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S E C O N D
R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

S L A V E T R A D E;

TOGETHER WITH THE

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,

AND APPENDIX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
30 May 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. Hutt.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Edward John Stanley.
The Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Cobden.
Lord Harry Vane.

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

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

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

Lunæ, 28° 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.

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SECOND 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;—

HAVE made further progress in inquiring into the Matters to them referred, and have agreed to Report the MINUTES of EVIDENCE taken before them to The House.

30 *May* 1848.

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Jovis, 4^o die Maii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Bingham Baring.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Gladstone.
Lord John Hay.

Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Simeon.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

Captain *Christopher Wyvill*, R. N. called in ; and Examined.

3531. *Chairman.*] YOU have been recently employed on the eastern coast of Africa?—I have.

3532. How long were you employed on the eastern coast of Africa?—Four years.

3533. What vessel did you command?—The “Cleopatra.”

3534. Was the “Cleopatra” a steam vessel?—A 26-gun frigate.

3535. Is the slave trade actively carried on on the eastern coast of Africa?—In two rivers, and the ports adjoining them, the smaller rivers.

3536. Along what line of coast is the slave trade carried on?—The Portuguese settlements.

3537. Is the slave trade confined to the Portuguese settlements?—I should say entirely.

3538. Will you mention to the Committee between what points on the coast of Africa that is comprised?—The whole of it, from Point Uniac to Cape Delgado, that is 800 miles.

3539. Is the slave trade carried on now in any part of the line of coast northward of Cape Delgado?—No.

3540. The territory northward of that Cape is claimed by the Imaum of Muscat, I believe?—The Imaum claims it ; it is mostly independent ; but he has a great deal of power over the Arabs.

3541. When you were first acquainted with the east coast of Africa, was the slave trade carried on in any part of the territory claimed by the Imaum of Muscat?—Yes ; the whole way.

3542. Since what period has it been discontinued?—I should say since the year 1845.

3543. When you left the coast, had you reason to believe that the slave trade was not carried on in any portion of that line of coast claimed by the Imaum of Muscat?—No, not in any, except the Portuguese settlements.

3544. During the time that you were on the coast of Africa, did you find that the slave trade had increased?—It decreased very much at one time ; so much so, that they had six or seven agents from the Brazils at Quillimane, and an American brig, the “Porpoise,” took them all away in 1844. About a year after that the price of a slave was not more than five dollars there.

3545. An American vessel, the “Porpoise,” carried away those agents?—Yes ; they belonged to a company at the Brazils, which found all the money, and when they left, there was such a stagnation from the death of the dealers at Quillimane,

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and also from those agents going away, that the price of slaves fell to five dollars.

3546. In what year was that?—In 1844.

3547. In the following year, 1845, did the slave trade recover at all?—There were several vessels which came there, but it has not recovered to this moment. It is not now anything like what it was then.

3548. In what year did you leave the coast?—I left it on the 1st of January 1847.

3549. Then your acquaintance with the slave trade extends down to the end of the year 1846?—Yes. I took two vessels, and destroyed one in 1846.

3550. But when you left the coast the slave trade there was not so active as it was when you first came on the coast?—I should say in the River Angozha we could not tell what it was, because the vessels were inside, and we had no power of going there by the Portuguese treaty, although there were no Portuguese inhabitants. There were merely piratical people, Arabs, who took possession of it, and used to supply the slaves. It is a very large inlet, and they could go 20 miles up the river.

3551. But although you can form no accurate estimate of the amount of the slave trade there, still you would be enabled to form some opinion with regard to the activity of its proceedings?—I should say, if I were to compare the year 1844 with the year 1846, that there was a very great difference indeed; there was far less.

3552. To what circumstance do you attribute that falling off in the trade?—I think our treaty with the Imaum prevented the slaves being carried to the north. The treaty with Portugal, of 1842, gave us additional powers; and I should consider that the trade had been diminished by the cruisers.

3553. Then you consider that the slave trade that was carried on between the eastern coast and Brazil diminished between the years 1842 and 1846?—Very much indeed.

3554. Did you ever form any estimate of the number of slaves who were carried off from that portion of the coast in the year 1842, to the Brazils?—I should think there must have been perhaps 30,000.

3555. In one year?—In one year.

3556. And they were embarked almost entirely from those two rivers?—And their dependencies. Now and then there was a vessel that went and anchored in Madagascar, but she got her slaves from Quillimane, and they went over to her in daos.

3557. Were they placed in depôts on the coast of Madagascar?—No; the ship remained in a port in Madagascar, and sent to Quillimane for the slaves, and they went to her in that port.

3558. They were carried over in daos?—In daos.

3559. Is the slave trade often carried on by such means as that?—No, I do not think so; I think it is very rarely. I think there was only one vessel that ever took in slaves at Madagascar from the African coast while I was on it.

3560. The slaves are embarked, however, chiefly from those two rivers on the eastern coast?—And their dependencies.

3561. Were the slaves lodged in barracoons in the rivers?—No, I should say not; there are free blacks there, and the free blacks took them for their work, and used to feed them, and were answerable to bring them down to the river in so many hours, from 12 to 24.

3562. Then they were placed in depôts some distance from the coast?—Generally speaking they are brought from 300 or 400 miles up the river, and are sent down to the agents who live at Quillimane, and then they are distributed amongst the free blacks, with the understanding that they shall be brought to the river upon a certain notice, according to the agreement.

3563. But you understood that they were not confined at all during the time they were waiting?—They were sometimes, particularly if they did not embark from the great rivers. If they embarked from the smaller rivers they were obliged to be kept in barracoons, because they were taken away from the black people; they were in chained gangs; but I never saw the barracoons.

3564. Were there slaves ever embarked from the open coast?—Frequently; that is to say in the small rivers; there are a great number of small rivers; they are frequently embarked from other rivers besides those two great ones.

3565. Are

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3565. Are slaves embarked at Mozambique, and also at the River Angozha?
—Not at Mozambique; no slaves embark from Mozambique itself.

3566. Then it is only from Quillimane and the River Angozha?—Those are the principal places. At Ibo, which is a Portuguese settlement higher up, they are embarked; that is an island with a fortification on it, and coral rocks surround it. When they are very much watched to the south, they are forced further north.

3567. Is there any other circumstance, besides the discontinuance of the slave trade by the Imaum of Muscat, to which you attribute the falling off in the slave trade very much?—The strict look-out which is kept upon them.

3568. What was the force employed on the coast when you were there?—Generally, I should fancy, but of course it was not always the same, three brigs and a frigate. I generally had two or three brigs, one lying at Simon's Bay, to refit; I think the general object of the admiral was to put three brigs under my command, and my own frigate.

3569. You attribute the falling off in the slave trade partly to the blockading force?—I consider, entirely so; were the ships taken away from that coast, there would be no difficulty in their supplying, I should think, 75,000 slaves every year.

3570. Do you think that the falling off in the slave trade on the east coast arose in any respect from the facility with which it was carried on from the west coast?—I cannot say that.

3571. That never formed part of your consideration?—No; I do not know enough of the west coast to give an opinion.

3572. Did you make many captures during the time you were upon the east coast?—Yes, I made 11.

3573. Were the vessels of any size?—They were all large vessels; from 140 to 400 tons.

3574. The slave trade is not carried on upon the east coast in small vessels?—They cannot do it, because they cannot pass the Cape of Good Hope; the voyage is too long.

3575. What was the largest-sized vessel which you ever took?—404 tons.

3576. Are the vessels pretty well found generally?—Generally very fairly found; of course there are exceptions.

3577. What number of slaves were taken on board that large vessel?—She was fitted out; she had been fitted out at Rio Janeiro; she had been an American whale vessel; she was bought there and brought the same cargo, an American cargo of whale fittings to the coast, and she was then prepared to take 1,000 slaves.

3578. But she had no slaves on board at the time?—No; we took her when she came on the coast.

3579. Of course amongst the captures which you made, several of the vessels contained slaves?—There were two.

3580. What number of slaves were in them?—One had 444 on board; she was a small brigantine; she was about 140 tons, and was the smallest vessel which we took. There was another that had not her cargo in; she had only 450 slaves on board at the time, but she would have carried 800; she was at anchor, taking her cargo in.

3581. Where was the capture of the first vessel which you have mentioned?—Off Point William, near the extremity of the Quillimane District; she took in the slaves from that river; we chased her 11 days off the coast; she was coming into Quillimane, and she escaped us that night, and we took her 11 days afterwards.

3582. How many days had she been out?—She had only taken the slaves in the previous day.

3583. Were you on board the vessel?—I was.

3584. Did you observe how she was fitted?—Yes, she was very well fitted.

3585. Was there any slave deck?—No; there were only casks with planks to fill them up; it was a loose slave deck, but very badly fitted.

3586. The slaves were lying on casks with billets of wood?—Not billets of wood but planks; it was not a regular slave deck; there were no beams across.

3587. Were they chained?—No, except those who were disorderly.

3588. Were they all men?—No, they were about half grown up, and the other half were children. The sexes were pretty nearly equal; perhaps the male rather the most.

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3589. Did they appear to be in a state of much suffering?—They were very sickly indeed; they had dysentery on board at that time very badly.

3590. They must have been put on board, of course, in a state of bad health?—They had been in one of those small rivers, in a barracoon; they had been waiting there some time, and they had very bad provisions.

3591. Did the slaves suffer much in the course of the voyage from the eastern coast of Africa?—Very much; the cold is too great for them when they pass the Cape.

3592. Did you ever see any instance of a vessel captured in the neighbourhood of the Cape?—Never; I have always been employed on the Mozambique.

