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F O U R T H

R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON THE

S L A V E T R A D E ;

TOGETHER WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE,

AND APPENDIX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
10 August 1848.

Martis, 22° 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° die Februarii, 1848.

Committee nominated :

Sir Robert Harry Inglis.	Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Hutt.	Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Gladstone.	Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Edward John Stanley.	Lord Courtenay.
The Earl of Lincoln.	Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Cobden.	Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Lord Harry Vane.	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° die Februarii, 1848.

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

Martis, 18° 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.

Mercurii, 17° die Maii, 1848.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Cobden be discharged from further attendance on the said Committee.

Jovis, 18° die Maii, 1848.

Ordered, THAT Mr. Cardwell be added to the Committee.

Ordered, THAT Sir Edward Buxton and Viscount Brackley be other Members of the Committee.

Lunæ, 22° die Maii, 1848.

Ordered, THAT the Committee do consist of Seventeen Members.

Ordered, THAT Admiral Bowles and Mr. Barkly be added to the Committee.

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FOURTH REPORT.

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, and also their Opinion thereupon:— HAVE further considered the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following RESOLUTIONS:

1. THAT it appears by Evidence laid before this Committee, that the state of the African Slave Trade with relation to America at the undermentioned periods, was, as far as can be ascertained, as follows:

No. 1.

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been Exported and Imported Westward from *Africa*, from 1788 to 1840.

DATE.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Portuguese Colonies.	Imported into other Countries.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.	Loss by Casualties (again stated).	TOTAL (as at first).
		Average Proportion.	Amount.						
In 1788 - -	100,000	14 per cent.	14,000	25,000	18,000	44,000	86,000	14,000	100,000
1798 to 1805	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	20,000	38,000	73,000	12,000	85,000
1805 to 1810	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	25,000	33,000	73,000	12,000	85,000
1810 to 1815	93,000	14 "	13,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	80,000	13,000	93,000
1815 to 1817	106,600	25 "	26,600	32,000	31,000	17,000	80,000	26,600	106,600
1817 to 1819	106,600	25 "	26,600	34,000	34,000	12,000	80,000	26,600	106,600
1819 to 1825	103,000	25 "	25,800	39,000	37,000	1,200	77,200	25,800	103,000
1825 to 1830	125,000	25 "	31,000	40,000	50,000	4,000	94,000	31,000	125,000
1830 to 1835	78,500	25 "	19,600	40,000	15,000	3,900	58,900	19,600	78,500
1835 to 1840	135,800	25 "	33,900	29,000	65,000	7,900	101,900	33,900	135,800

No. 2.

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been annually Exported and Imported Westward from *Africa*, from 1840 to 1848.

DATE.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Brazil.	Captured by Cruisers.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.	Loss by Casualties (again stated).	TOTAL (as at first).
		Average Proportion.	Amount.						
1840 - - -	64,114	25 per cent.	16,068	14,470	30,000	3,616	48,086	16,028	64,114
1841 - - -	45,097	25 "	11,274	11,857	16,000	5,966	33,823	11,274	45,097
1842 - - -	28,400	25 "	7,100	3,150	14,200	3,950	21,300	7,100	28,400
1843 - - -	55,062	25 "	13,765	8,000	30,500	2,797	41,297	13,765	55,062
1844 - - -	54,102	25 "	13,525	10,000	26,000	4,577	40,577	13,525	54,102
1845 - - -	36,758	25 "	9,189	1,350	22,700	3,519	27,569	9,189	36,758
1846 - - -	76,117	25 "	19,029	1,700	52,600	2,788	57,088	19,029	76,117
1847 - - -	84,356	25 "	21,089	1,500	57,800	3,967	63,267	21,089	84,356

Foreign Office Reports, and Bandinel's Abstract.

2. THAT during the progress of the present year the Slave Trade has been in a state of unusual vigour and activity. 3967. 4782, 4783.
4985. 5308.

*

* It was the wish of the Committee that a Resolution should have been reported exhibiting the number of slave vessels which have been captured in any part of the world since 1839, but from the impossibility of obtaining the necessary information without a considerable delay, such Resolution does not appear.

4114. 4602. 5589.
5590.

3. THAT from the end of the year 1845, down to the present period, the strength and efficiency of the British Preventive Squadron have been raised to a point never before attained, and that Squadron has been supported by the Squadrons of France and the United States, according to treaties.

Foreign Office Reports,
and Bandinel's
Abstract.

4. THAT the total number of Negroes liberated by British cruisers in the years 1846 and 1847, scarcely exceeded four per cent. of the Slaves carried off from Africa in those years, as estimated according to the Table affixed to the 1st Resolution.

4103. 4343. 5354.
Foreign Office Reports.

5. THAT during the years 1846 and 1847, and during the progress of the present year, the price of Slaves in Brazil has experienced a progressive and very considerable decline.

6. THAT the actual direct expenditure connected with the suppression of the Slave Trade, appears at present to be not less than 650,000 *l.* per annum, without taking into account, on the one hand, the share of establishments and charges for the non-effective service, which may belong to this portion of the active service, nor, on the other, the question of what proportion of the naval force it may be necessary to maintain for the protection of commerce.

4109. 4123. 4160.
4945. 5323.

7. THAT the African Slave Trade of Brazil has been attended with very large profit, and that it is now conducted with an amount of organization, and with a degree of confidence in the success of its adventures, such as have never been before opposed to the efforts of the nations engaged in suppressing it.

2884. 2923. 3319.
3324. 3325.

8. THAT the extent and activity of the African Slave Trade, though in some degree affected by foreign interference, and at times restrained by the exertions of the governments of Cuba and Brazil, have been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave labour in the markets of Europe.*—(Mr. *Barkly.*)

9. That the admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has tended, by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African Slave Trade, as to render an effectual check more difficult of attainment than at any former period.—(Mr. *Barkly.*)

1469. 1485.
2885-6-7-8-9-90.
3409. 4135-6. 4148.
4648.

10. THAT the sufferings and mortality of slaves in the barracoons and in the middle passage are appalling to humanity, and the intensity of the sufferings, and the amount of the mortality, are unexampled in the history of the Slave Trade.

11. THAT in the uncertainty under which the Committee labour whether any recommendations which they might make would be accepted by the Government and Parliament, they have not thought it advisable to take into consideration at this late period of the Session an alteration of the policy heretofore pursued for the suppression of the Slave Trade. The Committee have been induced to adopt this course from a wish not to weaken or embarrass the
Executive

* COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the Extent of the SLAVE TRADE at different Periods from Mr. *Bandinel's* Table, and of the Prices of ordinary Havanna Sugar, as given in Parliamentary Return No. 400, Session 1848.

DATE.	Average Price of Sugar per Cwt.		Rise.	Fall.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Increase in Slave Trade.	Decrease in Slave Trade.
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>					
1820 to 1825 - -	31	-	-	-	103,000	-	-
1825 to 1830 - -	34	6	9 p' cent.	-	125,000	21 p' cent.	-
1830 to 1835 - -	24	8	-	29 p' cent.	78,000	-	37 p' cent.
1835 to 1840 - -	29	3	19 p' cent.	-	135,000	73 p' cent.	-
1840 - - - -	25	4	-	13 p' cent.	64,114	-	53 p' cent.
1841 to 1844 - -	21	1	-	17 p' cent.	45,665	-	29 p' cent.
1845 to 1847 - -	25	7	18 p' cent.	-	65,743	44 p' cent.	-

Executive Government during the recess, but they cannot conclude without urging upon the immediate attention of the Government the difficulties and embarrassments which attach to the present position of the subject.—(Lord *H. Vane*.)

12. THAT the Committee is of opinion that it is expedient that this Committee should be re-appointed at the commencement of the next Session of Parliament.—(Lord *H. Vane*.)

10 August 1848.

 PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Mercurii, 1^o die Martii, 1848.

Present :

Lord H. Vane.
Mr. Hutt.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord Courtenay.

Mr. Jackson.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Lord Lincoln.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Hutt called to the Chair.

Committee deliberate on their course of proceeding.

[Adjourned till Tuesday next, at Twelve o'clock.]

Martis, 18^o die Aprilis, 1848.

Present :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Simeon.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. E. J. Stanley.

Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Courtenay.
Lord Lincoln.

Resolved, That the Chairman be instructed to move The House for leave to Report from time to time.

[Adjourned till Thursday, May 4th, at Twelve.]

Jovis, 4^o die Maii, 1848.

Present :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Lord John Hay.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. E. Denison.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Simeon.

Colonel Thompson.
Mr. B. Baring.
Mr. Gladstone.
Lord Courtenay.

Chairman instructed to Report the Evidence up to the 18th April inclusive.

[Adjourned till Tuesday next, at Twelve o'clock.]

Martis, 30^o die Maii, 1848.

Present :

Mr. JACKSON called to the Chair, *pro tempore*.

Mr. Barkly.
Colonel Thompson.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Admiral Bowles.

Mr. Jackson.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Lord H. Vane.
Mr. Cardwell.

Chairman instructed to Report the Evidence to 25th May inclusive.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at Twelve.]

Jovis, 25° die Julii, 1848.

Present :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Barkly.
Sir Robert H. Inglis.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.

Lord Brackley.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Gladstone.
Earl of Lincoln.
Lord Harry Vane.

Resolutions to be proposed by the *Chairman*,

Resolutions to be proposed by Mr. *Cardwell*,

Resolutions to be proposed by Sir *Robert H. Inglis*,

And Resolutions to be proposed by Mr. *Barkly*, instead of Resolutions proposed by the Chairman, severally read, and ordered to be printed.

Letter from Captain Denman, dated 14 July 1848, directed to William Hutt, esq., read.

Motion made and question proposed, "That the said letter be printed in the Appendix."
—(Sir *Robert H. Inglis*.)

Question put.

The Committee divided :

Ayes, 4.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir E. Buxton.
Lord Brackley.

Noes, 9.
Lord H. Vane.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Barkly.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. E. Denison.

Chairman instructed to report the remainder of the Evidence.

List of treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade, concluded by Great Britain with native chiefs of Africa, as far as is known at the Foreign Office, read, and ordered to be printed.

[Adjourned to Tuesday next, at Eleven o'clock.]

Martis, 1° die Augusti, 1848.

Present :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Jackson.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Barkly.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Courtenay.

Mr. Denison.
Lord Brackley.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.
Sir E. Buxton.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord Lincoln.

Resolutions as proposed by the Chairman, Sir R. H. Inglis, Mr. Barkly, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. M. Milnes, and Admiral Bowles respectively, were read a first time, as follows :

RESOLUTIONS proposed by the *Chairman*.

