course expects a duty when you enter his river with a ship; there is a custom, just as at the Custom-house here; but I think that any transaction, such as paying the chief a certain sum for shipping so many men, ought not to be allowed at all.

2995. Do you think that in other parts of Africa there are a sufficient number of the common people who are free, who could enter into those engagements?—I think if you could tap the interior, and once get above the chain of the coast, you would obtain any number, because there are large migratory tribes; there are the Housa people, and those upon the Niger, whom you might get. I saw the whole of the west bank of the Niger burnt by the Feelatahs upon a slavery excursion; we might have taken hundreds of them; they came under the lee of my vessel for protection.

2996. Is it not the fact, so far as your information goes, that the greatest part of the population on the sea coast is composed of slaves?—Yes; and upon that I found the great hope which I have that they will make their escape whenever they have the opportunity.

2997. How do you mean that they will make their escape?—When they can escape to the British colonies.

2998. Then you think that you only could make engagements with them as fugitives from their masters, and not as free agents?—A fugitive you may say; he has the option of escaping from his master, or remaining there to be sold.

2999. Would not it create a considerable difficulty in the way of obtaining any large number, if they were only to be obtained by their running away and escaping from their present condition; you could not make an open engagement with them?—I do not think there is any engagement necessary; I think you have only to offer refuge, and you will get plenty.

3000. Do not you think that the chiefs on the coast would throw every impediment in the way of their being carried off for that purpose?—I have no doubt they

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they would at first; they would throw the same impediment that the slave dealer in the southern States of America has done.

3001. Would not that present a considerable obstacle to the obtaining of any large number of free labourers for the West Indies?—I do not think that anything could stand against the return of a few men who had left the coast of Africa impoverished, and had come back clothed and with wages, and talking of the West Indies and what they had seen.

3002. Are you aware that many of the liberated Africans, or any of the liberated Africans of Sierra Leone, have already been to the West Indies, and returned with considerable sums of money in their pockets as the result of their labour?—Yes.

3003. Have you heard whether that has been a sufficient inducement to lead many others to imitate their example?—There has been very little emigration from Sierra Leone, I am sorry to say; the return communication has been far from regular. I had not much hope from Sierra Leone; it is very difficult to get emigration there, no doubt.

3004. But would not the intelligence that people had been from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and had obtained money and returned home again, offer an inducement to many of the tribes in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone to furnish individuals willing to enter into the bargain?—That has not been the case hitherto.

3005. Have not you already stated that the means of obtaining a sufficient quantity of free labour would be from the supply of natives from the interior of Africa?—Yes.

3006. What reason then have you to suppose that you should be better able to obtain a supply from that quarter than from Sierra Leone, and the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone?—Because I think the emigration from Sierra Leone has been a good deal discouraged.

3007. How has it been discouraged?—When emigration was first permitted from Sierra Leone there were a great number of regulations insisted upon, which had the effect of throwing great doubt upon the minds of the people, who were naturally suspicious. There was a system of registration and passports, almost amounting to the passport system, established, which threw great doubt upon the minds of the people, and it has never been carried on to any great extent. I can go into the particulars of that if the Committee wish.

3008. *Chairman.*] You think if those restrictions were withdrawn there would be a considerable emigration?—I think if perfectly withdrawn.

3009. Are there any other restrictions than those which you have mentioned?—There is no positive assurance that if they do not like their location in the West Indies they will have a free passage back; no guarantee. Now I think that that is the corner-stone of any free emigration.

3010. How do you propose that such a guarantee should be given?—By the British Government.

3011. Not by the individuals concerned in taking the Africans?—The British Government's guarantee is the only guarantee that would do. The Colonial Government, I should think, would very gladly re-guarantee the British Government any expense; in fact they have paid the expense up to this time, I think.

3012. You consider it a question of expense then, merely?—It is merely a question of expense.

3013. And you propose that the local government of Sierra Leone should afford that guarantee to the blacks going from Sierra Leone, that they should return if they desired it?—That if they did not like their location they should be sent back. They have never had that.

3014. How would you practically carry out such a system; how would the individual who received the assurance at Sierra Leone, that on his demanding to be sent back a free passage should be afforded him, be identified in the West Indies?—I should propose it to be done in this way: The West Indian colonies, we will say, import a certain number of labourers from Sierra Leone; they have a transport that takes them; and I would give to any of the negro race applying a free passage back to their own country. I do not think that it is necessary to take any particular means to identify the individual. I think it is the duty of this country to do everything in her power to improve the coast of Africa: first of all, in offering to any one who cannot get employment on the coast of Africa
a free

a free passage to the British West Indies, where he can be employed in perfect security; and then to offer any black person a free passage back.

3015. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Would you give such free passage back to the native-born inhabitants of Jamaica?—I should be very glad to see them claim it.

3016. *Chairman*.] You think it would promote the civilization of Africa?—Yes, and induce a dozen emigrants for every one you took.

3017. Mr. *Simeon*.] Do you think that the natives whom you imagine would fly from slavery to the West Indies as a preferable condition, would, after they had experienced the benefits of that change of settlement, be willing to return into slavery in their own country?—I think only a per-centage of them would go back; I do not think all would go back.

3018. But would those who returned have any security that they would not fall back into the same state of slavery and misery from which they had been rescued?—If you take a man from the West Indies, and put him into Africa, you put him among people in a state of semi-barbarism, and he is sure to be enslaved; but if this system of what you may call a free bridge between the British possessions in the West Indies and the coast of Africa were established, there would be such a number that I have no doubt that you would, in a very short time, revolutionize the whole of Africa; in fact, you would do upon a large scale with British negroes what the Americans are doing at Liberia; they have an independent flag there, and they are spreading all down the coast; I have heard people even complain of it. They are returned emigrants you may say; their forefathers were taken to America, and those are returned emigrants.

3019. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Have you reason to believe that any one of the inhabitants of Liberia is a native-born African?—I should hardly think so, but their forefathers were; it is the same principle. Those people have been raised in the scale of humanity in America in some degree, and have come back, and you see their superiority showing itself by their spreading all down the coast. I believe they have got as far as Cape Palmas now.

3020. Mr. *Simeon*.] You think well of the effect of Liberia upon the coast of Africa?—No doubt it is an improvement.

3021. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Were you ever in Liberia?—Yes.

3022. When was that?—In 1832. I was, I believe, the first that ever took a vessel into St. Paul's River.

Mr. *John Duncan*, called in; and Examined.

3023. *Chairman*.] YOU are acquainted with the west coast of Africa?—Yes.

3024. With what part of the west coast of Africa are you best acquainted?—I am best acquainted with the portion from Elmina to Whydah.

3025. In what year did you first visit the coast of Africa?—I visited it in 1840 and 1841, with the Niger expedition; but my late travels in Africa commenced on 17th June 1844, and ended in February 1846.

3026. When did you quit the coast?—I left about the middle of February 1846.

3027. You accompanied what is usually called the Niger Expedition?—Yes, I did; that was in my first expedition to Africa.

3028. Did your acquaintance with the coast of Africa at any time lead you to see much of the practices of the foreign slave trade?—Yes, during my last sojourn and travels in Africa.

3029. At the time when you left the coast what was the state of the slave trade, to the best of your knowledge?—The slave trade was carried on to a great extent about the time I left the coast.

3030. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] In what part?—At Whydah.

3031. *Chairman*.] That is in the Bight of Benin?—Yes.

3032. Was there any slave trade at Accra?—No, not that I am aware of.

3033. Did you observe a great difference between the time when you first landed in Africa, in 1841, and the year 1846, with regard to the activity of the slave trade?—No, I did not; I had not such a good opportunity of observing the slave trade on my first expedition to Africa, while employed in the Niger expedition.

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3034. Therefore

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3034. Therefore you were unable to institute any comparison?—I could not.
3035. From all which you have heard, have you reason to believe that the slave trade has increased since that time?—I believe it has not decreased.
3036. Did you ever see a barracoon?—Yes, many.
3037. Where did you see barracoons?—At Whydah, and other places. I have seen them also on the banks of the Niger; but at Whydah there are numbers of barracoons.
3038. When you say you have seen barracoons on the banks of the Niger, where did you see them?—The largest barracoon that I visited was at Egga, the highest ascent of the Niger expedition.
3039. Was that a barracoon constructed for the purpose of promoting the foreign slave trade?—I believe so; it was merely to confine slaves during the time the market was held for sale; the same as a shed which is used to confine cattle in this country, till they were sold.
3040. Where were those slaves brought from?—Different parts of the interior.
3041. Was there a vast concourse of them?—I did not see a great many; but on inquiring of a slave dealer how soon I could procure 600, he told me “the day after to-morrow;” that was the day but one after I was there.
3042. Do you consider that the barracoon which you saw so far in the interior of Africa was a part of the machinery by which the foreign slave trade is supplied?—I should say it was, because the foreign slave trade being the only source for which they would require the supply, I should say that the foreign slave trade was the occasion of this barracoon being there established.
3043. That is an inference on your own part?—Yes.
3044. You received no positive information to that effect?—No positive information to that effect.
3045. Did you observe any barracoons in the intermediate localities between Egga and the coast?—I did not; I was not very frequently on shore, so that I had not an opportunity of observing. I was more on shore at Egga and Idda than at any other part.
3046. Have you any reason to believe that at intermediate stations barracoons are constructed for the purpose of receiving the slaves coming from the interior?—I should believe so. Egga and Rabba are the principal markets.
3047. Did you see any slaves at Rabba?—I did not reach so high as Rabba; I only heard it from information from the natives.
3048. You have seen barracoons on the coast?—Yes, numbers at Whydah.
3049. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] Anywhere else besides Whydah?—Yes; Whydah, Popo, and also Ahguay.
3050. Chairman.] Many of them?—Yes.
3051. Take Whydah; how many barracoons did you see there?—Six large barracoons.
3052. In what year was that?—In 1845 and 1846.
3053. Were any of those barracoons the property of Englishmen?—No.
3054. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Were they the property of De Souza?—De Souza had free access to all those barracoons, and had free intercourse with all the Spaniards and Portuguese that visited them; in fact I dined with him many times.
3055. Did De Souza continue the slave trade at that time?—He did very little compared with what he formerly did, he acknowledged to me.
3056. Chairman.] Has he acquired great wealth by the trade?—I believe he had at one time; now he is very wealthy; I do not believe he knows the value of the wealth he possesses; his stores are all filled with articles going to decay, which have no doubt been taken from captains coming over with goods for slave purchase.
3057. Did you ever observe a large number of slaves in one of the barracoons?—Yes.
3058. What is the largest number which you ever saw?—I have seen, perhaps, 200; I have seen 600 people put on board an American ship; but then they were shipped from different barracoons.
3059. What was the size of that ship where you saw the 600 shipped on board?—I should think she was about a 300-ton ship.
3060. Were they in a state of great suffering?—I only saw them put on board; they passed me on their way down to the beach; I stood there to witness them passing

passing in chains to the beach, and I saw their mode of shipping and marking them.

3061. Do they stamp them?—Yes; each slave dealer adopts his own mark; and probably a number of slaves belonging to different slave dealers will be put on board the same ship, consequently it is necessary that each should have his distinguishing mark, to ascertain, when they arrive at their destination, whom the slaves belong to.

3062. Is the brand which you speak of the brand of the slave dealer, or is it the brand of the individual who has made an investment in money in Brazil for the purpose of purchasing slaves?—That I cannot say; but I think it is the party who ships the slaves from the coast of Africa; he uses his own initials.

3063. Did you ever hear of the other process being adopted, of a particular brand being fixed on the slaves which had been purchased by a sum sent out from Brazil by individual adventurers?—No, I did not.

3064. What is the nature of the brand?—It is merely an iron, such as we use for branding horses' hoofs, or for burning on wood. There are letters cut on the iron. This iron is put into a fire on the beach, and a small pot containing palm oil is always at hand; the iron is heated, and dipped into this palm oil, and dabbed on the hip or the breast, or wherever the slave dealer may choose to have his slaves marked. The palm oil is to prevent the flesh adhering to it.

3065. It is not applied to any particular part of the human body?—No. Some prefer the breast. With the females, they generally prefer it just above the breast; the women wear no clothing above the breast; the men are marked on the hip; they wearing nothing but a cloth round the loins; the hip can always be seen, so that the mark would easily be perceived.

3066. At the time you were at Whydah were those barracoons inconveniently crowded with slaves?—No.

3067. Did you ever hear of barracoons being inconveniently crowded with slaves?—No; the barracoons are extensive, and it would take a very great number indeed to overcrowd them.

3068. Have the slaves, at any period that you are acquainted with, been detained for an unusual time in the barracoons waiting for an opportunity of shipment?—Yes, very frequently.

3069. Did the owners of the slaves complain of that detention?—Very much.

3070. During the time that the slaves were in their hands, were they well supplied with food and the necessaries of life?—All that I saw. De Souza's barracoons were those that I particularly visited, and he always took great care to have them well supplied with food.

3071. There was no suffering, so far as you are informed, in that respect?—No, none at Whydah.

3072. Was there in 1846 any great difficulty in shipping the slaves?—There was a great difficulty, owing to the vigilance of our men-of-war; many were captured, and many had even got the slaves in, and sent them on shore again upon the advance of a man-of-war.

3073. How many slave ships did you know of being dispatched in the year 1846?—I can scarcely remember. During my short stay at Whydah I have known at least five or six, but the largest number that I know of having been shipped at one time was 600; they were put on board in the short space of an hour and a half.

3074. What was the number of ships dispatched?—I should think about five or six during the time I was there; I cannot recollect the exact number.

3075. And some of them were captured?—Some of them were captured; in fact, I should say more than one half of them were captured.

3076. But that did not repress the activity of the trade?—No, it only increased the price; the value of a boy or a girl of about 14 or 15 was 16 dollars when I was there, and a strong man about 24 dollars in the interior.

3077. Were you on board any of the slave ships?—No, I was not.

3078. You never went on board a slave ship?—Never.

3079. You saw them, I suppose, from the neighbourhood of the shore?—Yes, perfectly; and I have seen them from on board a merchant ship.

3080. From the immediate neighbourhood of the slave ship?—Yes.

3081. Did you see it sufficiently to be able to form an idea of the construction and fitting of the ship?—With respect to this vessel that I have alluded to, where the 600 were shipped on board, I had a man from on board who accompanied

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me in the interior as far as the Kong mountains. Being an American, he thought it dangerous to remain on board his vessel in case of capture; he left, and volunteered to accompany me into the interior, and he described the ship as scarcely seaworthy. I saw the captain, and conversed with him also in Whydah, where I engaged this man. I went to him to obtain this man's character; he left the vessel also, and came up to Accra with a view of getting a passage to England, and going back to America by way of London, but he died at Accra through fever.

3082. Did you understand that it was the practice of those engaged in the slave trade to employ those inferior vessels?—Yes, as far as regards American vessels; it is quite a common practice for American ships to be sent out there scarcely seaworthy. They bring out a legal cargo, so as to avoid being taken by our men-of-war; and as soon as that cargo is disposed of to the slave dealers, they sell the vessel to the Spaniards or the Portuguese, probably to a number of them, who join and pay, perhaps, 3,000 or 4,000 dollars; and then this vessel returns with a cargo of slaves.

3083. What is it which induces them to make use of those inferior vessels?—Probably her being taken would be a less loss than if she were a good vessel.

3084. The inducement is, to avoid the loss which would accrue from the capture of a good vessel?—Just so.

3085. Do the slaves suffer in consequence of the inferior vessels on board which they are now placed?—When they are crowded. No doubt those to whom I have referred must have suffered, because the accommodation could not have been sufficient for the number; they no doubt suffer greatly from being overcrowded in the vessels.

3086. You spoke of the vessels occasionally not being seaworthy, or scarcely seaworthy; did you ever hear of a vessel foundering at sea?—I cannot say that I have heard of a slave vessel foundering at sea; I have heard a captain boast of his having thrown a number overboard in casks, to evade being taken by our man-of-war, detaining her to pick them up.

3087. They were put in casks and thrown overboard?—Yes. This I have heard the captains boast of themselves.

3088. Do they put to sea sometimes, in consequence of the despatch with which the slaves are shipped, with any insufficiency of provision or water?—That I cannot say.

3089. Mr. E. J. Stanley.] If the barracoons were destroyed at Whydah, would that offer a great impediment to the prosecution of the slave trade?—I have no doubt that it would on that part of the coast; and if we were to establish any authority there in consequence of the invitation of the King of Dahomey, I have no doubt it would seriously affect the slave trade.

3090. Is the King of Dahomey desirous of having an English establishment at Whydah?—Very desirous; and he requested me at various times to use my influence with the authorities in England even to take possession of Whydah, so that we might use our own discretionary power as far as regards the slave trade.

3091. You state that the King of Dahomey was anxious for further intercourse with the English, and was desirous of having an establishment at Whydah?—Yes, he was; he made that request to me several times; he made the proposal himself voluntarily, and asked why we did not send out mechanics, missionaries, and schoolmasters. He said that his great object was to communicate directly with our Government at Cape Coast, without passing his communications through the Spaniards and the Portuguese; and I believe for that very purpose he has now at the mission school at Cape Coast two boys and two girls from Abomey; I do not know whether they are his own children or not, but he has certainly four there, for he made inquiry of me respecting their progress, which induced me to go to Mr. Freeman to inquire after them, and know what progress they had made. At the same time he observed, that as soon as they were capable they were to be called away, one to remain at Whydah and the other at Abomey, so that he could send missionary communications directly to the British governor at Cape Coast without passing through the Spaniards or Portuguese. He also invited us to send out mechanics and artizans; he said he would afford them protection and build them houses. And he also requested that we should always have a person residing in his capital as a consul or ambassador on behalf of the English and the trade. He said that his great object was to establish a commercial intercourse with the English,

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stating that his father's best friend was an Englishman and his grandfather's best friend, and that it was Governor James that first introduced British manufactured cloth into his kingdom, and also sent the first gun; consequently he considered himself much indebted to the Englishmen on that account. He also stated that the French had been anxious to gain a settlement in Whydah, but that until the Queen of England, who was the most powerful of all white monarchs, had refused it, he would not accede to it.

3092. Did the King of Dahomey express himself as desirous of substituting legitimate trade for the slave trade?—He explained that he did not derive the revenue which we supposed from the slave trade; he said it was the caboceers or chiefs that derived the greatest benefit from the slave trade; that they merely paid him a nominal due upon the numbers which they shipped or passed through his country. Of those caboceers each holds a number of soldiers; when those soldiers go to war, the number of slaves taken by them belong to the masters of those soldiers, not to the king. They merely pay a nominal due. Those caboceers also monopolise the trade of all those towns, imposing a duty upon all goods passing and repassing through them, or offered for sale in the markets, the king merely receiving a nominal duty as an acknowledgment as the sovereign. He stated that the legitimate trade would be as profitable to him; that all that he wished to obtain, was sufficient to keep up his dignity as sovereign, and keep up an army to maintain peace in his own country, and those around him.

3093. Would he be able to prevent the transit of slaves through his dominions?—I have no doubt that one word from him would be quite sufficient. He has a very extensive army, disciplined far beyond what any one would naturally suppose in the interior of Africa, and all well armed: and also 6,000 female troops I saw, very well armed, with British and Danish muskets and short swords, all regularly clothed in one uniform, and the men the same.

3094. Do the women fight as well as the men?—Yes; all desperate enterprises are entrusted to the women. The women from childhood do all the hardest and most laborious of the work.

3095. Is the town in which the King of Dahomey lives, populous?—I should think, independently of the soldiers, there are about 36,000 inhabitants in it; that is Abomey. Then 10 miles from that is Canamina, which is equally large as Abomey.

3096. Which is the residence of the king?—Abomey is the chief residence, but he resides frequently at Canamina.

3097. Are there any buildings in the town, or are they nothing but huts?—In both those towns, and, in fact, on the whole line of road up from the coast to Abomey, the houses are built on the European principle; they are good houses, though very few of them are of two storeys; it was only in Abomey, the capital, that I observed two-storey houses.

3098. Is there much desire on the part of the king and the principal people of that country to obtain European articles of comfort or luxury?—A very great desire; in fact, I have now in my possession a letter written at the king's own dictation, of the articles which he required to be sent out; a variety of different cloths and tents, similar to that I had myself; he made a requisition for a number of those tents, and a great variety of cloths, the patterns of which he showed me, also cottons and cowries, rum, guns, and all those things he mentioned as in request in his country.

3099. What articles are there, the produce of the country, which he would be able to send to the English merchant in exchange for European produce?—Ivory, palm oil, shea butter, and cotton.

3100. *Chairman.*] What is the meaning of the word "shea"?—I am not aware of that; that is the name we give it, but the natives do not give it that name; it is obtained in a similar manner to the palm oil. This is from a nut about the size of a pigeon's egg; each nut hangs by a single fibre, about six inches long; the shell is very thin, easily cracked by pressure; not thicker than the shell of a hen's egg, and nearly the whole within it is the butter, there is very little pith in it; the pith is like a very thin cotton fibre, and easily extracted.

3101. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Can this article be produced in large quantities?—Yes, in very large quantities; I observed even on the trees which were scorched two or three bushels under a good-sized tree.

3102. *Chairman.*] By whom are the trees scorched?—By the caboceers; each caboceer is obliged to scorch the trees in his own district.

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3103. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] For what purpose?—To prevent its becoming an article of trade. This is through the influence of the Spaniards and Portuguese.

3104. *Chairman.*] Why do they wish to put down the trade in this article?—They are afraid of its detracting from the slave trade; they are afraid that the native kings and chiefs would see the advantages of employing their people in developing the resources of their own soil in the production of those articles, and then they think they would see the advantage of retaining the people in their own country instead of selling them; that is the great object in endeavouring to keep it out of the market.

3105. Is there a large destruction of those trees in consequence of that policy?—Yes. Every one that I passed beyond Abomey was scorched; but yet so strong was the vegetative power, that they yielded notwithstanding.

3106. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] What inducement did you ever find that the Spanish and Portuguese traders held out to those cabooceers to lead them to destroy those trees?—Their object, as I said, is to prevent them knowing the advantages.

3107. What inducement did they hold out to them; how were they able to make those chiefs destroy the trees; did they give them money?—The king uses his authority in ordering them. First of all, a heavy duty was imposed upon the manufacture of that butter. Then they found that still it was manufactured: they doubled that duty; and then a peremptory order was issued that it should not be manufactured at all, only so much as was necessary for medicinal purposes. It is used as an ointment, and for burning in lamps.

3108. Have you brought any specimens of this butter home with you from Africa?—Yes, there are some upon the table.

3109. Have you had any experiments made with it?—Yes.

3110. Will you put them in?—I have now a letter from a friend of mine, who experimented upon it in Mr. Toussaint's factory, one of the largest factories we have, I believe. This is from one of his foremen: "According to promise, I have enclosed a sample of 'shea butter refined,' and I make no hesitation in saying that it might be extensively used as it is, in many sorts of composition candles. Its properties as to burning, &c. are good, the light being strong and also transparent. You will also observe that it is free from any unpleasant smell; and I am also of opinion that it is well calculated for the manufacture of stearine, viz., by exposing it to hydraulic pressure the soft or oily part would be given out, consequently rendering the material left much harder. But if you can obtain a sufficient quantity (say three or four pounds) I will try it, or anything else that lies in my power. It is not for me to say at what price or in what quantities it may be obtained, therefore I cannot give an opinion at what price the candle may be manufactured; but should you have anything in future to communicate respecting it, I shall be happy to reply. Yours faithfully, *George Turner.*"

3111. *Chairman.*] Do the natives use it at all for the purposes of illumination?—Yes, they use it for the lamp; it gives a very bright clear light, much superior to the palm oil, and does not yield nearly so much smoke.

3112. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Is it your opinion that large quantities of that might be obtained with facility?—Yes; I am quite confident that if we were to keep up a good feeling with the King of Dahomey, the English Consul, or any person going there with the authority of the Government, might easily get his consent to have it brought down to the coast extensively, and its growth promoted.

3113. Are there any other articles of native production which you think might with advantage be changed with the English?—Cotton and sugar; I have made sugar there myself from the spontaneous growth of the cane; cotton might be obtained in great quantities, and very good.

3114. *Chairman.*] When you say "very good," do you know the American cotton?—Yes.

3115. Is it good as compared with that?—I think so.

3116. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Have you brought any specimens?—Yes; this is the widest cotton I ever saw in Africa (*producing a piece of manufactured cotton*); it is generally woven in narrow strips; there are only two widths of cloth in this, and this appears to me superior cotton.

3117. *Chairman.*] Have you brought specimens over with you of the cotton before it is manufactured?—No.

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3118. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Will you enumerate any other articles?—Maize, guinea corn, and rice.

3119. *Chairman.*] Will you mention, as you name the articles, where they have been subjects of export?—These could all be obtained at Whydah, or in the Dahomeyan kingdom. There are also yams, manioc (which is what the farina is made from), sheep, goats, and cattle, very handsome and very good; there are, likewise, the ground nut and the ground bean.

3120. Have you seen the ground nut growing?—Yes, and dug it up myself very often.

3121. Does it multiply itself very much in the ground?—Yes, very much; it runs under the ground in a string or fibre in great quantities; it grows double, or two in a pod.

3122. And it contains a great deal of oil?—Yes. There are other vegetable productions growing under ground; large round bulbs, in substance much resembling our bean or pea, only much larger.

3123. Would the oil which those beans of which you speak yield, be useful for purposes of manufacture?—I cannot say; but they are in general used for consumption, and are very good.

3124. Are there any other articles which might become commodities of trade?—Indigo is very abundant.

3125. Have you seen it growing?—Yes.

3126. What sort of plant is it?—In the state in which I saw it, it was not at its full perfection. It was a small plantation; the plant was not higher than about two feet and a half. I have both seen it growing and seen it manufactured. The leaf is about an inch and a half or two inches long, as nearly as I can recollect; the leaves, in their rude mode of manufacture, are pounded on stone, and rolled into a round ball, and sold in the market.

3127. Then it seems to be a misnomer altogether to call it indigo?—It is merely the plant; I believe it is what our indigo is made from. This is the plant which they manufacture their dye from.

Jovis, 13^o die Aprilis, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Bingham Baring.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Gladstone.
Lord John Hay.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.

Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. *John Duncan*, called in; and further Examined.

3128. *Chairman.*] IN the course of your examination on Tuesday last you gave us some interesting facts connected with the establishment at Whydah; is there an English fort at Whydah?—Yes, there are the remains of an English fort.

3129. Is that fort acknowledged by the king of the country?—Yes, by the King of Dahomey; that is still occupied by a governor, or person under the title of governor, by the direction of the King of Dahomey. This man acting as governor is a descendant of one of our soldiers during the time that we held possession of it, when we tolerated the slave trade; he is a son of a serjeant in Governor James's time, when we held that fort; he is acknowledged and placed there by the King of Dahomey; he goes annually to visit him during the annual custom, in the character of English governor, in the hopes that we will some day again take possession of that fort. That was the explanation given to me of his possession by the king.

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3130. Are there any English factories at Whydah?—Yes; one belonging to Mr. Hutton, of Watling-street, I believe; his nephew established it there, who is resident at Cape Coast, but keeps an agent there for the purpose of trading.

3131. Is the trade very active at Whydah?—Yes, there is considerable trade, and it might be much increased.

3132. Did you ever see any palm oil shipped at Whydah?—Yes, large quantities.

3133. Is there a great facility of acquiring palm oil in that country?—Yes, it might be obtained in great quantities, if the trade were encouraged.

3134. Does the trade in your opinion require protection?—Yes, decidedly; not on account of the natives, but the Spaniards and Portuguese are quite as jealous of our trade as they are of our cruisers, and more so.

3135. Have the French any fort at Whydah?—Yes, there are the remains of a fort there; but it is not occupied by a governor, or acknowledged by the King of Dahomey; it is occupied by a trader, by a French merchant.

3136. Do the French carry on any considerable amount of commerce at Whydah?—Yes, they do; but Mr. Hutton had the greatest share of the trade with the people in the palm oil.

3137. Does the king favour the legitimate commerce at Whydah?—Yes; he is very anxious that a trade should be established there by the English; and he made a proposal to me to endeavour to draw the attention of our Government to the establishment of missionaries, agriculturists, and mechanics there; and also to send missionaries to his capital at Abomey, and wished that an English person was constantly resident in his country, to promote the trade, and to teach them to develop the resources of the soil.

3138. Do you think that the labours of missionaries have been successful in promoting civilization in that country?—There are no missionaries at Whydah or Abomey, but there are at Cape Coast.

3139. Are there no missionaries at Whydah?—None; the king expressed a great anxiety that missionaries should establish themselves there, and in Abomey, promising to afford them every protection and facility; and I have no doubt that our missionaries would have made much more progress had the arts of civilized life accompanied their efforts in that country; the efforts of the missionaries can never be appreciated while the slave trade is so much in advance, in my opinion.

3140. Are there missionaries from any other country than from England stationed on the coast?—Yes; the Danes have a settlement some distance north of Accra, which is doing very well, but the missionaries there are settled in an agricultural establishment, and have the advantage of the arts of civilized life, going hand in hand with them.

3141. Where is this settlement of the Danes?—It is in the Aquapim country, I think; it is some distance to the north of Accra, in the interior.

3142. What would be the effect on our trade if the blockading squadron were entirely withdrawn?—If the blockading squadron were entirely withdrawn I have no doubt that piracy and an extension of the slave trade would certainly occur, as also the destruction of our factories there.

3143. Did it appear to you that a force of less amount than is now stationed on the coast would be adequate to the protection of the trade?—If a small military force were established; not that we need apprehend any disturbance from the natives, but from the Spaniards and Portuguese.

3144. From those engaged in the slave trade?—Yes, who fear our intercourse with the natives commercially more than they do our cruisers; therefore I think it would be necessary to establish a garrison there for the protection of our trade, which would no doubt be assisted by the King of Dahomey.

3145. What influence, in your opinion, has our squadron upon the slave trade?—No doubt it checks it to a certain extent, and has been the means of coercing some of the Spanish and Portuguese slave dealers into legitimate trade. I know several myself who have now adopted legitimate trade; for instance, a gentleman named Josinto, a native of Madeira, who came to Whydah and followed the slave trade some time, but from successive captures and losing so many slaves, he has abandoned it, and has now adopted legitimate trade, and I believe frequently supplies our merchants with palm oil.

3146. From what you saw on the coast, are you of opinion that our squadron, in its present amount, would ever be able to stop the slave trade?—No, I do not think

think it ever would effectually prevent the slave trade; although, if the squadron were reduced, and a small military force established for the protection of trade, I think, as the natives became acquainted with the development of the resources of their own soil, it would show the native kings and chiefs the advantage of retaining the people in their own country for that purpose; and I think the slave trade would die a natural death.

3147. Do you think it would be possible to mitigate the horrors of the slave trade?—I think they might be mitigated. If we are obliged to tolerate that horrid traffic, we ought, of course, to modify it as much as possible; but I think that could only be done by establishing agents on each coast, strictly to observe that slaves were not exported unless properly registered, and, after a certain period of service, to have the opportunity of returning to their own country, with a small premium if they chose to return to improve their own country, if they preferred. I think that if we are obliged to tolerate the evil, that would be the best system of modification.

3148. That would be rather a system of emigration of free labourers than of exportation of slaves?—Yes; but I think after all it would be necessary first to make those people well acquainted with the objects for which they were required. In the present condition of the people of Africa they can have no comprehensive idea of what they really may be required for, if taken away from that country.