3593. How have you become acquainted with the fact that they suffer so much from the cold?—Because we sent a vessel in; it was the vessel with the 440 slaves; and they suffered very much indeed from the cold.

3594. Are you aware whether they suffer from privations of another description, want of water?—No, I think not; I think it would kill every one of the slaves if they had much water; they cannot stand the water; they have only a certain allowance of water, but then their farina is mixed with as much as it can hold. If they were allowed to drink much water it would kill them. I had 50 slaves on board a ship; we had plenty of water. A European surgeon is of very little use in any slave diseases. The Spaniard said, that if we gave them the quantity of water we were doing we should kill them. We allowed him to manage them, and I do not think that he gave them more than half-a-pint a day. Then they have their farina filled with water, but they do not have much plain water; they do not want the water; in short, it brings on dysentery immediately.

3595. Mr. Gladstone.] What quantity of water would they drink in a day in their farina, do you think?—I should think perhaps a quart; somewhere thereabouts. We gave them sufficient to make it in the state it ought to be in; we had no want of water at all; we did it merely to save their health; they were as healthy as possible; they got quite fat on it.

3596. Chairman.] Did you take the vessel which you captured, with those slaves on board, to the Cape?—I did.

3597. What was the length of the voyage?—She had a very bad voyage indeed; she was 55 days, I think.

3598. Did the slaves suffer much?—Very much indeed; we lost a very great number; it was an unfortunate thing that some were suffocated the first night; a breeze came on and they were obliged to put them down in the hold, and a great number of them were suffocated; we lost in that vessel more than any on the coast, I think.

3599. Do you know what number of slaves perished on board that vessel?—I think about 150, and then a great number died after they got on shore, but they were very sickly indeed; they had dysentery to begin with.

3600. I suppose, under favourable circumstances, the loss by death must be considerable in the voyage from the eastern coast of Africa to the Brazils?—I should think one-third; they generally think so, because they take one-third more than they are allowed by their rules, so that they may have the full quantity to land in the Brazils. For instance, if by their tonnage they are allowed to take 400 on board, they will take in 550, so as to have as nearly as possible the 400 that they are allowed to carry.

3601. Do you understand that the slave trade of Brazil is regulated by Brazilian law?—It is not regulated by Brazilian laws, but by the old Portuguese law; it was so, and many of the companies do restrict it, or did restrict it.

3602. Mr. E. Denison.] Which is in force still?—By the rules of the companies.

3603. Chairman.] You used the word “companies;” will you explain what you mean by that expression?—There are several companies in Rio de Janeiro that manage the whole thing.

3604. Slave trading companies?—Slave trading companies; they insure amongst themselves, and they form a perfect company, to lighten the risk.

3605. And their operations are regulated by laws?—By their own laws; by rules.

3606. Are you of opinion, from what you saw on the coast, that it would be possible, by means of a blockading squadron, to stop the slave trade there?—Certainly; but then we must have the law enforced more than it is.

3607. What law?—Our treaties between Portugal and England. By our treaties

treaties we make the persons punishable, but they never are punished. The persons engaged in the slave trade are guilty of a crime equal to a second piracy, and those people are never punished at all; our courts cannot touch them.

3608. Are you of opinion, from what you observed on the coast, that if that alteration were made in the treaty between the two countries, it would be sufficient to stop the slave trade?—Certainly; if they punished the people, and kept up the squadron.

3609. Is the naval force sufficiently large, do you think, to stop the slave trade on the eastern coast with that addition?—I think quite so. If I had to do it I should prefer a smaller class of vessel; I should prefer a vessel which would go inside those rivers, so that the ships would not be taken off the coast, as at present, for provisions and water. And not only that, the slave vessel would not know where we were. If a vessel came off the Angozha River, and we had a boat inside, we could capture her; but we must be outside now; consequently they see us 12 or 14 miles off, and as they are quick sailing vessels, it is a very difficult thing to come up with them.

3610. With respect to the class of vessels commonly employed in the slave trade, were they tolerably roomy between decks?—Some were; for instance, the large ship which I have mentioned had never been altered from when she was on a whaling voyage, where she had the decks so arranged as to put her casks and every convenience for shifting them on her decks.

3611. How did you find the slaves stowed on board the vessel of which you were speaking just now?—They were crowded, but not overcrowded.

3612. Were they lying down?—They could do as they chose, but the slave hardly ever does lie down; he likes to sit; he sits almost like a monkey, with his hands down and his knees up. Altogether they retain the sitting posture; when they are down below, there is a great deal of spare room.

3613. Mr. Gladstone.] How do they sleep?—They sleep in that way; some lying down, but the others sleep sitting up; I have no doubt that many of them keep themselves warm in that way; they will not change their position. Then there are a number on deck, and they do as they choose about it; of course some would be lying down, others sitting, and others in different postures.

3614. Chairman.] They are not sufficiently crowded to prevent their moving at will?—Not the least.

3615. To what circumstance then do you attribute the great mortality, of which you speak, on board those vessels?—In the first place it was dysentery, and then the change of diet; they cannot stand the change of diet; their food has been so different that they cannot stand that, and it produces disease.

3616. You do not attribute it to the excessive confinement, to the numbers stowed on board?—Not entirely; it is bad air; then they have tubs below which they make use of, and which make that air still worse; I do not attribute it to the one thing, the small space.

3617. Do not the slaves suffer very much from want of accommodation, being placed upon the casks?—I should say it is not that which kills them; I think it is disease; I think it is almost like the sheep rot, that when you get it amongst the slaves you can do nothing for them; you cannot cure them; they will not stand any European treatment.

3618. Do not they suffer considerably from bruises?—They do; but that does not kill them.

3619. Mr. E. Denison.] Can you tell us at all how many rivers or places of embarkation there would be upon those 800 miles of coast of which you have spoken?—I should say there would be five great points, with the district rivers to them.

3620. Supposing that those five main rivers were to be closely blockaded, and there were a demand for slaves, could they be carried off from the other points of the coast?—There are adjoining rivers to those where they can, but not further than that; I do not conceive that they could be carried except by daos. Of course by daos you could take anything; the daos could take them, as they have done, to Madagascar, or if they once took them out of the rivers they could take them anywhere. They could not take them round the Cape of Good Hope, but I mean any part of the adjoining sea shore.

3621. Do you think that four vessels could command those 800 miles of coast?—No; I think that they could not command it quite, but I think that the

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slave vessel is obliged to be so long on the coast that you would interrupt her movements so that in time you would effectually put down the trade.

3622. Even if there were a considerable demand for slaves, and a great premium upon obtaining them?—Yes, I think so. Then I should like to have those ships which could go into the harbours.

3623. Though you had the vessels which you have mentioned, and though you checked the slave trade very much, you think that as many as 30,000 slaves still were obtained in one year from that coast?—I think so, in 1842; I do not suppose they got the 30,000 clear away; there were a great many accidents.

3624. *Chairman.*] You do not mean that 30,000 were landed?—Not at the Brazils, but they were taken away from that coast.

3625. *Mr. E. Denison.*] Have you any knowledge whether it would be possible to obtain from that coast free labourers, supposing the slave trade were checked and there were a demand for free labourers, to go to any part of the world?—I should say not; these all came from the interior; you could not get them from the coast itself; it would not be those people; the people that are slaves are brought down to the coast.

3626. If legitimate commerce were to be extended on that coast, do you think that it would check the slave trade?—I am sure it would; but you must have the power of landing your subjects to trade, as you have in other places, and you ought to have a depôt in the river, or something of that kind, to have a safe place for your property, and also to be able to attend to the different caravans that would come for that purpose.

3627. What marketable commodities would that coast supply?—Ivory and gold dust, and it is a very fruitful country in many things; it would grow tobacco, I should say, and sugar; in fact it is very fruitful.

3628. Then if there were an improvement in our treaties, and the establishment of depôts, do you think that there would be a disposition in the people to trade also?—That I cannot say, because I cannot trust to a word they tell me. Of course they all pretend to be honest, but unfortunately they are the worst of characters.

3629. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Is the Committee to understand that you think that four vessels, of a smaller class than those which are now employed, would be sufficient for the service of that coast?—Of course I can only give it as my opinion, but if those vessels could take all the bars, for instance, supposing they could go to Natal, and be refitted at Natal, and then take the bars, I think that three vessels which could take the bars, and one good frigate, would do it; but not to go to the Cape.

3630. For all the five points?—For all the five points.

3631. You spoke of there being principal rivers and subsidiary rivers?—Yes.

3632. Then, according to your view, you would not require quite so much as one vessel for each of those principal points?—No; the vessel must keep going about. If a vessel comes from Rio de Janeiro, there is no such arrangement as that she can take the slaves in immediately, because the voyage is long and uncertain, and the dealers cannot have the slaves kept down at the coast; a vessel must be, at least, 10 days on the coast before she can get away with her slaves, on the average. Of course there might be arrangements, so that in a particular case the slaves would be down, and if she came there she might be off the next day, but that could not be the general way of doing it; in a general way, the vessel must remain 10 or 11 days on the coast.

3633. How far is it from Port Natal to the most southernly part of the slave-trading coast?—Two hundred miles.

3634. *Chairman.*] That is not within the tropics?—It is outside the tropics; it is a very healthy place indeed.

3635. *Mr. Gladstone.*] You adverted to another point of difficulty, that in small vessels the slaves might be got at the coast and taken over to Madagascar?—That has been done once.