Resolved,—

1. THAT it appears by Evidence laid before this Committee, that the state of the African Slave Trade with relation to America at the undermentioned periods, was, as far as can be ascertained, as follows :

No. 1.

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been Exported and Imported Westward from *Africa*, from 1788 to 1840.

D A T E.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Portuguese Colonies.	Imported into other Countries.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.	Loss by Casualties (again stated).	TOTAL (as at first).	
		Average Proportion.	Amount.							
In 1788 - -	100,000	14 per cent.	14,000	25,000	18,000	44,000	86,000	14,000	100,000	
Yearly Average from	1798 to 1805	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	20,000	38,000	73,000	12,000	85,000
	1805 to 1810	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	25,000	33,000	73,000	12,000	85,000
	1810 to 1815	93,000	14 "	13,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	80,000	13,000	93,000
	1815 to 1817	106,600	25 "	26,600	32,000	31,000	17,000	80,000	26,600	106,600
	1817 to 1819	106,600	25 "	26,600	34,000	34,000	12,000	80,000	26,600	106,600
						Captured by Cruisers.				
1819 to 1825	103,000	25 "	25,800	39,000	37,000	1,200	77,200	25,800	103,000	
1825 to 1830	125,000	25 "	31,000	40,000	50,000	4,000	94,000	31,000	125,000	
1830 to 1835	78,500	25 "	19,600	40,000	15,000	3,900	58,900	19,600	78,500	
1835 to 1840	135,800	25 "	33,900	29,000	65,000	7,900	101,900	33,900	135,800	

No. 2.

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been annually Exported and Imported Westward from *Africa*, from 1840 to 1848.

D A T E.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Brazil.	Captured by Cruisers.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.	Loss by Casualties (again stated).	TOTAL (as at first).
		Average Proportion.	Amount.						
1840 - - -	64,114	25 per cent.	16,068	14,470	30,000	3,616	48,086	16,028	64,114
1841 - - -	45,097	25 "	11,274	11,857	16,000	5,966	33,823	11,274	45,097
1842 - - -	28,400	25 "	7,100	3,150	14,200	3,950	21,300	7,100	28,400
1843 - - -	55,062	25 "	13,765	8,000	30,500	2,797	41,297	13,765	55,062
1844 - - -	54,102	25 "	13,525	10,000	26,000	4,577	40,577	13,525	54,102
1845 - - -	36,758	25 "	9,189	1,350	22,700	3,519	27,569	9,189	36,758
1846 - - -	76,117	25 "	19,029	1,700	52,600	2,788	57,088	19,029	76,117
1847 - - -	84,356	25 "	21,089	1,500	57,800	3,967	63,267	21,089	84,356

3967. 4782. 4783.
4985. 5308.

2. That during the progress of the present year the Slave Trade has been in a state of unusual vigour and activity.

4114. 4602. 5589,
5590.

3. That from the end of the year 1845, down to the present period, the strength and efficiency of the preventive squadron have been raised to a point never before attained.

Foreign Office Reports,
and Bandinel's
Abstract.

4. That the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers in the years 1846 and 1847, scarcely exceeded four per cent. of the slaves carried off from Africa in those years, as estimated according to the Table affixed to the first Resolution.

4103. 4343. 5354.
Foreign Office Reports.

5. That during the years 1846 and 1847 the price of slaves in Brazil experienced a progressive and very considerable decline.

6. That the actual direct expenditure connected with the suppression of the Slave Trade appears at present to be not less than 650,000 *l.* per annum, without taking into account, on the one hand, the share of establishments and charges for the non-effective service which may belong to this portion of the active service, nor, on the other, the question of what proportion of the naval force it may be necessary to maintain for the protection of commerce.4109. 4123. 4160.
4945. 5323.

7. That the African Slave Trade of Brazil has been attended with very large profit, and that it is now conducted with an amount of organization, and animated with a degree of confidence in the success of its adventures, such as have never been before opposed to the efforts of the nations engaged in suppressing it.

2824. 2923. 3319.
3324. 3325.

8. That the extent and activity of the Slave Trade of Brazil, though slightly affected by foreign interference, have been mainly governed by the circumstances of that country.

2389. 2393. 2865,
2866. 3319. 3320.
3742.

9. That the African Slave Trade of Cuba, when kept down at all, has been kept down almost exclusively by the exertions of the government of that island.

1469. 1485.
2885-6-7-8-9-90.
3409. 4135-6. 4148.
4648.

10. That the sufferings and mortality by which the Slave Trade is now attended are appalling to humanity, and are unexampled in the history of that horrible traffic.

2274. 3418. 3786.
3906. 3970. 4149.
4205. 4793. 4958.
5342. 5426. 5584.
5714. 5994.

11. That a large portion of such sufferings and mortality is occasioned by armed interference, and that the miseries of the deported Africans seem to increase proportionately with the expedients resorted to for suppressing the Slave Trade.

3774. 3777. 3980.
4184. 4607. 4613.
4530. 5033. 5034.
5071. 5578.

12. That a long and large experience of attempts at forcible suppression leads to the conclusion that to put down the Slave Trade by a marine guard is impracticable, and condemns the assumption that the best means which Great Britain can adopt for the final extinction of the Slave Trade are to be found in any modification of such a policy.

13. That

13. That although the sanitary condition of the British fleet employed on the coast of Africa has recently much improved, yet the nature and circumstances of the service must always expose such force to very serious loss of health and life. 3683. 3686. 4659, 4660. 5225.
14. That the extension of legitimate commerce, and of other civilizing influences in Africa, would necessarily tend to divert the population of that continent from trafficking in their fellow-creatures. 5073- 5743- et passim.
15. That, at some parts of the coast, and of the interior of Africa, there are large bodies of men disposed of their own free will to emigrate to the British colonies as labourers for a period of service. 2130. 2879. 2995- 3175. 3880. 4047- 5081. 5820. 5833.
16. That the occasional return of such labourers to Africa, after the expiration of their service, would be calculated to promote further emigration from Africa, as well as to develop the resources and to advance the social improvement of that continent. 2984, 2985. 2989. 3001. 4425. 4751. 5080. 5990.
17. That so long as there shall co-exist in Cuba and Brazil a great demand for tropical productions and large tracts of uncultivated and fertile land, with an insufficiency of labour, it will be extremely difficult, if not practically impossible, to prevent the importation into those countries of labour from Africa. 2862, 2863, 2864. 3462. 5366. 5412.
18. That it is of the highest importance to the interests of humanity that the demand for labour in Cuba and Brazil should be supplied by free emigration from Africa, rather than by the Slave Trade. 3464. 4417-18-19, 4420-1-2-3-4-5. 5413.
19. That there is ground to hope that the governments of Cuba and Brazil would not be unwilling to convert the supply of labour now furnished by the Slave Trade into a free emigration, under provident and humane regulations. 247. 3337. 3387- 4384, 4385. 5409- 5411. 5413. 5503- 5507. 5515, 5516.
20. That so long as the Slave Trade shall be pursued by Cuba and Brazil, it is highly expedient, on the ground of humanity, that the cultivation of the British West Indies should be maintained, and their prosperity promoted and secured; and that, with a view to successful competition with slave-trading states, as well as to other considerations, it is desirable that the British Government should extend to those colonies every aid towards cultivation which is consistent with the principles of just and established commercial policy, and should remove all restrictions to the formation of engagements with African labourers, except such as are absolutely necessary to secure their perfect freedom and general welfare. 2874-5-6-7-8. 3473. 4183-4-5-6-7. 4959, 4960. 5164. 5458.

RESOLUTIONS proposed by Sir R. H. Inglis.

1. THAT the Parliament of the United Kingdom, after repeated struggles with varying success, passed an Act in 1807, abolishing for ever, on the part of any of the subjects of the Crown, the traffic in slaves,—the Bill in its last stages passing both Houses without any division.

2. That this measure was received with cordial and general concurrence by the immense majority of the people; and there is no reason to fear that, at any rate since the Act of Emancipation, any one slave has been introduced into any one British colony.

3. That while the Imperial Parliament prohibited the subjects of the Crown from continuing or engaging in the traffic in slaves, the national intervention was vigorously exerted to check such traffic on the part of other nations, the allies of the Crown:—That in 1813 Sweden bound herself to Great Britain, in consideration of the cession of Guadaloupe, not only to forbid the introduction of slaves therein, or in any other possession of Sweden, but to forbid Swedish subjects engaging in the Slave Trade anywhere:—That 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 beneficial a work, and to prohibit all his subjects from taking any share in such trade:”—That in 1814 the Emperor of Russia was invited to co-operate with Great Britain for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and assented accordingly:—That in the same year, 1814, the King of Prussia was similarly invited, and in the same manner assented accordingly:—That in the same year the British ambassador at the Hague obtained the issue of a decree by the King of the Netherlands, by which (in consequence, as 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:—That at the definitive treaty of peace with France, France 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:—Great Britain in all these instances appearing prominently in the presence of the leading powers of Europe, as the advocate of the abolition of the Slave Trade, without self-interest, qualification, or compromise.

Palmerston, 24.
133.

Bandinel, 3271.

4. That at the great settlement of Europe, which took place at the Congress of Vienna, the efforts of his Majesty's representative were not wanting to induce all the assembled Powers to co-operate with his Majesty in denouncing and practically checking the Slave Trade, as the scourge which had "degraded Europe, desolated Africa, and afflicted humanity."

5. That in the course of 33 years during which the state of Europe remained fixed by the general arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, the Crown of England opened negotiations with 25 different Powers in the Old and in the New World, for the purpose of securing, jointly and separately, their concurrence in the abolition of the traffic in slaves; and with 10, made treaties establishing a Right of Search, and Mixed Courts of Adjudication; and with 13 others, treaties establishing a Right of Search and National Tribunals.

6. That when the cunning and cupidity of man (evading the moral force and intention of treaties, as specially was the case in respect to Spain and Portugal,) practically set at nought the stipulations into which the Sovereigns of those nations had entered with the Sovereigns of this country, for the prohibition of all traffic in Slaves, the Crown of England pursuing its consistent course, framed, and succeeded in inducing those nations to adopt other international measures, especially the Equipment Clause, by which, together with an increased Right of Search, greater facilities were given to the detection of the Slave Trade and to the punishment of the guilt and crimes which it involved.