3149. They would imagine they were going to be slaves?—Exactly so; and another thing is, that the people of that country are generally not free. I have never come amongst a people who are entirely free; they are all under certain obligations to the caboceers or chiefs, even in countries where they are not sold as slaves. For instance, I never could hire people to go with me on my journey any distance, without an application to the caboceers or chiefs, and paying them the sum required for their services, with the exception of so much as was necessary to subsist them on their journey and back.

3150. You consider generally that the natives of the countries which you passed through are not absolutely in a state of freedom?—No, they are not they are all what might be considered domestic slaves, although that slavery is easy comparatively, and is comparatively a large family, every one doing an equal portion of the work required on their family estates.

3151. Are those domestic slaves ever sold by their chiefs?—They are sometimes, for extensive offences; but the greater part of the slaves are obtained by war and slave hunts, always under the character of war.

3152. What is the general condition and treatment of the domestic slaves?—Their treatment, as far as I observed, was good; those who conducted themselves properly. Those who committed themselves by any fault were punished either by flagellation or imprisonment, but their treatment otherwise was good; they had always plenty to eat and drink, and not hard labour. It is foreign slavery that seems to be the great hardship, taking them away from their homes, and sending them to foreign countries.

3153. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have been asked whether the squadron in its present amount could effectually prevent the slave trade, and you have been understood to answer that it could not. Do you conceive, from the success which has attended the exertions of the squadron in the suppression of the slave trade in particular parts, that an extension of the squadron, either increasing its force or applying steam navigation in a greater proportion to the amount of vessels, would with equal success suppress or prevent the slave trade in other parts?—I do not think that an extension to double the force would effectually stop the slave trade, from the facilities which are afforded to the slave dealers by the American traders.

3154. You consider that doubling the amount of the force might so suppress the slave trade?—It might suppress it in a great measure, and I think would wholly prevent it if aided by the encouragement of commerce and agriculture at the same time; or even if the squadron were reduced, and commerce and agriculture encouraged.

3155. What extent of coast do you personally know?—I am not well acquainted with more of the coast than between Elmina and the Bight of Benin.

3156. That is from the European settlement on the west of Cape Coast to the Bight of Benin?—Yes.

3157. In respect to the extent of coast which you know, are there periodical winds in that portion of the coast?—Yes, there are.

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3158. Do they blow from the sea upon the coast, or from the coast upon the sea?—They blow at one time from the land to the sea, at another period they blow from west to east, as far as I observed; I have not observed that they blow directly from the sea to the land, although they blow from the land to the sea, and I have observed the wind blowing from the westward at a certain period.

3159. Is there any such wind periodical as would prevent, at a given point in the year, the embarkation of slaves from particular parts of the coast?—No, I do not think it would prevent the shipment of slaves, at least as far as I am acquainted.

3160. You have stated as an improvement upon the present system, supposing you were at any event to tolerate the slave trade, that the slaves exported should be registered and allowed to return?—If we were obliged to tolerate it.

3161. But can that be considered as a slave trade in the sense in which, unhappily, that word has been too familiar to us?—I think it would still be to a certain extent slave trading; but my idea was, that if we must still tolerate the slave trade, it would be well to modify it as far as we possibly could.

3162. Under the correct definition of the term “slave trade,” are you aware of a single instance in which any of the unhappy beings torn from their homes in Africa have been permitted to return?—I have seen some at Whydah, but those merely obtained their liberty by good conduct, or by returning with their masters, who were slave dealers, to Whydah, for the purpose of obtaining more, and they were allowed to settle and farm there.

3163. The question, however, applied to the period when the slave trade was a legal trade in the hands of England; do you, upon the recollection of that fact, know that any instance has occurred in which a slave once exported from Africa has ever been permitted to return?—No, I do not; I cannot say that I have ever seen any.

3164. Colonel *Thompson*.] If you were charged with the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa, would you begin by removing the squadron from the coast of Africa, or any part of it?—No; if I were determined to suppress it I could not think of withdrawing the squadron, because our trade would have no protection independently of the slave trade; but, as I have already stated, I am afraid that the squadron never could efficiently prevent the slave trade, although it may check it, no doubt; and as I observed before, it has coerced some of the Spanish and Portuguese merchants into legitimate trade.

3165-6. Then is it your opinion that the squadron cannot suppress the slave trade without the addition of other measures?—I think it would be much more successful with other measures. Of that I am convinced, from the anxiety of the King of Dahomey that we should establish agricultural settlements there, and promote the trade of his country. He expressed satisfaction with our establishment of a trade with him as more beneficial than the slave trade to him; and explained to me further, that he did not derive the advantages which we supposed from the slave trade, but that it was his caboceers and chiefs who derived the great benefit from it, merely paying him a nominal duty as an acknowledgment of sovereignty; and that if we would establish a trade sufficient to raise a revenue to support his dignity, and to keep up an efficient army to maintain peace in his own and surrounding countries, that was all he required; explaining that he did not wish to hide money in the ground, which is a custom there; that all he wanted was sufficient for the purposes I have mentioned. I think as we taught the natives how properly to develop the resources of their own soil, and as they saw practically the advantages derived from it, and saw the advantages of civilization over barbarism, the King of Dahomey possessing so much power and influence could do a great deal in aiding us to abolish the slave trade. At the same time I am quite aware that protection to the legitimate trade would also be very necessary, as I am certain the Portuguese and Spaniards would use their influence to frustrate all our efforts to civilization; and I believe a gentleman present can prove that British factories have been destroyed through the influence of the Portuguese and Spaniards on the coast.

3167. If there were established what has been denominated a modified slave trade, with some promise of return to Africa, would that or would it not lead to wars in the interior, for the sake of supplying that trade?—No doubt it would lead to wars, unless by civilizing the people gradually, and affording them a knowledge of the purpose for which they were required, an understanding might be

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be made with the chief possessing those slaves, that they should be allowed to go for the purpose for which they were required, with the hope of returning to their country, and being paid for their services. I think that under those circumstances probably they might be induced to do so, but I have no doubt that wars would also be the result in the interior to obtain more.

3168. And would slave hunts also be the result?—I am afraid they would at first, until they were got so far within the pale of civilization as to be made to understand what they were required for, and a sufficient number could be obtained voluntarily. Until then I have no doubt slave hunts would exist.

3169. Mr. Jackson.] You state that there are three forts at Whydah?—Yes.

3170. Do you think that the chiefs and the King of Dahomey, if they obtained a subsidy from this country for three years, would be induced to forego and not allow any slave trade in their dominions?—Yes, I do; I firmly believe it.

3171. Assuming then that that could be effected, do you think that if you, with your experience, went out supported by some troops belonging to this nation, be they black or white, you could during the three years show to the natives how to produce the different articles that you say grow there naturally, in sufficient quantities to induce them to continue, without any further subsidy, to stop the slave trade?—Yes, I do; by maintaining good feeling with the King of Dahomey, and from the promises already made, and the offers made to me repeatedly by him, I have no doubt of his sincerity; and I am of opinion that any qualified person, going out there for that purpose, would be successful in carrying out the objects which you have mentioned.

3172. Supposing then that this Government were to send you out as consul, and as their representative to the King of Dahomey, and you were to negotiate a treaty of this sort, you have no doubt of his fulfilling it and keeping it in good faith?—I have not the least doubt so far as this. I would not recommend a theory, but what I would most willingly put in practice, having no interested motive in view; still I am confident that by going out there, and keeping up, as I said before, a good faith with the King of Dahomey, all those objects might be carried out.

3173. Assuming, therefore, that you could obtain the position of consul from this Government, and that you could also obtain from this Government a sufficient protection, say 20, 30, or 40 black men as troops, and that you could at the same time induce British enterprise to open a trade with the King of Dahomey and the chiefs, then you do think that, in the space of three years, a great change might be made in the commercial relations there, and that the people might be induced to raise a much greater quantity of African produce than they do now?—Yes, I am quite confident of it; and I am also of opinion that troops might be raised on the coast for the protection of the trade, and might also be profitably employed in cultivating the soil.

3174. Then, supposing that 20 or 30 men, who had been inured to the tropical climate, be they black or white, and accustomed to cultivate sugar, cotton, and coffee, could be induced to join you there, do you think that they would receive sufficient encouragement and protection from the King of Dahomey and his chiefs to enable them to teach the black man on the spot how to cultivate those articles?—Yes; I believe from all I have experienced from the King of Dahomey, that that could be easily done; that those points could all be carried out.

3175. Then, if they were successful in their endeavours, are you of opinion that you could induce him to allow his subjects to emigrate from that part of Africa to the West Indies, in order that they again might become instructed in the West Indies, instead of receiving instruction upon the spot?—Yes, I firmly believe so; he would be very anxious, no doubt, to do it, with the understanding that they were again to return to his country for the purpose of improving it.

3176. And after that probably there would be no limit to the supply of black labour to our West Indian islands?—I think not.

3177. That would be one mode of successfully competing against the slave trade?—That is exactly what I mean; not to take the people away from that country by force, as they are taken at present, and not to take them until they became acquainted with the objects for which they were required in the West Indies.

3178. Supposing 20 of the natives could be induced, say in the second year after you had settled there, to go to the West Indies to be instructed, and came back

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and made a favourable report, would there be little doubt that you could get many hundreds more to go for the same purpose?—Exactly so.

3179. If we, therefore, could keep the chiefs and the King of Dahomey from engaging in the slave trade, by subsidizing them for three years, you have little doubt that the increased demand for the labour of the country, arising from the cultivation of the soil, and the gathering of the produce which would be exported to this country, would virtually put an end to the slave trade?—Yes, effectually; that is the only effectual mode that I can see: besides, as we civilize those people we increase their wants; consequently we find a market for our own manufactures, and we find also a market for their produce.

3180. Then by taking such a step you would accomplish two objects: you would virtually, and as you say, effectually destroy the slave trade, and you would furnish to the West Indies an abundant supply of labour?—That is my opinion; besides affording much greater facilities to Christianity. Our missionaries would then have a much greater chance of success where commerce, agriculture, and the arts of civilized life had preceded them, than they now have; they have many great difficulties to contend with at present; they being themselves amongst a people in a state of barbarism, where the doctrines of Christianity are entirely a mystery to them, our missionaries have a very great deal to contend with, and I think that we would aid our missionaries very much by the establishment of small colonies along the coast.

3181. Then if the Government of this country would go hand in hand with the mercantile enterprise of this country, you have little doubt that the result which I have stated would be accomplished; and in fact, would so far humanize and civilize the people as to prepare them for Christianity, and there would be no objection to missionaries being introduced into the country?—None whatever; the king is anxious that we should send missionaries, and in proof of his sincerity, there are now at Cape Coast four Dahomeyans, two boys and two girls.

3182. This would be attended with personal risk, not only from the climate, but from the conduct of the Portuguese and the Spaniards, and also from the chiefs themselves; would you have any objection to undertake that risk?—None whatever; I would never recommend a theory that I would not put in practice myself.

3183. And you would go yourself and endeavour to carry out your views?—Yes, I would, willingly.

3184. Have you any idea of the amount paid in goods or in dollars to the King of Dahomey, in the way of customs?—I have not; but there are some Portuguese traders at Whydah, or rather returned slaves, who pay several thousand dollars duty as head-money, as it is called. The revenue of that country is kept up by customs or excise duties on goods passing through the country; also on all goods exposed in the markets; contributions are levied on those traders according to the trade which they are doing. There is also an income tax as it were; a property tax rather, I should say; in proportion to their wealth they pay a certain sum; what is called on the coast head-money. I know several returned slaves who are doing so.

3185. That is internal taxation; but have you any knowledge of the amount of income which the king derives from the slave trade?—No, I have not.

3186. Is it a tax for every slave that passes through?—The explanation to me was that he derived merely a nominal duty from his cabooceers upon the number of slaves captured or taken in the wars. Each cabooceer must be understood to have so many soldiers, and the towns captured by those soldiers are considered as belonging to the cabooceer to whom those troops belong. They monopolize the trade of those towns as well as the slaves that they captured, merely paying a nominal duty to the king in acknowledgment of him as their sovereign.

3187. They would have then to be purchased off, as well as the king?—No; I think that the king's power is absolute there, undoubtedly.

3188. You think that he might prevent internal slavery, so far as the export of slaves goes, by his own power?—Yes.

3189. Have you ever turned in your own mind how much property paid in British value would induce the King of Dahomey to adopt the course that you say would be so beneficial?—No, I could not say.

3190. It would be the result of a treaty, which must be made on the spot?—Just so; but I could not say as to any sum that might be expected in remuneration for the abandonment of the slave trade.

3191. But

3191. But you have little doubt that it might be accomplished?—I have no doubt whatever; he made the proposition himself.

3192. That being accomplished, do you think it would lead to this, by a further subsidy, to the enfranchising of the whole of his subjects, and doing away with the domestic slavery?—I have not the least doubt of it. The whole of the Mahee country, which has long been at war with the Dahomeyans, and which occupies the range of mountains north of Dahomey, is now subject to the King of Dahomey. He has placed a cabooceer in those districts in the northern country where he has had any doubt of the fidelity of the Mahees: where he has found them not opposed he has allowed the Mahee cabooceers to remain in power in their own towns and districts, the same as Lord-lieutenants in our counties in England.

3193. Lord *H. Vane*.] Do you imagine that the example of Dahomey would be followed by other countries and other chiefs?—I have no doubt of it. With respect to the King of Ashantee I do not think that slaves are brought from that country, at least to any extent, unless for very heavy crimes; he finds it more beneficial to retain them in their own country to dig for gold.

3194. Are there any peculiar circumstances which would render it more likely that the King of Dahomey should come into such an engagement than that any other country should come into the engagement?—I am well acquainted with him, and from the character which I had of the King of Dahomey from De Souza, a man who has been nearly the whole of his life resident in Whydah, from his knowledge of the King of Dahomey, and from a comparison with other kings and chiefs that I have met with, he is certainly a man far above the mediocrity of Africans, and even in intellect superior to most civilized men.

3195. *Chairman*.] (To Mr. *Hutton*.) Will you state what the trade has been at Whydah?—About ten or a dozen years ago, I should think there were not more than 100 tons of palm oil procured from Whydah and the neighbouring coast during the 12 months.

3196. And what is the quantity now obtained from the same district?—I should say at least 1,000.

3197. Mr. *Jackson*.] Has the growth been progressive?—Yes.

3198. (To Mr. *Duncan*.) You have heard what Mr. Hutton has stated; do you think that if a treaty, such as I have named to you, were to be made and carried out, the imports to this country would be increased considerably over the present imports?—Yes, I have every belief that they would be so; they might even be trebled in a very short time.

3199. In addition to trebling the import of palm oil, you could also procure, by turning the attention of the natives to the gathering of it, and by not destroying the tree in the way that it is now destroyed, large quantities of the African butter?—No doubt of it. Even with all the destruction of the trees the butter is abundant, although the trees are annually scorched. Great quantities of nuts are left to rot under the trees.

3200. Judging from your own personal observation in passing through the country, which did you see most of, the palm-tree or the butter tree?—On the plains, in the countries between the Kong mountains and Dahomey, it would be difficult to say which was the most common, the palm or the shea butter; the plains are covered with both the shea butter and the palm. The shea butter near to the mountains is more numerous than the palm, but in the centre of the plains, generally, the palm tree is most common.

3201. Then, if 1,000 tons of palm oil are now exported from Whydah, you have little doubt in your own mind that, if the attention of the natives were turned to the getting up of the butter nut, there would be at least as great a quantity found of the butter as there is of the palm oil?—Quite so, and it would require less preparation. It is very easily prepared; nearly the whole of the kernel of the nut is butter.

3202. Then, if by the steps which I have suggested, and in which you fully agree, internal peace were preserved in the country for three years, and slavery abolished, you would have little doubt that you could get from that district from 1,000 to 2,000 tons of butter in exchange for British goods?—I have not the least doubt of it.

3203. Taking palm oil at the price of 35*l.* a ton, which is about the average price now, and butter at the same, you could send from that portion of Africa an additional

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additional quantity of produce, say about 70,000*l.* per annum in value, in exchange for British manufactures?—No doubt. And besides that, there are many other things which I could mention as exposed for sale in the markets at Whydah; a great many things which are mentioned in my book that I cannot recollect the names of at present. By referring to my book, I could just mention a few of the articles that are for sale in the market. The market-place in Whydah occupies about three quarters of an acre or an acre, and is held daily; it is well supplied with every article of native consumption as well as medicinal plants, and many articles of European manufacture. Among other articles generally exposed for sale are the following: beef, pork, mutton, cotton, cloth, native and English, thread, beads, gun-flints, tobacco-pipes, iron, pepper, elu (a composition to destroy musquitos), Chucum billhooks, Badagry pipes, steel, raw native cotton, tankakum (a medical root resembling ginger), gum, and the skin of the alligator.

3204. In addition to the butter nut, in the course of two or three years you would have little doubt of producing large quantities of cotton, sugar, and coffee?—No doubt of it; the cotton grows spontaneously in large quantities on the banks of the lagoon.

3205. If there were persons accustomed to plant the cotton, and attend to it till it was gathered, and the same with sugar and coffee, you would have little doubt of producing large quantities, and being able to export it at the coast?—Yes, I am quite confident of it.

3206. I think you have stated that the soil there is alluvial soil?—Yes, the richest soil I ever saw.

3207. For a depth of 20 feet?—Twenty-two feet I have seen dug in sinking a well, and not changed in the least from the rich red loam, without stone.

3208. Taking the country as you pass through it in the highway from Whydah to the mountains, is it covered much with bush?—The bush is quite cleared in the road, nearly the width of this room, the whole distance to Abomey, the capital, with the exception of a marsh: this marsh is wholly impassable on foot during the rainy season, but by cutting the trees, and forming a road through it, this of course could be passable at all times. I made a suggestion to the king respecting it, and he begged me to remain in his country to see it done; however, I of course could not accede to his wish.

3209. Is much of the county through which the road immediately passes free from bush and ready for cultivation?—A great space is a fine level country, and perfectly clear from bush, as much as would be necessary for cultivation; the remaining wood or bush would be necessary for the purposes for which timber might be required. Those belts of timber north of Whydah are very fine, and might be very useful, if brought down to the coast, even for exportation.

3210. What description of timber is it; is it the teak?—There is the teak or African oak, and a variety of wood with which I am unacquainted, very large trees and very straight.

3211. You have horses there, have you not?—Yes; we have also the advantage of horses living there; and another advantage over many of our other settlements on the coast is, that water is abundant and very good; at Cape Coast, Accra, Anamboe, Tantam, and Winnebah, we have to rely solely upon our tanks for water; and at Cape Coast horses do not live; but at Whydah horses live as well as in any other part of the country; and good water, as I stated, is abundant.

3212. Is the health of Europeans generally good there?—I prefer it; I found it as healthy as any part on the coast.

3213. Have you ever been in the East Indies?—No.

3214. As you approached the mountains and ascended higher, you of course found a difference in the climate?—Yes; the Kong Mountains are much more healthy; the rains are not so heavy nor of so long duration; the rains were not heavier there than in our own country.

3215. Would not you think then that a settlement a little up the mountain would perhaps at first be more certain of success, in consequence of the temperature of the climate, than one on the sea coast?—If extending so far in the interior as the mountains, there would be a difficulty in reaching the market for our produce. I think the most advisable scheme would be to adopt it upon the coast, where we should be under British protection at first if it were necessary, and we should also have more facilities both for exports and imports.

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3216. Is there a water communication between the mountains and the coast?
—By the River Lagos; it is called the Zoa up towards the mountains.

3217. How many miles by the highway do you consider the mountains to be from the coast?—The mountains would be about, I think, 140 or 150 miles; the River Zoa, where I crossed it, was 126 miles from the coast.

3218. Mr. B. Baring.] What is the age of the present king?—I think he is a man of about 43.

3219. What is the law of succession in the country?—In that country, by the law of succession, the next heir to the crown would be the eldest son of the king's eldest sister. From the plurality of wives, they cannot swear that the king's reputed son would be really his own; but they know that the eldest son of the king's eldest sister must be of royal blood.

3220. What is the age of the heir presumptive?—I do not know his age; I do not know that he was pointed out to me; the king's brother visited me.

3221. Is the king's brother of the same opinion as the king himself upon the points which you have stated?—This brother was not. In some cases the law of succession which I have mentioned is over-ruled; it was in this instance; the present king was not the lawful heir, he was the second son of the eldest sister. The law was over-ruled in this instance, as the eldest son, the real heir, was known to be a man of dissolute character and savage disposition. The present king was elected by the people, with the aid of De Souza, the great slave dealer on the coast, knowing him to be a man of superior intellect and talent.

3222. Is the power of De Souza so great as that he should be able to influence the election of any person to succeed the present king?—I think it is. He has considerable influence on the coast; but yet he acknowledged to me that the King of Dahomey was a man that he both respected and feared. Before I departed on my journey into the interior, he sent for me to explain to me the sort of character I was about to meet, and cautioned me that I was going to meet a man far superior to any of the native kings and chiefs with whom I had been acquainted; he cautioned me so that I might not be taken unawares. He said he was far above the mediocrity of African kings and chiefs, and a man that would be very anxious to forward my views, which I certainly found him. As soon as I entered the town, I was received by his principal caboceers and chiefs, and he supplied me with a guard of 100 men, and provisioned the whole of them, as well as myself and my own people, the whole time I was in his country.

3223. Is Mr. De Souza well pleased with those views of the King of Dahomey with regard to trade with Great Britain?—I do not think that he was ever made properly acquainted with them. The king offered us possession of Whydah; the Americans and French both are anxious to obtain settlements there; but the King of Dahomey in ceding Whydah to us, stated that we could exercise our own authority and power there; that he was under great obligations to De Souza himself, and that it would not do for him directly to turn his back against him, as he acknowledged that he was under very great obligations to him. The obligations, I believe, I have explained, viz. in placing him upon the throne.

3224. If anything were to happen to the present king, would not there be great danger of a successor being elected who might be foreign to the views which you have stated?—That might be so; I cannot say as to that; it would depend entirely upon the general feeling; but if this present king were to live for a few years, I have no doubt that the working of the system would carry itself out favourably, because as the Mahee towns were successively conquered, year after year, many who saw the working of the Dahomeyan laws, readily ceded their petty kingdoms to the King of Dahomey without fighting, and in those instances they were allowed to remain in power by adopting the Dahomeyan laws; so that I have no doubt if anything beneficial to the country were established for two or three years, the natives themselves would be conscious of its advantages, and would be in favour of it.

James Bandinel, Esq. called in; and Examined.

3225. *Chairman*.] DURING how many years were you connected with the Foreign Office?—Forty-seven.

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3226. I believe that during a considerable proportion of that time you had charge

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charge of that department of the office which is connected with the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes.

3227. During how many years?—Thirty years; from the very commencement of the slave trade treaties giving to Great Britain power and also giving to other nations power in respect to suppressing the slave trade of the one state by consent of the other.

3228. Since you left the Foreign Office, has your attention been continuously given to our operations for the suppression of the slave trade?—It has not been continuously given, but it has latterly been given very much.

3229. Do you conceive that you are generally acquainted with the events which have taken place since your official connexion with the Foreign Office?—Yes, so far as they have appeared in official documents, I think that I am; at least so far as reading attentively would give me a knowledge of them.

3230. Can you give to the Committee a brief account of the progress of the slave trade from the commencement of George the Third's reign to the present time, stating your authorities as you go on?—In the year 1768, the number of negroes shipped as slaves from Africa for America and the American Indian Islands was 97,000; this I learn from Macpherson, in his "Annals of Commerce." At that time the English were the great carriers of slaves. Of those 97,000, the French brought 23,000; the Dutch, 11,000; the Portuguese, 1,700; the Danes, 1,200; and the English brought the remaining 60,000; and of these, according to Burke, in his work on the American Colonies, in 1755, the English took for keeping up the stock in their own colonies about 22,000; 15,000 of those were for the West Indian Islands, and 7,000 for Virginia; the remaining 38,000 which made up the 60,000 were distributed between the Portuguese and Spanish colonies; that makes 96,900.

3230*. In this last observation as to distribution, do you allude to the same period as in the previous observation; do you allude to 1755 or 1768?—I allude to the distribution of negroes brought in 1755. I could not get the exact distribution of the numbers brought in 1768; I got the account of distribution at the nearest previous period that I could; I wished to be as accurate as I could.

3231. Do you recollect what the African Institution estimated to be the amount of the slave trade in the year 1805?—According to the information which is contained in the minute of the conferences in London of 1818, published in 1819, and which is there stated to have been given by the African Institution, the number of negroes exported as slaves to the west of the world may be taken at from 80,000 to 95,000; say 85,000. That was in 1805, but that is the information which was given in 1818 as to the facts which took place in 1805.

3232. What was the state of the slave trade, if you have any document which will furnish the information, from 1805 to 1810?—From 1805 to 1810 the number of slaves exported from Africa to America and the West Indies, was about the same as before, 85,000. You have that in the papers presented to Parliament in 1819.

3233. Can you give us the amount for the period of time from 1810 to 1819?—From 1810 to 1819 the amount of negroes imported as slaves into the west from Africa is stated as 80,000. I get that from Mr. Macaulay's account of 1817, from the United States official report of 1821, and from the Duke of Wellington's *Résumé* of 1822. The United States' report is the lowest; I take the lowest.

3234. From 1819 to 1825, what was the amount?—From 1819 to 1825, the amount was 77,200.

3235. What was it from 1825 to 1830?—From 1825 to 1830 the amount was 94,000.

3236. From 1830 to 1835?—From 1830 to 1835 it was 58,900.

3237. Lord *H. Vane*.] Per annum on the average, you mean?—Yes. This average I took from the reports of Commissioners as to slaves emancipated in the cases which were adjudged at Sierra Leone, and from the number of slaves which, in Brazil and Cuba by the official accounts there, were said to be imported there in each year.

3238. *Chairman*.] From 1835 to 1840, what was the amount?—It was 101,900.

3238*. What was then taken by Brazil?—65,000.

3239. And what by Cuba?—29,000.

3239*. This

3239*. This is a statement of the number of slaves exported from Africa in each year of the periods taken?—It is the average, not the yearly amount of actual importations, not exportations. It excludes deaths on the passage. It is the average yearly amount in those periods, taking five years.

3240. Will your memoranda furnish the Committee with any information as to the state of the slave trade from the year 1840 up to the present time?—From the year 1840 to 1845 the yearly average of importations was 32,600. In 1846 the number was 64,000.

3241. Where do you get that information?—In 1846 I get it, part from the cases adjudged in the Mixed Commissions and in the Vice-Admiralty Courts. The slaves which were there in 1846 were 2,472. The importations into Brazil in that year were estimated at 60,000 by Lord Palmerston. I see that in the evidence which has been published in the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting; and he states that, as to Cuba, at most the amount was 2,000, probably less; I say, therefore, 1,500; I could not get a nearer average than this; I have stated it as nearly as I could; that makes 63,972; I therefore put 64,000, that being as near the number as I could get it. In 1847 the importation was rather, but very little, above 63,000. The slaves at the Admiralty Courts in that year were 2,152; and as to Cuba, I take the Reports of the Commissioners just communicated, showing 908 actually imported; and as to Brazil, I perceive that Lord Palmerston mentions in the same evidence that there were imported up to November, 50,000 in Brazil, leaving some six weeks for the rest; and that another person who was examined, Mr. Cliffe I think, estimated them at 70,000. I take the medium between those, which would agree in the main with Lord Palmerston's account; taking the six weeks, it would be 60,000. Having nothing further than that evidence, I can only take that.

3242. Then it would appear that the slave trade has diminished in 1847 from 1846?—It had not diminished in Brazil, but it appears to have diminished in Cuba some little; very little. It has also diminished, so far as the number of slaves which were emancipated in the ships taken would prove. It had rather lessened than otherwise, one would see.

3243. From the attention which you have given to this subject, are you led to conclude that in reality the slave trade during the year 1847 was less than that of 1846?—I think that so far as the evidence gives it, the amount imported into Brazil was the same; but the evidence is not particular, one cannot state exactly; Lord Palmerston only gives it as an estimate. With regard to the actual importations into Cuba there appears to have been a little diminution, very small.

3244. You observe a very considerable difference, both in 1846 and 1847, between the amount of slaves imported into Brazil and into Cuba; how do you account for that difference?—The number imported into Brazil was apparently as many as they wished to have; it was restricted by nothing. Our squadron does not appear, so far as you can judge, to have been able to restrict the importation, and the Government of Brazil protected it in every way. In respect to Cuba the state of things was different; the government there did not protect it; the government, on the contrary, stopped the slave trade, and though there was a demand for slaves for the sugar estates, yet the coffee estates a year or two ago had been so entirely ruined, that there were, according to the account which was given by the Duke de Sotomayer to Lord Aberdeen, in February 1845, upwards of 100,000 negroes on the coffee estates left to be transferred to whatever other purpose they were wanted for, and a portion of those were transferred, as many as were wanted, to the sugar estates. To those two causes I attribute the diminution in Cuba, nearly the cessation of the import of slaves there.

3245. Those two causes being the transference of the slaves from the coffee plantations to the sugar plantations, and the discouragement given by the government of Cuba to the importation of slaves?—Yes, in these two last years; a little previously there had been other causes; a depression in the sugar trade, a hurricane, and a feeling of danger in a further introduction of negroes.

3246. You stated that the supply of slaves into Brazil was unrestricted; you mean of course that it was unrestricted by the force employed to prevent it; the supply was equal to the demand?—Yes; I mean that the government protected it, and that our squadron as well was not able to prevent the importation of as many as were wanted. I conclude that circumstance from the fact that the slaves diminished half in price, I think immediately after the recent increased supply; they came down to the price at which they were before the immediate demand.

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3247. *Mr. Gladstone.*] When was that diminution in price?—I think last year; I think it is mentioned in the evidence before the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting.

3248. *Chairman.*] Going back to an earlier period of the slave trade, will you state into what countries of the world slaves were imported from Africa during the early part of George the Third's reign?—Portuguese, French, Dutch, Danish, Spanish, and English colonies.

3249. And by what countries are slaves now imported?—By the Brazilians and the Spaniards; into Cuba and Brazil, in fact, alone, and perhaps a very small importation indeed into Porto Rico.

3250. There are no other countries into which slaves are imported except Cuba including Porto Rico, and Brazil?—No. In 1768, say 80 years ago, slaves were exported from Africa to be imported westerly as articles of trade into the possessions of England, including, on the continent of America, Carolina, Florida, Virginia, and Louisiana, and a portion of Guiana, and including, in the islands, all the islands in her possession in the West Indies; also into the possessions of France, including French Guiana, and her islands; also into the possession of Holland, on the continent, including her Guiana, and into all her islands; also into the possessions of Denmark and Sweden, in the West Indies; also into the dominions of Spain, including on the continent, Mexico, Guatemala, Columbia, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres, and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico; also into the dominions of Portugal, taking in the whole of Brazil. Into none of these districts, excepting only Brazil on the continent, and Cuba and Porto Rico on the seas, are slaves now imported.

3251. It appears by the statement which you have made to the Committee, that though the number of slaves exported from Africa for the first period which you have taken has diminished, yet, considering the area of the countries into which the slaves are now imported, the slave trade has not diminished at all?—I can hardly answer that question without making it so qualified in my information as to make it worth nothing; because you must not take the area of those vast possessions, but you must take those portions of them which were at that time cultivated by slaves; you cannot take the whole of them; and I am not sufficiently acquainted with statistical details to make my answer to that question of any worth.

3252. What is the number of slavers that have been adjudicated by the Mixed Commission Court of Sierra Leone since it was established in 1819?—Five hundred and twenty-eight.