3636. Would it be practicable to carry on the slave trade upon a large or a considerable scale by that means?—Certainly not; because the daos must cross over, and if you fell in with them at sea, you would take them to a certainty. They would know where the vessels were when they did it, and would sail right across; but then the vessel must be three weeks or so in the port, and, of course, if we found that vessels were going there, we should go over to Madagascar, and

see

see if there was anything in those different bays. That could not be a general plan; it might succeed once.

3637. Can you touch them when you get into Madagascar?—Yes, the Queen condemns them.

3638. There is no fear then that Madagascar would be auxiliary to the slave trade?—The Sacalavas have no laws at all; one-third of the inhabitants of the island are Sacalavas and the others are Ovas; the Ovas are under the control of the Queen.

3639. Those are the subjects of the Queen?—Yes.

3640. As to the other third of the island, how is it?—They would do it if they could.

3641. As there is a portion of Madagascar not subject to the authority of the Queen, and not in any relations therefore with Great Britain, is it possible that that portion of the territory might be made auxiliary to carrying on the slave trade?—Certainly not; a vessel may escape, but it cannot be a system that they can work out to advantage.

3642. Can the slave traders place themselves there?—They cannot place themselves so that we shall not find them; it is impossible.

3643. Do you consider that you would have authority in that portion of Madagascar to interfere and prevent the slave trade?—Quite so, it is a savage country; you can go anywhere and seize them.

3644. *Chairman.*] Is there any harbour there?—There are two or three very good harbours. That vessel which went over there went to Boyanna Bay; her slaves came from Quillimane. The Queen's authority goes down to Port Dauphin.

3645. The other part of the coast is not under her dominion?—No, they are the Sacalavas; they barter with merchant vessels; there is a dye, which the natives collect and barter.

3646. *Colonel Thompson.*] What alteration in the law or practice as regards men found engaged in illegal slave trade, do you think would be effective towards stopping it?—To let our courts condemn the individuals at once. If I take a vessel into port I condemn the vessel, and the same court ought to condemn the men.

3647. Will you explain what you mean by condemning them?—By our treaties they are subject to the second class of piracy; they have committed an offence against the treaty and against the law of the two nations; but one court condemns the ship, then we are obliged to go to another court, to a Portuguese court, to condemn the men; being Portuguese subjects, our court cannot entertain it without further power.

3648. *Chairman.*] That is in the case of vessels sailing under the Portuguese flag?—The same happens if the vessel has the protection of no flag, and the Brazilians would come under the same law.

3649. Under what flag is the slave trade carried on upon the east coast?—The Brazilian.

3650. Entirely the Brazilian?—Or no flag.

3651. Are the equipments carried to the coast in vessels under the Brazilian flag?—They are brought in the vessels themselves, generally speaking, except at Angozha, where Americans generally bring them; one American vessel brought three boilers and equipments for three slave vessels.

3652. Where were they brought from?—From Rio de Janeiro.

3653. Are the equipments brought universally from the other side of the Atlantic?—I should say generally so; but there are well known instances of some of the boilers coming from Cape Town.

3654. Are any other articles of equipment sent from Cape Town besides boilers?—Irons of different descriptions; all the heavy things; but the boilers are the principal things.

3655. Casks?—No, not casks.

3656. *Mr. B. Baring.*] What jurisdiction does the Portuguese government exercise over that part of the coast?—It is entirely nominal; there are convicts that come over, and most of them die. I do not suppose they have above 250 troops in the whole 800 miles; they may have a few more in the interior at Tete; if you give 100 for that, it will make 350; I should say that that is as much as there is.

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3657. Do they carry on any legitimate trade themselves?—They do at Mozambique, with ivory and gold dust; some good gold dust comes down from Tete, that is all bartered in the interior.

3658. Are you aware how those slaves whom you took became slaves?—No; they were all very distant tribes; the one cannot understand the other.

3659. You could not ascertain at all whether they had been made in war, or whether they had been sold?—No, it is impossible, they come so far; all they know is that they are bartered for at Tete.

3660. Is the mass of the population upon the coast free or slave?—Slave.

3661. *Chairman.*] None of the slaves that were embarked were natives of the coast?—I should say certainly not; of course it is impossible for me to say that, because any man may buy slaves there, and quarrel, or anything else, and sell them again to the slave dealer. If a servant did not satisfy his master, he would sell that person to the slave dealer, and he may have been two or three years with him, or even more than that, but that would be an exception.

Captain Lord John Hay, R.N., a Member of the Committee; Examined.

Capt.
Lord John Hay,
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3662. *Chairman.*] YOU are a Lord of the Admiralty?—Yes.

3663. Will you be so good as to state the number and character of the ships which now form the blockading squadron on the west coast of Africa?—The Return which I have in my hand is dated the 1st of January 1848. This is a disposition of the force under Sir Charles Hotham, at present employed on the west coast of Africa.

3664. What is the number of vessels employed?—In all, 24.

3665. Does that include steam-boats?—It includes steam-boats.

3666. How many of those vessels are steam vessels?—Four.

3667. Do you know the number of sailors and marines employed on the coast?—2324 seamen; 386 marines.

3668. Has the Board of Admiralty any intention of making an alteration in the squadron, either in regard to the number of vessels composing it, the nature of these vessels, or the manner of employing them?—Two vessels of a particular construction have been built lately, which will be fitted with an auxiliary steam power. These vessels are equal to perform the duty of 16-gun brigs, and from having much less draught of water, they will be able to go into the rivers. Of course, from their steam power, they will be able to sail much faster than any description of sailing vessel that is employed in the slave trade, and having a very small power, they will be able to keep on their cruising ground much longer, and at much less expense than the present description of steam vessel which we employ on the coast.

3669. Why do you consider that they will be able to outsail the slave vessels?—From the experience which we have of the vessels that are employed by merchants on the coast of England, and particularly in the Hamburgh trade, we find that these vessels outsail their sailing vessels, which, taking the average of their passages, are almost equal to steam vessels.

3670. You contrast them with vessels engaged in the Hamburgh trade?—Yes.

3671. Do you consider that those are the swiftest vessels known afloat?—With that auxiliary power, I think so.

3672. What is there to prevent slave traders employing the same class of vessels?—Certainly they might, but there is such a large body of the vessels taken up by the machinery, that I should very much doubt their being able to stow slaves, besides the heat and other inconveniences attending a steam vessel.

3673. Has not the Admiralty information of steam vessels being now employed in the slave trade?—I believe about three years ago the slave traders did employ steam vessels, but have given them up; I am not aware of steam vessels being employed at this moment, but I believe that those parties tried the experiment and found it not to succeed.

3674. *Mr. Gladstone.*] What do you understand to have been the cause of the failure?—The great expense of fitting out those vessels; for instance, a vessel calculated to carry 400 slaves could not be fitted out at an expense under 18,000 l.

3675. And

3675. And the expense of a sailing vessel of corresponding size would be what?—About 8,000*l.*

3676. *Chairman.*] You think that the expense of fitting a vessel with auxiliary steam power would prevent parties from making use of such vessels in the slave trade?—Yes. Take a vessel of 500 tons, with a 60-horse power engine; the cost of the machinery and of the hull of the vessel would amount to 12,000*l.* We have built a similar vessel to this for the Government, and her expense will amount to 15,000*l.*, and I do not think that she could conveniently carry more than 300 slaves, the fuel and the machinery occupy such an immense deal of room.

3677. The fuel and the machinery would occupy a much larger corresponding space than in a steam vessel which has conveyed 1,500 slaves from the coast of Africa to Brazil?—No; that vessel, I presume, was a vessel of 1,000 to 1,200 tons. I have crammed troops on board a steamer of 1,000 tons, and I never found that that steamer could carry more than 1,000.

3678. Were they standing?—They were standing on deck; it is impossible to carry more than 1,000.

3679. How many vessels do the Admiralty propose to employ of this description on the coast of Africa?—Two have been built, and after they are tried, I think it likely they will be sent out to the coast of Africa.

3680. Are those vessels already launched?—Both launched; one of them, the "Reynard," is just ready for commissioning.

3681. The object is not merely to obtain a higher rate of speed, but to visit the rivers and the creeks on the coast?—Yes, to obtain a higher rate of speed; that is to say, a speed superior to any class of sailing vessel, and with a light draught of water, to be enabled to visit the rivers.

3682. Is not that service liable to expose the crews to the malignant effect of the African climate?—It depends very much on the time that those vessels are kept in the rivers. I should apprehend that they would merely look in, and leave the river immediately.

3683. Is the report of the health of the squadron satisfactory at present?—I have a return upon that point, which can be laid before the Committee.

3683*. Since Sir Charles Hotham has commanded, the state of the health of the squadron employed on the west coast of Africa has been much more satisfactory than in any former year?—Yes.

3684. Do you understand that that satisfactory result has been obtained by a new system of management of the blockading squadron, or by any accidental circumstances?—I think the squadron is in a better state of discipline; I attach much importance to that. The ships are relieved oftener than they were formerly.

3685. Are you of opinion that the sanitary condition of the squadron would be satisfactory, if the crews were to be frequently landed for the purpose of destroying barracoons at a distance from the shore?—I do not know of any service more calculated to produce sickness than landing on the coast; in short, I believe that the sickness is chiefly caused by detaching men from the ships in boats, and employing them up the rivers.

3686. Is that a sort of service which has a tendency to subvert discipline, as well as to endanger the health of the crews?—There can be no doubt that it has had that effect. In all cases where men are detached in what is called boat-service, they become disorderly; in fact, from the nature of that service it is impossible to maintain discipline.