7. That while England (never forgetting that herself for nearly 20 years after the enormities of the Slave Trade had been publicly denounced, and fully proved by the press and in Parliament, nevertheless continued to inflict those enormities on the people of Africa) felt bound to give time to other nations to obtain analogous information, and to be guided accordingly, the Government of England never for a moment compromised its duty by parleying with the Slave Trade, as if it could ever again be sanctioned by this country; and the people have uniformly supported the Government in resistance to any and every modification by which that trade might be revived.

Moore, 5419.

8. That the forbearance of England has been misapprehended; and while she has abstained from any appeal to arms, for the purpose of enforcing the obligation of her treaties on Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, her other measures for the abolition of the Slave Trade have been regarded as proceeding either from jealousy of the rising commerce of Brazil, or from a desire to favour her own West Indian commerce; and thus, in fact, her Slave Trade treaties with Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, are the only treaties which she has ever suffered to be violated with impunity; it being the opinion of the Foreign Secretary of England, "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."—"There would be no Slave Trade, because the demand would then be checked." "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." That, under these circumstances, it is therefore the duty of Her Majesty's Government to adopt more stringent and effectual means to induce Spain, Portugal, and Brazil to fulfil their Slave Trade treaties with this country, and, further, to liberate the slaves who, since the date of those treaties, have wrongfully and illegally been imported into those countries or their dependencies.

Palmerston, 66.

Laird, 2962.

Birch, 2420.

9. That in the kindred, though not essentially connected, subject of the abolition of slavery, the people of England not merely supported and encouraged, but stimulated the Government to adopt measures for effecting that object throughout all the dependencies of the Crown, and cheerfully submitted to the payment of twenty millions sterling as a part of the consideration which the slaveholders were to receive from the mother country for the emancipation, first prospective, and afterwards immediate, of the slaves in their possession.

10. That on the 10th May 1838 the House of Commons, faithful to its principles and to its duties, and representing the heartfelt desires of the people of England, passed, *nemine contradicente*, an Address to The Queen, praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to open negotiations with all her allies, for the purpose of obtaining a declaration from all nations that the Slave Trade is piracy.

Treaty of Washington, 9 August 1842, Art. 8.

Treaty of London, 9 May 1845.

Matson, 1650.
1654.

11. That in pursuance of the general duty and obligation to take all needful measures for the suppression of the Slave Trade, Her Majesty entered into a treaty with the United States of America, and subsequently with his Majesty the King of the French, by which each nation engaged to maintain on the coast of Africa a certain squadron for the purpose of suppressing the Slave Trade, vesting certain new powers of search in the commanders of the said squadron and of the vessels composing the same: but it has been stated, that though the "co-operation of France under this treaty is very efficient,"—"there is not much co-operation now with America."

Palmerston, 83.

12. That, both before and since that period, Her Majesty's forces employed on the coasts of Africa have been engaged meritoriously and successfully in endeavouring to check the Slave Trade; and though the amount rescued from the depôts of slaves on shore, or from the holds of the slave ships at sea, has not been commensurate with the hopes of this country, and bears only a small proportion to the number of slaves carried off from Africa and landed on the opposite side of the Atlantic; yet the number of slaves which might have been carried by vessels taken without slaves on board during the last 10 years, * * * "was about 190,000;" and the number, who would in all probability have been carried off if

- if no such check had existed, would unquestionably be far greater;—"the Slave Trade would receive the most enormous increase;"—"the increase would be incalculable:"—"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 an increased number of slaves; those slave traders would, many of them, be pirates as well; all legitimate commerce would disappear, and the whole coast of Africa, and the interior of Africa, would become a scene of violence, of murder, and of every kind of atrocity."—"It is scarcely possible to imagine how many would be sent."—"I think that some 200,000 to 300,000 persons would be shipped from the coast annually, if the trade were left open altogether to the Brazilians;"—"and on the whole, the practical working of the system now in operation for the suppression of the Slave Trade is, in the judgment of the English Government, "satisfactory, as far as it can be, considering the difficulties that have been encountered with reference to our relation with other countries."
13. That while Captain Mansel, R. N., also, who lately commanded the squadron on the coast of Africa, regards it to be impossible "by any means of naval force to suppress the Slave Trade, so long as there shall exist a high demand for slaves on the other side of the Atlantic;" and while the same opinion is expressed by Captain W. Allen, R. N., by Captain Hore, R. N., by Captain Stopford, R. N., and by Captain Chads, R. N., who thinks that the present system, "without in the least diminishing the traffic in slaves, adds very considerably to its horrors;" yet other naval officers who have been engaged in Her Majesty's service on the west coast of Africa, and have had far more extensive opportunities of observation and judgment, concur with Her Majesty's Government in regarding the employment of the squadron as essential for the suppression of the Slave Trade, irrespectively of the obligations under which England is placed by treaty to maintain such squadron for that object.
14. That while the success of the system of naval police adopted by this country has been—to the extent stated by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government, such success has never been denied by any Resolution of either House of Parliament; and has, as already intimated, been repeatedly affirmed by naval officers of high standing and character, examined before this Committee; and is further established by the official Returns of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Rio and the Havana, from 1836 to 1847 inclusive, whereby it appears that the lowest amount of captures of slave vessels in any one year was 20 per cent. in 1838; and the highest amount was 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ in 1842, the proportion having been 56 $\frac{1}{4}$ in 1841.
15. That by the evidence of Captain Butterfield, R. N., it appears that during the time of his service on the coast, between 2 May 1840 and 25 March 1842, the British squadron there employed against slavers is "supposed to have captured, at the lowest rate, three-fifths of the vessels,—the Portuguese naval officers thinking this understated:" and such was the effect of the vigilance of Her Majesty's cruisers at the time, that in the last vessel which was taken (by the "Acorn," in 1842) the 505 slaves who were on board had been 14 months in the barracoons at Ambriz, the dealers having had no opportunity of embarking them; and some of the slave factors, going back with their families to Rio, declared to Captain Butterfield that they "could not keep up the trade longer; that we had ruined them:"—but the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, and the letter of Lord Aberdeen founded thereon, having in 1842 caused a discontinuance of the system of destroying the barracoons, which, if it had been pursued, would have extinguished the Slave Trade—"the very same men who had left the coast of Africa the year before, namely, in 1842, were met by Captain Matson, on their return from Brazil"—men with whom he was well acquainted, and who, he adds, "had before relinquished the hope of carrying on the Slave Trade." In reference to the value of Captain Matson's opinions, it may be observed, that he was engaged in the capture of 40 slavers, about one-tenth of the whole number captured during the last four years of his service; and in his deliberate conviction, after that long experience, "the employment of a blockading force is most essential to the suppression of the Slave Trade on the coast of Africa." "Such force," said Captain Birch, "is the first essential towards the suppression of the Slave Trade."
16. That though there are many incidents in the present conduct of the Slave Trade on the coast of Africa which may have aggravated its horrors,—though the slaves may have been sometimes shipped hastily, and without an adequate supply of water,—cases lamentable in themselves, whenever, however unfrequently, they may have occurred—and though the embarkation of slaves "slowly and deliberately," might facilitate the embarkation also of water and provisions for them, it would involve at the same time, if not "the legalizing of the trade," and thereby a direct encouragement to it, at least a tacit connivance at its continuance, inconsistent alike with the duties of England and the rights of Africa.
17. That while the removal of all the securities provided by Sir W. Dolben's Act for the health and safe conveyance of the slaves whom England formerly exported from Africa has likewise (perhaps in the middle passage) aggravated the sufferings of the unhappy beings who form the materials of this guilty traffic, as it is now carried on by Brazilians and Portuguese,—a trade which the law and miscalled policy of this country once permitted to be legal, being now conducted as a smuggling adventure, pursued in utter recklessness of every consideration except that of lucre,—yet the guilt is no longer upon England; and her duty is rather to increase her exertions, and thus finally to suppress the Slave Trade, than, by withdrawing those exertions, to legalize and authorize the horrors which, under any circumstances,
- Palmerston, 28, 29, 65 and 95.
Matson, 1487.
Carr, 1989.
Palmerston, 2.
Mansel, 4607.
Allen, 996, compared with 1013 and 1019.
Hore, 6026 compared with 6067. 5578 compared with 5596.
Chads' Letter to Earl of Auckland. Paper 0.53—(11).
See Capt. Matson's "Remarks," p. 7.
Butterfield, 532.
Butterfield, 606, 646.
Butterfield, 651.
Matson, 1338.
Matson, 1330.
Matson, 1456.
Matson, 1490.
Matson, 1483.
Birch, 2341.
Questions 95. 105. 88.
Palmerston, 12. 15.
Laird, 2886.
- 623.

circumstances, must always precede, accompany, and follow the forced embarkation of negroes from Africa.