3253. In how many of those cases were the vessels condemned?—Five hundred and one. One of them was adjudged twice; in fact there were only 527 vessels.

3254. Can you tell us how many slaves were emancipated under those decisions of the Court?—Under those decisions, 64,625 were emancipated; this is up to 31st December 1845.

3255. Can you give us the same statement in regard to Rio?—In regard to Rio, the cases adjudged were 49; the slaves emancipated were 3,959.

3256. Will you go on for the Havannah?—At the Havannah, the cases adjudged were 49, and the slaves emancipated 11,146.

3257. Surinam?—At Surinam there was only one case adjudicated, and the slaves were 49.

3258. In what date was that?—That was at a very early period; I think in the year 1823, or thereabouts.

3259. Have you the cases adjudged at Loando?—There were 14 cases adjudged at Loando, and four slaves.

3260. Coming to the Vice-Admiralty Courts, what were the numbers there? So far as accounts published from the Vice-Admiralty Courts give the amount, it appears that the slaves emancipated at St. Helena have been 5,430; at the Cape, 3,176; at Sierra Leone, 1,780; at Jamaica, 812; at the Mauritius, 255; at Demerara, 881.

3261. What is the total number?—The total number is 92,152, of which those emancipated by Mixed Commissions are 79,818, and by Vice-Admiralty Courts, 12,334. Besides these, however, there were some which were adjudged by the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, between 1810 and 1819; there were 11,039: altogether, that makes 103,191.

3262. Does that number include those who died on their passage to the courts of adjudication?—No, it does not.

3263. What

3263. What do you consider to be the per-centage of those who died after capture?—My answer would hardly be conclusive on that. I should think, so far as I can judge, it would be about 15 per cent.; but it must be recollected by the Committee, that that cannot be taken as an average of the deaths which would ensue on board slave ships in the middle passage, because, when these were captured by the British cruisers, care was taken of the slaves, and many of them were transhipped so as to give them more space. I endeavoured to get an average, and this is the nearest that I could get; and I have looked over it well; I looked it over, too, with a man who had been commissary judge 14 years, Mr. Smith.

3264. Commissary judge where?—At Sierra Leone; and he thought that it was at least 15 per cent. I should say that that was his opinion, more than the conclusion which I drew, though I came near it.

3265. Does that account which you have given correspond with the Paper which was laid before Parliament at the commencement of the Session?—Very nearly; there is some little disagreement in regard to the amount emancipated at Rio. Apparently, in that Paper which was laid before Parliament, they have either gone by different accounts, or they have not taken in the whole. The account of 18th February 1848, given to Parliament, to which the question alludes, gave as the number of slaves emancipated at Rio, 3,208. I make it 3,959. My account is thus made out. The Rio commissioners, 22d December 1843, gave as the amount expressly, of those taken by British cruisers, 3,348; and the amount of those taken by Portuguese cruisers, as 260. This was under the treaty of 1826; and besides that, under the treaty of 1817, before the treaty of 1826 came into operation, there was one vessel, the "Emelia," taken, which gave 351. There is very little difference, but that is the way in which I make out the difference.

3266. Have you any statement of the number of slaves that have been imported into the settlements founded by the Spaniards and by the Portuguese, meaning of course Cuba and Brazil?—Yes, I have. In 1788 the Spanish colonies, including then, however, Spanish America, are said to have taken 25,000; the Portuguese in one account are said to have taken 10,000, and in another 25,000; say the medium, 18,000. From 1798 to 1805, the Spanish colonies took about 15,000, and the Portuguese 20,000 to 25,000; that was the average. From 1810 to 1815, the Spanish took 30,000 and the Portuguese 30,000. From 1815 to 1817, the Spanish took 32,000 and the Portuguese 31,000. From 1817 to 1819 the Spanish took 34,000 and the Portuguese also 34,000. From 1819 to 1825 the Spanish took 39,000 and the Portuguese 37,000. At the latter end of this period the Spanish colonies were reduced to Cuba and Porto Rico, and the Portuguese in the west became the state of Brazil. From 1825 to 1830, Spain took 40,000 and Brazil 50,000. From 1830 to 1835, Spain took 40,000 and Brazil 15,000 only. From 1835 to 1840, Spain took 29,000, and Brazil, as I mentioned before, 65,000. From 1840 to 1845, Spain only took 7,000 on a yearly average, and Brazil took 22,000. In 1846 the Spanish took 1,500 and the Portuguese 60,000. In 1847, the Spanish took rather under 1,000, and the Portuguese 60,000.

3267. Can you furnish the Committee with any account of the number of slaves who have been exported from Africa during similar periods of time?—No, I cannot.

3268. Can you give any account of the price of slaves in the colonies during those periods?—Yes. In 1784, a Mr. Davis, through Mr. Barry, contracted with the government of Spain to land 3,000 or 4,000 slaves, at the rate of 150 dollars each, or 35*l.* In 1788 the price of a slave recently imported into British colonies is stated at 50*l.*, and into Portuguese and Spanish colonies at from 42*l.* to 50*l.* From 1825 to 1830 the price in Brazil of a slave was 300 dollars, say 40*l.* In 1830, in Brazil, the price was 450 milreas, said to be about 60*l.* At the very latter end of that period, just before the treaty abolishing the trade entirely came into operation, there was an enormous supply of slaves; and in 1831 the price fell to 35*l.*; in 1835 it again rose to between 60*l.* and 75*l.*, say 65*l.* In 1843 the price of a slave in Brazil is stated to have ranged from 63*l.* to 33*l.*, average 48*l.* In 1844 it was stated to be 60*l.*; in 1845, 55*l.*; in 1846, 100*l.*; and in 1847, 50*l.* again. In 1839 the price in Cuba was 300 dollars; in 1840, the same sum. In 1843, 200 dollars; in 1845, 300 to 400 dollars;

J. Bandinel, Esq. in 1846 it had not materially increased. It had increased, and it was increasing in 1847, but the price then is not stated.

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3269. From what you have stated it appears that notwithstanding the great exertions, and the great cost which this country has sustained, in order to suppress the slave trade, but little has been done towards the effectual suppression of it; are you of opinion that the sacrifices which Great Britain has undertaken in that cause have therefore been thrown away?—By no means; I think that a very great deal has been effected.

3270. In what way?—By the inducements held out by Great Britain at different periods, which have had their effect in persuading several countries to give up the slave trade.

3271. What countries?—In the year 1813 we obtained from Sweden a stipulation, by which, in consideration of the cession of Guadaloupe to Sweden, Sweden bound herself “to forbid the introduction of slaves from Africa into Guadaloupe, and into the other possessions of his Swedish Majesty in the West Indies; and furthermore, not to permit Swedish subjects to engage in the slave trade;” and that stipulation has been kept. In 1814, Great Britain obtained from Denmark a treaty, the eighth article of which was as follows: “The King of Great Britain and the British nation being extremely desirous of totally abolishing the slave trade,” (thus putting the desire of Great Britain as the object of the treaty), “the King of Denmark engages to co-operate with Great Britain for the completion of so beneficent a work, and to prohibit all his subjects from taking any share in such trade.” That compact has been kept. In 1814, the Emperor of Russia was invited to co-operate with Great Britain for the abolition of the slave trade; he answered that he would, and he has always. The King of Prussia was applied to at the same time, and answered to the same effect, and he has kept his word. In 1814, the British Ambassador at the Hague obtained the issue of a decree by the King of the Netherlands, by which (in consequence, as it is there stated, of the desire expressed on the part of Great Britain) the slave trade on the coast of Africa was entirely forbidden to the subjects of the King of the Netherlands. On the definitive peace with France we obtained from France an article in the treaty by which she bound herself, at the next Congress, to join with Great Britain in inducing all the powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the slave trade; but she did not decree the immediate abolition of the slave trade, although every effort was made to induce her to do so. In 1814, the Duke of Wellington even stated to the French government that we would give to France a sum of money, or a French island, to obtain the immediate abolition; but the French government would not consent to it, and the abolition by France did not take place till the sudden and short return of Buonaparte, when he, feeling himself weak apparently, and wishing to conciliate the feeling of the powers of Christendom, decreed at once the abolition of the slave trade. That was in 1815. In Spanish America the same sort of thing took place: when in 1823 commissioners were sent there they were instructed to insert in each treaty they made a stipulation for the abolition of the slave trade, and this was done.

3271*. What commissioners?—The commissioners sent out by the British Government to make treaties with the Spanish American states, recognising their independence: and as to the United States, we induced her to combine with us, to a certain degree, although not so much as we wished, for the abolition of the slave trade.

3272. Mr. *E. J. Stanley.*] Have we not, in point of fact, obtained treaties from every power, consenting to join with us in putting down the slave trade, with the exception of Brazil?—We have even from Brazil; decidedly.

3273. Have those treaties in general been observed?—They have, excepting in respect to Brazil and to Spain; and where they have been observed by the country they have been effectual. At the different Congresses at Vienna, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and at Verona, we also obtained declarations from the great Powers of Christendom against the slave trade; which have had their moral effect, and have carried other Powers with them. They contain declarations of the great principles of humanity as to the slave trade.

3274. *Chairman.*] And our influence has been exerted in the way of mitigating the condition of the slaves, has it not?—Yes, it has; and it has been successful there also. I have put down some of the recent effects of those endeavours on the part of Great Britain. It may be observed that in almost all

these

these cases, the steps taken by the foreign country have been stated by them to have been taken on account of the example of Great Britain. On the 3d of October 1844, the government of Sweden laid before the Diet a proposition recommending the emancipation of the slaves in St. Bartholomew, with a compensation to the slave owners; this proposition has been adopted by the Diet, and orders have since been transmitted to the governor of St. Bartholomew's to carry the measure into effect. It is to be effected gradually in three years; those slaves being first emancipated who by their savings could contribute to their liberation. The sum given is 97,320 Spanish dollars, and although the number of slaves emancipated has diminished since the time when the proposition was first made to the Diet, still the sum given has been the same, because, as the Diet said, they would give something to assist the emancipated slaves in establishing themselves. On the 1st May 1840, the government of Denmark published a rescript, which paved the way for emancipation; it gave the negroes the Saturday, and conferred upon them the right of disposing of what they acquired in purchasing their liberty, and many other privileges.

3275. These are evidences of occasions on which the moral influence and power of Great Britain have been exerted towards the repression of the slave trade and the amelioration of the condition of slaves throughout the world?—Yes; there are others also. In Holland steps have been taken for the amelioration, with the intent of gradually emancipating the slaves in Surinam; and the government of Holland has declared that these steps and plans are entertained in consequence of the representations and example of the British Government. Also at Tunis: the Bey of Tunis first abolished the slave trade; then, having abolished the slave trade, he liberated his own slaves; and then, at a very late period, he gave entire liberation to every slave within the dominions of the Bey of Tunis.

3276. These are proofs of the beneficial effects of the moral influence and power of Great Britain in the way of repressing the slave trade and mitigating the condition of the slaves; are you of opinion that Great Britain is bound to have recourse to force for effecting the same purpose?—She is bound at present, by treaty with France, to have recourse to force.

3277. Do you consider that, abstractedly from considerations of that description of existing treaties, Great Britain is under any moral obligation to maintain a naval police, and to attempt to put down the slave trade by that species of force?—I should say that, if force would effect so very great and good an object, she would morally be bound to use that means.

3278. After carefully considering what Great Britain has effected in that way, are you of opinion that the force which she has employed has ever been a very successful agent in suppressing the slave trade?—I think it has when it has been combined with the concurrence of the slave-holding state, and I think it has not when it has not been combined with the concurrence of the slave-holding state.

3279. Where it has stood alone, unaided and unsupported by the concurrence of the country into which the slaves have been imported, it has not been a very successful agent for the extinction of the slave trade?—Where it has been thwarted by the slave-holding state, having an independent power which you could not control, it has been unsuccessful.

3280. Do you not think that on the whole the time has arrived when it would be very desirable to undertake some revision of our policy for the suppression of the slave trade?—I think the time has arrived at which it is desirable to consider whether any means, whether of force in addition to those that have been used, or whether gentler means in addition to force, or gentler means instead of force, should be used; therefore that something of the kind should be done; since at this present time, with all our efforts, we have been unsuccessful in producing a suppression of the slave trade on the part of those powers who were the very first with whom we contracted treaties for the suppression of the slave trade.

3281. You would rely much more upon the gentler means, upon moral influences, than upon force for that purpose?—I would rely, so far as I can see from the collection of facts, upon interest, and in that respect upon gentler means, so far as gentler means might affect the interest of the state. I think myself that many means must be used, and that all means must be used; and I think that you cannot, from the experience which you have, conclude that one means alone or at one time can be taken for the suppression of the slave trade. I think, also, that you must separate the question of the slave trade in the west

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from the slave trade in the east; that the slave trade must be cured on the spot where the slave trading ends. I was struck with a forcible expression of Mr. Burke in that respect, that "he was convinced that the true origin of the slave trade was not in the place where it began, but in the place of its final destination." I think that this observation was just. I think therefore that the extension of the slave trade of Cuba and of Brazil, which you would perhaps first more especially aim at, because it may be compassed within a comparatively small space of time, should be separated from that of Africa, and that they should both be treated distinctly. I think that the slave trade of Cuba and of Brazil is to be cured in Cuba and Brazil by measures with those two governments. I think that the slave trade of Africa, which is a vast field, not in the south alone, but in the centre, and in the north and in the east, will require a vast time to cure. I do not think that it would become Great Britain to relax in the least, either in regard to the slave trade in the west, or in regard to the slave trade of Africa; in being foremost in her efforts to extinguish them both. I think that we are bound to exert those efforts by every principle; by the principle of the retribution which we owe to those people from having been the foremost at one time in creating the cruelties which they suffered, and that from a very base and narrow motive, not even the larger motive, that the slave holders had of benefiting by the labour of the slaves. We bought them in Africa, and we took them and threw them out to be treated as any person might like. I think that there is a retribution which we owe to them; and I think also that we owe it to every principle of humanity; we owe it to every principle of honour; we owe it to what we have done and have been able to do; we owe it also to the general feeling of this country; we owe it to the character which we hold among the nations of the world, to be still foremost in endeavouring to extinguish the trade, and we should do what is practicable. I think we should try with the governments of Brazil and of Cuba for it. I think we have been successful in repressing the trade of Cuba and Brazil only when the governments of Brazil and of Cuba have gone along with us; I think if you look from the beginning to the end you will find that.

3282. In the same way as we have extinguished the slave trade in British Guiana, the circumstances of which are in many respects similar to those of Brazil?—With regard to the slave trade in Africa it must be extinguished by civilization; by commerce; by constant amicable communication; by Christianity; and by the introduction of all those mild virtues and those enlightened views, and those arts of peace which the spirit of Christianity and the present state of civilization in the world will create and foster.

3283. *Mr. Gladstone.*] In a former answer you stated that you considered that the employment of force was successful, where you had the government of the slave-holding country friendly?—Yes.

3284. If you have the government of the slave-holding country friendly, is not that quite sufficient of itself to stop the slave trade into that country; do not you conceive that the government of Cuba, or the government of Brazil, if it chose, could stop the slave trade, or do you think that they would require the assistance of our squadron?—I think that the government of Cuba could do it of itself, but I doubt the government of Brazil being able to cure it of itself, without some alteration of circumstances in the country. I cannot speak confidently, but I doubt it, and I will state why I doubt it. They tried very hard in 1839 and 1840 to cure it; they succeeded in repressing it very much; the administration fought against it, but they risked their popularity, they risked their power, they risked their place, and lost it all; they lost their place and were forced to give way; they could not carry their measure.

3285. In point of fact, we had the administration of the hour with us, but the government of the country we could scarcely be said to have with us; the government being dependent upon the nation in a great degree, you could not have the government of the country with you?—You could not have the whole country with you, and the government had not sufficient control. In Brazil the government has not control enough to beat down the opinion which is in favour of slave trade at this moment, and throughout that vast country to keep out slave trade; I doubt whether it has; not under the present circumstances, and with the simple stipulations that have been made. Stipulations might be made which would enable it to put down the slave trade by other means; I do not know how; by the introduction of free colonists, by a gradual emancipation,

or by a change of feeling; but at present it has not the means apparently; at least it tried it two or three times, and it has failed; the administration of the day did.

3286. But you think that our squadron is in the nature of an assistance to it?—It was in the nature of an assistance to it then, but now it is not in the nature of an assistance to the administration, because the administration goes against it; and it is not able even to diminish the number of Africans that are demanded by the people of Brazil. The number of Africans now imported is as large as has been imported almost in any other year; it is quite as many as they want, for the price of slaves has diminished; and Sir Charles Hotham, in the last letter which is before the Committee, says, that his efforts have been unsuccessful; and he is esteemed, as I understand, to be a very able officer. Again, a year or two ago we had the statement of Mr. Macaulay, the commissioner at Sierra Leone, who was a man of great experience. He had been 17 years on the coast, and all that time the trade was very rife. He said, that during the whole period that he had been on the coast, the efforts of the squadron had never been so well directed as for the last two years; and yet, though they were successful in regard to captures, they were not successful in preventing the introduction of negroes into Brazil, because that always must be taken separately. The cruisers may be very successful in making captures, but if they do not prevent the escape of others, they are not successful in the result.

3287. You would only estimate their success in regard to captures by the proportion between the captures and the slavers which escaped capture?—Yes.

3288. *Chairman.*] By the treaty between this country and Brazil, in the year 1826, Brazil undertook to abolish the slave trade in the year 1830?—Yes, she did.

3289. Can you state to the Committee what was the immediate effect of that treaty on the Brazilian slave trade?—The imports were enormous just before the treaty took effect in regard to the entire abolition, with a view of obtaining a supply: they were very little immediately afterwards, because there was a glut.

3290. There was a very large importation up to the end of the year 1829, then?—Yes. In 1826 Brazil agreed, by treaty, to abolish all Brazil slave trade in 1830. The slave traders hastened to take advantage of the interval; accordingly, for the five years beginning with 1825 and reaching to 1830, the importations fearfully increased, giving for these five years a yearly average of 50,000. In one year, the last of the trade, 1829, the importations cannot be calculated at less than 70,000. The next year was that of 1830, when the trade was to be abolished.

3291. What was the effect of the treaty on the slave trade with Brazil, when the slave trade was by treaty abolished; namely, immediately when the treaty came into operation?—In the first six months of that year the importations were 20,000; in the last six months they were under 2,000.

3292. What effect did it produce on the price of slaves in Africa and in Brazil?—The price of slaves in Africa had now fallen in the proportion of 120 to 30, while in Brazil it had risen from 300 to 450, showing the fears in both countries that the trade would be suppressed. It appears that there elapsed three or four years in Brazil of a comparative freedom from slave trade. The Brazilian government were very earnest in their endeavours to put down the trade. They stationed 10 cruisers along their coast to cruise against it; they issued very strong decrees against any importation of slaves; they put down all markets for new slaves; and they passed a law in November 1831, and confirmed it in April 1832, by which all negroes proved to have been newly imported from Africa were to be re-exported to that country.

3293. Then in fact the government of Brazil exerted itself with honesty and energy to carry out its engagements with this country with fidelity?—Certainly.

3294. Was the government, according to your information, seconded by the people of Brazil?—No, it was not, nor by the subordinate authorities; they were all strongly in favour of conniving at the trade.

3295. Have you any observations to make on that subject?—Yes. The importations consequently by degrees crept up; the slave traders grew bolder and bolder; and at the latter end of the next five years even slave markets, which were abolished in 1830, had begun again to appear publicly in Brazil. But the utmost average which the importation reached for the five years from 1830 to

J. Bandinel, Esq. 1835 was 15,000 a year, the importations beginning with 5,000 but rising to 25,000. I take the average of the importations of the five years.

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3296. Does it not appear, according to your information, that the government of Brazil, which had undertaken to carry into effect the treaty with Great Britain, was overpowered by the popular voice?—Yes, at that time it was, certainly.

3297. There was a change of government, in fact?—There was; not immediately, not at that period; there was at a subsequent period.

3298. In fact the party that was endeavouring to carry out the engagements with this country was turned out of office?—Yes, it was.

3299. What was the date of that?—It must have been the latter end of 1835 or the beginning of 1836.

3300. Do you remember some negotiations which were entered into by the government of Brazil at that time, with a view to disposing of the slaves who were captured by the Brazilian and British cruisers, and carried into Rio?—Yes, there was a negotiation with that view.

3301. Will you state the circumstances and nature of it?—The government of Brazil in 1831 were very anxious to carry out the treaty, and they made a very severe law in November 1831 against slave traders; a law which the slave party up to the present moment have been endeavouring to get modified or repealed.

3302. What is the nature of that law?—One of the enactments of that law was, that all negroes who should be imported into Brazil should be re-exported into Africa at the expense of the importers. The British Government, upon learning of this law, remonstrated against it, and said, "You send them back to Africa; they have had one miserable passage; they will have a second; and when they get to Africa they will be made slaves again." The Brazilian government said, "But we keep to our law; we do not want them here; we are anxious to send them back; will you take them yourselves then?"

3303. Why were the Brazilian government anxious to get rid of them from their own territory?—Because they did not like at that time at all to have an increase of Africans; and more particularly those who would be free; and in the course of the negotiations which ensued on account of this Bill, they became more anxious to prevent any Africans, particularly free Africans, from arriving there, because a very serious insurrection of the slaves had taken place in Bahia, which frightened the government very much indeed; it frightened the whole government of Brazil lest the whole of the slaves should rise upon them.

3304. That was in the year 1834?—Yes. Then the British Government said, "No, we will not have anything to do with them. You are bound to make them free, and to keep them free in Brazil, and you must abide by the treaty." The Brazilian government said, and our Minister confirmed it, and went beyond the Brazilian government in saying, "Whatever endeavours the Brazilian government make, and they are very earnest to make these people free, and to keep them free, they will not be able, dispersed as they are amid a lot of slaves, to make them free; therefore, I earnestly second the wishes of the Brazilian government." The English Government again refused; they put it to the colonial government, and it was a colonial question; not that there was any blame to the Government; they made it a colonial question; they said it would be an inconvenience to Sierra Leone, and they would not take them. The Brazilian government pressed it again and again, and at last said, "Well, will you take them to the West Indies; where will you take them?" "We will not." Then they said, "Pray do;" and at last they were so earnest that the English Government in 1835 did consent to take them, but under the strictest regulations, to prevent their suffering from them.

3305. What were the conditions under which the British Government consented that those slaves should be imported into the British West Indies?—I will read, first, an extract from a letter of Mr. Fox, who was our envoy.

3306. Have those papers been laid before Parliament?—Yes, all those papers have been laid before Parliament.

3307. *Mr. B. Baring.*] In what year were they laid before Parliament?—This that I am now about to read is a letter from Mr. Fox to Lord Palmerston, 15th of October 1834, in the papers laid before Parliament, class (B.) No. 51, of that year. "The government are still equally and most impatiently desirous of contriving some mode for eventually disposing of the liberated slaves out of Brazil; partly from deference to the will of the Assembly, expressed in the law
above

above referred to, and partly also from a real apprehension that the admission of a number of free blacks into this slave-holding country may be productive of pernicious consequences. It is under this impression that the government of Brazil is now entering into negotiation with every power possessing colonies on the coast of Africa, to conclude some arrangement for receiving the emancipated negroes. The Brazilian minister has urged me to express again to your Lordship how very great a satisfaction it would be to the government of this country if some arrangement could be agreed upon to receive the liberated blacks, either at Sierra Leone (as was formerly proposed), or in the West Indies, or in any other British colony. I am persuaded that it is quite impossible in this country to give effect to the true meaning of that part of the Slave Trade Convention, which provides for the apprenticeship of the blacks in the hands of private individuals. For all these reasons," having stated more, "I cannot but heartily concur in the wishes expressed by the Brazilian minister, that some plan may be discovered for disposing of the emancipated negroes, away from Brazil."

3308. *Chairman.*] What were the conditions under which the British Government consented to the importation of the slaves?—One of the conditions was, that there should be a certain proportion of females to males. Another was, that the males should be all able-bodied, so that those who were not able-bodied might remain to be slaves or in misery; there was also to be a due proportion of males to females.

3309. Was there any limitation as to age?—There was a limitation as to age also; and another thing was, that they were to be clothed, and to be furnished with utensils of all kinds.

3310. Do you remember any particular articles which were specified in the way of the outfit of those slaves?—I think they were all to be furnished with a wooden spoon, amongst other things.

[*The Witness handed in the following Paper:*]

COPY of a DESPATCH from the Duke of Wellington to Mr. Fox.

Sir,

Foreign Office, 11 March 1835.

I HAVE communicated with the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the subject of your despatch of the 15th October last, which repeated the earnest desire of the Brazilian government that some arrangement might be agreed to by Great Britain to receive, either at Sierra Leone or in some other British colony, such negroes as may, from time to time, be liberated at Rio de Janeiro, under sentence of the Mixed British and Brazilian Court of Commission, established at that place under the treaty with Brazil for the abolition of the slave trade.

His Majesty's Government have reconsidered the subject.

The negroes emancipated under the Mixed Slave Trade Restriction Commission at Rio de Janeiro cannot be received at Sierra Leone; but there will be no objection to receive at Trinidad any negroes who have within the last two years been, or who shall in future be, so emancipated at Rio, provided that they be sent there at the expense of the Brazilian government, under the regulations stated in this and the accompanying despatch, and that due care be taken that proper attention and accommodation be afforded to them on their passage.

The Brazilian government, however, must give one month's notice to the Governor of Trinidad before any negroes are to be embarked for the latter colony; or in cases where, from the unfrequency of communication between Brazil and Trinidad, such notice is absolutely impracticable, the vessel must be furnished with one month's extra provisions, so that the negroes may remain, if necessary, 30 days on board after their arrival at Trinidad.

The number of females in each importation must be at least equal to the number of males, or the deficiency in the number of females at one shipment must, in all cases, be made up at the next shipment, and a letter of assurance to this effect from the Brazilian government must accompany each vessel in which there is a deficiency of females.

The negroes must not be sent in greater numbers, or at earlier periods, than the Governor of Trinidad shall prescribe. On this point specially, and on all other points generally, which are mentioned in this despatch, you will communicate with the Governor of Trinidad, and you will acquaint the Brazilian government, for their guidance, with the result of your communications.

The negroes must be duly ascertained, and certified by a medical officer under the entire control of the British Commissioners, to be free from any disease of a nature to incapacitate them for labour; and no separation of one portion of a family from another is to take place; and none of the negroes are to be upwards of 30 years of age.

Furthermore, each negro is to be supplied with two suits of clothes, a cap, a blanket, and a wooden spoon.

If, as is hoped, the Brazilian government shall agree to the conclusion of an article for the breaking up of all condemned slave vessels, these vessels must on no account be used

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for the purpose of conveying the negroes from Rio de Janeiro to Trinidad; and until the Brazilian government shall have concluded an article to this effect, the vessels in which the negroes were taken to Brazil must not be used for the purpose of conveying them to Trinidad, unless the Brazilian government shall have previously purchased, and paid to the Mixed Commission Court the value, duly estimated, of such vessels, the amount of which value is to be added to the proceeds, to be divided afterwards according to treaty.

I send to you, for your farther information and guidance, the accompanying copy of an instruction which I have this day addressed to his Majesty's Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro, entering into the details necessary upon this measure.

H. S. Fox, Esq.
 &c. &c. &c.

I am, &c.
 (signed) Wellington.

3311. Was there any regulation as to the period of time in which they were to be dispatched, and the circumstances under which they were to be permitted to be sent to the British West Indies?—I do not recollect; but they raised every difficulty, and they made it a matter of interest to the colonies, not of humanity.

3312. In fact, the British Government did not appear to meet this overture on the part of the government of Brazil for the extinction of that case of slavery, in a very accommodating spirit?—No, on the contrary.

3313. What was the state of the Brazilian slave trade from the year 1835 to the year 1840?—After the new administration came into power, the result was, that in the next five years, beginning with 1835 and reaching to 1840, the average annual importation of negroes was 65,000, the greatest number in one year being to the enormous amount of 87,000. This occurred in 1837.

3314. Was that year the year in which the largest importation into Brazil took place?—I think that is the very largest.

3315. Were there any extraordinary facilities afforded at that time by different authorities at Rio and elsewhere for conveying the slaves into the country?—Yes, there was the Portuguese consul-general at Rio, of the name of Moreira; he gave the slave-traders national papers, for which he received a certain sum of money. There was, again, the Portuguese governor at Angola, and he gave the slave traders papers there. Every facility was given to the slave-traders by the Brazilian and Portuguese authorities, but particularly by those two.

3316. About the end of the year 1839 was there not a change of government in Brazil?—There was.

3317. Did the party who had previously been anxious to carry out the stipulations between the British Government and Brazil come into office?—Yes.

3318. What was the effect of the change of government in Brazil on the slave trade?—They removed, in the first instance, Moreira, and they removed another man of the name of Gomez, who had been favourable to the slave trade, and they frightened the slave traders by their measures. The effect was instantly seen: the importations diminished in the year 1840 to 30,000, and in the year 1841 to 16,000; and the calculation for those two years may be taken to be more accurate than usual, the returns having been received from every province in the empire, so that you may depend upon it.

3319. Have you been accustomed to attribute the check which the slave trade received at that time to this conduct of the Brazilian government, and to a conduct somewhat similar on the part of the authorities of Cuba in the year 1840, or to the fact of Captain Denman having been on the coast of Africa at that time?—If I were to give it to one cause more than to another, I should give it to that cause to which it is attributed by our official agents at the spots where the importations took place, who attribute it especially to the measures of the government there, both in Cuba and in Brazil; and somewhat to the captures by British cruisers on that coast; but specially to the measures of the two governments of Spain and of Brazil, which were induced, certainly, by the continual representations of our Government to the governments of Spain and of Brazil.

3320. In addition to those facts, to that change of government in Brazil, and to the circumstance, I believe, of General Valdez being at that time appointed captain-general of Cuba, was there not a very considerable diminution in the value of colonial produce at that time?—Yes; in the year 1842 there was, and in 1841. They say that there was a depressing effect on commercial speculations; I think that it was rather the speculations of the slave trade than otherwise, but they say upon all commercial speculations.

3321. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] You stated that you consider that it was partly in consequence

consequence of the failure of speculations in the slave trade?—The note which I have made upon the correspondence of that year, is as follows. After stating that the importations in 1841 had been reduced to 16,000 into Brazil, I say in the next year, 1842, the reluctance of the Brazilian chief authorities at Rio to take notice of illegal importations of negroes became once more evident. The number of captures effected in the preceding year had, however, produced a depressing effect on commercial speculations, from which they did not immediately arise. That would look as if it were upon the slave trade.

3322. Would it not appear from that to have been the increased vigilance of our cruisers on the coast of Africa which made that probable?—No, not on the coast of Africa, but on the coast of Brazil particularly; it is specifically so stated in the correspondence; no doubt the captures on the coast of Africa had also an effect; they must have had an effect; but I mean that the depression of the trade is stated more particularly to have been consequent upon the measures on the land and on that immediate coast; it is so stated by our minister at that period. No doubt the coincident captures on the coast of Africa must have had an effect, but I think that a paramount importance has been wrongly laid upon the captures on the coast of Africa, so far as I can see.

3323. *Chairman.*] This is an important point, and if you have any authorities to which you can refer, I should wish you to do so?—On the 20th March 1840 Mr. Ouseley writes: “There is no doubt that the increasing difficulties and risks incurred by the slave dealers are caused almost wholly by strong measures adopted by Her Majesty’s Government, and the activity of the British cruisers on this coast.”