3687. Then, if it should ever appear to be essential to the destruction of the slave trade to land the crews on the coast, and to march them into the interior to destroy barracoons, that must necessarily involve a great sacrifice of life to our naval forces?—That is my opinion, and I can see no possible advantage to be derived from it; because, if you destroy the barracoons immediately on the coast, they will build them up further in the interior.

3688. Is it any part of the policy of the British Government to maintain on the eastern coast of Africa a blockading squadron?—We have a small number of ships employed on the Cape station for the purpose of cruising on the east coast; but of late those vessels have been almost constantly employed in carrying up reinforcements and stores during the progress of the Caffre war, and I suppose

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that the cruisers against slavery have been considerably reduced from that circumstance.

3689. If the squadron on the coast has any tendency to repress the slave trade, that tendency must be removed, if the squadron is taken to some other part of the coast?—Certainly.

3690. The Caffre war is now over?—It is.

3691. How many vessels are now employed in suppressing the slave trade on the eastern coast of Africa?—Four.

3692. Does the Admiralty consider that an adequate force for the purpose of suppression?—The question has not come under the consideration of the Admiralty very lately. I can only speak for myself. My impression is, that you ought to have a different description of vessel employed on that coast; I think you ought to have smaller vessels, with auxiliary steam power, and a tender, which is a smaller vessel still, attached to each. Then I think it possible, that having five of these larger ones, you might effectually check the trade on the east coast.

3693. How many vessels would you propose to employ, including the tenders, on that service?—If you employed five cruising on the coast, it would be necessary to have two or three in reserve (say three) for making good repairs, replenishing their provisions, and so forth.

3694. Are you of opinion generally, with a view to the extinction of the slave trade, that it would be necessary to employ a larger force on both coasts of Africa than is now in commission there?—I think so certainly on the east coast. I am inclined to think that you have a sufficient number of vessels just now on the west coast, but I should prefer them of a different class.

3695. Are there any other ships of war engaged in the suppression of the slave trade besides the squadron under Sir Charles Hotham, and the vessels under the command of the admiral of the fleet?—It is necessary to explain it. The number of vessels on the west coast of Africa are 24, of all sizes: there are nine on the Cape station; there are 12 on the south-east coast of America, that is, Brazil; and there are 10 on the coast of North America and the West Indies; altogether 55. These vessels have all slave papers, consequently the admiral can employ them whenever he pleases to cruise against the slave trade; but I consider that the vessels immediately employed against the slave trade are those employed on the coast of Africa, 24; and say four of those employed on the Cape station. The "President" is a 50-gun frigate, constantly lying in Simon's Bay, and of course that vessel is never employed against the slave trade. There is one steam vessel, the "Dee," employed in carrying stores from the Cape along the coast. Then you have a coal depôt at the Cape.

3696. A coal depôt must be necessary for the steamers employed?—That is true; but the only steamer that you have on the Cape station is employed in carrying stores for the army.

3697. You cannot consider the army a permanent state of things?—With regard to the coal depôt, you always keep a depôt of coals at the Cape ready for any vessels which you may have coming home from the East Indies; steamers all touch at the Cape in coming home.

3698. Mr. Gladstone.] Is there no part of the vessels on the West Indian station to be set down to the account of the slave trade service?—I should say that out of the 12 there are four; not more.

3699. Chairman.] Are those to be added to the 55?—No; the 55 include all the vessels that have slave papers.

3700. That is 36?—Yes; I think you may fairly say that that number is employed on the slave trade service.

3701. Thirty-six vessels is the force which, under ordinary circumstances, would be employed in suppressing the slave trade?—Yes.

3702. How many vessels are at this moment furnished with licences by the Admiralty to act in the suppression of the slave trade?—About 55.

3703. Has your attention been turned generally to the expenses of the naval force employed in suppressing the slave trade?—I have a return here for the year 1847: "Estimate of the expense of Her Majesty's ships of war employed for the suppression of the slave trade, and of all their appointments, so as to exhibit the aggregate charge to the country for their support in the year 1846-47."

3704. The

3704. The return to that order of The House is confined to the vessels employed on the western coast of Africa?—Yes.

3705. That is about 24 ships?—That return will include the ships of 1846 and 1847. I have another return, which is later, which gives 21; but very possibly two or three of the ships had left the station to return to England to be paid off.

3706. What is the estimated expense of the squadron as given in the Parliamentary return, the title of which you have read?—£. 301,623. That includes, “Estimate of the expense of the wages and victuals of the crews of Her Majesty’s ships of war employed in the suppression of the slave trade in 1846-47;” “Estimate of the expense of the wear and tear of the hulls, masts, yards, rigging, and stores supplied for the use of Her Majesty’s ships employed on the above service, according to the statement received from the surveyor’s department;” “Estimate of the expense of the wear and tear of the machinery of Her Majesty’s steam vessels employed as above, according to the statement received from the department of the comptroller of steam machinery;” and “Estimate of the value of coals provided for the use of the above steam vessels, according to the statement received from the storekeeper-general’s department.”

3707. Do you think it would be possible to contract for keeping up such a force as that for such a sum?—I do not think it would be possible. In the first place, I do not think that any merchant shipowner could afford to sail his ship as cheaply as we can, for this reason, the men would not be contented with the pay that we give our seamen; you could have no possible discipline on board such vessels. In no instance where we employ steam vessels as transports can we get them to convey troops at the same expense at which we find we can do it by the employment of our own vessels.

3708. Have you perfect confidence in the correctness of that estimate?—Yes, perfect confidence for that year.

3709. £. 301,000 defrayed the whole costs of that squadron during that year, including the expense of the wear and tear of the vessels?—An estimate of this sort is correct as far as it goes. We will take “the expense of the wages and victuals,” that of course must be accurate; then comes the “estimate of the expense of the wear and tear of the hulls, masts, yards, rigging, stores,” &c. Now the wear and tear of the ship includes, independently of her masts and rigging and stores, the wear and tear particularly of the hull, and it is hardly possible for the surveyor’s department, who would make out this estimate, to state the exact sum which may be necessary to repair a particular vessel employed on the coast of Africa, because they only find that out when they open her to examine her; therefore they strike an average, and say that the hull of the vessel requires so much per ton, to repair her, in so many years; that calculation is generally correct.

3710. Mr. Gladstone.] When it is said that a vessel requires so much per ton to repair her, does it mean to make her as good as new, or does it mean to put her in a state fit for service?—A state fit for service. In our repairs for instance, we have a large repair, a moderate repair, and a temporary repair; and frequently we find it economy, if a vessel requires a large repair, to order her to be repaired for a station, which is three years.

3711. Do you apprehend that that estimate contains any sum charged on account of the depreciation of the whole vessel as apart from the wear and tear?—Yes; for instance, there is an estimate here of “the wear and tear of the hull;” that means, of course, the vessel; then “masts, yards, rigging and stores” are independent of that.

3712. I assume that that comprises all parts of the vessel, and everything that belongs to her; but does that account show the gradual exhaustion of the original sum expended in building and fitting the vessel, or does it only show how the additional charge expended in repairing her from time to time would fall?—It will depend upon the degree of repair that you choose to give the vessel; a large repair, for instance, might amount to 5,000*l.*; a moderate repair to 2,000*l.*; and a small repair to 800*l.* The hull of a 16-gun brig costs about 12,000*l.*

3713-14. You mean that these repairs are to make the vessel as good as new?—Nearly so.

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3715. Supposing

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3715. Supposing she were the subject of sale, it would require that amount to make her bring the price that she would have brought in the first instance?—Yes, to bring her character up to what they call A. No. 1.

3716. I still apprehend that taking the mark A. No. 1 to refer to her, that does not denote an uniform value; it is not meant that a first-rate merchant ship would be worth as much in the 10th year of her existence as she was when she was first turned out?—No, I do not suppose it does.

3717. It only means that she has not fallen below a certain standard?—Yes.

3718. My meaning is, to ascertain whether the figures which we have upon that paper only allow for the current repairs required to bring the ship from time to time into a serviceable state, or whether they include something analogous to that which, I believe, is the practice of all merchants, namely, to write off annually a certain amount against the original cost of the vessel, so that the original cost of the vessel is supposed to disappear by the time that the vessel is finally worked out. I quite understand from your Lordship's answer that that estimate does not include any allowance for the essential depreciation?—It does not.

3719. But that it refers to the repairs necessary from time to time to bring the vessel into a serviceable state?—Precisely.

3720. It takes no account of her gradual and inevitable depreciation?—No.

3721. *Chairman.*] What is the amount given there for the wear and tear?—£.49,313. There is another item of expense, 17,790*l.* for the wear and tear of machinery.

3722. Have you any remark to make upon that?—No, I have no particular remark.

3723. *Mr. Gladstone.*] I assume that that is charged upon the same principle?—Yes; that is the machinery independent of the hull of the vessel.

3724. *Chairman.*] Then, on the whole, that estimate does not fairly represent the cost which is laid on the country by maintaining the squadron on the coast of Africa?—The return gives you accurately the expense of the wages and victualling of the crews employed there. It gives you accurately the expense of the wear and tear of the masts, yards, rigging, and stores; but to give you an accurate return of the wear and tear of the ship's hull is almost impossible, because it will depend entirely upon the degree of repair that you choose to give that vessel. For instance, as I mentioned before, a vessel serves her first three years, and the whole sum laid out upon her to bring her back to a serviceable state, and make her as good as new, would be about 800*l.*; but an older vessel, that is, a vessel that has been built, say 10 years, to bring her back to that same state would probably cost 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* Therefore we have degrees of repairs; a large repair, a moderate repair, and a small repair.