18. That the system of tolerating one crime, lest its suppression should lead to a greater crime, is inconsistent alike with municipal law and with common sense:—"the measures used 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;"—unless the party urging such a reason be prepared to abandon all preventive police whatever, because incidentally it may aggravate crime: the aggregate amount of human suffering in the particular case of the African Slave Trade being probably "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."
- Palmerston, 30.
- Palmerston, 30.
19. That when the operations of the naval force on the coast of Africa were most continuous, the Slave Trade was for a time almost extinguished; and when that force was subsequently weakened by the withdrawal in 1841 of certain ships in aid of the war with China, the Slave Trade revived almost in exact proportion.
- Capt. H. D. Trotter (Brogie & Lushington), p. 6.
- Palmerston, 54.
20. That the maintenance of the naval force of Her Majesty on the coast of Africa is not only in conformity to the obligations of treaties,—“a large French squadron equal to our own being employed on the coast of Africa,” and an American force to carry 80 guns, however distributed, being also, according to treaty, there likewise employed,—but is practically most important, as well to the diminution, if not to the suppression, of the Slave Trade, as to the encouragement of lawful commerce, and the security of the persons and properties of British subjects, which would be endangered by such encouragement to the Slave Trade as the withdrawal of the naval force would imply.
- Tobin, 5747-51. 5777.
- Lilley, 5798.
- Lilley, 5977.
- Laird, 2898.
- Horsfall, 4854.
21. That while, in the judgment of Mr. Tobin, after 40 years' experience, he does not "think it necessary to have a squadron on the coast of Africa to protect his commerce there,"—"never wishing to see one of them,"—and they "never doing him any good;" and while it is the judgment of Mr. Lilley also, who has resided 11 years on the coast of Africa, that "the presence of the squadron is not at all advantageous for the protection of lawful commerce,"—he rather thinks the reverse, other witnesses, more in number and higher in authority, have arrived at an opposite conclusion; some in favour of continuing the existing squadron, others distinctly requiring the presence of some of Her Majesty's vessels for the protection of British commerce. On the direct and palpable effect of the squadron upon that commerce, Mr. Macgregor Laird, of Liverpool, observes, "When the blockading was established in 1837, the palm-oil jumped up directly in a most extraordinary degree;" but he does not mean to express an opinion in favour of the Slave Trade preventive squadron; but only as to the presence of cruisers, as on other coasts, for the protection of commerce. The same opinion is conveyed by Mr. Horsfall. He thinks, "that four or five vessels would answer every purpose, so far as legitimate commerce is concerned, by visiting the different trading rivers every month or six weeks."
- Matson, 1597.
- Matson, 1405. 1415, 1416. 1454.
- Matson, 1577.
- Matson, 1598.
- Matson, again, 1719.
- Matson, 1576.
22. That the presence of a naval squadron on the coast of Africa is "absolutely essential for the protection of British commerce on the coast,—quite independently of its main object, the suppression of the slave Trade,"—is the opinion of Captain Matson, R. N., whose opinion has already been quoted in reference to the importance of the squadron as a direct means of suppressing the Slave Trade. He states, in answer to the question, "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?" He replies, "You could not have less than from half a dozen to eight or ten." In a previous answer he had said: "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 individually engage in the Slave Trade:—And in answer to the question, "Did you often receive application from the merchants for the presence of an English ship of war?" He replies, "Yes; they are always very anxious for it, 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." Another distinguished officer, Captain Birch, R. N., in answer to the question, "Is it your impression, that the opinion generally on the part of those engaged in legitimate commerce on the coast is, that the presence of the squadron there is beneficial to their interests?" replies, "I should say so, most decidedly. I have understood from all captains of merchant ships on that coast that they wish for the presence of a man-of-war." On the same subject, the importance of the squadron for the interests of commerce, Mr. W. M. Hutton, a great African merchant, who has been engaged in the coast commerce for thirty-five years, states, "I should think 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;" and he adds, "Merchants settled on the coast are always anxious to see a man-of-war occasionally; because, though 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 an influence over the minds of the chiefs that is most essential to commerce:" and he never heard any complaint 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 pursuits of their own legitimate trade;" and "under existing circumstances, I think that the force now kept up is necessary;"
- Matson, 1721.
- Matson, 1720.
- Birch, 2359, 2360.
- Hutton, 2588.
- Hutton, 2592.
- Hutton, 2647.
- Hutton, 2595.

necessary ;" both in fact, and from the impression which the withdrawal of the squadron would make, namely, 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 increase throughout the coast of Africa :"—and he closes his evidence with these words : "It would be difficult to foresee the mischief which might ensue if the squadron were withdrawn."

Hutton, 2598.

Hutton, 2648.

23. That while some civilians concur with some naval officers and some merchants in denying the usefulness of the squadron, as a means of suppressing the Slave Trade, others, perhaps the majority, on the contrary, concur with Her Majesty's Government, and with the witnesses whose evidence has been already referred to, in urging the continuance of the naval squadron. Of those who are unfavourable to the continuance of force, Mr. Horsfall is afraid that the preventive squadron will never entirely suppress the Slave Trade. Mr. Thompson states, "It is not to be put down by preventive force, in my opinion." In answer to the question, "Does it appear to you that the British squadron has succeeded in its object?" Mr. Bramley Moore replies, "I should say quite the contrary. Year after year I look upon it that the evils connected with the Slave Trade have been aggravated by our squadron being on the coast of Africa to prevent it,—by increasing the sufferings of the negroes." But other civilians hold a different and a juster opinion: "Were it not for the presence of the English cruisers, the amount of the Slave Trade would be very much increased," is the testimony of Mr. Joseph Smith, a native of Cape Coast, and a merchant resident at Accra. "The withdrawal of the squadron, without any other measure taken by this Government, would certainly have the effect of filling those rivers (of Africa) with slavers, as they formerly were before the Equipment Clause was passed; and all experience has proved that the return of those slavers to the rivers would be very detrimental and injurious to the British trader. It is a very remarkable thing that the Slave Trade annihilated British legitimate commerce at first. 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" (the Coast). But he does not think that the squadron in its present extent, or even doubling it, will ever effectually prevent the Slave Trade. The Chief Justice of Sierra Leone states, that the present cruisers should continue on the coast, and be made more efficient, if possible, specifying in his next answers,—a larger number of vessels, sailing vessels and steamers; and to each of the larger vessels two or three gun-boats attached.

Horsfall, 4851.

Thompson, 5071.

J. Bramley Moore, 5341.

Smith, 2161.

Laird, 2982.

Laird, 2983.

Duncan, 3142.

Duncan, 3147.

3153.

Carr, 1741.

24. That in the judgment of the missionaries, also,—disinterested men, unconnected alike with commerce and the plantations, and bound to Africa by no other ties than those of Christian zeal towards helpless and heathen ignorance—the presence of the naval force of England in order to repress the Slave Trade, and to encourage the liberated Africans whom England has replaced on their native shores, is most essential,—has been proved by the concurrent testimony of the Rev. J. F. Schön, the Rev. E. Jones, and the Rev. H. Townshend.—In reference to the effect of the removal of the squadron upon the Slave Trade, Mr. Schön states, "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." The Rev. Edward Jones, who has been in Sierra Leone since 1831, in answer to the question, "If the British fleet were withdrawn from the coast of Africa, do you think that in those parts of the coast where the palm-oil trade and other trades now prevail, Slave Trade would be likely to spring up again?" replies, "I think almost immediately." "If 60,000 be taken away now," as slaves from the coast of Africa, "there would be treble that number if the squadron were taken away."—The Rev. H. Townshend, who formed the Mission in Abbeakoota, conceives that the presence of the squadron on the coast is a great benefit to the people of Africa, a benefit adequate to its cost in preventing the Slave Trade; and he regards it as "instrumental in protecting legitimate commerce." He illustrates its use in preventing the Slave Trade by stating that the efforts of slave dealers to make use of Badagry as an entrepôt for slaves had been defeated in consequence of the presence of the *Albatross*, one of the squadron, as requested by the missionaries at the place. He says, "I think, if there were no cruisers, there could be no lawful trade;" "and if there were were no squadron, the Slave Trade would be double." "Although a landsman, he has no doubt that a trade, which now has a fleet cruising against it, would be greatly increased if that fleet were taken away."

Schön, 2771.

Jones, 7232.

Jones, 7277.

Townshend, 7772, 7773.

Townshend, 7776.

Townshend, 7795.

Townshend, 7876.

Compare 7882.

Townshend, 7886.

25. That while the preponderating mass of evidence before this Committee proves that it is expedient that an armed squadron of Her Majesty's forces should be maintained on the coast of Africa, in order to check the Slave Trade, "it being quite impossible," in the judgment of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, "to anticipate the extinction of the Slave Trade, if the naval police were withdrawn," yet that other measures than those of such armed squadron, are essential in order to effect this object.

Palmerston, 65.

26. That, consequently, a declaration on the part of all the maritime states of the world that "slave trading is piracy," and would be punished accordingly, would be a certain means of stopping the Slave Trade—captains of slavers having told Captain Butterfield that if the law were so strict that they would suffer death by it, they did not think that 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 should "be hung or condemned to death, I do not think," adds Captain Butterfield, "you would

Butterfield, 586.

Carr, 1748.

Carr, 1750.

Carr, 1762.

Carr, 1855.

Birch, 2268.
See also Capt.
Chads' letter,
0.53—(11 *).

Birch, 2423.

Birch, 2450.

Birch, 2450.

Birch, 2455.

Birch, 2467.

Thompson, 5100.
5104.

5173; 5174.

Palmerston, 136,
137.

Brogie and Lush-
ington, Inquiry,
p. 31.

Capt. Denman's
Paper, First Slave
Trade Report,
pp. 27-30, and his
Evidence.

would ever see a slaver." The Chief Justice of Sierra Leone states that the existing laws are not sufficient to repress the Slave Trade; that no amount of *pecuniary* penalty will be sufficient; and that, in addition to the condemnation of the vessel, he, in his judicial character, states it to be his opinion, that *personal* penalties ought to be superadded;—a personal punishment inflicted by law, independently of the confiscation of the vessel; such punishment being decidedly necessary for the suppression of the Slave Trade; since, as the vessels generally employed are comparatively worthless, the confiscation of them has little effect upon the owners; and therefore the personal punishment of the men would, in the judgment of Captain Birch, R.N. also be a "great thing." "But I believe," he adds in a later answer, "that even any punishment, such as transportation, would be very effectual in putting a stop to it;" and he proceeds to give a fact in illustration, adding, "Latterly the Portuguese Government transport them (the slavers); they make convicts of them, I believe." And he proceeds to state, that still more recently a Spanish Act came in force providing "that the crews of Spanish vessels engaged in the Slave Trade were to be punished;—the captain to have the most punishment." Being specifically asked, "Suppose you had the power of hanging the Captain of a slaver which you had captured, would not that tend very much to put a stop to the trade?" Captain Birch replies, "I believe it would very soon put a stop to it;" and a question being asked, "One life, then, being so sacrificed would in your judgment save the lives of many, perhaps one-third of the slaves embarked?" Captain Birch replies in substance in the course of the next two answers: "Sometimes all the slaves perish on the passage; sometimes the vessels, I believe, go across without one landing; I can mention a case of the *Senator*:"—Mr. Thompson stated that if Slave Trade were made piracy, and if the crews of slavers were subjected to the punishment of pirates upon being captured, it would be one great means of putting an end to the Slave Trade; it might be effectually stopped by it. He does not proceed so far as capital punishment, except with some qualification; he speaks of transportation or imprisonment:—"No people dislike imprisonment more than the Brazilians do;" and he adds, "I am convinced that if they had even an imprisonment of three years, it would cripple the trade very much, if not altogether put an end to it."

27. That therefore one of the most effectual methods of checking, and eventually suppressing the African Slave Trade—the most extensive combination of wrong and robbery which the world has ever seen, beginning in heartless and lawless violence, and continually accompanied by slow, deliberate, and calculated murder—would be to inflict upon the principals in this guilt, if not on all the accessories before and after the fact, a personal punishment in some degree commensurate with the atrocious offence of the criminal, such as perpetual imprisonment, with hard labour, on all the crew of a convicted slaver, and death, by hanging at the yard-arm, of the commander of such slaver;—the offence being already followed by a severe punishment, according to the law of France; and by capital punishment, according to the law of America.