3324. What coast was that?—The coast of Brazil. I will read on. “The conduct, however, of the late governor of Angola, Admiral Noronha, and the absence of Senhor Moreira from this capital, also contributed to check the traffic in Africans during several months of last year. The prizes made of the Portuguese vessels under the late Bill during the present year have produced a most salutary effect in discouraging the trade with the coast of Africa; and had not the necessity of sending several of Her Majesty’s vessels to the Rio de la Plata called away the cruisers from this coast, it is probable that the slave trade in this province would have been completely interrupted.” You find the depression of the slave trade and its rise attributable to a vast number of causes almost always; they cannot be attributed to one; many people have been too apt to attribute them to one single cause.

3325. A number of causes conspire to produce the effect?—Yes. Mr. Ouseley, on the 16th of October in the same year, 1840, says, “The slave dealers have not for many years been so completely discouraged, nor have their speculations been so unsuccessful as during the last six months; and it is satisfactory to observe that public opinion respecting the slave trade is undergoing a gradual but perceptible change in Brazil.” “Although it must not be forgotten that the amelioration that I trust will continue in the moral feeling of this country, is chiefly to be attributed to the acts of Her Majesty’s Government, and to the steps taken in conformity with your Lordships’ instructions by Her Majesty’s servants;” that is, in urging the Brazilian government to keep on the honest course which they had adopted. Again he says, in another letter of the 16th of October, “An armed steamer or two attached to this station, there is little doubt, would put an end to the slave trade in six months, as at present carried on in this country;” so that he attributes it to the measures in that country. Again, “The capture of 47 Africans by one of his Imperial Majesty’s cruisers has given rise to some bitterly hostile remarks” against the ministers. And again, “In the face of these demonstrations and of the approaching elections, the ministers deserve the greater credit for the firmness and probity of their measures for the suppression of the slave trade.” Then he praises the ministers. Afterwards he says, on the 26th November 1840, “The present Brazilian administration certainly evince a most praiseworthy determination to discourage the slave trade, and to act honourably in fulfilling their engagements with Her Majesty’s Government. The two brothers Andrada, minister of the empire and finance, and the minister of marine, Senhor Hollanda Cavalcanti, particularly distinguish themselves by their firmness and energetic measures against the slave trade. Although at the risk of sacrificing their popularity, and while the elections have been in progress, they have not hesitated to adopt measures well calculated to crush the trade in Africans.” He attributes the
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diminution of the trading in Brazil to that. He says again, "The orders of the minister of marine to the Brazilian cruisers are positive as to effectually suppressing the slave trade, and his Excellency enforces the execution of his instructions. As I shall have the honour of returning to the subject, I only add that at present the slave trade is effectually discouraged, and much diminished." Then he says again, in his letter of December the 14th, "The minister of marine has lately given instructions to the Brazilian naval officers to endeavour to capture slave vessels on the coast wherever they are found. These orders are not given as a mere form; I learn that an officer, lately in command of a small cruiser that has been employed on a station notorious for carrying on the slave trade, was asked, on his return into harbour, whether he had not seen any slavers. On replying in the negative, he was told that in that case it would be necessary to employ an officer who 'could' find such vessels." He gives several other cases, and says, "Prospects of reward and promotion are held out to the naval officers who succeed in capturing slave vessels; and the effect of these very praiseworthy exertions on the part of the minister of marine is to discourage the slave-trading speculations, infinitely more than repeated captures by Her Majesty's vessels." The Committee will see that it is not a mere matter of my own opinion; it is rather the aggregate of other opinions, which I have stated. He then says, "It is my duty to state to your Lordship, in justice to the Brazilian government, that I learn that these efforts on its part to fulfil its engagement with Great Britain are made at some sacrifice. In the district from which the prisoners were brought to this capital by the cruiser," that is, the Brazilian cruiser, "not a single vote was given, it is said, to the government candidates at the late elections." On the 12th January 1841, he says, "A Brazilian cruiser has just captured two more slave vessels after they had landed their Africans." At the same time there is no doubt but that Captain Denman's exertions were very zealous and very active, and aided and assisted the result; but the effect of diminishing the slave trade must not be given to him alone, or even to Her Majesty's cruisers alone, for in Brazil you see that it was given to the exertions of the Brazilian government.

3326. Every person concerned in the matter seems to consider that he accomplished the whole business?—Yes; but the suppression of the slave trade has always been effected by a number of measures combined; however, still the British Government certainly has been at the root of those measures.

3327. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] And you think that the existence of a squadron of British cruisers, for the purpose of repressing the slave trade, is an important element in the diminution in that trade?—Do you mean now, or at what time?

3328. At all times, and for the future?—That is a question which I think I am not quite prepared to answer.

3329. First for the past: do you think that hitherto the presence of the British squadron on the coast of Africa, and on the coast of Brazil, has been an important element in diminishing the slave trade, or in preventing it from increasing?—I think when the Brazilian government has gone along with you it has, and when it has not, it has not. I take the real facts, and I take the words of Sir Charles Hotham; I could go back throughout all the facts, and you would find that unfortunately where the slave-holding government,—sometimes the people overpower the government,—I will therefore say, where the slave-holding state rather, as a general term, has not gone along with you, your efforts have not been successful. At the same time I think, as the question of the Committee goes towards an inquiry into taking away the squadron from the coast of Africa or from Brazil, that the answer to that question must be given very qualifiedly. In the first instance the presence of that squadron, or the threat of that squadron might act powerfully; even the presence of that squadron, with the promise of taking it away, might induce the foreign government to give other pledges, which it has not yet given for the suppression of the slave trade.

3330. *Chairman.*] You are speaking of the squadron off the coast of Brazil?—I am speaking of the squadron generally which captures Brazilian ships.

3331. Wherever they may be?—Wherever they may be. I think that the squadron on the coast of Brazil has been far more effectual in suppressing the slave trade than the squadron in Africa. It has appeared to me, in looking through the course of events, that wherever the British squadron has been effectual in repressing the slave trade it has been at those periods at which it has been active on the coast of Brazil rather than Africa. One capture on the coast

coast of Brazil is more effective than eight captures (it has been stated over and over and over again) on the coast of Africa; and, in the latest accounts which you have from Brazil, the accounts of the other day only, it is stated that the slave traders do not care for the captures without slaves on the coast of Africa; but what they care for are the captures of vessels with their slaves on board, which they have paid for, and, more particularly, when those captures are effected near their destination.

3332. Lord *H. Vane*.] In fact, the loss would be greater?—Yes.

3333. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Would not you therefore recommend the presence of a squadron on the coast of Brazil as well as on the coast of Africa?—If you keep any squadron, I should say keep two, and one of them on the coast of Brazil; and if you keep only one, I should say, keep that one on the coast of Brazil rather than on the coast of Africa, because I think that a greater effort in checking and frightening the slave trade would be produced. I am not prepared to say that it would suppress it, but I say I would rather have it there than on the other coast. At the same time, you cannot take away the whole of the squadron from the coast of Africa; it is impossible, because our legal trade must be protected. At a time when there was no squadron upon the coast piracy took place, and piracy would take place again if you had not a large protecting force on the coast of Africa.

3334. Lord *H. Vane*.] Then you look forward to the perpetual maintenance of a large protective force on the coast of Africa?—I do, for legal trade, and for the extinction of the slave trade by means of legal trade, but not for the extinction of the slave trade by force.

3335. Then, when you speak of the advisability of a protective force for Africa, and a force for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade on the coast of Brazil, you at the same time would maintain a force of the same amount, or very nearly of the same amount, as that which is now maintained on the coast of Africa; your proposal would be, that there should be a double squadron?—No. As to one part of the question, I do not know what would be the proper amount of a protective force for the legal trade: it might be one-third, or more or less, of the force used for suppressing the slave trade. As to the other part of the question, I am not prepared to say that you should use force at all; but I say, if you do use force, use it at any rate, and rather, on the coast of Brazil.

3336. What do you think would be the effect of the withdrawal of the squadron from the coast of Africa, except for the purpose of protecting the legal trade: supposing we were to withdraw the squadron from the coast of Africa, so far as that squadron is placed there for the suppression of the slave trade, and also to withdraw it from the coast of Brazil, what do you imagine would be the effect?—Your treaties prevent you at present from withdrawing the force from Africa; and you have, as it appears, no force on the Brazil coast. But I think, considering the result, or rather the non-result of force in Africa, where the governments of Brazil and Spain have not gone along with you, that it would be wise to consider whether other means, gentler means, which have had more effect, I think, than means of force, means of interest, and other means, sometimes higher principles, might not be used either in addition to or instead of those of force.

3337. Could you suggest any such means?—I should be disposed rather to try the gentler means than the more forcible means, with such right or such power as you would still keep up of using forcible means, perhaps not of the same sort, for obliging the governments to keep to their engagements. In regard to general treaties, there is a penalty attached to the violation of that, as there is to the violation of every other engagement. The penalty to the breaking of treaties is war; but you have not followed it usually by war, unless where your own interest or honour has been concerned. Where the interests of humanity alone generally have been concerned, and the treaty has been broken, you have not followed up the infraction so readily as in the other cases by war. But under these circumstances I think that you might, perhaps, call upon the government with whom you have treaties to give you some sort of pledge, by way of penalty, in case they violated them; or some pledge, at any rate, other than they have given towards carrying into effect their engagements. I think that, perhaps, this might not be an improper time; but of that I am not able to judge, because I can only see what is open upon the papers, which do not enter into the real state of relations between Great Britain and Brazil. Between Great Britain and Spain they appear to be in a very happy and amicable state; and there

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appears no doubt that, if such really be the fact, this would not be an unfavourable time for entering into negotiations. With regard to Brazil, Lord Palmerston, the Secretary of State, and the Government, must be the best judge; but upon the face of things in one respect I think that it does not appear an improper time; and I will state why it does not appear an improper time. If the Government of this country did decide on taking away force eventually and conditionally, this is the time to make negotiations, inasmuch as you cannot take it away at present; a year or two must elapse before you take it away, on account of the treaty with France; and therefore on that ground time is allowed for the success of negotiations: that is one great point. Then it appears that since the breaking up of the Mixed Commissions with Brazil, and those stipulations which belong to them, and since the Act of 1845, which ensued in consequence, the Brazilian government have expressed themselves not unwilling to enter into negotiations; and upon the face of the papers it appears that they made a proposal which, upon the face of it upon the papers, seems very reasonable, and that that proposal was instantly refused, without any communication being made, by the envoy in Brazil, to this Government.

3338. *Chairman.*] Do you remember when that proposal was made?—In 1845, I think; 1845 or 1846; I have the papers here. It was when, in March 1845, the Brazilian government declared that they considered the Mixed Commission, part of the stipulations arising out of the treaty of 1826, to be at an end, and the British Government took the steps it did take for carrying out the direct stipulations of the first article of the treaty of 1826, for abolishing finally the slave trade of Brazil. Mr. Hamilton was then desired to say to the Brazilian government that it was necessary and proper, and that we were perfectly justified, which we were, in taking the steps that we did. Still he was authorized to add, that provided they would recur to a united system of operations against the slave trade, such recurrence would be hailed by this country with unmixed satisfaction. In September of that year, a meeting took place on this subject between the Brazilian minister and our envoy in Brazil: and Mr. Hamilton, our envoy, says, under date of the 22d September 1845, that the Brazilian minister made two observations at the meeting: “First, that the new Act of the British Parliament was virtually a menace.” “His Excellency’s second observation implied, that a recurrence by mutual agreement in a ratified form to the relations between the two countries in matters of slave trade, would be inadequate and unprofitable to Brazil, unless combined with some stipulation offering more positive security to her coasting trade.” That was the first and great objection which the minister of Brazil made to concluding a treaty upon slave trade, apparently upon the same principles as the last; he did not make an objection to the treaty upon the principles of it, but he wished for security for her own coasting trade. And then Mr. Hamilton goes on to say: “To satisfy the minister as to the extent of the instructions which I had received, I read to him a portion of your Lordship’s despatch. Still he held to the same idea, when I rejoined that any stipulation on matters of that nature would be more suitably introduced in a new slave trade suppression treaty than on the ephemeral instrument at present alluded to;” that ephemeral instrument was the project for reviving the old treaty. “Seizing this idea somewhat eagerly, as it seemed to me, his Excellency said, that both the temporary arrangement which had been suggested in London, and the negotiation of a new slave-trade convention, should be submitted to the Council on the following Tuesday.” Then Mr. Hamilton, on the 8th of October, encloses a note from the Brazilian minister, announcing that the emperor had issued full powers to Mr. Galvao to enter with him (Mr. Hamilton) into negotiations for the adjustment of a new convention for the suppression of slave traffic. On the 11th of November he says that he had expected a draft of the convention, but that the expectation was not realized, that the draft had not been sent to him; and he encloses a note from Mr. D’Abreu, of the 22d of October, in which, complaining of the course which we had taken in respect to our Act of Parliament, he ends, however, by saying, “Nevertheless the Imperial Government, preferring to every other consideration the generous sentiments of justice and philanthropy by which it is animated and guided in all its acts, will continue to direct its exertions to the repression of the slave trade; and greatly does it desire that the Government of Her Britannic Majesty may accede to an arrangement which, while it respects the interests of the lawful commerce of Brazilian subjects, may attain the

the wished-for object of terminating that traffic which all enlightened and Christian governments deplore and condemn." Then, on the 6th of December, Mr. Hamilton says that he has received a note from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressive of his regrets at being unable to forward to him the draft of the convention. He states that the Minister said, further, that he proposed to write to the Legation at London upon the dilemma in which he found himself involved through the Emperor's absence, and the discrepancy between his opinion and those entertained by other persons. Mr. Hamilton then uses these words: "The principal point of divergence was in regard to African colonization; some persons insist that the faculty to introduce into the empire African negroes as colonists, shall be reserved to Brazil in the draft of the treaty which he is preparing." Now there is no doubt that the Government of Brazil, the government of an independent country, has a right to introduce whom it pleases into its empire. And it proposed, notwithstanding that, to put upon itself restrictions to that right, in pledge of its good faith; to put restrictions by treaty upon it. Then Mr. Hamilton's answer to that is, "I assured his Excellency that so long as slavery in any form should be tolerated or be advocated in Brazil, so long would the Government of Her Majesty the Queen refuse its sanction and ratification to any compact wherein should appear a stipulation which, either in its letter or its spirit, should consecrate such a covert and insidious means of continuing the slave traffic." Now it appears to me simply upon the face of that paper, not knowing more, that it was a proposition which it is a pity that Mr. Hamilton did not refer to the Secretary of State to decide upon. He did not; and shortly afterwards, he having given only one more account of the wish of the Brazilian Government in respect to it, which was, that the Brazilian Government wished the extension of the distance from the coast of Brazil as to the right of search, Lord Palmerston gave him orders to stop the negotiation, and he came to England. Mr. Hamilton may have been perfectly right, but there seems here to be a ground, if Lord Palmerston should see reason by-and-by to enter into a negotiation, to make some stipulations in such a treaty for the entering of free colonists into Brazil, because as the proposition now stands refused, it gives a hold to any Brazilian subjects, and a fair hold to them, to say, "You want the slave trade abolished, but you want our Brazilian States to be denuded of people at the same time. You have no right to that; it is for your own object; it is not for the object of humanity that you want the slave trade repressed; you want also," and this is always what the slave traders have said, "the real interests of Brazil discouraged, and depressed, and destroyed." I think on the whole that there is room, and there may be time, for entering into some such negotiation, and some pledge, whether in regard to the importation of free negroes, or in regard to some other matter, may be taken; other pledges may be taken, I think, of a stronger nature.

3339. Lord *H. Vane*.] In what way; in the way of treaty?—In the way of treaty; some pledges might be taken for their good faith, and under those circumstances the force might perhaps be dispensed with.

3339*. What pledges?—That is a matter for the Government to consider.

3340. In that case you would be obliged to give some advantages in return; there would be a sort of reciprocity?—That is quite a matter for the Government to consider.

3341. *Chairman*.] The attention of the Committee was called by some naval officers whom the Committee examined, to the practice of destroying barracoons upon the coast of Africa, as a very important means of extinguishing the slave trade; you have paid a great deal of attention to all parts of this subject; and, judging by your experience of the success which has attended the operations of the British squadron on the coast of Africa, should you be of opinion that the destruction of barracoons would effect the permanent extinction of the slave trade, or should you rather incline to the opinion that such a measure would be soon counteracted by the slave traders by their devices?—I am of opinion, from the facts which appear, that it had no effect from the very beginning in repressing the slave trade, and I think that the effects are hurtful. I took the trouble to look at the account of the Sierra Leone Commissioners, who are the people who have the best information; they generally collect the information upon that coast, and their reports are very valuable; I have their account of the effect of it from year to year.

3342. Will you be so kind as to recite that to the Committee?—On 31st
December

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December 1840, they say, talking of the good effects of the blockading system, "Great however as the good effects of this blockading system may appear, we have yet to communicate to your Lordship what we consider a much more important feature in the history of the Gallinas slave trade; which is, the total destruction of the eight slave factories established there, and the emancipation of 841 slaves, who were on that occasion given up by the native king Seacca to Captain Denman." "These measures of hostility towards the slave dealers were, as we are informed, conducted by the native chiefs, between whom and the slave dealers, we think, there is now so serious a feud established, as to render impossible, at least for a considerable time to come, the re-establishment there of slave factories." Such is their report of that transaction, and such was their anticipation. They also say, "The panic which the destruction of this stronghold of slavery has created is very great; and the foreigners have quitted the Gallinas in the greatest alarm, in the belief that their lives were no longer safe there, from the ill disposition manifested by the natives." That is in the year 1840. Now what is their report the very next year? In the very next year, 1841, the Commissioners observe, "In their last annual report, Her Majesty's Commissioners, alluding to the destruction of slave factories at the Gallinas, expressed an opinion that those measures of hostility having been conducted by the native chiefs, so considerable a feud must have arisen between them and the slave dealers, that the re-formation of similar establishments, for a considerable period at least, was rendered highly improbable. We regret, however, to be obliged to say that this opinion has not been borne out by the result. We have received information that during last rains no less than three slave factories were settled in the Gallinas, whither the factors and goods had been conveyed in an American vessel." In the next year again, 1842, they go on to say, "At the Gallinas, the slave trade, which had been paralyzed for a time," not much time, "by the sweeping destruction of the factories and barracoons, is stated to have again partially revived." Then in the year 1843 they say, "Your Lordship will perceive that unhappily for the cause of humanity the slave trade has greatly increased during the year 1843." "The slave trade in this neighbourhood has been most successfully and extensively carried on. At the Gallinas the slave-trading establishments have been all restored, and are in active operation." So that, notwithstanding the persuasion which they had at the very first that the system which had been pursued would be very effective, in the very next year they were forced to declare that they had been mistaken. Then it appears by the reports which you have from the different naval officers afterwards, and from the Commissioners, that there are such facilities in collecting slaves from the interior at various places, and marching them down to the coast, that the destruction of barracoons on any particular part of the coast is of no use whatever. Many people are of opinion that it is hurtful to the trade; it frightened away the legal trade, as well as the other.

3343. By producing a spirit of hostility on the part of the natives?—Exactly so. It frightened away the legal traders, because it produced a spirit of hostility to all European traders; that has been what I have read about it.

3344. *Mr. E. J. Stanley.*] Would it not rather appear that the destruction of barracoons was imperfectly effected, and that the resumption of the slave trade was from not continuing the same practice, as the immediate effect of it was to frighten the slave traders, and prevent them returning again; and they only returned when they considered that that practice would be discontinued?—No, it frightened all people away; all Europeans instantly. It did not frighten away the slave traders from getting barracoons immediately again, because the very next year they were there. I have asked other people about it, who seemed to know about those things, whether they thought it was hurtful to trade. I asked Mr. Jamieson, and he said especially that he thought it was hurtful and indisposed the chiefs. I asked him in writing, that he might give his opinion in writing upon it.

3345. *Chairman.*] Have you his letter before you?—Yes.

3346. Will you be good enough to read it?—His letter is very interesting altogether. I will read that part of it: "To supplant slave traffic, therefore, and make friends of the Africans, you must give them legitimate trade; and every act preventive of its introduction, where the traffic exists, is an act against the good of Africa; and the violent destruction of barracoons is one of these, inasmuch as it exasperates the chiefs against us, and so hinders the introduction

of our honest commerce." That is his opinion; and my opinion is simply, as I say, the collection of different opinions in one; the aggregate of them.

3347. It has been stated by a witness examined by this Committee, that the slave trade has always diminished in proportion to the efficiency and number of the British cruisers on the coast of Africa; have your observations led you to the same conclusion?—No.

3348. Do you believe that the vicissitudes observed in the slave trade have been wholly independent of the exertions made for forcibly suppressing it by the squadron?—Unless when they were concomitant in time with the exertions of the slave-holding governments.

3349. Was the British squadron, as far as you are informed, ever more effective than during the years 1846 and 1847?—I observe an expression which is very strong upon that subject, from a person who is a better judge than I think anybody; this is a report from Mr. Macaulay, dated 25th May 1846; I have nothing so late as 1847; he was commissioner at Boa Vista, and a very able and experienced man; he says, "I have attentively watched the proceedings of Her Majesty's squadron on this coast during the last 17 years; and although the number of cruisers has latterly been more than twice as large as it ever was before within the same space, I never knew the naval force so completely in hand, or directed with so much precision, as during the last two years."

3350. And yet, notwithstanding the force and activity of the squadron, and the number of captures which it has made, it appears that the slave trade, at least in relation to Brazil, during those two years, 1846 and 1847, was in a state of almost unprecedented activity?—Yes, in a state of extreme activity.

3351. By what law do you consider the activity of the slave trade to be really governed?—In the first instance, I have mentioned that it was to be suppressed in the spot where it comes to; it is governed scarcely by one law; greatly by the demand, but then it must be also by the conduct of the Government and of the State to which the slaves are consigned.

3352. Does it appear that it is much governed by the activity or the efficiency of the British squadron on the coast of Africa, taken by itself?—I think I have answered that question before, and I have answered it qualifiedly to a certain degree; for I cannot, without giving a wrong impression to my opinions, state it otherwise than qualifiedly.

3353. I say, "taken by itself"?—It would be governed by the activity or inactivity of the squadron; whether the squadron was active or inactive would have some effect, but still always with reference to other causes; it cannot well be taken alone.

3354. It cannot, in fact, be taken by itself?—I do not think it can well be taken by itself.

3355. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Did you not attribute the diminution of the slave trade in the Brazils at one period to the bad speculations which the slave traders made in consequence of the capture of their vessels?—Yes, I did partly. The rise and depression of slave trade must be attributed to various causes. I conceive this, for example: if the slave-trading power helped you or went with you, or did not go against you, then I think that the activity of those squadrons would have great effect in suppressing the slave trade; but, on the contrary, if there were a great demand for slaves, and the government went right against you, then I think it would have an effect in increasing the difficulties, but not in preventing the introduction of Africans. I do not think it would; I think the supply has been in that case according to the demand. I speak decidedly upon that point. I should go further in that case; I think it has produced more miseries. It must have produced miseries to a greater number, first, because it has produced a greater exportation, because some of them have been taken; there is no doubt of that. Then it must have produced some more miseries, because the great pressure of the squadron would induce vessels to go off with their slaves occasionally half equipped, without accommodation.

3356. Lord *H. Vane*.] To avoid detection?—To avoid detection and to avoid capture; to run away as hard as they could.

3357. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Do you consider that the existence of the squadron increases the price of the slave to the planter in the Brazils?—It has, certainly, not done so, because the price of the slave has got down again. In the midst of these immense captures, and there have been 67 captures in one year, still the improvement

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importation of slaves has been so great as almost to produce a glut, and the price of slaves has fallen from 100*l.* to 50*l.*

3358. Do you think that the slave would be cheaper in the Brazils if the British squadron were withdrawn than it is, considering the number of captures which the British cruisers have made?—It is a very curious fact that the price of slaves is now much what it was in the year 1788, which I think is an answer to that question; there is very little difference. In the evidence that was before the Committee in 1788, which was got from our consuls abroad, it appears that the price then in the foreign colonies was nearly the same as it is now. This is an extract from the Report of the Privy Council on the evidence which was laid before them in 1789, and the information was obtained from Her Majesty's ministers and consuls abroad. These are the exact words, I have taken them out myself: "The voyage from Africa to the Brazils is generally about 30 days; on their arrival at the Brazils the slaves are bathed, 'and so on;' they are then sold, and a good strong healthy slave, fit for the mines, is worth about 40 moidores, or 54*l.*" In another part of the same paper the price of a slave, the moment he was landed in Brazil, was put lower. It was put, one with another, from 28*l.* to 42*l.* Still 54*l.* is put as the price of a strong healthy slave, fit for the mines. And in the British colonies the price of a slave, at the same time, was 50*l.*

3359. Do not you suppose that if anybody in Africa were to insure a ship going to the Brazils with slaves, he would insure her at a less rate if there were no cruisers than if there were cruisers, and she were liable to capture?—To be sure he would.

3360. To that extent then would not the slave trader be able to import the slave cheaper if there were no cruisers than if there were?—In that respect. If I am asked the price of slaves under certain circumstances, I can only say what the price of slaves was under similar circumstances; if you ask me again what the price of slaves would be in future under those circumstances, I must take into my mind a number of other circumstances perhaps besides those mentioned, which have produced the effect, because the fact is so, and certain other circumstances must have operated; and unless I went through the different facts, and considered upon them, and how they would bear upon the state of things in future, I could not come to a fair conclusion myself. I should at once jump to the conclusion which you come to, without looking to the circumstances, unless I saw those strange facts before me.

Martis, 18^o die Aprilis, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.

Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

James Bandinel, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

J. Bandinel, Esq.

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3361. *Chairman.*] IN answer to some questions which were put to you, when we were last assembled, you stated that there were periods when the government of Brazil was earnest in its endeavours to put down the slave trade; do you think that that disposition was evinced on all occasions on the part of the government of Brazil?—No, decidedly not.

3362. Can you mention any instances in which it was not?—Throughout the greater portion of the period which has elapsed since Brazil became an independent nation her authorities, the subordinate authorities especially, have openly connived at, and at times have in the most flagrant manner violated, the compacts made by Great Britain with that country for suppressing the slave trade

of that country. The facts are undoubted and indubitable; they are recorded not only in the reports of our ministers and of our consuls and of our commissioners, but in the statements of the minister of Brazil to the Chambers from time to time. [J. Bandinel, Esq.
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3363. Can you mention any instances which the Brazilian minister made such a statement to the Chambers?—I do not know that I can refer to it at this moment, but there are numerous instances; I can furnish the Committee with them. Here is one. On the 17th May 1835, the Commissioners at Rio sent home extracts of two reports presented to the Chamber of Deputies by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and of Justice, relating to the slave trade. The report of the Minister of Justice says: "It is, indeed, truly painful to be under the necessity of declaring to the legislative body, that in spite of the most efficacious measures against the contraband dealers in Africans, the traffic is continued, the stipulations of treaties have been eluded, the rigour of the laws set completely at nought; facts these, considered by some as proof of the entire want of harmony between such laws and treaties and the wants of our people; and by others, that a deep-rooted corruption has so effectually taken hold of our habits, that the sacrifice of the most sacred duties to his own personal interest is become matter of indifference to every individual. It is generally reported on all hands, that in different points of the empire, and of this province, the justices of the peace for the most part aid and protect this commerce; and the ports where they (the Africans) are disembarked, and the places where they are publicly sold, are pointed out." Again, the Rio Commissioners, on the 9th April 1838, quote the following words used on this subject, in a report of the late Minister of Justice, as giving a true account of the actual state of the trade: "The law of the 7th November is a complete nullity; the object of putting a stop to the traffic has not been attained, nor have the Government any hopes that it will be. The speculators in it rely on a total impunity the moment the landing is effected. Many of the local authorities protect the disembarkation of the slaves, and their passage from one point to another. In several places this is going on in the face of open day, and at any hour, without concealment. Woe to the magistrate who should attempt to interfere! He becomes an object of hatred, his life is in danger, and some have been assassinated. No captures are made at sea, for the promised reward is no longer paid to the captors. In a word, all conspire in favour of the traffic, and against the law to repress it." There are many more scattered through the correspondence already laid before Parliament.

[The Witness also handed in the following Papers:]

EXTRACT from a DESPATCH from His Majesty's Commissioners to Viscount Palmerston, dated Rio de Janeiro, 2 July 1837.

WE beg leave to transmit to your Lordship the official paper of the 30th June, and "O Jornal do Commercio" of the 1st instant, with a translated extract from the latter.

The "Jornal do Commercio," above mentioned, contains a report of a proposition of the Marquis Barbacena to the Senate, on the 30th June, for the abrogation of the law of the 7th November 1831, and for the substitution of other measures for the repression of the slave trade.

Enclosure in the Above.

(Translation.)

Session of the Senate, 30 June 1837.

The Marquis Barbacena, Senor, President.

The experience of six years has shown to us that the law of the 7th November 1831, very far from having put an end to the traffic in slaves, as was then and is still ardently desired by the legislative body, appears, on the contrary, to have been a powerful stimulus to the energy, adroitness, and success of the class of merchants which is particularly engaged in the importing of slaves.

In the first two years after the law the importation was very inconsiderable, inasmuch as means had not been found of eluding examination at the ports of arrival and departure; neither were various deposits established for the reception of slaves and the teaching of the Portuguese language; nor was there a multitude of brokers employed in taking slaves to each estate, to tempt the innocence of the planters. As soon, however, as all this machinery was in action, the importation began to increase to such a degree, that it may well be said, without fear of exaggeration, that it has been, within the last three years, much greater than it ever was while the commerce was open and lawful. If the legislature acquiesces that the impulse

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impulse given to this contraband traffic continue in the accelerated motion which it has acquired, Brazil will be very soon, not the imitator and rival of civilized nations, but the imitator and rival of the coast of Africa.

An evil, gentlemen, is almost always accompanied by many other evils. Thus, the horrible crime of the importers of slaves found support in our agriculturists, who, beginning by purchasing slaves, whom they supposed to be instructed, inasmuch as they spoke, more or less, Portuguese, and deriving great profit from this reinforcement through the constant high price of our produce, and in particular of coffee, did not hesitate afterwards to purchase as many as came, instructed or not, yielding to the irresistible desire, natural to all, to preserve and increase their own fortune. In the meanwhile, what may not happen to be the baneful result of this infraction of the law? The General Legislative Assembly, which, with so much political foresight, applied itself to the termination of the traffic in slaves, will be able, with equal foresight and beneficence, to apply itself to the condition of the agriculturists. Far be it from me to eulogize those who knowingly infringed the law; but I confess, ingenuously, that there never was an infraction of a law presenting such plausible reasons for being excused, if not forgiven, as this infraction committed by the agriculturists of Brazil. They say, ingenuously and with truth, Not having free labourers, as indeed we have not, to substitute for slaves, the necessary consequence will be that of diminishing annually, and with extraordinary rapidity, the produce of our farms, inasmuch as sickness, old age, and mortality make an end of the largest army when not recruited. It is hard that we should be condemned to involuntary poverty; but as the government so determines, let it take its own measures that slaves be not landed in Brazil, and content itself therewith. To require that the agriculturists should not purchase slaves when they are brought to their doors, when means are often wanting of knowing whether the slaves are contraband or not, is to require more than humanity can do.