3725. *Mr. Jackson.*] The depreciation would be much greater in a steam vessel than in a sailing vessel?—Yes.

3726. You say a 16-gun brig would cost 12,000*l.*?—Yes.

3727. If therefore you had 100 guns employed on the coast of Africa, the cost would be 72,000*l.*?—Yes; fully that. You could not very well make that calculation, because a 16-gun brig, taking the average, is about 500 tons.

3728. If I sent a squadron of merchantmen to the coast of Africa, I should, before embarking in the speculation, place a value upon my tonnage. Suppose Government said, "The value of the squadron which we have upon the coast of Africa is 72,000*l.*," how much would you add to the annual cost for the natural depreciation of the vessels, independently of the expenses incurred in the wear and tear, in repairing them?—That is a calculation which we could not very well go into.

3729. Could not you get a per-centage?—I can myself get at a per-centage; the life of a ship is 18 years.

3730. That is 6 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.?—I would put it on the coast of Africa at 9 per cent., because we find that vessels deteriorate much more in that climate than they do in others.

3731. You would deduct 9 per cent. from the value of the vessel each year?—Yes.

3732. Can your Lordship form any idea of the original cost of the present squadron

squadron on the coast of Africa; the cost of the vessels and outfit. What amount of British capital is required to fit out the squadron on the coast of Africa?—It would be very difficult to come at that with any precision.

3733. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Assuming that Her Majesty's vessels in the Atlantic and on the Cape station, which are furnished with slave papers are 55, what proportion do you conceive, assuming the number to be retained, would be applicable to general commercial service, what to general political service, and what to the special object of the suppression of the slave trade?—I think that 36 of the 55 may be considered as employed for the suppression of the slave trade, and the remainder for other purposes; the protection of British commerce.

3734. And for political service?—All our orders go out in that way, "for the protection of British interests and property."

3735. You take 36 for the suppression of the slave trade, purely?—Yes.

3736. And the remaining 17 are furnished with licences?—Yes.

3737. *Chairman*.] Do the accounts of the sums paid as prize money for the capture of slave vessels and slaves come under the jurisdiction of the Admiralty?—No, the Treasury.

3738. What is the distinction in regard to prize money paid to the captors of slave vessels merely equipped, and slave vessels with slaves on board?—In the case of vessels with slaves, first, the captors are entitled to a moiety of the proceeds of all vessels and their cargoes, when seized in pursuance of treaties with foreign powers, and condemned by the Mixed Commission Courts, and the whole of the proceeds when condemned for a breach of the 2d and 3d of Vict. c. 73, or that of the 8th and 9th of Vict. c. 122. Secondly, captors are entitled to a bounty of 5*l.* per head for every slave seized and delivered over to the person authorized to receive the same. Thirdly, the Lords of the Treasury have a discretionary power also to allow the captors 2*l.* 10*s.* (half bounty) for those who may die, and consequently are not delivered over. Fourthly, the captor when the vessel is broken up is entitled to 1*l.* 10*s.* per ton, upon the British tonnage of the vessel. In the case of vessels without slaves, first, the captors are in like manner as above entitled to a moiety of the proceeds of all vessels, and their cargoes, when seized and condemned by Mixed Commission Courts, in pursuance of treaties; and the whole of the proceeds when condemned for a breach of either of the Acts, the 2d and 3d of Vict. c. 73, or the 8th and 9th of Vict. c. 122. Secondly, they are also entitled to a bounty of 4*l.* per ton, on the British tonnage of the vessel. Thirdly, they are also entitled to the bounty of 1*l.* 10*s.* per ton, when the vessel is broken up, there being no distinction in this respect between vessels captured with slaves or without slaves. That is a discretionary power, I fancy.

3739. Then the great distinction seems to be in regard to the bounty paid for a vessel with or without slaves. Without slaves it is a bounty of 4*l.* per ton; with slaves it is a bounty of 5*l.* per head for the slaves who are delivered, and 2*l.* 10*s.* for those who die after capture?—Yes.

3740. That is discretionary with the Treasury?—Yes; the Lords of the Treasury have a discretionary power to allow the captors 2*l.* 10*s.* (half bounty) for those who may die, and consequently are not delivered over.

3741. Have you had any experience as a naval officer on the coast of Africa?—Not on the coast of Africa. During the late war I was on the coast of Brazil, and more recently at the Havannah.

3742. In what year were you in the Havannah?—I think in 1843; it was during the government of General Valdez.

3743. At that time was the slave trade understood to be carried on with activity?—Not during the government of General Valdez. On the contrary, the slave trade was very much reduced by his exertions, and I believe his determination, to suppress it.

3744. In point of fact it was generally understood that during the year 1843, very few slaves were imported into Cuba?—Very few. It was the general opinion of many persons whom I had the opportunity of conversing with, that if General Valdez had continued in command of the government of Cuba the slave trade would have been annihilated altogether. He acted with great sincerity and a firm determination to put down the traffic.

3745. Do you remember in what year he was recalled?—I think in 1844; but

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I am not quite accurate as to the time. It is fair to say that the foundation of the principle upon which he acted was laid by Chachon.

3746. Was that the Captain-general who preceded him?—Yes.

3747. Was General Valdez himself of opinion that he would be able to put down the slave trade in the island of Cuba?—I do not know that I can speak positively as to that.

3748. Were you much on shore in the island?—Constantly, at the Havannah.

3749. Are you yourself of opinion that if the demand for slaves were very high it would be in the power of the Captain-general to put down the slave trade?—My opinion is, that it is in the power of the Captain-general to put down the slave trade if he chooses; but they have all an interest in maintaining it.

3750. Is there a large party of the influential inhabitants in the island of Cuba unfavourable to the slave trade?—I think there is, from the information which I obtained there.

3751. Do you approve of the policy, which has been strongly recommended to this Committee by a naval officer, namely, Captain William Allen, of withdrawing the squadron entirely from the coast of Africa for the purpose of stationing it off Cuba and Brazil?—I do not approve of it, because I feel convinced that it would be impossible to check the slave trade as effectually if ships cruised on the coast of Brazil and off Cuba as it would be by blockading the ports on the east and west coasts of Africa.

3752. Do you think that the attempt to suppress the slave trade by placing all your force upon the coasts of Brazil and Cuba would cause a great interference with the legitimate trade of those two countries?—I think so.

3753. Sir R. H. Inglis.] By employing the ships in the blockade of the ports recipient of slaves, meaning thereby the ports of the Havannah and Rio, would you, or would you not, be more likely to interfere with legitimate commerce than by confining the blockade, as at present it is confined, to the eastern coast of the Atlantic?—I think so.

3754. Would it give rise to great difficulties and collisions with the municipal authorities of the Brazils and the Havannah?—I think it would; constantly.

3755. Would it, or would it not, be defeated in the same way in which smugglers in Europe defeat the custom-house officers, namely, by landing their goods in one place, and by a feint withdrawing the attention of the custom-house officers to some other point?—It would be hardly possible to guard so great an extent of coast.

3756. The coast of Cuba is understood to be about 2,000 miles in circuit?—Yes. There is only one part of the coast where slaves are landed.

3757. The coast of Brazil is supposed to be about 1,200?—I should doubt there being 1,200 miles that would receive slaves; none would be received south of Rio, I apprehend; but I really do not know the points.

3758. Is your Lordship prepared to state to this Committee that you consider that the proportion of steam force now employed, in conjunction with the ordinary force, on the west coast of Africa is the proportion which is best adapted to the attainment of the great object, the suppression of the slave trade, or would you recommend an increase thereof?—I would recommend a considerable increase of the steam force.

3759. Would you recommend an addition of naval force, in the shape of steam tenders, to be attached to the larger vessels, and subject to the command of the officer, to be sent into smaller creeks?—I would recommend small tenders for the purpose of being attached to sailing vessels; tenders that would draw about five feet water being principally employed inside the rivers.

3760. Of what steam tonnage would your Lordship recommend them for the purpose, and would you recommend them to be by the paddle or by the screw?—With the screw, and of about 200 tons, with an auxiliary power of 30 horse.

3761. Mr. Jackson.] Your Lordship stated that you thought 9 per cent. would cover the depreciation of the vessels forming the squadron; do you think that that would apply to those steam-boats of which you have been speaking?—No, I do not think it would apply to steam-boats. I should be disposed to think that it would be considerably increased.

3762. Can your Lordship form any idea of the amount of per-centage which you

you would allow for steam-boats such as you have described?—I should think that the wear and tear of the machinery alone would be about 5 per cent.

3763. And would you add the 5 to the 9, taking the 5 per cent. on the cost of the vessel as the loss, and adding 9 per cent. as the loss on the other parts of the vessel?—You may fairly add 5 per cent for the machinery, and I would say an equal proportion for the hull.

3764. *Chairman.*] Have you at the Admiralty reports of the condition of the steam-boats employed on the coast of Africa?—Yes.

3765. Is there anything peculiar in the condition in which they are found after their period of service?—The “Penelope” was employed three years, under the command of Commodore Jones, and has now, after her repair, been sent out again.

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Martis, 9° die Maii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.

Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

William Smith, Esq., called in; and Examined.

3766. *Chairman.*] YOU held some official appointment in Sierra Leone?—I did.

3767. How many years were you in Sierra Leone?—I date my recollection of the coast of Africa from the beginning of the year 1811. I served 14 years on the Gold Coast, which brought it down to 1825, and in 1825 I went to Sierra Leone, and returned from thence at the end of 1834.

3768. What situation did you hold in Sierra Leone?—I went out to Sierra Leone as Registrar to the Mixed Commissions, and became successively Commissioner of Arbitration and Commissary Judge; as Commissary Judge I quitted the colony in 1834.