28. That several suggestions have been made both before the Brogie and Lushington Commission, and before this Committee, by the Honourable Captain Denman, R.N., for many years most ably, zealously, and successfully employed on the coast of Africa,—and several analogous suggestions have likewise been made by Commander Matson, R.N., who has had the honour of serving continuously for a longer period on the coast of Africa than any other witness who has been examined before this Committee; which several suggestions, if adopted under certain modifications, would materially tend to the suppression of the Slave Trade.

29. In reviewing the whole case the Committee submit to The House the following practical conclusions:—

Firstly, That, in the first place, it be recommended to Her Majesty's Government, in conformity with the unanimous Address of The House to The Queen, on the 10th May 1838, not merely to induce Her Majesty to endeavour to prevail on all the allies of the Crown to join with The Queen in declaring that the Slave Trade is piracy; since, without even the exception of Brazil, all nations—either before or since that time—have concurred in such declaration, but to endeavour to prevail on all nations to affix a personal punishment upon their subjects engaged in such trade*; and to authorize the cruisers of any nation, sailing under its recognised flag, to inflict summarily such personal punishment upon the captain, or if not ascertained, upon any three other persons serving in any ship found with slaves on board:—unless, of course, such ship shall be on her voyage in charge of a previous captor to some port of liberation.

Secondly, That for the purpose of facilitating the infliction of this summary punishment, and thus suppressing the Slave Trade, it be recommended to Her Majesty's Government to take measures for obtaining from Her Majesty's allies an universal right of mutual search, limited to such portion of the African coast as shall be known to contribute to the supply of slaves; or if such right be refused by any power, say the United States of America, then by the more active co-operation of such power, according to its own laws, in preventing its own flag from being used for Slave Trade.

Thirdly, That it be recommended to Her Majesty's Government to endeavour to obtain treaties with all the native powers of Africa, as well as with the powers of Christendom which have colonies, factories, or settlements therein, by which treaties Her Majesty's forces may be authorized to land on any territory where barracoons for the reception of slaves shall be erected, in order to destroy all such barracoons or other depôts of slaves.

Fourthly, That in the formation of these and all other treaties with the native powers of Africa, whether for the suppression of the Slave Trade, or for the encouragement of lawful commerce,

* There seems to be a personal penalty in the case of American slavers being caught; and there is a punishment by the law of Spain, and perhaps of Portugal, and perhaps of Brazil also.

Palmerston, 52.
58. 138.

commerce, such treaties be not only enforced on such native powers, but be faithfully observed on the part of England;* and that such treaties do authorize the establishment of commercial posts in the neighbourhood of the present slave-trading districts.

Fifthly, That as one of the subsidiary means of abolishing the Slave Trade, there should further be included in the treaties of England with natives princes a power to seize on their waters any slaver, for the purpose of carrying the same to a Vice-admiralty Court; and that after its condemnation there, a certain portion of the proceeds thereof should be delivered to the chief in whose waters such slaver may have been seized: and further, as a means of removing the temptation which is imputed, though little likely to apply, to Her Majesty's officers engaged in the squadron, that all head money be abolished, and a bounty be given on tonnage only.

Sixthly, That the internal improvement and civilization of Africa be prominently regarded as one of the most effectual means of suppressing the Slave Trade; and for this purpose, that the instruction of the natives by missionary labours and the extension of legitimate commerce be encouraged wherever the influence of England can be directed, and especially where it has already been beneficially exerted; and with this view, that the settlements of liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, and the extension of off-shoots from that colony, namely, voluntary settlements elsewhere of native Africans so liberated at Sierra Leone, like the settlement of Abbeakoota,—be specially protected, as disseminating civil improvement, and an abhorrence of the Slave Trade.

Seventhly, That inasmuch as it has been conclusively proved that the whole supply of sugar from the sugar-growing regions of Brazil and Cuba is produced by forced labour; and inasmuch as such forced labour is not provided in those regions by slaves born therein, but is regularly and periodically furnished by successive ship loads from Africa; and inasmuch as such importations perpetuate accordingly all the horrors, by the infliction of which on Africa Christendom has been there chiefly known; and inasmuch as every pound of sugar, being such produce of forced labour in Brazil or in Cuba, which is imported thence into England, is not only a discouragement to the produce of free labour, but is a direct sanction and premium to the Slave Trade itself; and inasmuch as England has for several years cheerfully paid more than 300,000*l.* per annum in maintaining a squadron on the coast of Africa for the purpose of preventing the importation of slaves into Cuba and Brazil, it is inconsistent with common sense to discourage with the one hand at a great cost of money and at a great sacrifice of life, such supply of slaves to Brazil and Cuba, and, on the other hand, to encourage and invite into England the produce of the labour of those slaves, who, independent of the efforts of Her Majesty's preventive squadron, may have been imported into Brazil and Cuba: and the Committee considering that this conduct is alike inconsistent with the national character, and with Christian principle; and having been appointed by The House to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the Slave Trade, regard it as their first and highest duty most urgently to represent to The House that, while they respectfully submit the other considerations hereinbefore set forth, as either necessary or highly desirable for the prevention of the Slave Trade, no such measures can ever be crowned with complete success, or receive the Divine blessing, so long as, coldly and systematically, habitual encouragement is given to the wholesale commission of the sins and crimes connected with the Slave Trade, merely because the foreign perpetrators can thereby supply a pound of sugar at a fractional price below that at which the colonies of the British Empire can supply it by free and honest labour to their fellow-subjects at home.

* See Captain Allen's Evidence, 911; also a Treaty with the chiefs of Iddah and Ibu: "By law and justice, I should say it ought to be broken on their part, because we have not fulfilled our part."

Carr, 1764.
Denman, 384.

Carr, 1778.
See especially Carr.
Townshend.

RESOLUTIONS to be proposed by Mr. *Barkly*, in the event of the Chairman's Resolutions being adopted by the Committee as the Basis of their Report, in lieu of Nos. 8 and 9 of such Resolutions.

That the extent and activity of the African Slave Trade, though slightly affected by foreign interference, and occasionally restrained by the exertions of the governments of Cuba and Brazil, have been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave labour in the markets of Europe.*

That

* COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the Extent of the SLAVE TRADE at different Periods, from Mr. *Bandinel's* Table, and of the Prices of ordinary Havanna Sugar, as given in Parliamentary Return No. 400, Session 1848.

DATE.	Average Price of Sugar per Cwt.	Rise.	Fall.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Increase in Slave Trade.	Decrease in Slave Trade.
1820 to 1825 - -	s. d. 31 -	- -	- -	103,000	- -	- -
1825 to 1830 - -	34 6	9 p' cent.	- -	125,000	21 p' cent.	- -
1830 to 1835 - -	24 8	- -	29 p' cent.	78,000	- -	37 p' cent.
1835 to 1840 - -	29 3	19 p' cent.	- -	135,000	73 p' cent.	- -
1840 - - - -	25 4	- -	13 p' cent.	64,114	- -	53 p' cent.
1841 to 1844 - -	21 1	- -	17 p' cent.	45,665	- -	29 p' cent.
1845 to 1847 - -	25 7	18 p' cent.	- -	65,743	44 p' cent.	- -

That the admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has tended, by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African Slave Trade as to render an effectual check to its atrocities more desirable, yet at the same time more difficult of attainment than at any former period.

RESOLUTIONS proposed by Mr. *Cardwell*, to be inserted after No. 9 of Mr. *Hutt's* Resolutions, in case the Resolutions proposed by Mr. *Hutt* shall be adopted by the Committee as the Basis of a Report.

THAT the system of forcible repression by means of the maritime police of Great Britain and her allies upon the coast of Africa, bears no analogy to the means ordinarily exercised by civil governments for the prevention of crime.

That in ordinary systems of police, the effective check upon crime is not the presence of an officer of justice to prevent in every particular instance the possibility of committing an offence, but is a salutary dread of serious punishment to be inflicted in case of detection upon those who violate the law.

That the penalty inflicted upon persons engaged in the Slave Trade has been practically limited to the particular adventure, in the prosecution of which they may have been seized, and has not exceeded the pecuniary loss involved in the confiscation of the vessel, and the liberation of the slaves on board.

That this pecuniary penalty will form a very small element in the calculations of the trader, so long as the present disproportion between the price of the slave in Africa and in Brazil continues to exist: and that this disproportion can only (if ever) be sufficiently reduced by the successful prosecution of the Slave Trade on a larger scale.

That this pecuniary penalty therefore is in itself necessarily inadequate to suppress the traffic, and that its limited operation is further counteracted by a system of insurance carried on through the instrumentality of joint-stock companies established in Brazil.

That by the treaty of 1826, Brazil agreed to declare the Slave Trade piracy; and that, considering as well the nature of the system itself as the aggravated enormities under which it has been actually conducted, it appears to exceed in moral guilt any other system of organized wickedness which has at any time been recognised by the name of piracy.

That in the opinion of several competent witnesses, the summary infliction upon the offenders of the chastisement they deserve, would be likely to diminish, and might possibly exterminate the traffic.

That this Committee have no means of ascertaining to what extent Her Majesty's Government might be able to obtain the concurrence of the allies who maintain with Great Britain a joint police upon the coast of Africa, in the adoption of measures of punishment adequate to the repression of the offence and commensurate to its enormity; but they can entertain no doubt that Her Majesty's Government, if cordially supported by those powers, would have no difficulty in bringing to a speedy termination a system so disgraceful to humanity, countenanced only by a portion of the Brazilian people, with the connivance rather than the sanction or approbation of the Brazilian government.

That besides the attainment of their common object, the repression of this great crime, the advantages which, as maritime powers, America, France, and Portugal would derive from the opening of legitimate traffic with the Continent of Africa, might reasonably be urged as strong inducements to a decided course of action.

That the present marine guard appears, for the foregoing reasons, to be ineffectual for its purpose, so long as the penalty is limited to the pecuniary loss involved in the particular adventure in which a seizure is effected by the squadron.

That considerable difference of opinion has prevailed among the witnesses, whether the evils occasioned by the futile system hitherto pursued have not counterbalanced the advantages.

That the evils are aggravations of suffering, occasioned by the means adopted to escape the cruisers; viz., greater closeness of packing, want of food and water, and a ferocity of disposition on the part of those engaged in the traffic, exasperated by perpetual fear of, and animosity against, the force directed for their suppression.

That the advantages on the other hand are the diminution in the whole amount of the trade, and of the means resorted to in Africa for its supply, as well as the supposed mitigation of hardship in the treatment of the slaves in the plantations of Brazil, occasioned by their increased value.