Who is there who does not feel the force of this reasoning? In truth, gentlemen, to reject present advantage in order to avoid a great prospective evil, befits statesmen, the legislators of the empire, but is far above the comprehension of the mass of mankind. I shall not, I repeat, eulogize those who infringe the law, for it would be better to have immediate recourse to the right of petition, of which some of the municipal chambers have lately availed themselves; but I shall boldly maintain that, if there be circumstances under which reason and policy counsel the oblivion of crime, never could they be more imperious than in regard to that of which I am speaking. They are not Brazilians either turbulent or revolutionary, aiming by force of arms to overthrow the government and the constitution, as some have intended to whom an amnesty has been granted; they are peaceful landlords, heads of respectable families, men replete with industry and virtue, who promote public and private prosperity by their labour, and who doubly deserve the complete oblivion of the infraction which they have committed.

Knowing perfectly well the sentiments of the Senate, inasmuch as I have had the honour of a seat in this Assembly from the very day of its installation, I will not be so unjust as to occupy your longer attention to the most urgent necessity of recasting the said law of the 7th November 1831, into another law, containing enactments more ample and more effective; enactments which, rendering the importation of slaves difficult and almost impossible, may not injure the lot of the agriculturists. They deserve the greatest security in regard to the constant, absolute, and perfect enjoyment of their property; and the Senate, by duty, by honour, and by inclination, will always endeavour to promote and accomplish such security in the greatest possible extent.

Impelled by these reasons, and by many others which will not escape your per picacity and discernment, I have made a project of law, which I humbly offer to your consideration.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Earl of Aberdeen;
dated Rio de Janeiro, 21 January 1843.

My Lord,

We take the liberty of transmitting to your Lordship an extract from the "Jornal do Commercio" of this day, of part of the address delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, by the representative of the province of Pernambuco; in which address will be found some facts relating to the ready assistance afforded to the operations of the slave dealers in this empire by certain interested parties.

These assertions of Senhor Monteiro, who was formerly the Imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs, tend to confirm our previous reports to your Lordship, of the aid openly given by the Brazilian authorities to slaving enterprizes.

We have, &c.

(signed) *John Sumo.*
Fred. Grigg.

Enclosure

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18 April 1848.

Enclosure in the above Despatch.

EXTRACT of Speech of the Deputy for the Province of *Pernambuco*, Maciel Monteiro, in the Chamber of Deputies, in the Session of the 19th January 1843, as reported in the "Jornal do Commercio" of the 21st January 1843.

"The noble author of the petition requires, in the 3d article, a copy of all the representations made to the Imperial Government, in reference to offences said to have been committed by British subjects. Mr. President, I cannot give my support to this part of the petition. In the first place, what is the object of demanding such information? Is it only for the purpose of making those offences known? What is the use of making them known? Will it perchance serve to stimulate the national feelings of the members of the chamber? Will it serve to fortify, to strenghten that feeling which it may be said is rising up against an allied nation? And what can be the advantage of such inquiry, which I consider unnecessary? Besides, the petition is not admissible. If the noble deputy want all the correspondence with regard to offences committed by British subjects, the Government will be obliged to search all the police archives to find out whether an Englishman has offended a Brazilian; but it is not only in the capital of the empire that the Government should charge itself with such investigation, but likewise throughout the empire. But if the views of the noble deputy are not to inquire into private offences, but to be informed of what are called malpractices committed by the British authorities upon our coast, in consequence of the traffic (slave), I must request the chamber to be cautious and wise in voting upon this part of the petition; because it is well known, that whenever a slave vessel enters any of the bays on our coast, for the purpose of landing there its illegal and inhuman cargo, the authorities conniving at the crime immediately draw up complaints and representations against the English authorities who are cruising in pursuit of the slave vessel, describing offences which never took place, with a view of inciting the Government and the population, that has no part whatever in such crimes or frauds; and thus cast off from themselves the odiousness of the contraband. (Hear.) This shameful stratagem has been had recourse to more than once, by the authorities conniving at the crime; and I can assure the chamber that this information has come to my knowledge by means of very trustworthy persons, whose names, were I to mention them, would place the facts beyond all question. Be it observed, moreover, that the language of the petition is inadmissible. What, is it enough to say that such crimes existed? Let not the chamber be yoked to the car of those traffickers; of men who are violating the treaties, who are violating the laws of the country, with the design to expose it to innumerable conflicts and difficulties, making the repetition of their complaints to serve their interested motives. Besides, in order that such requisition be fairly dealt with, it would be necessary immediately to hear both sides. Why do we not also demand information from the Government with regard to the wrongs suffered by British subjects? Do we not see them sometimes injured? Did we not see an insubordinate soldiery in Pernambuco, robbing houses where British interests were gravely compromised? Have we not seen English vessels plundered and robbed that were wrecked on our shores? Why do we not ask information of these grievances, of these losses? Gentlemen, the Chamber of Deputies cannot adopt this petition; it would be to descend from its own dignity and its high position. I trust greatly to its wisdom, that this petition will not receive support on this point."

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from Her Majesty's Commissioners to Viscount *Palmerston*, dated Rio de Janeiro, 9 April 1838.

My Lord,

WE have not considered it necessary, especially in the present state of the slave trade question in this country, to trouble your Lordship with noticing, as they have occurred, the almost daily arrival of vessels under the Portuguese flag from the coast of Africa; but we think it right to put your Lordship in possession of the enclosed return, by which it appears that not fewer than 16 have entered this port alone, professedly in ballast, within the last three months, the tonnage of the same amounting to 3,481 tons, which, allowing on an average three souls to each, gives a total of between 10,000 and 11,000. To this number, many more landed from vessels which do not enter Rio de Janeiro, and of which continual notice appears in the public papers, must be added.

The process is uniformly the same. In the one case the vessels are placed at the disposition of a justice of the peace, and as regularly released; in the other, orders are issued to investigate the reported landing, and an official answer returned, that it does not appear that any such has taken place. If by chance the proofs should be so strong as to force the authorities to take cognizance of them, everything that bribery and chicanery can effect is resorted to, to avert the consequences.

In truth, no better description of the actual state of things can be given than in the words of the late Minister of Justice: "The law of the 7th November is a complete nullity; the object of putting a stop to the traffic has not been attained, nor have the Government any hopes that it will be; the speculators in it rely on a total impunity the moment the landing is effected. Many of the local authorities protect the disembarkation of the slaves, and their passage from one point to another; in several places this is going on in the face of open day, and at any hour, without concealment. Woe to the magistrate who should attempt to interfere!

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interfere ! he becomes an object of hatred, his life is in danger, and some have been assassinated. No captures are made at sea, for the promised reward is no longer paid to the captors ; in a word, all conspire in favour of the traffic, and against the law to repress it."

Such, my Lord, is the report which it is our painful duty to make. If, since this language was held, any alteration has taken place, it has been only for the worse, arising no doubt from the avowed sentiments of the majority, at least, of the present Cabinet, and the influence which such knowledge can hardly fail to have on the question.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Her Majesty's Commissioners to Viscount *Palmerston*, dated Rio de Janeiro, 16 May 1838.

My Lord,

WE have the honour to enclose herewith translated extracts of the only passages of the reports made this year, by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Justice, to the General Legislative Assembly, which bear on our immediate functions.

The statement of both these Ministers on the subject of the slave trade is equally vague and unsatisfactory ; nor does either appear to call for any particular notice from us, unless it be the assertion in the former of these papers, that the traffic is not prohibited to the Portuguese nation, except in the ports to the north of the equator ; and the idea is still held out in the second, of treating with the "African Authorities," for an asylum for such negroes as have been imported since the laws of the 7th of November 1831.

The apparent inaccuracy on the first of these points is calculated to do much mischief, and can only be explained by supposing his Excellency to be referring solely to the treaty engagements. The inconsistency on the other is more extraordinary, considering the very general expectation that the law thus cited by the Minister of Justice is on the eve of being repealed.

It is remarkable that the subject of the ratification of the different articles signed by Mr. Fox, in July 1835, is only incidentally mentioned, in speaking of an overture from France to enter into negotiation with this Government on the question of the slave trade.

The assent of the Chambers to these articles is not even asked for, much less insisted on ; and the subject is closed by an observation, that "all measures, which do not go to the preventing the exportation of Africans from the dominions of the Crown of Portugal, will be not only nugatory but prejudicial and dangerous, in consequence of the immorality resulting from an unavoidable contraband."

We have, &c.

(signed) *George Jackson.*
Frederick Grigg.

The Right Hon. Viscount *Palmerston*, G. C. B.,
&c. &c. &c.

First Enclosure in the preceding Dispatch.

EXTRACT from a REPORT of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

(Translation.)

Mixed Brazilian and English Commission.

The Mixed Brazilian and English Commission, established in this capital, in conformity with the additional convention of the 28th July 1817, referred to in that of the 23d November 1826, would not have had before it, during the present year, any case of contravention of the treaties concluded between Brazil and Great Britain for the abolition of the traffic, were it not for the very recent occurrence of the capture of the schooner "Flor de Loanda," and of the patacho "Cesar," by the corvette "Rover ;" the proceedings and judgment upon which are submitted to the same Commission.

Notwithstanding, however, so extraordinary a circumstance, it would be an error to believe that the introduction of slaves into the territory of Brazil has ceased, or even diminished, inasmuch as there are facts of public notoriety which fully evidence the continuation of transactions as immoral as they are punishable.

The Government, feeling all the horror which the barbarous commerce in human flesh excites, impressed with the weight of a subject so intimately connected with the most vital interests of the empire, and conscious, moreover, of the fatal effects of the flagrant violation of the laws, very much deploras the inefficacy of its endeavours to repress such shameful speculations ; for, as observation demonstrates that all, or almost all, the ships employed in such transactions belong to the Portuguese nation, to whose subjects the traffic is not prohibited, except in the ports to the north of the equator, as is stipulated in the treaty of the 22d of January 1815, and the additional convention of the 28th July 1817, the system of capture, in other respects so fit for repressing contraband, is rendered useless and without effect.

The Imperial Government, knowing the true cause of the evil, and ardently desiring to put a stop to the torrent of frauds and abuses, which all deplore, has not neglected to call the attention of the Cabinet of Her Most Faithful Majesty to this important subject ; and although no arrangement has yet been concluded between the two Crowns, yet it is to be hoped that the negotiations begun on this subject will be brought to a due conclusion as soon as circumstances may permit.

Emigration

Emigration of European Colonists.

As it is not to be presumed, considering certain prejudices, that the best combined treaties and the most severe laws will produce the desired effect of repressing the contraband of Africans, so long as the want of free labour for our rural industry, and as a substitute for the Africans destined for the estates, shall be felt in the empire, the Government has not ceased to show the greatest favour and protection to the emigration of useful and orderly European colonists; thus doing all which its limited means would permit to augment our labouring population.

Second Enclosure in the preceding Despatch.

EXTRACT of REPORT of the Minister of Justice.

(Translation.)

New Africans.

It has been impossible to prevent the contraband in Africans, which, as it is reported, is carried on on the coasts of Brazil, notwithstanding the most urgent orders transmitted to all the authorities. The desire of advantage, the thirst for gold however obtained, impels men to incur every danger, and blinds them to all the fatal consequences which ensue from their criminal undertakings. Further, those who infringe the law are in vain prosecuted, inasmuch as they are always acquitted of the crime; the greater number of the judges being interested, in various ways, in the continuation of this illicit commerce. The Government, however, will not cease to use all its endeavours, if not to put an end to it, at least to restrict it as much as possible. It also endeavours to render effective the enactment of the law of the 7th of November 1831, by contracting with the African authorities for a fit asylum to which may be conveyed the free Africans imported since that period, it being requisite that you authorize and enable the executive to make the necessary disbursements.

3364. Keeping constantly in view the object of suppressing the slave trade, do you conceive that it would be expedient to take away the only means now used for that purpose, I mean the blockading force on the coast of Africa, and not to add to it, or not to substitute for it a blockading force on the coast of Brazil?—At present, and for some time to come, the squadron on the coast of Africa must, according to the treaties in existence with France, be maintained. As to placing a squadron on the coast of Brazil, it has not yet been proved that such a measure would be unsuccessful in repressing, if not suppressing the trade, even if the government and people of Brazil continued their endeavours to infringe the treaty. It appears from the Parliamentary papers, that the only time when the Brazilian slave trade was checked, was that in which a squadron was acting against it on the Brazilian coast, and the check was at the time attributed greatly to that squadron; and was also attributed to it by Senor Cliffe, in his recent evidence before the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting. There can be no doubt, that a squadron so employed would harass the slave traders; it would also irritate them; it would also harass the innocent traders, particularly in the coasting trade, and for the time irritate them, with whatever care the service might be conducted. But on the other hand, those innocent traders would only have to blame the guilty people for the result, and the visitations on the innocent traders might induce them to urge the government to be faithful to its contract on the slave trade; at all events the apprehension that such a visitation were pending on the guilty and on the innocent, would make the contemplation of the use of such a force a fair engine in the hands of the Government in the negotiations, if negotiations should ensue, with Brazil. And in the present undetermined state of the question as to the ultimate effect, and the immediate necessity of such a force, it would not be advisable to do otherwise than leave the employment of it as an engine in the hands of the Government, in its negotiations for bringing the government of Brazil to a determinate understanding on the question of the slave trade.

3365. Do you think that such an understanding could be arrived at between the Governments of Great Britain and Brazil as would supersede the necessity of the use of force for the suppression of the slave trade?—I can conceive that such an understanding may be come to, and such an agreement made between the two Governments, as may give a fair chance that the desired result of the suppression of Brazilian slave trade may thereby be effected, without the interposition of further force, at any rate for the present; and there can be but one opinion on the advantage which would follow to both countries, from the re-establishment

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of cordial relations between the two Governments, and a friendly feeling between the people of the two countries.

3366. You have necessarily studied the subject a good deal; would you have any objection to state to the Committee what pledges in your opinion might be fairly asked of the Government of Brazil, by the Government of this country, in the expectation that they might be conceded?—I was asked that question by the Committee the last time they met, and I was very reluctant to answer it; I felt that it might be presumptuous in me, and I felt somehow or other, at the same time, inconsistently, and in that respect, that it might hamper the Government, but upon reflection I feel that nothing that I could say could be of such weight as to hamper the Government at all; and I feel on the other side, that however worthless my opinion may seem to me, or may be, yet if the Committee wish to have it, it is my duty to give it to them.

3367. Will you be so kind then as to state to the Committee what your views upon the subject are?—I think that one pledge is at once contained in the very proposition of the Brazilian government in 1845–46, which I alluded to in my last evidence before the Committee, that a stipulation should be inserted in the new treaty as to the importation of free colonists into Brazil from Africa. There was a proposition made to the British Government by the Brazilian government, that in the treaty then negotiated there should be inserted a stipulation as to the importation of free colonists into Brazil. Brazil being an independent state, no doubt has the right as an independent state to import any free people into her country; and it appears to me that it was as it were a pledge of fair faith on her part, that she was willing to insert in the treaty a stipulation upon that subject, thereby restricting in fact her free will, and giving to Great Britain some pledge, whatever it might be, of her good faith in this respect.

3367*. What became of that proposition, and what is the present state of affairs as to it?—I cannot say what is the present state of affairs. That proposition was made to Mr. Hamilton; Mr. Hamilton, without reporting it to the Government, at once put a close upon it, saying, “Great Britain cannot entertain anything of so preposterous a nature as allowing the importation of persons from Africa whilst there is a question of slavery even agitated.”

3368. *Mr. Gladstone.*] What was the exact nature of that stipulation, and how came it to be proposed, and where is it to be found, so far as you remember?—The proposition as to that stipulation is in the correspondence; I mentioned it in my evidence on the last occasion. The Brazilian government at first said that the treaty of 1826 was at an end; the British Government said, “Not entirely, there is one portion of it still good, which is that part of it which allows the Brazilian slave trade to be treated as piracy, and specifically states that the slave trade of Brazil shall be abolished.” An Act was passed upon the ground of that stipulation, and upon the ground of communications which had passed in the year 1830, showing the interpretation of it by the Brazilian government itself. The Act of Parliament passed in 1845, and authorized the disposal of vessels which should be engaged in the Brazilian slave trade, and captured by Her Majesty’s cruisers. The British Government, in communicating this Act, said to the Brazilian government, “While we communicate this Act, we are most anxious that another state of things should exist; therefore make the old treaty continue if you like, or make a new treaty.” In Brazil, the Brazilian government eagerly caught at the idea of a new treaty, and conversations ensued upon the subject; they said that they would make a draft of the new treaty; and during the time that they were making the draft further correspondence and conversations took place between the Brazilian government and Mr. Hamilton. There were two points which the Brazilian government especially desired to see in that treaty: one was what they called a protection to their coasting trade, by putting the limits of the right of search at a further distance from the coast; thus showing, what I have said, the uncomfortable feeling which they have about the British squadron. Then the next thing was this. I will read the whole which is in the Parliamentary papers. This is a letter from “Mr. Hamilton to the Earl of Aberdeen. Rio de Janeiro, December 6th, 1845; Received January 19th, 1846. (Extract.) On the 13th ult., two days after the departure of the ‘Swift’ packet, which conveyed my despatch ‘Slave Trade,’ and to which I request reference, I received from the Minister for Foreign Affairs a note expressive of his regret at being unable to forward to me the draft of slave trade convention which Senhor Galvao had been instructed to prepare. Difficulties

culties had arisen which were not yet removed, but he was directing all his efforts to effect it, and he would not delay to apprise me of the result, for the information of Her Majesty's Government. Senhor Limpo d'Abreu said," (so that there appears here to have been a conversation upon it,) "that he proposed to write to the Brazilian legation at London, by the packet now on the eve of sailing with instructions to Senhor Marquez Lisboa, to assure your Lordship of his Excellency's regret at the delay which has occurred in opening negotiations; but at the same time to explain the dilemma in which he found himself involved through the Emperor's absence, and the discrepancy between his opinions and those entertained by other persons." So that all in the Cabinet did not even agree in this. He proceeds: "The principal point of divergence was in regard to African colonization; some persons insist that the faculty to introduce into the empire African negroes as colonists shall be reserved to Brazil in the draft of the treaty which he is preparing. I assured his Excellency that so long as slavery in any form should be tolerated or be advocated in Brazil, so long would the Government of Her Majesty the Queen refuse its sanction and ratification to any compact wherein should appear a stipulation which, either in its letter or its spirit, should consecrate such a covert and insidious means of continuing the slave traffic. Here the subject was dropped, but it is one likely to be resumed; and I would submit to your Lordship that some specific instruction for my guidance in such case might be found advantageous." There is one more conversation, which does not appear to be of importance, mentioned as having taken place between Mr. Hamilton and the Brazilian Minister on December 22d, 1845; and then there is a letter from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Hamilton, dated "Foreign Office, August 13th, 1846. With reference to the Earl of Aberdeen's despatch, marked 'Slave Trade,' dated the 9th of August 1845,"—that was the despatch containing correspondence with the Brazilian Minister in London on the Act,—“and to subsequent correspondence on the subject of the Brazil Slave Trade Act, which was passed in the last Session of Parliament, and upon the proposed negotiation of a new treaty with Brazil which might suspend the operation of that Act, I have to desire that you will take no further steps in this matter until you receive further instructions from Her Majesty's Government. It will be my duty to prepare a draft of an improved treaty between Great Britain and Brazil for the suppression of the slave trade, which I will send to you to be proposed to the Brazilian government; and it will only be upon such treaty being signed and ratified, and upon the treaty and Brazilian ratification being received in this country, that any steps can be taken by Her Majesty's Government to suspend the operation of the Act of the 8th & 9th Victoria, cap. 122.”

3369. Colonel *Thompson*.] What is there to stop the Brazilians from importing free colonists now?—I am not aware of anything whatever. The suggestion for a stipulation on the subject appeared to me a fair pledge of their good faith if they would really import the negroes as free colonists. I am not aware of anything which can impede an independent state from importing free persons.

3370. Has it ever been heard of that free colonists have been imported into the Brazils?—Very often, from different countries. I am not aware that free blacks have, but free colonists from different countries.

3371. What do you think would be the means of ascertaining the difference between free colonists and slaves, if they were found on passage from Africa to the Brazils?—I think that means have been suggested, and hints for them may be found in a paper which seemed to be thought of importance by the British Commissioners at Rio in 1835, as they sent it to the Duke of Wellington, and begged to bring it under his notice; and afterwards referred to it as having been written by a man of some weight. It forms an enclosure in this despatch of the 16th February 1835, and the author is alluded to in their despatch of the 11th April of the same year; both despatches being contained in Class A. of the Parliamentary papers of 1835. The author of that paper stating that the government of Brazil had been very imprudent in concluding the treaty for the abolition of the slave trade, said in it, that the reason of that imprudence was that they had not prepared at the same time for the emancipation of the slaves. He said that the abolition and the emancipation were one; and it appears that in many of the discussions which pass in the Chambers between the opposers and the supporters of the African slave trade, the question of the suppression of the slave trade, and the emancipation of the slaves, is considered to

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be one and the same; they think that the first must necessarily be followed by the other. He says that the Brazilian government ought first to have done something for the emancipation of the blacks, because it must be expected that you cannot have it otherwise; that you cannot have the one without the other. You must, he says, colonize Brazil; and you must in the course of things, if you suppress the slave trade, make the slaves free. He says that what you ought to do now is immediately to take steps with that view, even taking the treaty as it stands, and without new stipulations with Great Britain.

3372. *Chairman.*] Who says that?—This person, whoever he may be, who is said to be a person of note, and who is afterwards referred to in another paper. I think it is stated that he is expected to be Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, but his name is not mentioned; he is mentioned as a person of importance. He says that the first thing is “to establish in every province” (with this view he should do it immediately with the view of being able to keep the slave trade treaty) “elementary schools of agriculture, so that the agriculturists may find out how, with less labour, more produce may be obtained.” And “the second step is, to empower the general government to engage colonists, whose selection and agreement being made with a view to agriculture, they should be conveniently distributed among such agriculturists as are least able to import them themselves.” Then he says, “Our ships of war are rotting at their anchorages without the slightest benefit to the public. Since it is a mania of ours to have a navy without having a mercantile marine, let the former serve at least to transport colonists to the different provinces of the empire.” “This done,” he says, “it would then be proper that the legislature should proclaim aloud to Brazilians, that it is time to have done with slavery, which so much dishonours our civilisation; that it is a shameful contradiction to the liberal principles we profess, to retain men as slaves, and that for ever.” “This extinction,” he goes on to say, “will be gradually effected with all those precautions which prudence and policy dictate.” But to return to the question put to me immediately before the present one: other hints besides those in this paper may be found in a plan for a negro code, which was drawn up by Mr. Burke and sent to Mr. Pitt through Mr. Dundas, in 1788. There, when our blacks were slaves, he prepares for their gradual emancipation, and he suggests that care should be taken with regard to their being purchased by an agent on the shore even, that they should be only allowed to be exported from certain places; that the vessels taking them should have certain licences; that a certain number should be on board, and certain specific provisions should be established for it. And then he goes on to state what shall be done with them when they get to the place where they are to be located. From these papers and from others, hints may be found so as to allow the establishment of regulations, which shall, when vessels are met with at sea, show that the persons are free colonists; there may be an agent on board, and there may be many other regulations which, upon consideration, would suggest themselves.

3373. *Colonel Thompson.*] Was this plan of Mr. Burke’s before or after the abolition of the slave trade by England?—Before; it was rather for the regulation and good treatment of the slaves in the first instance, and then it went on to the question of preparing them for emancipation afterwards, but it was with the view of the good treatment of them altogether; still with this view the code might be taken advantage of for certain purposes, as to free colonists.

3374. So far as respects any present plan for the introduction of free colonists into Brazil, is it not part of that plan that emancipation should precede it in Brazil, if not entirely, at least to some extent?—No.

3375. Is that not part of the plan of the Brazilian minister?—No.

3376. Is it or not part of the plan of the Brazilian minister, or *quasi* minister whom you mention, that emancipation to some extent at least in Brazil should precede any plan for the introduction of free colonists from Africa?—No; neither in the paper which is referred to here of 1836, nor in the proposition alluded to by Mr. Hamilton of recent times. This person, who wrote in 1835, thinks that there should be contemporaneous acts which should prepare them for emancipation; that they should not be emancipated previous to, or even upon the first introduction of colonists; but that, upon that introduction, he uses the words, “this done you should prepare the slaves for emancipation.”

3377. *Chairman.*] It is evident, from the reply of Mr. Hamilton, that he was afraid the Brazilian government was proposing to carry on the slave trade under a different

a different name; what guarantee would you have that these free colonists should be treated as free men, and that they should not degenerate into slaves?—I think you will find some hints for that in that very code of Mr. Burke for regulation of treatment of negroes; you will also find hints for it in the regulations made by the governments both of Brazil and of Cuba, in respect of bodies of free colonists recently imported into those countries from various states. Perhaps some few hints may also be found in the regulations for freed negroes, attached to the treaty with Portugal. Perhaps even our own colonies might furnish something in point of example, or in point of warning.

3378. Is there anything else in reference to such regulations which, in your opinion, would be desirable, with a view to giving them force and validity?—Whatever those regulations were, it would be desirable that they should assume the form of a law in Brazil, and one of the high functionaries in the state be expressly charged with ensuring the performance of it. Experience shows that the Brazilians are much more loath to enact a law than even to contract a treaty. We have had very great difficulty indeed in inducing them to enact a law, which they were bound to do upon a treaty. Even now they have never by law made the slave trade piracy, which they did by treaty in 1826, and the existence of a law in their statute book, even if evaded, seems more to act as a sting to them than the obligations of treaty. There is hardly a year in which there are not angry discussions for rescinding the law of November 1831, which was against the slave trade. So that a law at any rate is considered by them as adding more bonds to a treaty, if not as being more binding than it. Experience shows also, that the high functionaries in Brazil are foremost, and continue sometimes under very difficult circumstances stemming the popular opinion, when that opinion is contrary to honour and enlightened views of policy. The British agent, of the highest rank in Brazil, might also, with benefit, be made officially connected with the continuous knowledge of the facts as to the state of these negroes; there are also circumstances of registry which might be adopted.

3379. Do you think that any such regulations would be sufficient to ensure the *bonâ fide* freedom of those black colonists?—In the first instance, I would say that there might also be a sort of judge-conservator, a sort of advocate for the negroes, who should be under the high functionary. But with regard to the last question, I answer they perhaps might not; most probably those regulations would in parts and in portions be infringed; but something would be obtained better than the present and prospective state of affairs in regard to blacks imported into Brazil, and a foundation laid for the ultimate and permanent freedom, not only of those, but of all blacks in Brazil.

3380. What do you mean by a foundation being laid for the freedom of all the blacks in Brazil?—I mean that which I have before stated. The questions of the entire extinction of the slave trade, and of the ultimate emancipation of the blacks, are in the debates of the Brazilian Chambers, and in essays in that country, the first point treated by them, and considered to be one and the same. They consider that the first result must be followed inevitably by, and must eventually produce the second.

3381. Do you think that any other pledges would be necessary from the government of Brazil for the purpose of carrying out this policy?—I should say with reference to my last observation, that you might first ask Brazil to make regulations for the education of the younger slaves, and the humane treatment of the whole; and that a sort of judge-conservator or advocate for the slaves might be established in each district, subject, if necessary, to the high functionary above alluded to. And I think, and it has been thought before, that above all a pledge of the good faith of the Brazilian government in these transactions might be asked for fairly, by requesting them to pass a law recognizing frankly, at however great a distance of time in its action, the great principle of emancipation, by enacting that, after a time to be named, every infant born in the country should be free.

3382. Is there any further direct guarantee that you would propose to ask of the Brazilian government to secure this object?—The British Government are the best judges, but they might think it desirable that some further guarantee should be asked; some direct guarantee. It is usual in many cases; and there is a spot which a person looking along the coast where the slave trade exists, would cast his eye upon as in the very focus of the slave trade; in fact, in the province where most slave trade is carried on, and where the most flagrant

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infractions of the treaty occur. I think that the Government might fairly ask, if no better pledge occurred to them, that the Brazilian government should, at any rate for a time, give up the small island of St. Catherine; a little island which is opposite the spot where the slave trade itself is carried on. They have, it is said, given half the land of it away to Prince de Joinville, as a dowry for his wife; therefore they cannot be supposed to consider it of very great use.

3383. When you speak of that, you mean not only the land but the sovereignty?—No, not as to Prince Joinville; they are said to have given away land only, not sovereignty.

3383*. Then you mean that Great Britain should ask Brazil to give up to Great Britain the sovereignty?—Yes, the sovereignty I should say, decidedly. From this spot, where there are a harbour, a port, and a considerable town, the Government might receive intelligence as to the good faith of Brazil in respect to the treaty.

3384. What is the size and position of the island; can you give any particulars of it to the Committee?—I have an account of the island, which I have extracted from M'Culloch: "The island of St. Catherine is about 35 miles in length, north to south; and from four to eight miles in width; its shores rise abruptly from the sea to such a height, that in fair weather it is visible 45 miles off. It is in latitude 27° north, and longitude 48° west. The surface of the island is singularly varied, presenting granite mountains, fertile plains, swamps fit for the growth of rice, lakes stocked with fish, and several small streams. Mandioc and flax are the chief articles of culture; but wheat, maize, pulse, onions, rice, sugar, cotton, indigo, and an abundance of fruit are also grown. The climate is rather humid, but temperate and salubrious. St. Catherine is the principal town; the inhabitants of it are about 5,000. There is an excellent port; it is separated from the mainland only by a narrow strait."

3384*. Is there any precedent that you are aware of for such a guarantee as that which you are contemplating?—In the history of treaties there are many such, both in early treaties and in recent treaties, even in the last great treaty; forts, towns, and places have been retained for a period, longer or shorter, until full completion of the stipulations of a treaty.

3385. Mr. Gladstone.] Is there any precedent, as following upon a specific treaty, not attended by conquest or by violence?—I cannot answer that question just now.

3386. Probably most of the instances which you had in your mind, when you gave the former answer, were instances in which pledges of that kind had been given at the close of a war?—I think generally so.

3387. Chairman.] But do you consider that Brazil would be bound in honour to concede such a guarantee, if it were required by the British Government?—I am of opinion that it might fairly be asked of Brazil, and she, in honour to herself, could grant it for a time, because Brazil has already made a treaty and broken it; she lies now under that acknowledged imputation. By the law of nations there is no more solemn right than that which is acquired by treaty; and the violation of such a right, when amicable remonstrances have failed in inducing redress for it, is the first and great cause of war; therefore Great Britain would be justified, according to the law of nations, in making redress by force of arms; and the seizure of the Island of St. Catherine, perhaps, would be the step that Great Britain might be induced to take previously and preferably to any other. Great Britain has therefore a right, from Brazil having broken this treaty, to ask concession of it, at least for a time, as a sure pledge and guarantee for her not being induced to break the obligation in future.

3388. Mr. Gladstone.] Independently of any right growing out of an assumed *casus belli*, might we not fairly urge thus, that as Brazil had herself volunteered an offer of an article in the treaty relating to the introduction of free emigrants, she thereby entitled us to demand every provision which might be necessary for preventing the abuse of such an article, if we should be induced to concede it, and for preventing its being a covert means of supporting the slave trade?—I think it would be a larger and greater motive for such a stipulation, if you said, that it was in order to give a guarantee that the new stipulation for an object which she had promised to accomplish, and which she had failed to accomplish, and the stipulations for which she had broken, should now be fulfilled.

3389. That argument, however, though powerful, might wound the pride of Brazil?—She does not deny that she has broken the stipulations.