3769. Having held those situations, you must necessarily be well acquainted with the nature of the system by which Great Britain has undertaken to put down the slave trade?—I think I am tolerably well versed in it.

3770. Since you left Sierra Leone, has your attention been directed to the working of that system?—Yes, it has; I have always had an interest in the repression of the slave trade, and I have made it my business to be acquainted with everything that has passed relative to it.

3771. What is the judgment which your long and large experience at last pronounces upon the success of that system?—I should say that it is a failure.

3772. You think that it has failed?—I think it has failed in the repression of the traffic in slaves.

3773. Has it not in your opinion done more than failed; looking to the expenditure of the British Government, to the loss of life in the naval forces of Her Majesty on the coast, to the sufferings of the negroes, and to the mortality which has been experienced among the negroes who are detained in the barracoons and sent across the ocean; do you not think that it has failed with very deplorable results?—I should say so, from my own experience.

3774. Are you of opinion that the system by which this country undertakes to put down the slave trade is ever likely to be successful?—I think not, because the demand for slaves will always create a supply.

3775. In fact, it is a system of smuggling?—Entirely so; as much so as the smuggling from France to England of brandies and silks which is carried on.

0.53.

3776. And

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W. Smith, Esq.

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3776. And it is governed generally by the same laws?—I should say so, because it is a trade which excites men; and the immense profits that they derive from it are a further inducement for them to carry it on.

3777. And you are decidedly of opinion, that so long as a high demand exists for slaves in Cuba and Brazil, it will be impracticable for the British Government, by any system of force, to extinguish the trade?—I am afraid so. I have looked at it in every point of view myself, and I can form no system in my own mind that would be successful.

3778. Are you acquainted with the system by which Captain Denman proposes to put down the slave trade on the coast?—I have had some conversation with Captain Denman myself, and I gather from that, that he would place vessels at certain distances as guard ships; but I think that would be a failure, because unless the whole coast of Africa were guarded in the same manner it would be perfectly useless as a measure of repression. We will take, for instance, from the Gambia down to the River Cameroons, that is an extent of about 2,000 miles. By Captain Denman's scheme he told me that he thought, with a vessel stationed at a certain point, he could guard a line of coast with his boats to the extent of 40 miles; it would take 50 vessels from one of those points which I have named to the other to guard it, according to his account, because all along this coast, I am perfectly well aware that slaves can be procured.

3779. When you say that slaves can be procured, you do not mean that it is the practice to procure them from those points, I imagine?—No.

3780. But that they are procurable?—That they are procurable; in confirmation of which I may say that there is a part of the Kroo Coast, and some part of the Gold Coast, where the trade in slaves had for years ceased; from the Gold Coast, I believe, there are no slaves at all shipped at present. But where, on the Kroo Coast, for the last 20 years, there have been no slaves shipped, slaves are beginning to be shipped now; in proof of which I hold in my hand a document from Mr. Hamilton, who is a merchant in the city of London, and has vessels trading to the coast of Africa. This is an extract from a letter that was written to him by one of the commanders of his vessels, dated the 18th of October 1847.

3781. Will you be so kind as to read such parts of the letter as relate to the subject?—“Shipping plenty of slaves at Trade Town; 300 went off before my face, one English and one French man-of-war lying nine miles from where they shipped them. This is playing the mischief with our commerce about Trade Town, and they are building large factories for slaves there. The oil does not come in half so quickly as it used to do at that quarter, owing to the slave trade. I am told 800 more are ready to be shipped immediately vessels are sent out for them. *John Hamilton.*”

3782. Then it appears by this letter, if this may be taken as a fair representation of the operations on the coast, that notwithstanding the English and the French force employed for the prevention of the slave trade, the slave trade is actively carried on?—I should say so from that.

3783. According to your information, has the British squadron on the coast ever been more efficient, in better discipline, or under better command than it is at present?—I should think not; of course I can only judge from official reports, but I should think that it is as efficient now as ever it was.

3784. Is the slave trade at all nearer its extinction now than it has been in times past?—I should say not.

3785. Are you of opinion that the slave trade is conducted now with more or less cruelty than it was before we undertook to suppress it?—Previously to Great Britain making it a law that one slave should be carried for every ton room of the vessel, I believe that great cruelty was practised by cramming them together; after Great Britain passed that law I do not think that the slaves underwent any cruelties, except those which were inflicted upon them by the gross and tyrannical conduct of the captains and officers of the vessels, they having irresponsible power over their unhappy victims. Doctor Pinckard, who went out in one of the squadrons that was sent from this country the latter end of 1795, was at Barbadoes, and he, after having visited an American ship and a Liverpool ship, both Guinea traders, says, in his “Notes on the West Indies,” “that he found the negroes were well accommodated, and that they were well fed and healthy, and that he discovered no marks of those horrors or cruelties said to be practised on board ships occupied

occupied in this sad traffic." And on board of another vessel, a London ship, "the Venus," he says, "I was pleased to remark the excellence of the accommodations, and the great attention paid to the health and comfort of the slaves." Dr. Pinckard was deputy-inspector of hospitals, and I think must be assumed to be a disinterested witness of the facts he states. When Great Britain abolished the traffic in slaves, and it then became a smuggling system, they were crammed into smaller vessels, the between-decks of which were not higher than my stick; the suffering that the negroes underwent from malaria, confined as they were, so many hundreds in a small vessel down below, badly ventilated, with a small quantity of food, and less water, the exhaustion was frightful. I have seen them come into Sierra Leone myself, men of six feet high, who were reduced to mere walking skeletons; and this after they had been captured by British men-of-war, the officers of which always release them as much as they possibly can consistently with the safety of the vessel, and give them air, and more provisions and water than they would have had under their original owners; therefore, I should say, from my own experience, that humanity has lost much instead of being a gainer.

3786. Is it possible to conceive a greater degree of suffering than those slaves are exposed to by the artifices adopted by the slave traders to evade the detection of our squadron?—I should say not; it is frightful beyond all imagination. The language held on this subject by the Duke of Wellington to the representatives of the allied powers, at the Congress of Verona in 1822, I look upon as applicable to the state of the slave trade at the present time. His Grace said: "This contraband trade in slaves is attended by circumstances much more horrible than anything that has ever been known in former times; it cannot be denied that all attempts at prevention, imperfect as they have been found to be, have tended to increase the aggregate of human suffering, and the waste of human life, in the transport of slaves from the coast of Africa. The dread of detection suggests expedients of concealment productive of the most dreadful sufferings to a cargo, with respect to which it hardly seems ever to occur to its remorseless owners, that it consists of sentient beings. The numbers put on board in each venture are far from being proportioned to the capacity of the vessel, and the mortality is frightful to a degree unknown, since the attention of mankind was first drawn to the horrors of this traffic."

3787. Must not the good that we are seeking to pursue be of a very high order, and be at the same time tolerably certain of attainment, which could justify a system attended by such horrors?—Certainly.

3788. You have seen occasionally slave ships captured by British cruisers, with the slaves on board, which were brought into Sierra Leone?—Yes; I have been on board of some; and very frequently when they came in I can compare the appearance of the negroes on board to nothing but a swarm of bees settled upon the bough of a tree; they looked one black mass.

3789. Can you mention any particular appearances about the slaves which would denote the nature of the sufferings to which they had been exposed?—Nothing but a gradual exhaustion and wasting away from malaria, as I said, and a deficiency of food and water.

3790. Did you ever see such a thing as the bones starting through the skin?—I have never seen the bones starting through the skin, but I have seen them nearly so; indeed, I have seen the slaves reduced to such a state of emaciation as was frightful to witness.

3791. Do you trace these sufferings of the slaves not merely to the confinement of the slave ship, but also to the detention in the barracoons?—That is a question which I can scarcely answer. I should say certainly, that the principal part of them is after they have been shipped.

3792. Did you ever see a barracoon?—I have seen a barracoon.

3793. With the slaves in it?—With a few slaves in it, but not filled.

3794. Have you ever considered any mode of extinguishing the slave trade which comprised means other than force?—Yes; I have thought that it might be a good plan to subsidize, if I may call it so, the different chiefs where the slave trade has been much carried on; and I think, from what I learn from the coast, that most of them would not oppose any obstacles to such a measure; but unless you give them an equivalent for the suppression of the slave trade I do not think it is likely that they will put it down, because it is a source of revenue to them.

3795. You think that so long as they derive a profit by the slave trade you must induce them to give up that profit by supplying them with another source

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of profit?—Yes; it might be, for instance, combined with a commercial treaty with them, encouraging them to cultivate largely produce, which is now being pursued to a great measure on the coast; indeed legitimate traffic is increasing wonderfully.

3796. Do the natives show generally a great aptitude for commercial pursuits?—They are very fond of them.

3797. Do you think that they would listen to such proposals with readiness?—I do.

3798. Would not it be necessary to subsidize more than the chiefs?—Yes; I think it would be necessary to subsidize the head and three or four of the subordinate chiefs, because if the subordinate chiefs were not subsidized as well as the head chief, they would take every opportunity which they could to carry on the slave trade in spite of him; it would excite their jealousy.

3799. Do you think that you could establish such a line of treaties all along that portion of the coast where the slave trade can be carried on?—I do not think it would be difficult to do so.

3799*. Would it involve a very large expense?—No, I do not think it would involve a very large expense; and if it were at all successful, the withdrawal of a few of the vessels of war would more than counterbalance the expense.

3800. Have you ever considered the question of the free emigration of African labourers from the continent of Africa to the West Indies?—I have.