That the imports into Brazil are diminished by the efforts of the squadron is proved by the high proportionate price which the slave bears in Brazil as compared with that at the place of export; but, on the other hand, the price in Brazil has sensibly diminished, which indicates a declining efficiency in the means of repression; and there seems but too much reason to conclude that the proportion of those who perish in the middle passage to those who survive to be imported to Brazil, is increasing in consequence of the increased efforts made to escape detection.

RESOLUTIONS to be proposed by Mr. *Monckton Milnes*, in the Event of Sir *R. H. Inglis's* Resolutions not being adopted by the Committee as the Basis of their Report.

1. THAT this Committee, having been appointed "to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the Slave Trade," has taken evidence respecting the operation of the present system adopted by Great Britain for that purpose, and also respecting other plans proposed for that object.
2. That it is with profound regret that Your Committee are compelled to declare, that it results from this evidence that the marine guard on the coast of Africa, at least as at present composed and directed, is not adequate to the execution of that purpose.
3. That it appears from this evidence, that at the two periods of 1842 and 1845, the exertions of the squadron produced an effect on the Slave Trade which, if energetically supported, might have gone far towards its final abolition.
4. That the unfortunate relaxation of Lord Palmerston's policy, and the abandonment of Captain Denman's scheme of repression, led to the frustration of these hopes at the former period; and the alteration in the policy respecting the differential duties on free-grown and slave-grown sugar, unaccompanied by any corrective measures, disappointed the expectations raised at the later date.
5. That this Committee has found considerable difficulty in tracing the other causes of the fluctuations of the Slave Trade, but that they must attribute them in a great measure to the demand for the products of slave labour in the markets of Europe, to the political and commercial circumstances of Brazil, and to the different administrations of the island of Cuba.
6. That the Slave Trade at the present time is in a state of great vigour and activity, notwithstanding the strength of the preventive squadron, and that the venture is covered by a system of mutual insurances among the slave traders themselves; so that the trade has all the excitement of a gambling transaction, with little danger of ultimate loss.
7. That the sufferings and mortality of the deported Africans are very great, and are increased by the severity of the equipment articles; but that these misfortunes must be regarded as the casualties of war, not indeed to be left out of consideration, but to be considered in combination with the justice and expediency of the enterprise.
8. That the measures suggested for the further suppression of the Slave Trade have been, First, the occupation of the coast of Africa by an increased force, and the destruction of the barracoons and property of the slave dealers. Secondly, the punishing the persons engaged in the Slave Trade as pirates, with the consent of their several Governments. Thirdly, treaty arrangements with the chiefs and headmen on the coast of Africa, and the extension of legitimate commerce. Fourthly, the competition of free emigration with forcible abduction.
9. That without some such measures as those suggested by Captain Denman, and confirmed by Captain Matson, the present marine guard can be of little service, the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers in the years 1846 and 1847 scarcely exceeding four per cent. on the number carried off.
10. That without some such measures, the facility of procuring commodities in exchange for slaves is so great, that there is no hope of the Slave Trade being superseded by the substitution on the part of the Africans of articles of legitimate commerce.
11. That the difficulty of execution of any measures of personal severity, sufficient to prevent men of the daring character of the slave traders from engaging in the trade from fear of personal consequences, is such as to leave little hope of any advantage following from such an attempt.
12. That the Slave Trade being unfortunately regarded by public opinion in Brazil with little more disfavour than smuggling in European countries, and the Brazilian government being by its constitution amenable to such public opinion, it is impossible that the Brazilian government could enact or enforce penalties of such severity as has been suggested against slave traders.
13. That the treaty engagements entered into with the native chiefs and headmen in Africa, as long as supported by the presence of a British force, and by the belief that the British Government were determined to suppress the Slave Trade, have been successfully and honestly maintained.
14. That such treaty engagements, skilfully managed, so as to interest the Africans in the production of articles of legitimate commerce on the one hand, and so as to expose them, on the other, to the destruction of all commerce if they refused to enter into such engagements, or were unfaithful to them when entered into, would go far to bring about the final extinction of the Slave Trade.
15. That in fact the alternative of treaties of commerce and friendship, or of the consequences of the naval hostility of Great Britain, should be proposed to every chief or headman on the coast of Africa.

16. That a literally free emigration from any part of the coast of Africa seems impossible, the chiefs or headmen having the power of retaining any persons they please, and being unwilling to let them leave the country.

17. That it is doubtful whether, under any circumstances, any sufficiently large number of free Africans can be procured to affect, in a great degree, the labour question in the West Indies; but that the only hope of procuring them would be to institute such measures as would make it the interest of the chief or headman, by payments in the form of passport money, to permit, if not to encourage, such emigration.

18. That this emigration might be effectually distinguished from slave trading by the establishment of agents, who should certify that such Africans had embarked voluntarily; and by proper precautions being taken on their arrival at their place of destination.

19. That the vessels employed in such emigration should be provided with such papers as would distinguish them from slave traders; or, if considered necessary, by the presence of a surgeon or other accredited officer.

20. That by thus operating simultaneously on the fears and on the interests of the inhabitants of the West Coast of Africa, there is a reasonable hope that the Slave Trade, already abolished along so large an extent of coast, and being confined to the countries of Cuba and Brazil, will be finally extinguished.

21. That Your Committee can in no way take upon itself the responsibility of recommending the withdrawal of the British squadron from the coast of Africa.

22. That the establishment of that marine force is a portion of the great enterprise undertaken by Great Britain in the beginning of this century, solemnly acknowledged in the treaty of Vienna, confirmed by compacts with almost every Power in the world, and consecrated, on the part of Great Britain, by so many efforts, so many prayers, and so many sacrifices.

23. That the withdrawal of the squadron from the coast of Africa would be attended with the most dangerous consequences to the character of this country and the cause of humanity; with a stimulus to the internal and foreign Slave Trade in Africa itself, producing incalculable miseries and horrors; with the certainty of cruel reprisals on the persons and property of British traders, on the part of enraged and revengeful men who have suffered themselves in person or in property from our efforts at suppression; with the probability of the re-introduction of English capital and enterprise into the Slave Trade, in defiance of our laws and of our public opinion; and, above all, with the not unjustified triumph of the enemies of so just a cause, and of the calumniators of the disinterestedness of Great Britain.

CONCLUDING RESOLUTIONS, proposed by Admiral Bowles.

THAT, under these circumstances, Your Committee recommend that such further negotiations be entered into with foreign Powers (and more especially with Brazil), as may appear best calculated to meet the difficulties and impediments which still oppose the final extinction of the Slave Trade.

That, as far as may be practicable, the squadron stationed on the West Coast of Africa should be exclusively composed of vessels being either steamers or very fast sailers; it appearing clearly in evidence that these are the only ones adapted to this peculiar service.

That the propriety of inflicting some severe punishment on all persons taken in the prosecution of the Slave Trade, be considered in the proposed negotiations.

And lastly, That all practicable inducements be held out to the native princes and authorities to afford their assistance and co-operation in the capture of vessels, and destruction of slaving establishments on the coast of Africa.

Motion made and question proposed, "That the Resolutions as proposed by the Chairman be now taken into consideration."

Amendment proposed (Sir R. H. Inglis), to leave out all the words after "That," in order to insert the words, "The Resolutions proposed by Sir R. H. Inglis be now taken into consideration."

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," put.

Committee divided:

Ayes, 9.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Brackley.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Lincoln.

Noes, 5.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.

Main question put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 11.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Brackley.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Lincoln.
Lord Courtenay.

Noes, 4.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.

First Resolution of the Chairman again read.

Question proposed, "That this Resolution be agreed to."

Amendment proposed (Mr. *M. Milnes*), to leave out all the words after "That," in order to insert the words, "the Resolutions proposed by Mr. M. Milnes be agreed to as the basis of the Report."

Question, That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question, put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 10.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Brackley.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Lincoln.
Lord Courtenay.

Noes, 5.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.

Main question put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and question proposed (Mr. *M. Milnes*), "That this Committee having been appointed 'to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the Slave Trade,' has taken evidence respecting the operation of the present system adopted by Great Britain for that purpose, and also respecting other plans proposed for that object; and have agreed to the following Resolutions:"

Motion by leave withdrawn.

Second Resolution of the Chairman again read.

Question proposed, "That this Resolution be agreed to."

Amendment proposed (Mr. *M. Milnes*), after "That," to insert the words,

"it appears from the Foreign Office reports, and Mr. Bandinel's abstract, that at the two periods of 1842 and 1845 the exertions of the squadron produced an effect on the Slave Trade, which, if energetically supported, might have gone far towards its final abolition.

"That the unfortunate relaxation of Lord Palmerston's policy, and the abandonment of Captain Denman's scheme of repression, led to the frustration of these hopes at the former period; and the alteration in the policy respecting the differential duties on free-grown and slave-grown sugar, unaccompanied by any corrective measures, disappointed the expectations raised at the later date."

Question, "That these words be there inserted," put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 5.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.

Noes, 9.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Brackley.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Lincoln.
Lord Courtenay.

Main question put, and agreed to.

Third Resolution of the Chairman again read, amended, and agreed to, as follows :

“That from the end of the year 1845, down to the present period, the strength and efficiency of the British preventive squadron have been raised to a point never before attained, and that squadron has been supported by the squadrons of France and the United States, according to treaties.”

Fourth Resolution of the Chairman again read and agreed to.

Fifth Resolution of the Chairman again read, and amended, as follows :

“That during the years 1846 and 1847, and during the progress of the present year, the price of slaves in Brazil has experienced a progressive and very considerable decline.”

Question, “That the Resolution as amended be agreed to,” put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 9.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Brackley.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Courtenay.

Noes, 3.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.

Sixth Resolution of the Chairman again read, and agreed to.

Seventh Resolution of the Chairman again read, amended, and agreed to, as follows :

“That the African Slave Trade of Brazil has been attended with very large profit, and that it is now conducted with an amount of organization, and with a degree of confidence in the success of its adventures, such as have never been before opposed to the efforts of the nations engaged in suppressing it.”

Eighth and ninth Resolutions again read, and negatived.

First Resolution, proposed by Mr. *Barkly*, again read, amended, and agreed to, as follows :

“That the extent and activity of the African Slave Trade, though in some degree affected by foreign interference, and at times restrained by the exertions of the governments of Cuba and Brazil, have been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave labour in the markets of Europe*.”

* COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the Extent of the SLAVE TRADE at different Periods, from Mr. *Bandinel's* Table, and of the Prices of ordinary Havanna Sugar, as given in Parliamentary Return No. 400, Session 1848.