3390. Chairman.]

3390. *Chairman.*] Supposing that Brazil were willing to enter into these engagements, and willing to give such a guarantee to secure the faithful carrying out of the engagements, do you think that Great Britain would be acting with wisdom in withdrawing the squadron and all other means of forcible suppression of the slave trade?—I should say, yes; for the present, certainly, at any rate.

3391. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Would not that practically be a legalizing of the slave trade to-day for a prospective diminution of it and the extinction of slavery to-morrow?—I think not, if you obtained such regulations as would give you a fair chance that they should be carried into effect, securing the freedom of the colonist.

3391*. But do you think that regulations such as you suppose, or such as give such a fair chance as you allude to, could be obtained?—That would be for the Government to see to; and the Government would not make a treaty unless they did obtain such regulations. I have only ventured to suggest some; many others and many better may be brought forward; and the Government of course would not make the treaty unless they obtained such regulations as should, in their opinion, give a fair chance of the stipulations with respect to the colonists being fulfilled.

3392. Would not such interference on the part of the English Government, in seeing to the execution of treaties, involve an actual interference with the internal government of another state?—I am not aware that anything which I have stated here would do so more than is usual, and more than even has been usual in regard to slaves emancipated under treaty. We have considered that we had a right to see to their secure emancipation; and we have considered that our Commissioners had in some degree a right to see to the due execution of the stipulations in that respect.

3393. Take, as an illustration of the object in question, the supervision of the officers, whom you call conservators, in the due discharge of the duties reposed in them under the treaty; does not such supervision imply a right to interfere in the conduct of the Brazilian government in respect to its own subjects?—Yes.

3394. And does not that supervision imply an interference with a government which, according to your former answers, has already admitted that it has not kept the faith of treaties?—I have mentioned some securities; I have mentioned that there should be laws with respect to it. I have mentioned that a high functionary of the empire should be charged with the execution of those laws; that the regulations for them should be put in the treaty. I have mentioned what I thought was not an interference; that the British functionary should have a continuous knowledge of the facts regarding the state of the Africans. Now, more interference than that was secured by the regulations attached to the treaty, I think, with Spain, of 1835; one of the treaties.

3395. All the securities which you have already stated to the Committee in your former answers, and which you recapitulated in your last answer, imply a right of the English Government to interfere with the Brazilian government in enforcing the stipulations made by treaty, such enforcement to be within the territory of Brazil itself; is that a conclusion which you wish the Committee to entertain?—Yes; if you choose to call a continuous knowledge by the British functionary of the facts regarding their state, an interference. In the treaty between Great Britain and Portugal there is such an interference specifically referred to.

3396. Will you have the goodness to read it?—“Regulations in respect of the Treatment of Liberated Negroes.” The first article is: “The object and purpose of the letter and spirit of these regulations is to secure to negroes and others, liberated in virtue of the stipulations of the treaty to which these regulations form an annex (marked C.), permanent good treatment and full and complete emancipation, in conformity with the humane intentions of the high contracting parties.” The second article is, “That the negroes and others shall be delivered over to the government of the country whose cruiser made the capture.” The third article is: “The negroes so liberated and delivered over to such government shall be placed under the care and superintendence of a Board consisting of two members or commissioners, with a power to call in a third member, under the circumstances hereinafter stated. In those colonies or possessions of Her Britannic Majesty, in which, under the treaty to which these regulations form an annex, mixed commissions are to sit, the Boards of Superintendence

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tendence of the liberated negroes shall consist of the governors of the said colonies or possessions, and of the Portuguese commissioners in the said mixed commissions" (thus we allowed their interference at once with us); "and when the Portuguese commissioners are absent, then the Portuguese arbitrators of the said mixed commissions shall sit in the place of the commissioners in the Boards of Superintendence of liberated negroes. In those colonies or possessions of Her Most Faithful Majesty, in which, under the present treaty, mixed commissions are to sit, the Boards of Superintendence of the liberated negroes shall consist of the governors of those colonies or possessions and of the British commissioners in the said mixed commissions; and when the British commissioners are absent, then the British arbitrators of the said mixed commissions shall sit in the place of the commissioners in the Boards of Superintendence of liberated negroes." Thus our interference was allowed on the part of Portugal.

3397. *Chairman.*] You stated, at the last examination, that where the efforts of the squadron had not been associated with the efforts of the slave-importing states for the suppression of the slave trade, the squadron had not been very successful in its efforts?—Yes.

3398. Do you think that those efforts would continue unsuccessful unless we secured the cordial co-operation of the slave-importing states?—Arguing from the past, I must come to that conclusion, inasmuch as, in recent times and with greater powers, they have equally failed as in earlier times and with less powers, and this for a very long series of years.

3399. What powers had the squadron in earlier times as compared with the present?—If you take the period between 1815 and 1830, Great Britain had only powers then to seize the vessels of Portugal and of Spain in limited latitudes, and in cases where slaves were or had recently been on board of the vessels seized; and slave vessels of Holland everywhere, whether with or without slaves.

3400. What occurred after that period?—At first it was confidently stated that if the vessels of Spain and of Portugal could be seized when found under the circumstances under which those of Holland could be seized, the slave trade of those powers would be entirely put down.

3401. To what degree were those objects attained?—Endeavours were therefore made by Her Majesty's Government to induce Spain and Portugal to give these powers. It was then thought necessary, for ensuring the object, that every civilized power having a naval flag should exclude her vessels from giving protection to the slave trade. Negotiations were accordingly entered into for the purpose; and by the treaty of 1826 with Brazil, slave trade on the part of her subjects or under her flag, was made illegal. By the treaties of 1831 and 1833, afterwards modified by that of 1842, France declared all slave trade under her flag to be illegal, and by the latter treaty engaged to employ herself a force for the purpose. Under the treaty of 1835, Spain gave authority to British cruisers to seize Spanish slave vessels all over the world, excepting in the Mediterranean, the North Sea, and that part of the Atlantic which is adjacent to Europe. By the Act of Parliament of 1839, Portuguese slave ships could be seized all over the world, whether with slaves on board or not. This Act was followed up by the treaty with Portugal of 1842, wherein the same powers were recognised as in the treaty with Spain of 1835. By a treaty of 1842 also, the United States agreed to employ a force on the coast of Africa for suppressing the slave trade under the United States flag. And at length every other power in Europe and in America, with the exception of Greece, Belgium, and Hanover, in Europe, and New Granada and Peru, in America, has given powers to British cruisers to seize slave vessels bearing its flag; whilst, under the authority of an Act of Parliament passed in 1839 and renewed in 1845, British cruisers can seize those slave vessels which are found having no flag at all; and Her Majesty's successive administrations have all been indefatigable on these points, following up the expressed and determinate desire of the Parliament and people for extinguishing the slave trade.

3402. As those successive matters were arranged, was it not the case that expectation was very high that we were on the point of putting down the slave trade?—Yes, from time to time, as each power was granted.

3403. We always thought we were just going to do it?—Yes; I think it was the impression that those powers would be found adequate to it, always, of course, hoping that the several states, and particularly those of Spain and Portugal,

tugal, and afterwards Brazil, would join with us ; but still, even without that, confident hopes seem to have been entertained that the slave trade would be put down by the British cruisers having those powers.

3404. What has been the practical result ; has the slave trade decreased since those new powers have been acquired ?—No, I should say not as to Brazil ; the importations into Brazil have gradually increased since those increased powers were given ; and more so especially since the recent powers which were granted by Portugal in 1842, and by the Act of Parliament of 1845 as to Brazil ; although the Portuguese government, and some of their higher colonial authorities, but not all the subordinates, have gone along with us. With regard to Cuba, the slave trade has decreased ; but that is owing to other circumstances, as has been stated, indeed, by Lord Palmerston in his recent evidence ; mainly to the efforts of the government of Spain itself, induced in a great measure by our representations.

3405. The fleet now employed on the coast is generally considered an efficient fleet, is it not, so far as attention to discipline can render it efficient ?—The force employed in suppressing the slave trade on the coast of Africa has grown larger and larger up to a late period, and has increased to a very large force. The officers employed throughout have been some of the most distinguished in the British service. Sir Robert Mends, Commodore Collier, Commodore Owen, Captain Denman, Commodore Jones, and Sir Charles Hotham, and each and all using their utmost endeavours and sparing neither zeal nor talent for compassing the end, have not succeeded ; but, as I have before mentioned, the result is that their efforts have throughout been ineffectual towards preventing the importations into Brazil at times when the demand there was great, and when the authorities connived at the trade.

3406. Has the employment of the squadrons of France and of the United States on the coast of Africa been effectual towards preventing the slave trade being carried on under those flags ?—No. In respect to the United States, their officers have been zealous and earnest, and cordial, in their endeavours to suppress the trade ; but their force is small, and the effect of the law of the United States, as at present understood and acted upon, has been to allow slave ships, when simply fitted up for slave trade, to escape with impunity ; while the efforts of the squadron of France, so far as the papers laid before Parliament show, appear mainly directed to extend the territorial influence of France upon the coast, and this by means apparently at times very questionable. Complaint is even made that they are, to say the least, lax in their efforts to put down the trade. This refers to the west coast : while on the east the slave trade under the flags of France and the United States is, from the want of force, entirely uncontrolled.

3407. Has not some apprehension been expressed by officers on the coast, that the employment of the French fleet might even tend towards promoting the slave trade ?—It has.

3408. Can you refer to any despatch in which that opinion is expressed ?—There was a recent complaint by Lord Aberdeen, as to the slave trade in the Gaboon, where the French have established a sort of sovereignty. It is in papers before Parliament, probably it is known ; it is in Lord Aberdeen's despatch to Lord Cowley, of the 3d April 1846, enclosing letters from Commodore Jones. It is mentioned also in the Report of the 31st December 1845, from the Sierra Leone Commissioners ; and the assistance afforded to the slave trade by the flags both of the United States and of France is mentioned in the last-mentioned report, and in that of the 6th April 1846, from the Commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope.

3409. Do you find that the slave trade is now carried on under circumstances of great cruelty ?—Very great cruelty. It was always carried on under circumstances of great cruelty, but lately it has been carried on under circumstances of greater cruelty. In the first instance, even before the slave trade Acts, there was great cruelty experienced by the slaves, on account of the inhuman treatment of them by the captains ; that was, I think, more particularly in regard to forcing them as beasts to feed, and to jump about, and so on. Now it has been on account of their being so stowed, and on account of their being at times starved.

3410. Can you refer to any particular well-authenticated instances which have come under your notice ?—On the 10th of March 1826, the Sierra Leone Commissioners

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missioners observe, "The vigilance and activity of our cruisers have been the means of making the slavers extremely cautious in their proceedings. Until the day of departure, although every preparation for the reception of their victims is made, not a slave is embarked; and when that does take place it is distressing to reflect on the number which is thus taken on board; the poor wretches may literally be said to be stowed in bulk. The consequence is that the number of deaths which occur, and the squalid, diseased, and deplorable state of the survivors when landed are shocking to humanity."

3411. Have you any other case?—In the year 1831, I see that Mr. Pennell, consul at Rio de Janeiro, writes: "An account was yesterday received from Bahia of the capture of a slave vessel, under Portuguese colours, by His Majesty's ship 'Druid,' and that the slaves were stowed into casks at the time of capture."

3412. Have you any other case?—Here is the case of the "St. Helena"; in a letter from the Sierra Leone Commissioners, of the 6th January 1844. She was of 80 tons only; she had a crew of 18 persons and 549 slaves; making, with the crew, seven persons to a ton; whereas by the British Act of Parliament of 1788, Sir William Dolben's Act, only one slave to a ton was allowed: 120 of these died between the capture and the condemnation. Here is another case, which I see mentioned by Mr. Pakenham, of a vessel which was taken by an American; it is the American's account, in a report to the secretary of the navy, on the capture of the "Pons" slaver. It is in a letter from Mr. Pakenham to Lord Aberdeen, of the 29th March 1846. The American bark "Pons" is the vessel; she had 896 slaves on board; and the Committee will observe the time which was occupied in putting those slaves on board, and in putting the water and provisions on board also. "The 'Pons' was at anchor at Cabenda for about 20 days before she took on board the slaves, during which time she was closely watched by Her Britannic Majesty's brig 'Cygnet.' At about nine o'clock on the morning of the 27th of November, the 'Cygnet' got under weigh, and stood to sea. Immediately, Berry gave up the ship to Gallano." That is a common trick, the giving it up from an American citizen to a Portuguese or Spanish man; because the American laws punish the people when the vessels are taken with slaves on board. "Immediately Berry gave up the ship to Gallano, who commenced getting on board the water, provisions, and slaves; and so expeditious were they in their movements, that at eight o'clock that evening the vessel was under weigh, having embarked 903 slaves. Two days afterwards we captured her. The next morning I regretted to learn that 18 had died, and one jumped overboard. The vessel has no slave deck; and upwards of 850 were piled almost in bulk, on the water casks below: about 40 or 50 females were confined in one half of the round-house cabin. As the ship appeared to be less than 350 tons, it seemed impossible that one half could have lived to cross the Atlantic. The stench from below was so great that it was impossible to stand more than a few moments near the hatchways. Our men who went below from curiosity were forced up sick; then all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of these poor wretches when the hatches were closed? I am informed, that very often in these cases the stronger will strangle the weaker; and this was probably the reason why so many died, or rather were found dead, the morning after the capture. None but an eye-witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures must endure in their transit across the ocean."

3413. Have you any other cases?—Here is a case related by Mr. Cowper, consul at Pernambuco, 1st January 1844: "I cannot report to your Lordship any new features connected with this traffic, further than that the vessels engaged in it are daily diminishing the space allowed on board their ships to these unhappy beings, thereby of course increasing the horrors attendant upon the voyage, and sacrificing more and more the lives of their wretched victims. For instance, it must appear incredible to those unaccustomed to these details, that 97 human beings could have been stowed away in a vessel (the "Conceição") of 21 tons, giving five individuals to each ton, or one-fifteenth the space allowed in the transport service of Great Britain to each soldier, and this for a period of 20 days, with the thermometer certainly not averaging less than 86° of Fahrenheit, without exercise even for the necessities of nature; without air, excepting such as could find its way betwixt the gratings of the hatchway; and that 91 of these poor creatures should have reached their prison land in safety. I, who know this, and
have

have seen the vessel, or rather boat, cannot, by any stretch of imagination, conceive how the powers of human endurance could have supported 20 days in this floating hell." There are quantities of such cases. Here is another case, of the treatment of slaves when they rose; but I should be tiring the Committee by mentioning them.

3414. There was an insurrection on board?—Yes.

3415. Will you state the case generally?—The case is that of the slave vessel the "Kentucky." It is related by the Rio Commissioners, under date of the 21st March 1845. The "Kentucky" had taken in a cargo of slaves at Inhambane: the relation states that, "The next day, after the vessel crossed the bar on leaving Inhambane, the negroes rose upon the officers and crew; a majority of the men, all of whom were in irons, got their irons off, broke through the bulkhead, and likewise into the fore-castle. Upon this the captain armed the crew with cutlasses, and got all the muskets and pistols, and loaded them, and the crew were firing down amongst the slaves for half an hour or more. In the meantime deponent was nailing the hatches down, and used no musket or pistol; and there was no occasion, as the Brazilian sailors seemed to like the sport." This was a man who happened to be a sailor on board. "In about half an hour they were subdued and became quiet again; the slaves were then brought on deck, eight or ten at a time, and ironed afresh; they were all re-ironed that afternoon and put below, excepting about seven, who remained on deck; there were but eight or ten more or less wounded. On the next day they were brought upon deck, two or three dozens at a time, all being well ironed, and tried by Captain Fonseca and officers; and within two or three days afterwards 46 men and one woman were hung, and shot, and thrown overboard. They were ironed or chained two together, and when they were hung, a rope was put round their necks, and they were drawn up to the yard-arm, clear of the sail. This did not kill them, but only choked or strangled them; they were then shot in the breast, and the bodies thrown overboard. If only one of two that were ironed together was to be hung, a rope was put round his neck, and he was drawn up clear of the deck, beside of the bulwarks, and his leg laid across the rail and chopped off, to save the irons and release him from his companion, who at the same time lifted up his leg till the other's was chopped off, as aforesaid, and he released. The bleeding negro was then drawn up, shot in the breast and thrown overboard, as aforesaid. The legs of about one dozen were chopped off in this way. When the feet fell on deck, they were picked up by the Brazilian crew and thrown overboard, and sometimes at the body, while it still hung living, and all kinds of sport were made of the business."

3416. That is rather an account of barbarism exercised needlessly?—Yes; a barbarism of this sort is not consequent on the present state of slave trade in particular, but has accompanied all slave trade.

3417. Have you any other case which illustrates the horrors necessarily attendant upon the present state of the slave trade, and the restrictions put upon it?—There is the Santa Anna, the case of which is related by the Sierra Leone Commissioners on the 27th of April 1844; she was of 53 tons burthen, and had 312 slaves on board; about six to a ton.

3418. Do you consider, with Mr. Consul Cowper, that any portion of those horrors are directly attributable to our system of forcible suppression?—I do.

3419. Then whatever merits may be supposed to be attainable by the system of force, they are to be taken with the serious deductions of being purchased by an endless series of sufferings and death to those Africans?—By increased sufferings.

3420. Are you of opinion that the suffering and mortality to which the negro race are exposed under the existing system are far greater than they were before we undertook to suppress the slave trade?—Yes, they are greater, inasmuch as, in addition to the general horrible treatment, the slave traders have an additional motive, the fear of being taken, which induces them to start when their ships are half-provisioned; and inasmuch as certainly, since it has been endeavoured to suppress the trade by force, the ships have been more loaded.

3421. During the middle passage the slaves are more crowded together; there is less efficiency of accommodation; and in addition to that, do you not find that it is frequently the case that from the hurry with which they are crowded on board, they are put on board in a diseased state?—Very often; the care is not taken of their health which was taken when the trade was allowed.

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There seemed to be very great care, forcible care, cruel care to their health, but that care does not appear to be taken now, and they are more crowded; whether it be from a calculation that some of the vessels will be captured, or whatever be the reason, such is the fact.

3422. They are frequently found suffering from dysentery and ophthalmia, and diseases peculiar to the negroes under those circumstances?—That the Committee must have heard and have read of.

3423. Is not the practice often resorted to of stowing them in casks?—I have brought forward one particular instance.

3424. Do not slaves frequently suffer after the ships are captured by our cruisers?—Very severely; I have mentioned instances of that.

3425. Do you think that any attainable advantages to this country under the name of humanity, can justify the continuation of a system which entails such horrors?—I have such a horror of the slave trade generally, that I think if you could stop the slave trade entirely, by allowing for a limited time even exceeding horrors, it would be worth while. I may be wrong, but I have witnessed the slave trade, (I mean I have witnessed it in respect to papers,) and the operations of it, and I have so great a horror of it that if it could be put down in a very limited time, even by an increase of horrors for a time, I confess that I myself (my opinion of course is worth nothing) should be inclined to allow them.

3426. But do you think that, under the existing system, there is a chance of those horrors being brought to an end, so long as Brazil and Cuba demand slaves from the coast of Africa?—No.

3427. So long, therefore, as there is a demand for slaves on the part of Cuba and Brazil, and that demand is met by the means now employed against it, you contemplate a continuation of these horrors?—I have said that I think that the means used by force on the coasts of Brazil and Cuba have not yet been proved to be ineffectual; but on the coast of Africa I think experience does show, that with every possible exertion on the part of our officers, and every power which has been obtained from foreign states, their efforts have been unsuccessful; and arguing from the past, I should say it was likely they would be unsuccessful.

3428. You have mentioned that the rise and fall of the slave trade has hitherto been influenced, apparently, by many simultaneous causes?—Yes.

3429. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] The slave trade is prohibited by the municipal law of this country, and by the municipal law of every other Christian country; and so far as treaties can effect it, by treaties between Great Britain and every other Christian country, which treaties you appear in former answers to regard as well observed by every country, Brazil alone excepted. Assuming then, that the slave trade is a sin which England is bound to suppress, and in respect to which this Committee has been appointed by the House of Commons to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for the final suppression of it, you will be pleased to state to the Committee how far the evils which you have represented as attending the perpetration of this sin, in respect to its victims, the slaves exported from Africa, especially in the middle passage, can ever be repressed so long as it is the duty of all nations to endeavour to repress it?—As to that question, which appears to me a very narrow question, inasmuch as it refers simply to the treatment of the negroes in the middle passage; that is to say, in the passage from Africa to the west, I should say that even allowing the slave trade to continue, which I am very far from allowing, you could mitigate its horrors by strict regulations entered into, and perhaps enforced, under such circumstances, with the governments of Brazil and Spain. I think you might easily do that, and better do it under new negotiations than at present.

3430. A former question put to you assumed that motives of humanity were very imperfectly regarded, seeing such horrors existing in the slave trade, if the slave trade continued to be repressed by the means now employed. The last question put to you implied a wish on the part of the Committee for information from you; whether, always assuming that the slave trade is a sin and evil which we are bound to endeavour to suppress, any mitigation of those horrors which you have quoted and described from different papers before Parliament, can be expected by the removal of the blockading squadron, or by any other course which Great Britain can adopt. So long as the slave trade is by all Christian powers declared to be an evil which all Christian powers are bound to endeavour to suppress, can it be expected that those who pursue this unlawful commerce can ever carry it on without such injury to the bodies of the slaves as you have described?—

described?—It can be carried on without the same sort of suffering; and perhaps where the same sort of suffering is in question, then without the same degree. It was not carried on with certainly the same sort of suffering, and I think not in the same degree. In that paper which I alluded to before as having been written by a distinguished person in Brazil, he attributes many of the increased miseries to the prohibition. I will take his statement, if the Committee will allow me just to read it; there is his statement, such as it is. I may not agree with it entirely, but I take it. He is stating the effect of the treaty; he is against the slave trade; he is even against slavery; but he says, as to the effect of the treaty: “The traffic, besides being iniquitous, became illegal; self-interest, and a want created by habit, and by inveterate opinions, resist every endeavour to cause the law to be executed by this or that authority. Hundreds of slaves every day fill the estates of our agriculturists.” He allows the slave trade to be existing. “In the meantime, if these miserable Africans heretofore suffered every species of privation and cruelty to which the sordid avarice of these infamous dealers in men subjected them, whether on board or on shore, they are now exposed to every kind of inhumanity which the same avarice, joined to dread, finds it necessary to use.” That, I think, answers the question.

3431. In the passage which you have quoted in your last answer, reference has been made to the evils which have been increased “by the prohibition.” You are requested to state to the Committee whether, the prohibition remaining, (and it is assumed that it would remain, whether the English squadron were withdrawn from the coast of Africa or not,) such evils as arise from carrying on a smuggling trade must not always be expected to arise?—Not so much so, if there is not that force to prevent it; because, as he says here, “the vessels being subject to search, and to heavy penalties, the masters had recourse to every kind of artifice to elude it; at one time concealing the blacks under a load of wood.” The slave trade may be illegal; but if the Brazilian government did not act in Brazil, and our squadron did not act at sea, then there would be no penalty in fact for it; they would not be obliged to do this, “concealing the blacks under a load of wood, where many were grievously bruised; at another, immersing them in tanks of water; and at another, putting them into cases, where many expired from suffocation; and, finally, at another time throwing them overboard, to be devoured by fish,” which has been known in cases where our cruisers have captured vessels; “or in pipes, in order that the danger being over, those who escaped with life might be turned to the best account.” This is his account of the horrors which exist in consequence of the prohibition acted upon by ships.

3432. Would not the practical effect of the removal of the squadron, which you are understood to advocate, be indeed possibly a diminution of the horrors of the middle passage, but practically be legalizing, by non-suppressing the slave trade; and would it not increase all the horrors of slavery and slave trade, minus the horrors of the middle passage?—If no means whatever were taken to prevent it. I conceive there may be many means. I conceive that by negotiation with Brazil, for example, you may get those means.

3433. Have you not stated in an earlier part of your examination that treaties have been made by Great Britain with every power, Brazil included, for the suppression of the slave trade?—Yes, and with Brazil also.

3434. And that all those treaties have failed with Brazil, though they have succeeded in every other country, except possibly Spain: would you then have recourse to new treaties with Brazil, as an effectual means of suppressing the slave trade, which former treaties have failed to suppress?—Yes, getting treaties with conditions which the British Government might conceive sufficient to give a fair chance of the stipulations for putting down the trade being carried into effect, not else. In reference to negotiations for such a treaty, as I have always reminded the Committee, you must keep a squadron at present on the coast of Africa; and, keeping the question of a squadron on the coast of Brazil over them, as an engine *in terrorem*, to induce them, among other inducements, to come to those stipulations, I think it is worth while to enter into negotiations, with a view, as I have said, to come to such arrangements as would satisfy Her Majesty’s Government that the putting down of the slave trade would be effective.

3435. It was understood, in former answers, that you were in favour of the withdrawal of the squadron; do you wish the Committee to understand that

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you are in favour, or are not in favour, of the withdrawal of the squadron on the west coast of Africa?—I must answer that question in a round-about way. I have stated my opinion, from the facts which have been shown, that the efforts of the squadron on the coast of Africa have been ineffectual. I have stated my opinion, that it has not been proved that the efforts of the squadron on the coast of Brazil were ineffectual, or would be ineffectual, in suppressing or repressing at any rate the trade; I have stated my opinion that it would be even unwise to enter into the question at present as to the withdrawal of the squadron from the coast of Africa, because, in the first instance, you cannot withdraw it at present, and, in the next place, it is a sort of engine in the hands of the Government for strengthening the hands of the Government with regard to new negotiations with Brazil; but I would not put the squadron on the coast of Brazil immediately; certainly at present I would not; I would leave it to Her Majesty's Government as an engine to threaten the Brazilian government in any negotiations; and I say that it is possible that the Government may come to such an understanding as may satisfy them that there is a fair chance of putting down the slave trade without force; and if so, certainly I should recommend it.

3436. Has your attention been directed to the consideration of the proportions in which steamers ought to be employed in the blockading squadron on the west coast of Africa; and if so, will you state whether the proportion actually employed be such as you think sufficient for the purpose, or whether you would recommend an increase thereof?—My opinion is nothing, for I only state other people's opinions rather than my own. Sir Charles Hotham has stated that the means are insufficient; he says that the slave traders use steamers, and he asks for steamers. I am no naval man. I can refer to that opinion; he says he finds increased difficulty from other circumstances; he says that there is an internal water communication between the Bights of Benin and Biafra; that they can carry along slaves from one point to another with the greatest facility to a point vacated, and convey information of it to slavers 50 miles off.

3437. *Chairman.*] It appears that the British squadron has made a large number of captures of vessels equipped for the slave trade, but not with slaves on board; do you consider that that is a very serious loss to the parties engaged in the slave trade?—Not so serious a loss as was expected. I do not think that it appears that the equipment article has proved of that effect which was expected from it. It has not so frightened the slave traders, and has not so injured the slave trade as was expected.

3438. Is it not stated on the authority of various naval officers who have communicated with the Government on this subject, that the slave traders are in the habit of employing vessels of very little value indeed, for the purpose of conveying slaves?—Yes.

3439. That the vessels are very frequently in a very crazy condition, scarcely seaworthy?—Yes. But the parties change their tactics; where one system proves by the activity and the zeal and the talent of Her Majesty's officers a failure, then they change their tactics, and pursue another system instantly; their gains are so great that they have been enabled to pursue other systems; and hitherto their systems have been so ably conducted that they have baffled the endeavours from time to time of the cruisers. When one system of the cruisers has been put in action, they have instantly put another in action, which has succeeded in evading the result which was expected from the efforts of the cruisers, however meritorious their efforts are; and they have been meritorious and able in the highest degree.

3440. But, in a trade where such large gains are attainable, the capture of these comparatively worthless vessels would not be much calculated to deter the parties from engaging in it?—No.

3441. With regard to the importation of slaves into the island of Cuba, can you give the Committee the average number of slaves imported into Cuba in each year from 1816 to 1821?—The slave trade was begun to be made illegal with Spain in 1817, and made entirely illegal in 1821. The average of the four years, from 1817 to 1821, was 39,000 a year.

3442. From 1822 to 1837, have you the average?—There were 40,000 a year on an average imported into Cuba then.

3443. What was the nature of the treaty with Spain in 1835; what were the conditions of it?—The slave trade was abolished everywhere, and we had power to take ships fitted up for slaves as well as with slaves on board. The conditions generally

generally were so stringent that very many ships were condemned under it, and at first the slavers became less enterprising, and the importation of slaves sensibly decreased. This began to be felt in 1838, when the importations were reduced from 40,000 to 28,000.

3444. Did the numbers still further diminish up to the year 1840?—Yes; in 1839 the number was 25,000; in 1840 it had been reduced to 15,000.

3445. The slave trade had been materially reduced up to the year 1840. Great attention has been given to the fact, that the slave trade had diminished generally in the years 1840 and 1841, and that has been explained by some naval officers to have arisen from the extraordinary efficacy of certain tactics which they had employed on the coast of Africa. You have mentioned before that about this time the Brazilian government exerted itself to put down the slave trade; was not the beginning of the year 1841 distinguished by the arrival of General Valdez in Cuba?—Yes, it was; he arrived on the 7th of March of that year.

3446. Did General Valdez take energetic measures to stop the importation of slaves into the island of Cuba?—Yes, he did; but when he told the commissioners, on their first visit to him, that the treaty should be “religiously” fulfilled, they observed that “the same promises had been held out by all his predecessors, and flagrantly broken;” and added, that they therefore “laid no stress on such professions;” but however, they proved to be honest.

3447. From whom are you quoting?—From the commissioners of the Savannah; the Slave Trade Papers for 1841. “In the spring of 1841 a new governor, General Valdez, arrived at Cuba. On the first visit of the commissioners to him, he assured them that the treaty should be ‘religiously’ fulfilled; but the commissioners observing that the same promises had been held out by all his predecessors and flagrantly broken, added, that they therefore ‘laid no stress on such professions.’”

3448. Was the number of slaves introduced into Cuba that year, 1841, being the first year in which General Valdez was captain-general of the island, considerably reduced?—Yes; the commissioners observed that an apparent sincerity in his manner had struck alarm into the slave traders, and the returns for the two subsequent years showed the good ground they had for their alarm, by the very honourable fulfilment of the promises which General Valdez had held out of suppressing the slave trade. In 1840 the number of vessels sailing for the Savannah was 56, in 1841 it had diminished to 31; in 1840 the arrivals from Africa were 41, in 1841 they had diminished to 27; in 1840 the number of slaves said to be imported was 14,470, in 1841 they had diminished to 11,857.

3449. Was the number further reduced in 1842?—In 1842 the effects of General Valdez’ administration were still more apparent. The alleged departures for Africa had diminished from 31 to 3, the arrivals from 27 to 9, and the supposed importations from 11,837 to 3,150.

3450. Did not General Valdez, in the same year, seize and liberate some cargoes of slaves which had been successfully imported into the island?—Yes; he made five seizures of bodies of Africans, newly imported, amounting in all to 754; so that these may be deducted from the number of new slaves, leaving the actual number only 2,396.

3451. Do you know when General Valdez left Cuba?—Yes; he left Cuba on the 15th of September 1843.

3452. What was the number of slaves imported into Cuba in that year?—It was said to be estimated at 8,000.

3453. Do you know at what period of the year the larger portion of those were imported?—It appears that in the space of one month only, between the latter end of January and the beginning of March in the next year, no less than 2,839 negroes were landed in Cuba.

3454. That was in 1844?—The beginning of 1844.

3455. Was there not a negro insurrection in that year in the island of Cuba?—There was. A growing and restless desire for freedom had recently appeared in the negroes of Cuba; three attempts at liberating themselves had been made by them in the course of the year preceding; these attempts were not put down without much bloodshed; in the last insurrection it is said that from 4,000 to 5,000 negroes were supposed to be implicated; 300 were executed.