3801. What are your views upon that subject?—I think it is likely that they may be obtained, but I think great caution should be observed, for the system of slavery is so ramified with all African institutions that there are not very many free men on the coast; that is my opinion; excepting in some particular places. You may say that on the Kroo Coast they are almost all freemen, and from the Kroo Coast down to Cape Palmas, but beyond that I suspect that there are very few freemen in the country. I know that they are not generally free on the Gold Coast; and the difficulty would be then the means to obtain them. If you offer them a bounty for emigrating, you must take care that that bounty is not the value of a slave, otherwise they would find means to impose upon you and ship them as freemen, when in reality they would be slaves; and although the British Government would secure their freedom to them the moment they got on board the vessel, still that would do nothing for Africa, because the system of slavery would be kept up to supply the demand for labourers.

3802. Do you rely at all upon the emigration of free labourers from Africa to the West Indies as a means of extinguishing the slave trade, or do you rest your hopes entirely upon the encouragement of commerce on the coast?—I think that with good supervision the first would be a large measure in aid of repression if free men could be obtained to emigrate, because on their return it would spread through the country that they were still free, and that they were allowed to do as they pleased, and to return back again. This combined, in the second place, with the extension of legitimate commerce would, I think, afford fair hopes of successfully acting against the slave trade.

3803. Mr. *E. Denison*.] Do you think that the plan of subsidizing the chiefs could be carried on through the whole line of that long coast, both on the east and the west coast of Africa?—I think that at the principal ports where slaves are now shipped it might be done; but certainly the whole line of coast where every 10 or 12 miles there is an independent chief, I must say, would create, perhaps, some difficulty.

3804. But unless your plan of subsidizing the chiefs were carried on very generally, so long as parts of the coast were left open to the slave trade, and a demand for slaves existed, would not that partial subsidizing of the chiefs be only a vain and half measure?—In saying that, I ought to have said that of course there would be some naval force on the coast; and if the principal chiefs of places were subsidized, and there were no slave trade carried on there, it would leave a smaller number of vessels to watch over a smaller space of coast.

3805. But taking things as they exist, would it not be a very long time before you could expect to get the whole of the lines of coast to give up the slave trade for mercantile pursuits?—No, I should think not a very long time.

3806. Can you give any idea of what number of years it would take, in your view?—That would depend upon the activity of the individuals who were sent to conclude treaties with them, because I should think that immediately the treaties were concluded they would come into operation.

3807. Do you apprehend that the moment an active individual went to propose a treaty he would be sure to be able to conclude one?—I should see no difficulty in it, because the natives are very fond of money. It would take time, of course; it might take two years to establish it all along the west coast.

3808. Does forming a treaty for legitimate commerce, in your view, comprehend the payment of considerable sums of money?—No, I do not think it would take considerable sums of money in the aggregate to do it. For instance, I should say the chief of Dahomey would be satisfied, perhaps, with 1,500 dollars a year; that would be about 300*l.* But this is mere conjecture; the amount to be paid would perhaps have, in a great degree, to be regulated by the extent of his slaving operations.

3809. Then it is implied in your view that this payment should continue as an annual subsidy?—Yes, because with the subsidy for the repression of the slave trade it would be more the interest of the chief to give his attention to legitimate commerce, and the produce which you would obtain would more than compensate the money which you would give him.

3810. Can you give us any idea at all, in order to carry this view into effect, what number of treaties would be required and what number of chiefs would have to be subsidized?—No, I cannot at the present moment; but I may say that I think, taking the Bight of Benin as one of the grand marts or grand depôts of slaves for shipment to the Brazils and Cuba, that if the chief of Lagos, the chief of Badagry, the chief of Dahomey, and the chief of Popo, four chiefs, were subsidized, you would have a very fair opportunity of judging of the effects of it, because it is a large line of coast that they occupy. By this means it appears to me that you would engage in the success of the experiment, what is a very powerful incentive to all men, their own interests.

3811. The character of these chiefs is such, at least in some instances, that it would be necessary still to watch by a naval force the due execution of our treaties, I suppose?—I certainly would not think of withdrawing the whole of the squadron from the coast; there must be some left to support the British authority there; there always has been.

3812. You stated in the early part of your evidence that this trade was in the nature of smuggling, with also a kind of zest about it?—Yes, by the Brazilians and others who carry it on.

3813. If the demand for the slaves in Brazil and Cuba should still exist, although the trade might be driven from those chief places which you name, would it not certainly go to other parts of the coast?—It might with the connivance of those whom you would subsidise, certainly.

3814. I mean beyond the limits of those that you would subsidize. Looking at the immense line of coast of Africa, if you subsidized some of the favourite spots would not this smuggling trade move to other spots, which, though they may not be so favourable at this moment, still would then offer opportunities?—Yes, I should think it is very likely that it might; but as I said before, every system proposed is liable to objections; if, however, you found that at those four ports which I have named, the system which I propose was a favourable one, it might be easily extended.

3815. But however widely you extended the system of the payment of money, it would still have to be accompanied and watched over by a naval force?—Occasionally a man-of-war running down, certainly, to afford protection to the British traders on the coast, as well as to watch over the non-infracture of the treaties.

3816. Mr. Simeon.] Supposing that an equal amount of profit was to accrue to the natives of the coast from legitimate traffic as from the slave trade, is there anything in their character that would induce them to prefer the slave trade?—I think that it is a traffic which the natives are very fond of carrying on, because it affords them, under the system which has so long obtained, larger profits than legitimate commerce.

3817. Do you believe that they would prefer the traffic in human flesh to the traffic in palm oil and the other trade to which the coast is adapted?—No, I do not think they would, if it paid them as well. I look to the encouragement of legitimate commerce, and the consequent promotion of civilization amongst them, as one of the surest means of effecting a gradual cure for this great evil.

3818. You have stated that we should be obliged to keep a force upon the coast to secure the execution of the treaty?—Yes.

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3819. Do you believe that the necessity for that force would be permanent?—Yes; I should think it must be stationed on the coast. We have always, in my recollection, had a force on the coast for the support of the British authority there.

3820. Do you not believe that legitimate traffic would in time so completely drive out the slave trade as to render it unnecessary for us to keep any force upon the coast?—As far as that goes I think there would always be a necessity for some British authority, in the shape of a man-of-war, sailing down the coast. Wherever there is an extensive line of coast like that, wherever there is trade carried on, there will always be the supervision required of a man-of-war.

3821. Then you think that a man-of-war would be necessary to protect the trade more than to secure the execution of the treaty?—Yes. I think that many cases might arise which would require the interference of a man-of-war; there might be squabbling, as there always is, between the legitimate traders and even the people on the coast. I think it would require some authority to settle it.

3822. Do you contemplate that the necessity for a subsidy would be perpetual?—I think that it would.

3823. You do not think that legitimate traffic would give to the people on the coast such an amount of profit as would in time render the necessity of subsidizing the country unnecessary?—No; I think that if you subsidize them, as I was saying, you must keep it constantly going, because if there were no subsidizing, or they were not paid for it, they might carry on the slave trade again so long as there was a demand.

3824. But you would look to the amount of that subsidy being more than made up to this country by the lessening of the expenditure in another way?—Undoubtedly.

3825. *Chairman.*] And by the extension of commercial influence?—Exactly.

3826. *Colonel Thompson.*] If you were entrusted with an attempt to introduce legitimate commerce on the coast of Africa, what would be your proceedings with respect to keeping or not keeping the squadron on the coast; so far as your judgment goes, what would you do or not do?—As I have said before, there would be always a necessity for keeping up a certain number of vessels running constantly down the coast for the purpose of showing that you are living under British authority, and that you are supported by your country.

3827. Having that object in view, namely, the protection of legitimate trade, would you consider the presence of a repressing squadron acting against the slave trade as assistant to your views or not?—I think that the ships of war might be employed in taking such slavers as they might fall in with.

3828. Would you or would you not consider the repression of the slave trade to the extent found practicable, as an important element in the progress of your plan?—I think they might be combined certainly.

3829. Then am I right in thinking, that your opinion is that the repressing squadron wants the assistance of other means to produce the general object?—Certainly. I think that legitimate commerce will go far towards it.

3830. What do you think would be the effects of a general removal of the repressive force?—I think that for a year or two there would be a vast deal of slave trade carried on; but in a very short time I think they would be so overcrowded with slaves in Cuba and Brazil, that they would become frightened there from the preponderance of the slave population over the free, and that the governments themselves there would prohibit it.

3831. Have you known any instances of free labourers going from the coast of Africa to the West Indies?—No; that is subsequent to my coming from the coast.

3832. Do you know, or have you heard, whether any Kroomen have ever gone to the West Indies?—I have heard of it.

3833. You have heard that they have?—Yes.

3834. Did you hear of their coming back again?—Yes; I have heard of some of them coming back again.

3835. Do you know whether, at the time when the English slave trade was legitimate, Kroomen were ever carried off the coast as slaves; have you ever heard anything upon that subject?—The slave trade was carried on all down the coast.

3836. But were Kroomen ever carried off?—That I cannot say.

3837. Did you ever hear of such a fact as that no Krooman was ever carried off

off by any English slaver but once, and that he was obliged to be brought back again?—No; I was running down the coast myself, in a very fine schooner, in the year 1821; she had every appearance of a slaver; she had been a slaver, in fact; and numbers of Kroomen came off to me under the impression that she was a slaver, and offered me slaves for sale; that I know for a fact.

3838. Do you think that the slaves were Kroomen?—It was from the Kroo Coast that the offer was made, consequently I should suppose that they must have been Kroomen or Fishmen near the Kroo Coast.