DATE.	Average Price of Sugar per Cwt.	Rise.	Fall.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Increase in Slave Trade.	Decrease in Slave Trade.
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>					
1820 to 1825 - -	31 -	- -	- -	103,000		
1825 to 1830 - -	34 6	9 p' cent.	- -	125,000	21 p' cent.	
1830 to 1835 - -	24 8	- -	29 p' cent.	78,000	- -	37 p' cent.
1835 to 1840 - -	29 3	19 p' cent.	- -	135,000	73 p' cent.	
1840 - - - -	25 4	- -	13 p' cent.	64,114	- -	53 p' cent.
1841 to 1844 - -	21 1	- -	17 p' cent.	45,665	- -	29 p' cent.
1845 to 1847 - -	25 7	18 p' cent.	- -	65,743	44 p' cent.	

Motion made, and question proposed,

“That the admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has tended, by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African Slave Trade, as to render an effectual check to its atrocities more desirable, yet at the same time more difficult of attainment than at any former period.”—(Mr. *Barkly*.)

Amendment proposed (Lord *H. Vane*), after the word “produce” to leave out the word “so.”

Question, “That the word ‘so’ stand part of the question,” put.

Committee

Committee divided :

Ayes, 11.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Brackley.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. Barkly.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord Courtenay.

Noes, 2.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Another amendment proposed, after "check," to leave out the words "to its atrocities more desirable, yet at the same time."

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
Lord Brackley.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. Barkly.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.
Lord Courtenay.

Noes, 7.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Lincoln.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Noes.

Words left out.

Main question, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Tenth Resolution of the Chairman again read.

Amendment proposed (Mr. *M. Milnes*), to leave out all the words after "That," in order to insert the words "the sufferings and mortality of the deported Africans are very great, and are increased by the severity of the equipment articles; but that these misfortunes must be regarded as the casualties of war, not indeed to be left out of consideration, but to be considered in combination with the justice and expediency of the enterprise."

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Resolution," put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 11.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Brackley.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Lincoln.
Lord Courtenay.

Noes, 3.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.

Resolution amended, and agreed to, as follows :

"That the sufferings and mortality of slaves in the barracoons, and in the middle passage, are appalling to humanity, and the intensity of the sufferings, and the amount of the mortality, are unexampled in the history of the Slave Trade."

Eleventh Resolution of the Chairman again read.

Amendment proposed (Mr. *Cardwell*), to leave out all the words after "That," in order to insert the words :

"That the system of forcible repression by means of the maritime police of Great Britain and her allies upon the coast of Africa, bears no analogy to the means ordinarily exercised by civil governments for the prevention of crime.

"That in ordinary systems of police, the effective check upon crime is not the presence of an officer of justice to prevent in every particular instance the possibility of committing an offence, but is a salutary dread of serious punishment to be inflicted in case of detection upon those who violate the law.

"That

“ That the penalty inflicted upon persons engaged in the Slave Trade has been practically limited to the particular adventure in the prosecution of which they may have been seized, and has not exceeded the pecuniary loss involved in the confiscation of the vessel, and the liberation of the slaves on board.

“ That this pecuniary penalty will form a very small element in the calculations of the trader, so long as the present disproportion between the price of the slave in Africa and in Brazil continues to exist; and that this disproportion can only (if ever) be sufficiently reduced by the successful prosecution of the Slave Trade on a larger scale.

“ That this pecuniary penalty therefore is in itself necessarily inadequate to suppress the traffic, and that its limited operation is further counteracted by a system of insurance carried on through the instrumentality of joint-stock companies established in Brazil.

“ That by the treaty of 1826, Brazil agreed to declare the Slave Trade piracy; and that, considering as well the nature of the system itself as the aggravated enormities under which it has been actually conducted, it appears to exceed in moral guilt any other system of organized wickedness which has at any time been recognised by the name of piracy.

“ That in the opinion of several competent witnesses, the summary infliction upon the offenders of the chastisement they deserve, would be likely to diminish, and might possibly exterminate the traffic.

“ That this Committee have no means of ascertaining to what extent Her Majesty's Government might be able to obtain the concurrence of the allies who maintain with Great Britain a joint police upon the coast of Africa, in the adoption of measures of punishment adequate to the repression of the offence and commensurate to its enormity; but they can entertain no doubt that Her Majesty's Government, if cordially supported by those Powers, would have no difficulty in bringing to a speedy termination a system so disgraceful to humanity, countenanced only by a portion of the Brazilian people, with the connivance rather than the sanction or approbation of the Brazilian government.

“ That besides the attainment of their common object, the repression of this great crime, the advantages which, as maritime Powers, America, France, and Portugal would derive from the opening of legitimate traffic with the Continent of Africa, might reasonably be urged as strong inducements to a decided course of action.

“ That the present marine guard appears, for the foregoing reasons, to be ineffectual for its purpose, so long as the penalty is limited to the pecuniary loss involved in the particular adventure in which a seizure is effected by the squadron.

“ That considerable difference of opinion has prevailed among the witnesses whether the evils occasioned by the futile system hitherto pursued have not counterbalanced the advantages.

“ That the evils are, aggravations of suffering, occasioned by the means adopted to escape the cruisers; viz., greater closeness of packing, want of food and water, and a ferocity of disposition on the part of those engaged in the traffic, exasperated by perpetual fear of, and animosity against, the force directed for their suppression.

“ That the advantages, on the other hand, are the diminution in the whole amount of the trade, and of the means resorted to in Africa for its supply, as well as the supposed mitigation of hardship in the treatment of the slaves in the plantations of Brazil, occasioned by their increased value.

“ That the imports into Brazil are diminished by the efforts of the squadron is proved by the high proportionate price which the slave bears in Brazil, as compared with that at the place of export; but, on the other hand, the price in Brazil has sensibly diminished, which indicates a declining efficiency in the means of repression; and there seems but too much reason to conclude that the proportion of those who perish in the middle passage, to those who survive to be imported to Brazil, is increasing in consequence of the increased efforts made to escape detection.”

Question, “ That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Resolution,” put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 8.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Lincoln.
Lord Courtenay.

Noes, 5.
Lord Brackley.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.
Mr. Cardwell.

Resolution, by leave, withdrawn.

Twelfth Resolution of the Chairman again read.

Amendment proposed (Sir R. H. Inglis), to leave out all the words after “ That,” in order to insert the words, “ while it is the opinion of this Committee that other measures than those of an armed squadron on the coast of Africa are essential in order to suppress the Slave Trade, the preponderating mass of evidence before this Committee proves that such squadron ought to be maintained for the purpose of checking the Slave Trade, and rendering

rendering those other measures more effectual; it being quite impossible, in the judgment of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to anticipate the extinction of the Slave Trade if the naval police were withdrawn.

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Resolution," put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 9.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Brackley.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord H. Vane.
Lord Lincoln.
Lord Courtenay.

Noes, 4.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. M. Miles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.

Further consideration of the proposed Resolution postponed till to-morrow.

The Resolutions agreed to this day, are as follow :

"1. That it appears by evidence laid before this Committee, that the state of the African Slave Trade with relation to America, at the under-mentioned periods, was, as far as can be ascertained, as follows :

No. 1.

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been Exported and Imported Westward from Africa, from 1788 to 1840.

DATE.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Portuguese Colonies.	Imported into other Countries.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.	Loss by Casualties (again stated).	TOTAL (as at first).
		Average Proportion.	Amount.						
1788 - - -	100,000	14 per cent.	14,000	25,000	18,000	44,000	86,000	14,000	100,000
1798 to 1805	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	20,000	38,000	73,000	12,000	85,000
1805 to 1810	85,000	14 "	12,000	15,000	25,000	33,000	73,000	12,000	85,000
1810 to 1815	93,000	14 "	13,000	30,000	30,000	20,000	80,000	13,000	93,000
1815 to 1817	106,600	25 "	26,600	32,000	31,000	17,000	80,000	26,600	106,600
1817 to 1819	106,600	25 "	26,600	34,000	34,000	12,000	80,000	26,600	106,600
						Captured by Cruisers.			
1819 to 1825	103,000	25 "	25,800	39,000	37,000	1,200	77,200	25,800	103,000
1825 to 1830	125,000	25 "	31,000	40,000	50,000	4,000	94,000	31,000	125,000
1830 to 1835	78,500	25 "	19,600	40,000	15,000	3,900	58,900	19,600	78,500
1835 to 1840	135,800	25 "	33,900	29,000	65,000	7,900	101,900	33,900	135,800

No. 2.

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been annually Exported and Imported Westward from Africa, from 1840 to 1848.

DATE.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Brazil.	Captured by Cruisers.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.	Loss by Casualties (again stated).	TOTAL (as at first).
		Average Proportion.	Amount.						
10 - - -	64,114	25 per cent.	16,068	14,470	30,000	3,616	48,086	16,028	64,114
11 - - -	45,097	25 "	11,274	11,857	16,000	5,966	33,823	11,274	45,097
12 - - -	28,400	25 "	7,100	3,150	14,200	3,950	21,300	7,100	28,400
13 - - -	55,062	25 "	13,765	8,000	30,500	2,797	41,297	13,765	55,062
14 - - -	54,102	25 "	13,525	10,000	26,000	4,577	40,577	13,525	54,102
15 - - -	36,758	25 "	9,189	1,350	22,700	3,519	27,569	9,189	36,758
16 - - -	76,117	25 "	19,029	1,700	52,600	2,788	57,088	19,029	76,117
17 - - -	84,356	25 "	21,089	1,500	57,800	3,967	63,267	21,089	84,356

"2. That during the progress of the present year the Slave Trade has been in a state of unusual vigour and activity. 3967. 4782. 4783. 4985. 5308.

"3. That from the end of the year 1845, down to the present period, the strength and efficiency of the British preventive squadron have been raised to a point never before attained, and that squadron has been supported by the squadrons of France and the United States, according to treaties. 4114. 4602. 5589. 5590.

Foreign Office Reports,
and Bandinel's
Abstract.

" 4. That the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers in the years 1846 and 1847, scarcely exceeded four per cent. of the slaves carried off from Africa in those years, as estimated according to the Table affixed to the 2d Resolution.

4103. 4343. 5354.
Foreign Office Reports.

" 5. That during the years 1846 and 1847, and during the progress of the present year, the price of slaves in Brazil has experienced a progressive and very considerable decline.