3456. Can you give the number of slaves who were reported to the British Government as having been imported into Cuba in the years 1844, 1845, 1846, and

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and 1847?—In the year 1844, 10,000 were said to have been imported; in the year 1845, only 1,350; in the year 1846, less than 2,000; and in the year 1847, about 1,000.

3457. With respect to the island of Cuba, have you any information with regard to the extent of it, and to the proportion of the area which is cultivated?—The length of the island of Cuba is stated to be 227 leagues, and the extreme width 37 leagues; the average width, 15 leagues; the surface, 3,615 square leagues: that I get from Humboldt.

3458. Have you any account of the proportion of it which is under cultivation?—No, I have not.

3459. I believe it is understood that but a small portion of the whole area of Cuba is under cultivation?—A very large portion is not cultivated.

3460. And it is highly probable that that portion will be successively broken up for cultivation?—If the demand for slave-labour sugar, in comparison with free-labour sugar, exists, probably it will be so.

3461. If the demand for tropical productions continues, it is probable that that land will be brought into cultivation?—Yes, it will, most probably. This point, however, must always be considered with reference to the state of other countries bearing tropical productions, of course; because in Guiana we have a very fine climate and a very rich soil, and a great portion of it is uncultivated. So they have in Brazil; it must, therefore, be with reference to the state of each country. I think the question of the prosperity of the West Indian colonies is very much connected with the subject.

3462. So long as a high profit is attainable by the cultivation of the land of Cuba, it is probable that an effort will be made to supply Cuba with the means of cultivating it?—Yes; and it has been the opinion of the Commissioners and others that that demand will be met by a supply by some means or other, legal or illegal, if there is a demand for it.

3463. The truth is, that what Cuba and Brazil want is not slaves, it is cultivators of their land, I presume?—Cultivators of their land, whether slaves or not, is what they want, and what they will get one way or the other, if the demand is as it is at present.

3464. And you think that it would be far better that they should have free men to cultivate their lands than that they should import slaves?—I should say, for the sake of humanity, there can be no doubt of it; we must think that, certainly.

3465. Can such labourers be imported from any part of Europe?—I cannot sufficiently answer that question; it is a question yet undecided; some labourers from Europe have proved of use, they say, in Cuba.

3466. Do not the inhabitants of a tropical country appear to be better calculated by nature for the cultivation of a tropical soil than those brought from the temperate zones of the world?—No doubt of it.

3467. Then with that view you think that it would be desirable if measures could be taken to ensure the freedom of Africans imported into Cuba and Brazil, to do so, rather than to supply those countries with labour by means of the slave trade?—Certainly; and the larger portion of the proprietors and of the great persons in Cuba are in favour of the abolition of the slave trade, and a portion of them are now also in favour of emancipation.

3468. They are now in favour of emancipation?—Yes, they are; there is a very large body, increasing every year, in favour of emancipation.

3469. On what grounds are they anxious for the emancipation of their slaves?—On various grounds; many of them think that the labour of a free family is of more value than that of a slave; and they also are exceedingly anxious, because of the continual revolts of the slaves. Those revolts keep the island in a continual state of alarm.

3470. Is not a large army maintained very much for the purpose of repressing those insurrections?—Yes; and a very growing portion of the inhabitants are in consequence of these facts, and on account of other causes, for emancipation; it is continually referred to in the correspondence.

3471. Are you of opinion that the policy which you were recommending in regard to Brazil would be of as easy adaptation in the island of Cuba?—Yes.

3472. More easy?—Yes, more easy; because the Spanish government seem more disposed to adopt your views, and a large portion of the proprietors of Cuba and of the merchants are with you; a large portion of the people of wealth are with you there.

3473. I need not say that if you recommend that policy in regard to Brazil, *d fortiori* you recommend it in regard to Cuba?—Yes. I certainly cannot help mentioning to the Committee that there are many measures which must be considered as necessary towards the extinguishing of the slave trade: but a collateral one is certainly the prosperity of the West Indies. I do not mean the narrow view of the prosperity of the English proprietors of West Indian sugar estates, but I mean the general healthy and wealthy state and welfare of the West Indian colonies. Such a prosperity would be one means, certainly, of inducing the governments of Brazil and Cuba to enter into the stipulations which you wish them to enter into with good faith, and it will be one ground for inducing the people in those countries to go along with the governments in keeping good faith on that subject; because all the civilized states holding slaves are watching narrowly the conduct of Great Britain respecting the colonies, and its results, and they fashion their conduct accordingly. Sweden has followed her example; Denmark has stated that she considered that Great Britain was too hurried in her steps, and is having recourse to more gradual steps for the purpose desired. Holland has expressly observed, in a letter from M. Dedel to Lord Aberdeen, of the 3d December 1844, that she waits for the experience of the measures taken by Great Britain before she herself takes any decided ones. And in Spain and Brazil the parties are very divided; one party quotes Great Britain as an example, the other as a warning. All parties concerned in slaves (and most people of property in those countries are concerned in slaves) look with anxiety to the success of the grand experiment, as they term it, and those who point out Great Britain as a warning have hitherto been successful in staving off measures in those countries for putting down slave trade and leading towards emancipation. It is therefore most essential, even for the one object of suppressing the slave trade and slavery, that Great Britain should, whatever the difficulties may be, neither omit, neglect, nor delay any means within her power for fostering the prosperity of her West Indian colonies. That prosperity will be one of the greatest inducements which can be offered to other states to put down slave trade, and to their governments to fulfil the compacts to that effect; and to the governments and people of those countries to go along with their governments in that line.

3474. By what means would you propose to assist the present condition of the West Indies, which you describe as being in a disparaging state?—I am not aware that I have described them as being in a disparaging state; I feel myself incompetent to offer an opinion upon that subject.

3475. Do you think it a desirable thing to import free labourers from Africa into the West Indies?—Most certainly desirable in every way; not only desirable for the sake of the proprietors of the estates, but even as preventing a temptation to the negroes, who generally are very well disposed; they have resisted very great temptations to evil, and I think deserve great credit; they have shown that they are possessed of great virtues; still it would take away from them the temptation to act idly and irregularly with regard to their labour, and therefore be a good thing with regard to them; for I cannot always avoid looking towards the welfare of the negroes, as conceiving that the welfare of the negroes is that which will more than anything insure the prosperity of the West Indian colonies, looking to Hayti, and looking to others.

3476. Would not the importation of negroes from the coast of Africa, by the British Government, or by British subjects under the sanction of their Government, be looked upon with very great jealousy by Cuba and Brazil, so long as we maintained our system of forcibly suppressing the slave trade?—Certainly, as we prevent them from having colonists themselves in any shape now particularly.

3477. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have stated that a large number of proprietors in Cuba are favourable to emancipation; do you collect that from any slave-trade papers before Parliament, or from any other source?—From slave-trade papers before Parliament.

3478. Will you be pleased to point them out. In your answer, you will be pleased to distinguish between suppression of the slave trade and emancipation of the slaves?—I have found one expression. You will find some of them in the reports made by the different influential bodies in Cuba, both to the Governor-general and, at times, to the government of Spain, in different years. Here is one; I catch at a sentence while I am looking for them. In reports from the different corporations of Cuba on a convention proposed to Spain, called the

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Turnbull Convention, the Commissioners at the Havannah, 10th December 1841, in two of their Reports thus term them: "Copies of the Replies to the Captain-general, made by the Royal Association for the Promotion of Agriculture and Commerce, and the Patriotic Society, being the two most influential corporations of this city, and so numerous as to exempt their opinions from the character of being those of individuals." The Report deprecates the acceptance of that convention, on the ground that it would prove to be an interference with the interior administration of the island. The object of the convention proposed to Spain had been to secure, by means of regulations therein made, the better fulfilment of the treaty of 1835, and to give immediate freedom to all negroes imported since 1820. The Report deprecates the particular regulations proposed, but it advocates the exact fulfilment of the treaty. It deprecates the immediate emancipation of any slaves, but it advocates the gradual and eventual abolition of slavery. After stating that the proposals in the treaty are unreasonable, it proceeds:—

When the society thus expresses itself, it does not believe that the prosperity of the island, or the cultivation of its fields, depends precisely on the existence of slavery, nor does it presume that its inhabitants are devoid of the sentiments of humanity which are compatible with their enlightenment. The Cuban people, sensible by their condition, and philanthropic by nature, are possessed of dispositions the most favourable towards the extinction of that slavery, because they esteem it prejudicial even to their interests. In spite, however, of that, on this soil it is more light and mild than in other countries; and in spite also of the masters being watched by the Government that they do not abuse the dominant power, with all it must be confessed that slavery is always odious; that the service which it discharges is always imperfect and forced, and that its products will never be so advantageous as those afforded by free persons in whom work the stimulus of gain, and the fear of not meeting any to proportion them labour, unless they accredit themselves with the exact accomplishment of their tasks.

Further, in spite of that, this opinion, and in favour of liberty, which supports the idea of cultivation by free labourers as well as domestic service, the preservation of our created interests, our own existence, the tranquillity and preservation of the island, compromise the inhabitants in their continuing to suffer a calamity which the Government itself occasioned in permitting the introduction of negro labourers, believing to do a benefit. If then it should agree to some measures of sudden emancipation of slaves simultaneously, as the British Government now seeks, it would agree in fact to the destruction of our agricultural riches, because deprived of the cultivation of the fields by slaves; and not being prepared for a change so sudden, it is indubitable that all labour would be paralyzed, because we do not hold free labourers that would supply the deficiency, at the same time that the increased number of emancipated negroes, and all the other slaves, who thence presently would wish to be comprehended in the benefit, would be a torrent that would come upon the whites, whose impetus they could not restrain, and which would only produce a revolution in our social economy, and a desolation of property, if it did not at once bury us in a perpetual ruin; and the mother country even would run the risk of that this mass, as enormous as demoralized, should deprive it of one of the richest provinces of the Crown.

Slavery subsisting, as it ought to subsist, with what we now hold in the island, neither the labours of the estates, nor those others performed by negro labourers, would suffer alteration, because everything follows in natural course; and although the non-introduction of more slaves, in fulfilment of the treaties of 1817 and 1835, has to occasion the gradual extinction of slavery, it is also certain that the order with which it has to succeed, not only places us in shelter from the dangers and revolutions which the momentary emancipation would occasion, but that it will give us time to judge means for substituting the deficiency of labourers, and the Government will have a new motive for contributing to the augmentation of the white population, and to dispense even greater protection to agriculture principally.

It concludes thus:—

But if, in complying with the treaties of 1817 and 1835, are adopted at the same time extraordinary measures for augmenting the white population; if in this way white labourers be substituted for negroes; if agriculture be generously protected, and all kinds of industry, the happiness of the island of Cuba will arrive at the highest grade, because introduction (of negroes) ceasing, slavery has to be mildly extinguished, conciliating by this mode the preservation of our interests with the sentiments of humanity which distinguish us.

Reviewing all that has been said, it will be seen that the society holds as destructive, and an injustice, the violent abolition which the Government of Her Britannic Majesty proposes, and for that much hopes that our Supreme Government, in its paternal solicitude, will not admit the desperate remedy which the stranger offers, persuaded of that the social evils which time has engendered are not to be soon healed. At the same time it confesses, that slavery being a perpetual origin of moral corruption in the Cuban population, fomentor of the distinctions which the difference of colour carries with it, and cause of the abandonment of pursuits of industry by the white youth, it cannot do less than lament that the interest of individuals

individuals has brought things to the point of placing the island of Cuba in the hurtful position in which we see it, for which, raising its feeble voice to the superior Government, it implores that in future its vigilance be increased, for that the treaties may be rigorously fulfilled by all the subjects of Her Catholic Majesty, as good faith requires, and strict justice. Short space of time will be sufficient for that noting the exact fulfilment of the agreement, among so much it will be able to give to the vital question a favourable turn, procuring judgments for arriving step by step at the absolute abolition of slavery, conforming to the philanthropic opinions which exercise in Europe so powerful an influence on the masses and the Governments. But let this benefit be the work of time, and of well-considered reflection, without the intervention of foreign cabinets interested in our misfortunes, without the sudden loss of our possessions, and with the personal security we demand for natural defence. The society believes that the proprietors, convinced of what they see for the good of the country, casting aside the calculations of selfishness, will perhaps make gladly, opportunely, and prudently, the sacrifice of a part of their fortune, to secure the moral happiness of their children, and, we may say also, to save the remainder.

These are the wishes of the Corporation, which it makes manifest with the frankness and good faith that has no other object, and is moved by no other stimulus, than the honour of the nation and the prosperity of the country, on whose altars ought everything to be sacrificed.

3479. You have stated that other countries are watching the proceedings of Great Britain, in respect to that which you call her great experiment?—Yes.

3480. Have you paid sufficient attention to the subject to enable you to state how other countries will be able to discriminate between a revival of the slave trade on the one hand, and the introduction of what are called free labourers into the West Indies on the other?—I am talking of the English colonies. There cannot be a slave trade in the English colonies, because every one is there free; everybody must be free.

3481. You were asked, how will other countries be able to discriminate between a revival of the slave trade on the part of Great Britain, and the importation of what you call free labourers?—With reference to my observation, my observation alluded to the wish on their part to see what was the result of emancipation in the British colonies before they did anything themselves; before they emancipated their own slaves; and therefore they would have no reason to think of any other but the British colonies.

3482. My question is not what the fact is, but what the impression would be; whether, if a Brazilian vessel met on the high seas an English vessel laden with 500 Africans, such Brazilian vessel would or would not consider that that was a revival of the slave trade?—I mentioned that there may be those things on board a vessel with free colonists which may distinguish her from a slave vessel, such as an agent of the Government; the vessel may be a vessel of the Government; a vessel of war; she may be distinguished by her papers, and by various other things.

3483. You are understood to have stated your opinion that the slave trade has increased since the efforts of England to suppress it?—The importations of slaves into Brazil have recently increased to a great degree; but I do not say that the slave trade has increased. When that question was put to me before, I could not state; but I mentioned the facts as to the importation of slaves: and when I was asked whether, considering the area into which they were now introduced, compared with the area into which they were introduced formerly, I considered that the slave trade had increased, I said that you must not calculate the great area of former times, but the area of the soil which the slaves cultivated, and that I was not sufficiently furnished with statistical details to answer that question.

3484. Without reference to the area over which the slaves may be distributed, do you wish the Committee to understand that it is your opinion that the number of slaves exported from Africa has or has not increased, notwithstanding the efforts of England to suppress the slave trade?—That is a question of numbers. In Brazil the numbers of slaves imported are now beyond what they were before Great Britain first used her efforts to suppress the trade; they are nearly as large as they were at any former period whatever; and recently they have increased to a number far beyond what they were immediately before the time when Great Britain took into her own hands to put down the trade. I was asked the question before, as to the number taken from Africa. I said I could not answer it, and I will mention why I cannot answer it; because you must take the number that were captured, and add them to the number that were imported. You must take the number that died on the passage; you must

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take the number that went from the east, for they were imported from the east as well as from the west. They import from the east now, more towards the west, than they did in former times. It is a question so large, that I cannot answer it.

3485. Are you not aware, that as far as the west coast of Africa is concerned, the slave trade has been entirely suppressed in considerable spaces, and that no slave trade exists to the north of latitude 16 degrees?—I think previously to the slave-trade treaties, and subsequently to the abolition of the trade on the part of Great Britain and of France, there was very little slave trade to the north of 16 degrees; but I am speaking quite subject to correction.

3486. Are you not aware, that between latitude 16 degrees and latitude five degrees north, there is no slave trade except at the Gallinas?—I find by recent accounts from Sierra Leone, that the slave trade to the north-west of Cape Palmas is continually rising up in places where it had formerly been supposed to be extinguished, and was temporarily extinguished.

3487. Are there not great spaces in the coast, from Cape Palmas to the Bight of Benin, in which the slave trade no longer exists?—Yes, there are, but slave trade does arise again where it has been extinguished, continually.

3488. Do you wish the Committee to understand as your opinion, that the introduction or the increase of legitimate commerce, and the improvement of the social condition of the Africans, wherever missionary labours have been encouraged, have or have not had a considerable effect in suppressing the slave trade?—A very great and beneficial effect; and I should say from past experience, they are likely to have more.

3489. Is it your opinion that the presence of the naval squadron on the west coast of Africa is an encouragement and protection to legitimate commerce, as well as to the maintenance of the peaceful operations of the missionaries?—I think that a certain degree of protection is necessary to legal commerce, to the peaceful and commercial habits of the people, and to the welfare of the British missionaries, and the welfare of the British factories.

3490. And that, whereas the presence of a squadron would not be necessary for the promotion of those objects, in a country in a state of civilization, it may be necessary in respect to a country circumstanced as Africa is in respect to its social state?—A “squadron” is a large word and an indefinite word. I think that it would be necessary to have the protection of a naval force in Africa for that purpose, but of the extent of that force I cannot judge. It may be one-quarter only, or it may be one-third; it may be more, or it may be less than that which is now employed.

3491. Are you aware or not whether the French squadron has been employed in protecting the trade of France?—It appears to me, from all that I can see, that they are very much employed in extending the territorial influence of France, and that not by unquestionable means. Certainly the natives have very much complained of them; a territorial influence, it seems to me, very much.

3491*. Are you of opinion that legitimate trade can coexist in the same place with slave trade; that the one can exist and continue in the same place with the other, without the slave trade destroying the legitimate trade?—I observe that the Commissioner of Loando states, under the date of December 1845, “It is, my Lord, in my humble opinion, the introduction and establishment of legitimate commerce alone that will effectually sap the foundations of this unhallowed traffic. The desire of foreign luxuries which the chiefs of Africa have already acquired by intercourse with Europeans, is the great inducement for making slaves of their subjects and selling them to slave-dealers; and so long as the slave trade exists every effort to substitute legitimate commerce for one so deeply implanted in their minds by the habits of ages, must prove unavailing.” That was his opinion; “but, if that source was no longer available, and the markets for the sale of their fellow-creatures effectually closed for a time, they would be compelled to turn their attention to more honest and profitable pursuits, and would soon be taught the superior advantage of employing their slaves in the cultivation of the soil.” The commissioner at Boa Vista, in alluding to the cessation of the trade in the Bight of Biafra, says: “This change is the more gratifying as it has been principally, if not entirely, brought about by the vast increase of British legitimate trade in that quarter.” He is of opinion, apparently, that in parts where the slave trade exists, still legitimate trade will beat it, and that it is desirable to continue it there. He adds, that “it proves the erroneousness

neousness of the views of some well-intentioned persons in England, who loudly demand legislative enactments to prevent British vessels from trading with ports and places where slave trade is carried on." Mr. Jamieson mentions the great and beneficial effects of the legitimate trade in this respect in the Bight of Biafra, at New Calabar, and Old Calabar.

3492. Are you aware how many slavers have been seized by the French cruisers since the treaty which bound the two powers to co-operate by squadrons on the coast of Africa?—No; I think Lord Palmerston says that he has asked and could not find out; that says a good deal, I think.

3493. Mr. *E. J. Stanley*.] Do you think that if Brazil were to be induced to enter into such a treaty as that which you have described, there would be no necessity for maintaining a squadron for the purpose of securing the observation of that treaty?—I think that you might withhold and suspend the squadron in a way that would be an inducement to Brazil to keep up the good faith of her stipulations. I think it would be something to have on hand on our part; she would not like at all our squadron going on the coast of Brazil.

3494. Do you think then that the slave-trade treaties which we have with Spain, Portugal, and other powers, would be better observed if we had no squadron on the coast of Africa than if we had one; does not that follow from what you have said?—I think not; I propose that other treaties should be entered into instead of those. I think the slave trade would be likely to be put down better by other treaties without force than by the present treaties with force, in regard to Brazil.

3495. Supposing no other treaties to exist, you do not think it would be necessary to maintain any squadron for the purpose of securing the observation of those treaties which exist?—I do not say that: I am not prepared to express that opinion; I do not think it has been fairly tried on the coast of Brazil whether force could put down the slave trade or not. I think it has been tried on the coast of Africa; I think it has not been tried on the coast of Brazil. I think the importations into Brazil have not ceased on account of the squadron in Africa. And I am doubtful myself (though I have not been asked the question) whether so very large a force as now exists in Africa does encourage legal trade so much as if there were not so large a force; it may create an irritation, but I do not know that; looking back at it, a doubt is created in my mind on this point, although I think that a large protective force is necessary. I am giving a very qualified opinion, but I wish to keep within the boundary of truth; it may appear worth nothing on that account. I think that the two things, a squadron on the coast of Africa and a squadron on the coast of Brazil, should be held as an engine in the hand of Her Majesty's Government during such a negotiation as has been suggested; although it is at present ineffectual, that it should be held in hand at present. I know that the squadron on the coast of Africa must be continued for a certain time, on account of the state of our treaty with France.

3496. Then is it your opinion that it would not be expedient to discontinue the squadron on the coast of Africa, and also of Brazil, until such time as Brazil should have entered into a satisfactory treaty with England?—I am very doubtful indeed as to the maintenance of the squadron on the coast of Africa; certainly I think on the coast of Brazil it should be kept up; I am doubtful as to the other; it harasses the slave dealers, but I do not think it prevents the importations into Brazil. You might push me to an opinion which perhaps after all might not be quite consonant with what I am entirely impressed with.

3497. At all events it is your opinion that it is desirable to keep up an efficient squadron on the coast of Brazil till those treaties are concluded?—I should say I would hang it over the government of Brazil, and I think that this moment is the most particularly earnest time, if I might venture to say so, for the British government to enter into negotiation with Brazil, notwithstanding the way in which they have treated Great Britain. I do not like to give my opinion on such points; but I am pressed for it, and therefore I give it. I say, therefore, Never mind how much they have broken the treaty (and they have broken it), however ill they have treated us (and they have treated us ill); if my opinion is worth anything, I think it the time to urge the Government to pass by the treatment of them by Brazil, and to enter instantly into negotiations with her, to press them and to endeavour to carry those negotiations to a successful issue; and if they did not succeed, or even if they languished, I should say the Government ought to have in hand a force for Brazil, to hang over them. But whilst

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I would urge the Government to press the negotiations, I would not wish to urge anything that would hamper and harm the Government and endanger the success of the negotiations; but still I am of opinion, as to the squadron on the African coast, that it has been ineffectual; and, judging from the past as well as one can judge from a very long series of years and from the great exertions of officers of great talent, and of the expressions even of Sir Charles Hotham, the very last expression, it appears to me, I confess, that it would be likely that the slave traders would still find means to evade the attempts to prevent the importation of slaves into Brazil.

3498. Do not all the observations that have been made by Sir Charles Hotham apply solely to the presence of the squadron on the coast of Africa, and not on the coast of Brazil?—Yes.

3499. Is it not, then, your opinion that, while using all conciliatory means for the purpose of negotiating with Brazil, the presence of a squadron on the coast of Brazil is a useful and efficient argument to induce them to co-operate with us?—Certainly, a most efficient argument for it. I have been very loath to express my opinion upon these points; but the Committee press for it, therefore I give it.

3500. Have you any information about the comparative sufferings in the middle passage at the present time, and previously to the abolition of the slave trade altogether?—Yes, I have.

3501. Is it your opinion that they have been very much aggravated of late, taking two years, say 1786 and 1846?—Yes; but I think they were always very great. The slave trade seems always to debase humanity; it seems to have obliterated from mankind every feeling of humanity; so much so, that in the Act of Parliament which was passed to regulate the carrying trade, Sir William Dolben's Act, provision was made to prevent cruelty to the crew, as well as to prevent cruelty to slaves, and the complaints were as great in respect to the captain's treatment of the one as of the other.

3502. Do you think that the complaints of the ill usage both of crews and of slaves, previously to Sir William Dolben's Act, were greater than at the present time?—No, I do not think any such thing. The complaints have always been very great; but I think, owing to circumstances, owing to the activity and extreme vigilance of our cruisers and the dread of capture, the slave traders have been led to sail without the necessary comforts for the slaves, and they have been led to cram them in here and there, as hard as ever they could, more than they did. I think the facts tell you that.

3503. With regard to the treatment of the crews, what is the fact?—We have now no evidence of complaints as to the treatment of the crews, because the ships and crews are now foreigners; they were English in the time I alluded to.

3504. You stated that humanity was so debased by carrying on this nefarious traffic, that it demoralized people, and made them guilty of the greatest crimes?—Yes.

3505. And that consequently you thought that all persons engaged in this traffic had been at all times guilty of the commission of great crimes?—Yes.

3506. Is it your opinion, that as far as that demoralization of human nature goes, it is at all greater or less than on former occasions?—On account of the stipulations, there are inducements to inflict cruelties which did not exist in former times; that is my feeling about it. In former times they used to have great cruelties, such as cramming food down the slaves' throats, and even using thumbscrews while they forced them to eat; they used to bring them on deck in chains, and flog them till they danced; their object was to get them into good plight, like beasts of burden. Now their object is to get as many as ever they can; they do not care how. I think myself that the horrors suffered by the slaves are greater on account of being so crammed together, not that the intended conduct of those fellows is better or worse.

3507. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Admitting, for the sake of argument, that greater horrors are perpetrated now in the middle passage than at the time when the trade was not condemned by the law of England, though your last answer has referred to some enormities as perpetrated at an earlier period, which are not in evidence, at least as having been perpetrated in later years, do you or do you not consider that a greater number of human beings would be exported from Africa to the western world if the trade were unhappily free, taking into consideration the extent of virgin soil in Brazil, whatever may be said of the extent

of such soil in Cuba?—Of course you mean, if all treaties were done away with entirely, and the thing were legal.

3508. The question assumed that the slave trade were again unhappily a lawful trade; with that explanation, will you be pleased to answer the question previously put to you?—I find it very difficult to answer such a question, involving so many considerations, the whole bearing and extent of which I cannot take in at one moment, and without reflection. I am doubtful that it would eventually, and after the first supply. I conceive that so far as we see, the demand in Brazil has recently been followed by a supply. With regard to Cuba, it must depend very much, as of course it must in Brazil, upon the principles adopted by the government of Spain, and the authorities in Cuba. It might induce another course to be taken by the government of Spain in regard to the slave trade. I am supposing that the government of Brazil acts as it does now. When you give an abstract opinion upon the question, you forget, which you ought not to forget, the progressive circumstances of the world, which would produce other effects of which you cannot immediately contemplate the result. In Cuba the fear of an excessive influx of Africans would produce a prevention, perhaps very shortly.

3509. Do you wish the Committee to understand that the supply of slave labour in Brazil being by the terms of the proposition unlimited, there would or would not be a demand for such slave labour in the production of sugar, or in the working of the mines?—There might be at the moment a great influx instantly, not on account of the demand, but on account of the circumstance of its being left free, as there is a great spout when there has been a stoppage of water; but it would soon come to its usual course again, as it does in the stoppage of the water of a river, and it would be governed by the demand. The supply has been governed by the demand in Brazil lately.

3510. Have you or have you not reason to believe that the supply of slave labour being unlimited in the virgin soil of Brazil, and taking into consideration the fact that even under the present in some degree restricted supply of Brazil slave labour, slaves are worked up to death, there would be a great increase of the introduction of slaves into Brazil if the trade were at this moment unfettered?—I think that is nearly the same question as the other; it comes to the same point. I conceive that, in the first instance there would be a great influx of slaves; but that afterwards there would not be. I conceive that there is now as great an importation as is demanded, and that there would not afterwards be more. I conceive that if there were a greater importation, it would be simply because there would be a greater demand. I conceive that there are as many slaves now imported into Brazil as are demanded in Brazil; that the British squadron has no effect in preventing the amount of importation into Brazil.

3511. Would the return of the slave trade from a trade which the laws of all Christian countries now desire to suppress to a state of comparative immunity, diminish in any degree the horrors by which slaves are said to be procured in Africa, or the horrors to which such slaves are said to be exposed in Brazil?—There might be very little difference either in one or the other. There are various other considerations which might be acting upon Brazil, if there were a large influx; they must treat them better, perhaps; they are afraid of revolts: there has been a very serious revolt at Bahia. In the northern provinces of the empire the blacks have so much influence as even to have a majority of votes for the Legislature.

3512. So far as your observation of the statistics of the slave trade may enable you to give an answer, will you state to this Committee what was the mortality on the middle passage before the legal suppression of the trade, and what is its present mortality, upon an average per-centage?—The evidence on the average mortality, before the abolition, is extremely contradictory; it is very difficult to get at the truth. Sir Robert Inglis is better aware than I am, perhaps, of that fact. There are statements directly contradictory to each other; it is very difficult to get a correct average between the two.

3513. At the close of my last series of questions, you were asked in substance how foreign countries, if they saw Africans imported into the British West Indies there to labour, could discriminate between a revival of the slave trade on the one hand, and an importation of what you call free labourers on the other hand. Supposing that it were desirable that African labourers should be im-

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ported into the British West Indies there to labour, can you inform this Committee, from the great attention which you have paid to the whole African question, from what part of the coast of Africa, other than those parts which are under the British jurisdiction and control, and other also than the Kroo coast any *bonâ fide* free labourers could be procured and exported?—In the first instance, I think it appears by evidence already before these two Committees, and it also appears by inquiries which I have personally made, that in the country near the Kroo coast, close to it, but distinct from it, a considerable body might annually be procured of free labourers.

3514. Will you state to the Committee what general proportion you wish them to understand by the term “considerable body;” do you mean as many as 10,000, or do you mean as many as 2,000?—I should say from 1,000 to 3,000 from that part of the coast.

3514*. Are there any other parts of the coast besides that which you have specially named, whence in your opinion free labourers might be procured for the supply of the British West India colonies?—I can conceive many. Of course you leave out at present Sierra Leone, where there would be a large number of liberated Africans. I conceive that if the British Government meant to do so, turning their eyes attentively to the mere circumstances, there are very many parts of the coast where free labourers in large bodies with their families, and without limitation as to time, which is more desirable than men, for a term of years, might be procured.

3515. The question referred to *bonâ fide* free labourers; will you answer it with reference to that, and state whether, at any parts of the coast except under British jurisdiction and control, such free labourers could be found and exported?—Yes, I think it possible.

3516. Will you specify those parts?—I can rather specify the circumstances under which they may be taken than the parts from which they may be got. I can rather suppose them; I can suppose that there may be many places where they are pushed, for example, by neighbouring tribes, who are aiming at their slavery; neighbouring tribes who are carrying on war, which war would end in their slavery or extermination. I conceive that Her Majesty’s cruisers, if properly instructed thereto, might take advantage of such circumstances arising on the coast to give that protection which they would wish by taking them on board ship and carrying them to the West Indies. There are many cases; but I may speak perhaps loosely, when I mention that there was a case in the Niger, I recollect, where one tribe were pressed by the Foulahs, who were driving them from spot to spot; this tribe were pressed by the Foulahs or Feelatahs, and they expressed themselves in terms of great distress; they did not know where to go to hide their heads. I conceive that circumstances such as those might be taken advantage of. I again conceive that advantage might be taken of such circumstances as have arisen recently in Africa, where a tribe has found itself, most unaccountably to itself, under the dominion of France or of another country, its chief having very unknowingly, as he states, concluded a contract, making himself subject to France, or subject to another country. I conceive that where they have been wrongfully treated and harmfully treated in that way, advantage might be taken of such a circumstance, and that the natives might be induced to go bodily, perhaps, to the West Indies. I can conceive other cases of a similar nature, of which advantage might be taken; besides that part specifically near the Kroo coast. There may be others. The field is very large, the circumstances are very various: the thing has not yet been tried.