" 6. That the actual direct expenditure connected with the suppression of the Slave Trade appears at present to be not less than 650,000 *l.* per annum, without taking into account, on the one hand, the share of establishments and charges for the non-effective service which may belong to this portion of the active service, nor, on the other, the question of what proportion of the naval force it may be necessary to maintain for the protection of commerce.

4109. 4123. 4160.
4945. 5323.

" 7. That the African Slave Trade of Brazil has been attended with very large profit, and that it is now conducted with an amount of organization, and with a degree of confidence in the success of its adventures, such as have never been before opposed to the efforts of the nations engaged in suppressing it.

2884. 2923. 3319.
3324. 3325.

" 8. That the extent and activity of the African Slave Trade, though in some degree affected by foreign interference, and at times restrained by the exertions of the governments of Cuba and Brazil, have been mainly governed by the demand for the products of slave labour in the markets of Europe*.—(Mr. Barkly.)

* **COMPARATIVE STATEMENT** of the Extent of the SLAVE TRADE at different Periods, from Mr. *Bandinel's* Table, and of the Prices of ordinary Havanna Sugar, as given in Parliamentary Return No. 400, Session 1848.

D A T E.	Average Price of Sugar per Cwt.	Rise.	Fall.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Increase in Slave Trade.	Decrease in Slave Trade.
	<i>s. d.</i>					
1820 to 1825 - -	31 -	- -	- -	103,000		
1825 to 1830 - -	34 6	9 p' cent.	- -	125,000	21 p' cent.	
1830 to 1835 - -	24 8	- -	29 p' cent.	78,000	- -	37 p' cent.
1835 to 1840 - -	29 3	19 p' cent.	- -	135,000	73 p' cent.	
1840 - - - -	25 4	- -	13 p' cent.	64,114	- -	53 p' cent.
1841 to 1844 - -	21 1	- -	17 p' cent.	45,665	- -	29 p' cent.
1845 to 1847 - -	25 7	18 p' cent.	- -	65,743	44 p' cent.	

" 9. That the admission of slave-grown sugar to consumption in this country has tended by greatly increasing the demand for that description of produce, so to stimulate the African Slave Trade, as to render an effectual check more difficult of attainment than at any former period.—(Mr. Barkly.)

1469. 1485.
2885-6-7-8-9-90.
3409. 4135-6. 4148
4648.

" 10. That the sufferings and mortality of slaves in the barracoons and in the middle passage are appalling to humanity, and the intensity of the sufferings, and the amount of the mortality, are unexampled in the history of the Slave Trade."

[Adjourned till to-morrow, at Eleven o'clock.]

Mercurii, 2° die Augusti, 1848.

Present :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq., in the Chair.

Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Courtenay.
Sir E. Buxton.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Lord Lincoln.
Colonel Thompson.

Mr. Cardwell.
Lord Brackley,
Lord H. Vane.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. M. Milnes.

Motion made and question proposed, "That the further consideration of the Resolutions proposed by the Chairman be proceeded with."

Question put.

Committee

Committee divided :

Ayes, 4.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Denison.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Simeon.

Noes, 11.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. Gladstone.
Lord Lincoln.
Lord H. Vane.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Lord Brackley.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Cardwell.
Sir E. Buxton.

Resolution proposed by Lord H. Vane, read as follows :

“ That in the uncertainty under which the Committee labour whether any recommendations which they might make would be accepted by the Government and Parliament, they have not thought it advisable to take into consideration, at this late period of the Session, an alteration of the policy heretofore pursued for the suppression of the Slave Trade. The Committee have been induced to adopt this course from a wish not to weaken or embarrass the Executive Government during the recess ; but they cannot conclude without urging upon the immediate attention of the Government the difficulties and embarrassments which attach to the present position of the subject.”

Motion made, and question proposed, “That this Resolution be now taken into consideration.”

Amendment proposed (Mr. Gladstone), to leave out all the words after “That,” in order to insert the words, “the Minutes of Proceedings of yesterday be cancelled.”

Question, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question,” put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord Courtenay.
Lord Lincoln.
Lord H. Vane.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Cardwell.

Noes, 7.
Colonel Thompson.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. Gladstone.
Sir Robert Inglis.
Lord Brackley.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir E. Buxton.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Main question put and agreed to.

Resolution again read, and agreed to.

Resolved, “That the Committee is of opinion that it is expedient that this Committee should be re-appointed at the commencement of the next Session of Parliament.”—(Lord H. Vane.)

Question, “That the Chairman be instructed to report the Resolutions of the Committee to The House,” put and agreed to.

EXPENSES OF WITNESSES.

NAME of WITNESS.	PROFESSION or CONDITION.	By what Member of Committee Motion made for Attendance of the Witness.	Date of Arrival.	Date of Discharge.	Total Number of Days in London.	Number of Days under Examination by Committee, or acting specially under their Orders.	Expenses of Journey to London and back.	Expenses in London.	TOTAL Expenses allowed to Witness.
							£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Captain Denman	R. N.	Chairman	20 March	23 March	4	2	4 - -	4 4 -	8 4 -
Captain Birch	R. N.	Ditto	4 April	7 April	4	1	2 - -	4 4 -	6 4 -
John Duncan	Esquire	Ditto	11 April	13 April	2	2	- - -	2 2 -	2 2 -
John King	M. D.	Ditto	8 May	10 May	3	1	5 - -	9 9 -	14 9 -
Thomas King	Merchant service	Ditto	10 May	17 May	7	1	4 - -	7 7 -	11 4 -
T. B. Horsfall	Merchant	Ditto	17 May	18 May	2	1	4 10 -	2 2 -	6 12 -
John B. Moore	Ditto	Ditto	23 May	26 May	4	2	5 - -	4 4 -	9 4 -
Rev. Dr. Lang	D. D.	Ditto	17 May	19 May	3	1	9 10 -	3 3 -	12 13 -
John Lilley	Merchant	Ditto	1 June	2 June	2	1	4 10 -	2 2 -	6 12 -
John Clarke	Baptist minister	Sir E. Buxton	1 June	2 June	2	1	9 - -	2 2 -	11 2 -
William Barrett	Independent minister.	Ditto	28 June	29 June	2	1	4 17 -	2 2 -	6 19 -
								£.	95 5 -

APPENDIX.

Appendix.

STATEMENT showing, as far as can be made out at the Foreign Office, how many of the SLAVE VESSELS which have been Condemned in the Years 1846, 1847, and 1848, have had Slave Decks laid, or Planks ready for laying down as Slave Decks.

MIXED COMMISSIONS.

No slave vessels were condemned by any of the Mixed Commissions in 1846.

One vessel was condemned by the Mixed Commission at Sierra Leone in 1847. She was condemned for equipment. She had no slave deck, or plank for making one.

No vessel was condemned by any other Mixed Commission in 1847.

No account has been received up to the present date of any vessel having been condemned this year by any of the Mixed Courts.

VICE-ADMIRALTY COURTS.

The only other Courts which, so far as is known at the Foreign Office, have condemned slave vessels in 1846, 1847, 1848, are the Vice-Admiralty Courts at Sierra Leone, St. Helena, and the Cape of Good Hope.

SIERRA LEONE.

From Sierra Leone we have returns of vessels condemned, showing whether with slaves or for equipment; but these returns do not show whether the vessels had slave decks, or plank for making slave decks.

In 1846, ten vessels were condemned by the Vice-Admiralty Court; one with slaves, nine for equipment.

In 1847, 26 vessels were condemned; 13 with slaves, and 13 for equipment. And up to the 31st of March this year, six vessels had been condemned; two with slaves, and four for equipment.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

The Commissioners at the Cape send us reports of the cases adjudicated by the Vice-Admiralty Court there; and from these it appears that nine vessels were condemned in 1846; one of which was a boat with four slaves; and three were dhows, two with slave decks and one without. These dhows do not cross the Atlantic; they carry slaves about the Mozambique Channel to meet the vessels which are to transport them. The other five were vessels intended to carry slaves across the Atlantic. They were all condemned for equipment, and all had slave decks laid. One vessel only was condemned in 1847; she was condemned for equipment, and had a slave deck laid.

We have despatches this year from the Commissioners up to May 10. They have only reported one condemnation,—a vessel condemned for equipment, with a slave deck laid.

ST. HELENA.

The Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court at St. Helena sends, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, reports of all slave vessels condemned, which show that in 1846, 44 vessels were condemned. Four of these had slaves on board, and are said to have been fully equipped for slave trade, and probably therefore had slave decks; 40 were condemned for equipment; 33 of which had slave decks laid, and two had spare plank fitted for slave decks. With respect to the other five, it is not stated whether they had slave decks or spare plank, but it must be assumed that they had not; because so important an article of slave equipment would probably not have passed unmentioned.

In 1847, 38 vessels were condemned at St. Helena; three with slaves, two of which are said to have been fully equipped for slave trade, and probably therefore had slave decks; the other was a boat of only 10 tons.

35 vessels were condemned for equipment; 28 of which had slave decks laid; one had spare plank fitted for a slave deck; and six had no slave decks.

During the present year, up to June 8, there have been condemned at St. Helena 33 vessels.

Four with slaves, one of which was a boat of 11 tons; and with respect to the other three it is not stated whether they had slave decks or not, or were or were not fully equipped for slave trade; 29 were condemned for equipment, 25 of which had slave decks laid, and four had no slave decks, or spare plank for making them.

SUMMARY,

Exclusive of Vice-Admiralty Court at *Sierra Leone*; with respect to the Condemnation by which Court we cannot give the particulars required by Lord *Palmerston*.

Year.	Total Number of Vessels Condemned.	Number with Slaves.	Number with Slave Decks laid.	Number with Spare Plank fitted for Slave Deck.	Number without Slave Deck or Spare Plank.	REMARKS.
			Condemned for Equipment.			
1846	53	5	40	2	6	- - Of the five vessels condemned with slaves, one was a boat with four slaves, captured in the Mozambique; and the other four are said to have been fully equipped for slave trade; of those with slave decks laid, two were Arab dhows; of those without slave decks, one was an Arab dhow.
1847	40	3	29	1	7	- - Of the vessels condemned with slaves, two are said to have been fully equipped for slave trade, and the third was a boat of ten tons.
1848	34	4	26	-	4	- - Of the vessels condemned with slaves, one was a boat of 11 tons; and as to the other three it is not stated whether they had slave decks, or were fully equipped.
TOTALS -	127	12	95	3	17	

FOURTH REPORT
FROM THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON THE
S L A V E T R A D E;
TOGETHER WITH THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE,
AND APPENDIX.

*Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
10 August 1848.*

623.

Under 4 oz.