3517. With respect to that part of the coast as to which you stated to the Committee in answer to a previous question, that there might thence be obtained from 1,000 to 3,000 persons as labourers annually, or for a term of years, it was stated before a former Committee that “if the whole nation were to emigrate to the West Indies, it would be but as a drop in the ocean.” Does that statement induce you to qualify the opinion which you have just given to the Committee, or do you still contemplate or suppose that the supply which might be expected from that part of the coast would form any considerable element in the necessary amount of labour which the West Indies might require?—I believe that an officer, who gave in evidence somewhat to the effect you mention on one day to the Sugar and Coffee Committee, begged to recall that evidence on another day; on a day, I think, on which he was examined before your Committee, he begged to state that he would correct that opinion.

3518. The

3518. The former evidence to which in the last question your attention was called, was the evidence of Mr. Logan Hook, who had been collector of customs at Sierra Leone for 15 years, and who was examined on the 6th July 1842, upon the subject of the Kroo coast?—But you specially in your first question to me upon this point exempted the Kroo coast. In that question you especially desired me to exempt the Kroo coast.

3518*. A witness before the Committee has stated that Africans taken to the West Indies, when they were landed in Demerara, expressed much dissatisfaction at the nature of the work and the hours of labour. Have you any reason to believe, from your historical inquiries into the character of the native African, that that statement is inconsistent with the fact?—I have no reason to believe that that particular statement with regard to those particular individuals is incorrect.

3519. Do you regard it as a part of the national character of the Africans and of others in a similar state of society, that they associate freedom with idleness?—No, I do not believe it; I believe that the negroes do not; I believe that they are a very industrious people. I have read a great many books generally upon their history for hundreds of years back, and I believe they are a most industrious, laborious people. I perceive that in the earliest accounts which the Portuguese gave of them and of their conduct; I perceive it also in the account which the Spaniards gave of them in the West Indies, to which it was recommended that they should be taken, because they were more docile and more industrious than the Red Indians. I perceive that in Jobson's Voyage in the Gambia, in the golden trade, he continually mentions how industrious and hard-working a people they are. I perceive that they are in Moore's account; he states how very industrious they are. I perceive it in a very curious account which Mr. Jamieson has given of their progress in industry and in arts in their native towns; he speaks of their having shops of various kinds, very curiously showing their conduct and disposition as very far from idleness in their own country, in situations in which they are, to a certain degree, apparently free.

3520. Is there any comparison between any labour which the native African undertakes, either at his own choice and discretion, or at the command of his master, and the kind of labour which is essential to the production of sugar in a tropical country, and under the circumstances in which sugar is produced in the West Indies?—With regard to that, in the first instance, I have recently, within this month, read carefully over the reports which have been presented to Parliament as to the state of the West Indies, and I perceive that in very many cases the negroes are not averse of themselves to labour on the sugar estates; that cases occur over and over again where bodies of individuals associate together for the purpose of taking a sugar estate and working it; that where they have so undertaken to work it, they have worked it well, and that, according to the governors of some of those colonies, the complaints of the colonists are often extremely unfair and unjust to the negroes in that respect; that their complaint is, that they will not work the estates of the colonists, not that they will not work the estates generally. It is stated in these Reports also, that the complaint of the colonists with regard to the conduct of the negroes in being capricious as to their work, is often very unjust; I think the Governor of the Leeward Islands particularly states that; he says it is very unfair and unjust. The colonists say that the negroes will not give them continuous labour; but the Governors say that the colonist will not give the negroes continuous labour; he only wants it during the time of the sugar estates. The negro is not idle, but gets a small property (which the colonists particularly object to), and works away at that, and then when the time for working the sugar estate comes, his own little estate wants labour more especially than the sugar estate, and the colonist complains bitterly that he will not work for him when he is working for himself. I think everything shows that they are not more averse to industry than the industrious European, say the Hollanders or the British.

3521. Admitting all your facts in your last answer, will you explain how the importation of what you call free labourers into the West Indies would alter the character of things, and would induce the persons who might be like their brethren now in the West Indies engaged in cultivating their own little plots of ground, to work a sugar plantation to relieve the present distresses of the West Indies, by which I mean the distresses of the West India Colonies; by which I mean the distresses of the West Indian proprietors?—I have always wished to

consider

J. Bandinel, Esq.

18 April 1848.

consider the question of the West India colonies as a much larger question than that of the English proprietor of West Indian sugar estates; and if I am to express my view upon the West Indies generally, I must express my opinion upon it, if you please, in that view, and this would be an opinion at great length, and which I am not now prepared to give.

3522. In other words, if the emancipated negroes will not work now at the time when they are wanted to work the sugar plantations, what reason have you to expect that their brethren who may be successively introduced under the name of free labourers would be more willing to work than those who are found there?—I conceive that in many instances the complaints against their working are unjust, and if the colonists were to treat the new ones as ill as they do the others, or as hardly as they do the others, of course, in such cases, if the labourers had power to get food by working for themselves, they would not work for those who did not treat them well. I conceive that it is owing in a great measure to the ill-conduct of the British colonists and British proprietors, who, by Parliamentary statements, appear to have been as ill-conducted towards their labourers from the earliest period of their having their estates to the present time, as any absentee proprietors of any estates in any part of the world in any time. I say this generally only; but I take it from evidence which has come before Parliament from the first agitation of the slavery question, at successive periods, down to the very present.

3523. In point of fact you have stated that the negroes now emancipated in the West Indian colonies will not, at the time when their work is required for the culture of the sugar cane, yield that work to the West Indian proprietors?—I believe that they will yield their work if they are well treated.

3524. Do you wish the Committee to understand, then, that the free labourer is to be employed by the West Indian proprietor all the year round, though his own profit may consist in the employment of such free labourer only for a very few weeks?—I conceive this, that if he is not, the proprietor cannot complain if the man uses his own time for his own purpose.

3525. What reason have you to expect that the importation of free labourers from Africa would be attended with any other effects than have attended the employment of the emancipated negro in the hands of his former master?—I must first come to this; what has been the general effect? The general effect has been where they have been well treated that they have worked the estates well; the effect has been where they have not been well treated that they have not generally; it has only been in those cases in which they have not been well treated that they have not worked the estates well. I come now more immediately to your question. They have asked for high prices; they would not ask for so high prices if there were more labourers; that is one reason why the distresses of the British proprietors could be relieved by a larger number of labourers. In certain cases they have been enabled, by there being a scarcity of labour, to get a very high price, and to be idle on certain days, just as our shoemakers work only on certain days in the week, and never work on the Monday. Then if there were a larger quantity of labour the price of labour would be less; consequently, they would not have that encouragement which I am anxious they should not have, or that temptation to be idle which few people can resist. I think they are as well able to resist it as many other people, but still I do not think the temptation should be given them. I think that if there were a larger number of labourers there that temptation would not be given them; and I think that in so far it would much tend to the well-being not only of the colonies generally, but to the well-being of the negro persons themselves.

3526. *Chairman.*] Are there any further suggestions which you would wish to make?—No, not at present.

3527. *Mr. Simeon.*] Did I understand you correctly that the slave trade is now carried on on the east coast of Africa under the French and American flags?—Yes, in so far as vessels carrying fittings for the slave trade, so they carry them under the French and American flags, and are enabled by that means to help the slave trade. I think the papers go rather further.

3528. Have you reason to believe that the slave trade is proceeding with greater vigour on the east coast now than it was at some time past?—I think that more slaves have been exported to Brazil recently from that part than were at some former period; but the slave trade has risen and fallen according to circumstances. There has been some check given to it by our treaty with the

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Imaum of Muscat. There is a very large export from the east coast of Africa, upwards as well as downwards. J. Bandinel, Esq.

3529. *Chairman.*] Does it appear by the papers to which you have referred that the voyage from Africa in a ship containing slaves is carried on under the French or American flag; is it not rather that the ship under the French or American flag conveys the cargoes to the coast of Africa, which are used in exchange for slaves?—Yes; those flags are principally used for carrying the fittings to Africa.

18 April 1848.

3530. And it carries the pabulum of the slave trade, the goods?—Yes. In giving my evidence I fear I have been presumptuous in expressing too pronounced an opinion on questions which were pressed upon me as to facts upon which I do not feel competent to speak, or give an opinion worth having to the Committee; but I was unwilling to decline giving an answer to any question which was addressed to me, to the best of my knowledge, however unequal I might be to the emergency.

[The Witness withdrew. The committee adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X.

Copy of a DESPATCH from Her Majesty's Commissioners at *Jamaica*, dated
1 January 1848, containing a REPORT on the SLAVE TRADE.

(No. 1.)

D. Turnbull and *Arthur B. Hamilton*, Esquires, to Viscount *Palmerston*.

Jamaica, 1 January 1848.

(Received February 25.)

Appendix.

My Lord,

In obedience to your Lordship's general instruction dated 27th February 1843, that at the end of each year we should transmit to the Foreign Office a detailed report of the state of the slave trade in that part of the world wherein we are stationed, so far as any account of it comes to our knowledge and information, together with any remarks of our own thereupon, it becomes our duty to submit to your Lordship the following Report:—

The rumours which reach us of the revival of slave-trade practices in these seas are of too vague a nature to enable us to report on them so specifically as we could wish; but they are nevertheless sufficiently definite to have induced Commodore Lambert (who is now on his way to England) to detach two of the ships of the squadron under his orders from the routine duties of the station, for the first time since the establishment of the court of which we are members, for the special purpose of cruising against slave trade. We fear, however, there is no room to doubt that the new markets which have been opened for the sale of the tropical staples produced by the labour of slaves, together with the diminishing numbers of the servile population in those countries where compulsory labour is excessive, and where the sexes are known to be unequally distributed, must have so sharpened the stimulus already in operation for the extension of the traffic, as to make its entire suppression by the means heretofore employed an undertaking all but hopeless.

If, after the landing of the victims in those countries at this side of the Atlantic, where the trade is still unhappily tolerated, the possessors could be made insecure in the enjoyment of their illicit acquisition; and if the *onus* of proving a lawful possession could in every case be thrown on the slave-master by some such method as that which was pointed out in the negotiation which your Lordship caused to be opened with the government of Her Catholic Majesty in the year 1840, it humbly appears to us that the high price of slave property, which is the true and only provocative to the African trade, would be so diminished by the falling off in the demand as to cut down the profits of the importers below the point at which it ceases to become a desirable channel for the employment of capital and industry; and, that point once accomplished, the causes known to be at work in Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, in hastening the decay of the existing population, would speedily redress the difference in the cost of the production of the staples, of which the proprietors of the soil in the British West Indies now so loudly complain; the cultivation of the sugar cane by compulsory labour would cease to be profitable; the British consumer would obtain his supplies at a moderate rate, and the doctrines of free trade would become as reasonably applicable to the introduction of tropical produce as to that of every other commodity; whereas, at present the admission into our markets of slave-grown and free-grown sugar on equal terms, may possibly be exposed to the charge of assimilating the fruits of the industry of the smuggler, the highwayman, and the pirate, with that of the farmer, or the manufacturer, who carries on his business in a lawful manner, and contributes his full share to the exigencies of the State.

If the measures now in progress towards the establishment of a system of pure and simple equality could be so far suspended as to afford an opportunity for the opening of fresh negotiations with the governments of those countries where sugar is produced by unrequited toil, we have some reason to believe from what we have seen or heard on the subject, that the sugar planters themselves, in one, at least, of these countries, rather than forego the admission of their produce for consumption in England, would be ready to recommend to their own government to spare no sacrifice in order to secure the benefit they so highly appreciate, were it even to amount to a measure of immediate and complete emancipation, which, after all, would be the surest and most effective means for the suppression of the slave trade. But if the present opportunity should be lost, we venture to express our alarm lest the application of free-trade principles to slave trade products may lead to the positive protection of crimes the most atrocious, and the most relentless oppression, with which the history of the world has ever been disgraced.

We

We have been informed by a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who is now on a tour through the British and foreign West Indies, that in some of the islands where the system of slavery is supposed to be drawing to a close, without much prospect on the part of the slave-owners of obtaining any satisfactory indemnity for the loss they believe to be impending, they have begun to resort to the disposal of their slaves in other countries, in the same manner which, under similar circumstances, was adopted by a large proportion of the proprietors of slaves in the Bahamas a few years anterior to our own Act of Emancipation.

The only case of the kind which our informant was able to specify occurred in the last year in the French portion of the island of St. Martin, from whence it is stated that a number of slaves have been sent for sale to Porto Rico; and it appears that this particular fact had assumed a form so authentic as to have become the subject of a report from the officer of the branch of the colonial bank in Porto Rico to the directors of that establishment in London.

We have, &c.
signed) *D. Turnbull.*
Arthur B. Hamilton.

Foreign Office, 18 April 1848.

LATEST REPORTS ON SLAVE TRADE received from Her Majesty's Minister and Her Majesty's Consuls in *Brazil*.

LIST OF PAPERS.

NO.		DATE.	RECEIPT.	SUBJECT.
1	Lord Howden to Viscount Palmerston	1848 : 9 Feb. -	1848 : 4 April -	- - Extent of slave trade in 1847.
2	Vice-Consul Westwood to ditto	1847 : 20 Dec. -	24 Feb. -	- - Steam vessels employed in slave trade.
3	Ditto - - - - ditto (2 Enclosures).	1848 : 2 Jan. -	31 March	- - Quarterly Returns of arrivals from, and departures to the coast of Africa.
4	Consul Porter - - - ditto	1847 : 31 Dec. -	15 ,, -	Ditto - - - ditto.
5	Ditto - - - - ditto (1 Enclosure).	31 ,, -	15 ,, -	- - Great increase of slave trade.
6	Ditto - - - - ditto	1848 : 28 Jan. -	15 ,, -	- - Denial of report of steamers being fitted for slave trade at Bahia.
7	Pro-Consul Krausé - - ditto	24 ,, -	25 Feb. -	- - No slave trade at Paraiba in 1847.
8	Consul Ryan - - - - ditto	1847 : 31 Dec. -	31 March	- - Report on slave trade at Pará.
9	Consul Cowper - - - ditto (2 Enclosures).	1 Feb. -	20 ,, -	- - Quarterly Returns of arrivals from, and departures to the coast.

Foreign Office, 18 April 1848.

— No. 1. —

(No. 6.)

Lord *Howden* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

Rio de Janeiro, 9 February 1848.
(Received 4 April 1848.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, according to the best estimation I have been able to make, above 60,000 Africans have been imported as slaves into Brazil during the year 1847.

There is no doubt that this frightful number has been greatly occasioned by the concentration of the English naval force in the waters of the Plate; at the same time I learn that never have the slave dealers so perfected all the appurtenances and appliances of their vile trade as at present; never have they so organised the whole range of shore signals from
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Appendix.

St. Katharine's to Bahia, nor established such facilities for landing their cargoes, as now; and I am afraid I may add with perfect truth, that never was the toleration, not to say co-operation, of this Government, more open than at the present moment.

It is a well-known fact here that a vessel belonging to this port made five voyages to the coast during the last year, and landed in safety all her cargoes; at a moderate computation this single ship must have brought from 2,000 to 3,000 slaves.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Howden.*

— No 2. —

Mr. Acting Consul *Westwood* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

British Consulate, Rio de Janeiro,
20 December 1847.

(Received 24 February 1848.)

My Lord,

In conformity to instructions from Her Majesty's Minister at this Court, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that there are now two steam vessels regularly employed in the slave trade, between this port and the African coast, namely, the "Providencia" and the "Thereza," both under the Brazilian flag.

The "Providencia" is a vessel of 200 tons, was built in this harbour, is rigged as a three-masted schooner, with very taunt masts, and square yards, and fitted with paddle wheels; she is 125 feet in length, 21 feet beam, and when last in this port was painted black.

The "Thereza" is a screw steamer of 95 tons burthen, built in the United States, rigged as a two top-sail schooner, with a poop deck, and is easily known by her straight up and down stem; when she sailed from this was painted black with a white streak.

Both these vessels sailed for Africa during last month, and are expected back to this coast about the middle of next month; but I have not been able to ascertain the point at which they are expected to land their cargoes.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood,*
Acting Consul.

— No. 3. —

Mr. Acting Consul *Westwood* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

British Consulate, Rio de Janeiro,
2 January 1848.

(Received 31 March 1848.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith a list of the vessels that have arrived at this port from the coast of Africa during the quarter ending 31st ultimo, and also a return of the vessels which have sailed for the African coast during the same period.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood,*
Acting Consul.

No. 1.

No. 2.

Enclosure 1, in No. 3.

ARRIVALS at *Rio de Janeiro* from the Coast of *Africa* during Quarter ending December 1847.

DATE.	Description.	NAME.	MASTER.	NATION.	Tonnage.	Crew.	Where from.	Pas- sage.	Reported Nature of Cargo.	Remarks.
1847:										
October - 6	Brig -	J. W. Huntington	E. Kemp -	American -	196	12	Zaire -	25	Ballast.	
— - 15	Ditto -	Don Juan	— Morris -	ditto -	369	12	Ambriz -	24	Ditto.	
— - 21	Ditto -	General Rigo	M. J. da S. Reis	Portuguese	300	15	Benguella -	26	Ditto.	
— - 27	Ditto -	Brazil	M. Bevans -	American -	245	11	Ambriz -	17	Ditto.	
November 14	Ditto -	Alcyon	I. J. Sims -	Hamburgh-	200	12	- ditto -	26	Ditto.	
December 2	Ditto -	Casket	H. Woodberry -	American -	183	8	Loango -	28	Ditto.	
— - 5	Ditto -	Alfonsine	A. Lagoustin -	French -	121	10	Beuguella -	28	Ditto.	
— - 25	Barque	Fanny	— Martin -	ditto -	245	13	Loanda -	25	Ditto.	

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood,* Acting Consul.

Enclosure 2, in No. 3.

DEPARTURES from *Rio de Janeiro* for the Coast of *Africa* during Quarter ending 31 December 1847.

Date.	Description.	NAME.	MASTER.	NATION.	Ton- nage.	Crew.	Where Bound.	Reported Nature of Cargo.	Remarks.
1847.									
Oct. 1	Brig - -	Malaga - - -	Charles Benfield -	American	210	9	Africa - - -	Sundries.	
" 22	Barque -	Camilla - - -	Charles Ranch -	Ditto -	336	10	Ditto - - -	Ditto.	
" 30	Schooner -	Alicia - - -	S. Smith - - -	Ditto -	160	6	Ambriz - - -	Ditto.	
" 31	Smack -	Amor da Patria -	J. A. Carvalho -	Brazilian	137	11	Azores and Africa -	Ditto.	
Nov. 7	Barque -	Antoinette - - -	M. Gossien - - -	French -	371	12	Africa - - -	Ditto.	
" 7	Ditto -	Sylphide - - -	— Perindoague -	Ditto -	285	14	Ditto - - -	Ditto.	
" 11	Ditto -	Ceres - - -	C. Higgins - - -	American	249	10	Ditto - - -	Ditto.	
" 16	Ditto -	Cidade da Angra -	J. A. Abvaregui -	Brazilian	340	16	Azores and Africa -	Ditto.	
" 18	Brig - -	Umbelina - - -	J. J. dos Santos -	Ditto -	204	13	- Ditto - - -	Ballast.	
" 25	Steamer -	Providencia - - -	F. C. M. Herpin -	Ditto -	180	29	- Ditto - - -	Ditto.	
" 25	Brig - -	Indiano - - -	H. L. Marques -	Portuguese	200	15	Benguella - - -	Goods.	
" 27	Brigantine	St. Joze - - -	F. da C. Sampaio -	Brazilian	126	15	Azores and Africa -	Ballast.	
" 27	Brig - -	27 de Abril - - -	J. de Faria - - -	Portuguese	313	17	Benguella and Angola	Sundries.	

(signed) *John J. C. Westwood*, Acting Consul

— No. 4. —

(No. 13.)

Mr. Consul *Porter* to Viscount *Palmerston*.British Consulate, Bahia, 31 December 1847.
(Received 15 March 1848.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying Lists, Nos. 1 and 2, of the trade between this port and the coast of Africa, for the quarter ending this day.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Edward Porter*, Consul.

Appendix.

Enclosure 1, in No. 4.

LIST of VESSELS which have entered the Port of Bahia from the Coast of Africa, during the Quarter ending 31 December 1847.

No.	Date of Entry.	Nation.	Class.	Name.	Tons.	Crew.	Master.	Owner.	Cargo.	Whence.	Days Out.	REMARKS.
1	17 October	Brazilian	Schooner	Adelaide	166	10	Leandro Roiz	Not known	Ballast	Coast of Africa	-	Landed 500 slaves.
2	17	Ditto	Polacca	Bella Miguelena	268	16	J. A. Goncalvez	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	-	Landed 800 slaves.
3	17	French	Brig	Saphir	251	12	F. Allaz	Ditto	Ditto	Onim	31	
4	19	Brazilian	Patache	Angro	-	11	M. M. Vaz de Conção	Ditto	Ditto	Ajuda	26	Landed 260 slaves.
5	21	Ditto	Yacht	Principe d'Onim	118	9	T. Neville	Jose J. d'Alm ^a	Sundries	Sierra Leone	22	- 36 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
6	24	Ditto	Brigantine	Josephina	174	32	M. F. da Azendo	Not known	Ballast	Coast of Africa	-	- Reported from Marché.
7	29	Sardinian	Polacca	Galileo	182	10	E. Solari	Ditto	Ditto	Onim	29	- 12 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
8	29	Ditto	Brig	Eridano	271	11	P. Pittaluga	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	30	- 38 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
9	7 November	Ditto	Schooner	Iride	106	10	L. Guastuvino	Ditto	Ditto	Loanda	21	- 34 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
10	12	Ditto	Ditto	Santo Andre	139	10	N. Margini	Ditto	Ditto	Ajuda	29	Landed 320 slaves.
11	25	Brazilian	Yacht	Diligencia	-	6	M. J. Luiz	J. A. da Cruz Rios	Ditto	Ditto	18	- 23 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
12	7 December	Sardinian	Polacca	Africana	200	12	E. Piaggio	Not known	Ditto	Popô	25	- 23 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
13	12	Brazilian	Yacht	Audorinha	80	17	M. A. João Pereira	J. P. Marinho	Ditto	Coast of Africa	-	Landed 450 slaves.
14	16	Ditto	Brig	Tentativa	247	14	J. Per ^a dos Santos	Not known	Ditto	Onim	53	- Landed 726 slaves; 111 died on passage.
15	16	Sardinian	Ditto	Empirio	227	12	G. Pittaluga	Ditto	Ditto	Gallinas	18	
16	19	Ditto	Ditto	Giudetta	184	11	M. Doderò	Ditto	Ditto	Onim	24	
17	19	Brazilian	Ditto	Dous Amigos	141	17	A. C. da C. Bitencourt	Ditto	Ditto	Coast of Africa	-	
18	19	Sardinian	Polacca	Venettore	209	10	- Campononico	Ditto	Ditto	Onim	25	
19	28	Swedish	Schooner	Teude	248	10	A. G. Silverstolfe	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	23	Landed 450 slaves.

British Consulate, Bahia, }
31 December 1847.

(signed)

Eduard Porter, Consul.

Enclosure 2, in No. 4.

LIST of VESSELS which have sailed from the Port of Bahia for the Coast of Africa during the Quarter ending 31 December 1847.

No.	Date of Sailing.	Nation.	Class.	Name.	Tons.	Crew.	Master.	Owner.	Cargo.	Whither Bound.	REMARKS.
1	1 October	Sardinian	Brig	Empirio	227	12	G. Pittaluga	Not known	General	Coast of Africa.	
2	2	Swedish	Schooner	Tedde	246	12	A. G. Silverstolfe	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	- - Slaver, cleared for Prince's Isle.
3	10	Brazilian	Patache	Venus	187	16	M. M. José Cardozo	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	- - Slaver, cleared for Azores.
4	17	Ditto	Yacht	Audorinha	80	19	M. A. João Pereira	J. P. Marinho	Ballast	Ditto	- - Slaver, cleared for St. Thomas.
5	18	Ditto	Brig	Dous Amigos	141	17	A. C. du Bitencourt	Not known	Ditto	Ditto	
6	18	Sardinian	Schooner	Elisa	188	-	M. I. B. Gonçalves	Franç Godinho	Ditto	Ditto.	- - Slaver, cleared for Aracate.
7	3 November	Brazilian	Patache	Maria	144	19	M. I. B. Gonçalves	Not known	Ditto	Ditto	- - Slaver, cleared for Cape de Verds.
8	6	Ditto	Yacht	Maria Augusta	135	20	Loure D. da Silva	Ditto	General	Ditto	
9	9	French	Barque	Socrate	178	10	E. J. Potier	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	
10	10	Spanish	Felucca	Calumnia	34	8	D. Benito Mayol	Ditto	Ballast	Ditto	- - Slaver, cleared for S. Catherina.
11	18	French	Brig	Saphir	251	12	M. Allay	Ditto	Rum, &c.	Ditto.	- - Slaver, cleared for Prince's Isle.
12	18	Brazilian	Schooner	Julia	62	14	M. S. M. Chamusea	Ditto	General	Ditto	- - Slaver, cleared for Prince's Isle.
13	20	Ditto	Ditto	Anagro	82	10	M. J. G. Marinho	Ditto	Ballast	Ditto	- - Slaver, cleared for Azores.
14	22	Ditto	Brig	Bella Miguelena	263	18	H. J. Veira	Ditto	General	Ditto	
15	24	Sardinian	Polacca	Archangelo	182	9	G. Devoto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	
16	29	American	Schooner	Bridgeton	144	8	P. Hellester	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	
17	29	Brazilian	Felucca	Juden Errante	95	12	M. Leandro Roiz	Ditto	Ballast	Ditto	- - Slaver, cleared for S. Catherina.
18	5 December	Sardinian	Schooner	Iride	106	10	L. Guistivino	Ditto	General	Ditto.	
19	5	Ditto	Ditto	Santo Angra	139	11	L. Raggio	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	
20	8	French	Barque	Josephine	244	12	E. Dendeville	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.	
21	24	Brazilian	Brig	Adelaide	166	13	Joze B. da Silva	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	- - Slaver, cleared for S. Catherina.

(signed) Edward Porter, Consul.

British Consulate, Bahia, }
31 December 1847.

(No. 14.)

Mr. Consul *Porter* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

British Consulate, Bahia, 31 December 1847.

(Received 15 March 1848.)

My Lord,

It appears from the Slave Returns which I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship, that 3,500 slaves have been landed in the vicinity of this city during the quarter ending this day, being the largest importation that has taken place during a like period for the last eight years.

The enclosed statement shows the number of slaves annually imported into this province since the year 1840, from which it appears that slave trade is increasing in a great degree, which may be accounted for by the great temptation now held out to individuals to embark in this traffic, as small shares can be obtained in the companies established here for that purpose.

Vessels are frequently arriving from the Mediterranean and the United States, which are bought by the above-mentioned companies, and sent to the coast of Africa under the flag of the nation to which they originally belonged, changing it to that of Brazil when in the act of receiving slaves on board.

A lamentable instance of this practice occurred lately with the American brig "George," which sailed hence for Africa on the 29th August last, returning hither on the 16th instant under Brazilian colours, and the name of "Tentativa," landing a cargo of 726 slaves in a miserable state of starvation, 111 poor creatures having perished on the passage from deficiency of water and provisions.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Edward Porter*, Consul.

Enclosure in No. 5.

STATEMENT of the Number of SLAVES imported into the Province of *Bahia*, during the Years 1840 to 1847.

	SLAVES.
1840 - - - - -	1,413
1841 - - - - -	1,470
1842 - - - - -	2,520
1843 - - - - -	3,111
1844 - - - - -	6,501
1845 - - - - -	5,582
1846 - - - - -	7,354
1847 - - - - -	10,064

British Consulate, Bahia, }
31 December 1847. }

(signed) *Edward Porter*, Consul.

(No. 1.)

Mr. Consul *Porter* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

British Consulate, Bahia, 23 January 1848.

(Received 15 March 1848.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Lordship a copy of a paragraph which appeared in the "Watchman" newspaper of 24th November 1847, namely, "that three steamers, with engines from 200 to 300 horse power, have been fitted at Bahia for the slave trade. One of them has already arrived on the west coast of Africa, where she embarked 900 slaves, and escaped from the brig of war 'Sealark,' by steaming away from her during a calm."

I beg leave to state to your Lordship that no steamers have been built or fitted at this place, neither have any sailed hence for the coast of Africa.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Edward Porter*, Consul.

— No. 7. —

(No. 2.)

Mr. Pro-Consul *Krausé* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

British Consulate, Paraiba, 24 January 1848.

(Received 25 February 1848.)

My Lord,

I HAVE to report that during the year 1847 no vessel sailed for the coast of Africa from any port within the district of this consulate; nor have any arrived from thence within the said period. I am not aware that any new slaves have been brought into this province by land during the last year; but many slaves have been sent southward for sale, or in payment.

The following note shows an increase in the amount of exports as compared with that of the preceding year:—

		<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Cwt.</i>	<i>Qrs.</i>	<i>Lbs.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sugar	- - - -	1,265	8	0	24	equal to	19,590	13	-
Cotton	- - - -	552	5	1	12	,,	35,414	12	3

There have been no changes in the laws or regulations with regard to slaves within the year.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Henry Krausé*, Pro-Consul.

— No. 8. —

(No. 8.)

Mr. Consul *Ryan* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

British Consulate, Pará, 31 December 1847.

(Received 31 March 1848.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that no slaves from any quarter have arrived here since my last quarterly report; but a reported slave merchant, a resident at Rio de Janeiro, visited this place some few months ago, with the view, it is said, of making contracts for the supply of those that he could find purchasers for here and at Maranham, and after he left this a report was spread that two slave ships might be expected on this coast.

I lost no time, my Lord, in communicating this report to Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Rio de Janeiro, requesting his Lordship to communicate the contents of my despatch to Her Majesty's naval commander on the Brazilian station.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Richard Ryan*, Consul.

— No. 9. —

(No. 1.)

Mr. Consul *Cowper* to Viscount *Palmerston*.

British Consulate, Pernambuco, 1 February 1848.

(Received 20 March 1848.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship my quarterly return of the number of vessels which have arrived here from the coast of Africa, or sailed hence with that destination, during the three months ending the 31st December 1847.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. Augustus Cowper*, Consul.

Enclosure 1, in No. 9.

LIST of ARRIVALS of Vessels suspected of being employed in SLAVE TRADE at *Pernambuco* and its Vicinity from the Coasts of *Africa*, during the Quarter ending the 31st December 1847.

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Owner or Consignee.	Rig.	Tonnage.	Nation.	From whence.	CARGO.
1847: 20 November	"União"	Domingos Gomes Soapes.	Gand° A. de Barros	Pataxo	104	Brazilian	Angola	- - - Ballast.

Enclosure 2, in No. 9.

LIST of DEPARTURES of Vessels suspected of being employed in SLAVE TRADE from *Pernambuco* to the Coasts of *Africa*, during the Quarter ending the 31st December 1847.

Date of Departure.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Owner or Consignee.	Rig.	Tonnage.	Nation.	To what Part of the Coast Cleared for.	CARGO, &c.
1847: 1 October	"Roza"	Jose Fran° da Costa	F. S. Rabello & Son	Brig -	125	Portuguese	Loanda -	84 barrels, 125 tinus = 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons of sugar, 119 pipes, 106 barrels rum.

(signed) *H. Augustus Cowper*, Consul.