3839. I wish to know whether a good test of the practicability of carrying really free labourers to the West Indies would not be the possibility or impossibility of procuring Kroomen to go?—I think Kroomen have been engaged.

3840. Earl of *Lincoln*.] You stated in answer to a question, that you anticipated that the immediate effect of the removal of the blockading squadron would be a considerable increase in the number of slaves carried away from Africa?—Yes, I should think so.

3841. You further stated that you thought that that immediate increase of traffic would ultimately and speedily be removed by the apprehension which would be excited in Cuba and Brazil on account of the increasing number of slaves?—Yes.

3842. Is that apprehension your only reliance for the expected cessation of the traffic upon the removal of the squadron?—Yes; certainly.

3843. Supposing that there was no such apprehension on the part of the inhabitants of Cuba and Brazil, do you consider that the removal of the squadron would entail not only an immediate but a perpetual increase of the slave trade?—I think that provided there were no fears anticipated in Brazil and Cuba the slave trade would be carried on as actively as it is now, and it is very active at the present moment.

3844. Do you give that answer without reference to the measures which you propose for increasing legitimate traffic, or supposing that no measures for increasing legitimate traffic were taken?—Supposing that no measures were taken for increasing legitimate traffic.

3845. You also stated that you thought that the blockading squadron would be an assistance to your measures for the increase of legitimate traffic?—A part of it; not to the extent that it is now.

3846. Would you rather have your plan for the increase of legitimate traffic combined with the present squadron, or apart from the present squadron?—Certainly, if it were combined with the present squadron I should think it would be very effectual.

3847. Supposing that there was no objection on the score of expense, you would prefer the two together rather than either apart?—Yes.

3848. *Chairman*.] Are you to be understood to say that you would keep up the squadron on the coast for the purpose of forcibly repressing the slave trade?—Not to the extent that it is now.

3849. Do you recommend the maintenance of the present squadron, or of any part of the squadron, for the purpose of forcibly repressing the slave trade?—No, not for the purpose of forcibly repressing the slave trade, for in my humble opinion the squadron has proved inefficient in so doing.

3850. Would not the horrors of the slave trade be just in proportion to the power and activity of the repressing squadron?—I do not think they can be greater than they are at present.

3851. But if you maintained a squadron for the purposes of forcible repression, would it not be necessarily accompanied by that suffering and mortality to the slaves?—Yes; just as it is at the present moment.

3852. Do you, on consideration of the whole subject, recommend therefore that the squadron, or any part of the squadron, should be maintained on the coast for the purpose of forcibly repressing the slave trade?—I certainly should not recommend the whole of it to be withdrawn.

3853. Why should you not?—For the reasons I have before stated, and because I think that the slave trade would be carried on.

3854. Is not the slave trade carried on now?—Yes.

3855. Does the squadron prevent the slave trade?—No.

3856. Is not the supply of slaves to Brazil almost commensurate with the demand?—It is reported to be so.

3857. Have you not understood that within the last year, notwithstanding the

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zeal and activity and extent of our naval squadron on the coast, the price of slaves in Brazil has fallen?—No, I do not know of that; I should rather suppose that it had risen.

3858. Have you any further observations to make upon the subject?—I have not.

Mr. John Logan Hook, called in; and Examined.

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3859. *Chairman.*] YOU have been, I believe, acquainted with a part of the west coast of Africa during some years?—I have resided in Sierra Leone during nearly the last four years, and I have likewise visited other parts adjacent to the colony, and also the Kroo Coast.

3860. In what capacity were you residing in Sierra Leone?—Since 1846 I have been superintending the emigration service of our Government.

3861. When did you leave the coast of Africa?—In December last; I arrived in England last January.

3862. Were you in the discharge of your official duties during the whole of that period?—During the whole of that period.

3863. Had you any difficulty in procuring free labourers from Sierra Leone to the West Indies?—Much difficulty has always been experienced in procuring free emigrants from the colony of Sierra Leone, various impediments having continually presented themselves, and prevented the successful working of any emigration scheme hitherto attempted. There is also a great opposition set on foot by numbers of the settled population of the colony, who (although themselves but lately liberated from slavery) are desirous of procuring the labour of the newly-liberated Africans in their yam and cassada grounds, allowing them, in most cases, but a bare subsistence for such labour. As long as the newly-liberated Africans remained in the Queen's Yard, and were not tampered with by their country people outside, there was not much difficulty to persuade them to go to the West Indies.

3864. You had no difficulty in obtaining free emigrants for the West Indies from the liberated Africans?—From the Newly liberated Africans in the Queen's Yard. Under the late regulations the Committee are aware probably that Her Majesty's steamer "Growler" was sent out to be engaged in the emigration service, and some impediments were thrown in the way then; but they were represented to the Earl Grey, and I believe they are removed now, and will not occur again; in fact, the steamer is withdrawn from the service. I consider that a man-of-war is not a fit vessel to be employed in the transport of emigrants from Africa to the West Indies. From what I witnessed on board the "Growler," I think it is utterly impossible to keep up the man-of-war discipline while African emigrants are on board; and in my opinion it is equally unnecessary and injudicious to require "free volunteer passengers" to submit to restraints imposed upon them by such regulations.

3865. In fact, the owners of those grounds which you speak of regarded you as a competitor in the market for the employment of labour?—Yes; as I have before stated, they obtained the labour of their newly liberated country people for almost nothing, in many instances merely giving them sufficient food to live on in return for such labour.

3866. By what influences could they induce those parties to remain in Sierra Leone, when you on your part, I presume, were offering them wages for their labour?—The newly liberated African is naturally not disposed to labour at all, if he can avoid it; and in Sierra Leone facilities are afforded him of living for a long period without work.

3867. Did these parties endeavour to excite his prejudices or alarm?—The most absurd prejudices have been continually spread about. They are so absurd that they are not worth repeating, but still they had the desired effect.

3868. They were effectual for their purpose?—Quite so. The most absurd and false reports relative to the treatment of emigrants in the West Indies are continually spread about by those parties at Sierra Leone, as well as others who are opposed to emigration. I will just refer to one instance, to show what effect these reports have with the newly liberated African, who is at all times so prone to suspicion. On one occasion, when about 70 or 80 newly emancipated negroes were embarking for the West Indies from the Queen's Yard, owing to some absurd report which was suddenly spread among them by some of their country people

on the shore who were witnessing their embarkation, the whole of these 70 or 80 people suddenly jumped out of the boats into the water, and returned to the Queen's Yard. I could mention other instances, to prove how necessary it is, for the future benefit of the newly liberated Africans, to prevent them from being tampered with by their more civilized country people in Sierra Leone, whose object in procuring them as labourers is, that they may thereby be the better enabled to parade about the town as idlers or petty hawkers. From my long experience, I am of opinion that the newly liberated African would have no objection to proceed to any colony were he convinced that he would there enjoy his freedom. If he was to return to his native country he would, without doubt, be again sold into slavery. It would of course require the assistance of some of his country people who had resided in the West Indies to acquaint him with the advantages which would accrue to him by emigrating, as well with the fact of there being no remunerating employment for him in the colony of Sierra Leone.

3869. How many vessels did you load with free emigrants?—I think as many as five or six. Under the last new regulations, the "Growler" only took two full complements of emigrants, amounting altogether to about 917.

3870. There were 917 in all who were embarked under your superintendence?—Yes, under the new regulations, which came into force in June of last year.

3871. Is the Committee to understand, that since June last year 917 free labourers have embarked from the coast of Africa?—More than that; 917 from June to October of last year embarked. Since I left the colony, I find that almost as many more have gone. Merchant vessels have gone out there, and have succeeded under the new regulations in getting emigrants, and have gone to the West Indies with them.

3872. What part of the West Indies did they go to?—Those per Her Majesty's steamer "Growler" proceeded to Demerara and Trinidad; but others have gone to Jamaica, Trinidad, and Demerara since December of last year.

3873. Were all the Africans that were embarked under your superintendence taken from Sierra Leone?—All of them.

3874. Do you apprehend that there would be any insuperable difficulty in inducing some of the families in Free Town to emigrate to the West Indies?—For a time there would be very great difficulty; in short it would be very difficult indeed to overcome the existing prejudices on the part of the settled population of the colony, although the colony, I am sure, could well spare, I may say, some thousands of them. In fact you can form no idea of the wretched and miserable state in which they exist in the outskirts of the colony; they live there, many of them, with scarcely any clothing upon them, and they have little or nothing to do unless they choose to work for one or two days in town; they will then get about 1s. or 14d., which will last them for nearly two weeks to live upon.

3875. When you say that they are miserable, do you mean to say that they are in a state of physical destitution?—I dare say in their own idea they are very happy; but I think that as long as they are allowed to remain in that state the colony will derive much injury from it.

3876. They are not in a state of high civilization?—Certainly not.

3877. Are they in a state of moral destitution?—Generally speaking they are in a most destitute condition.

3878. Is the proportion of the sexes pretty well maintained?—I think we have more women than men in the colony.

3879. With regard to the emigrants which were shipped under your care, was the parity of the sexes observed in that instance?—Yes; there were a number of people in the yard, and we were enabled to pick and choose from among them.

3880. From the communication which you have had with the natives of Africa in Sierra Leone, do you understand that there would be any great difficulty in procuring labourers from other parts of the coast?—I should think, if proper facilities were afforded, there would be no difficulty at all in procuring labourers from the whole coast of Africa.

3881. You do not confine your observation to the Kroo or to the Fish Coast?—No; it has already been shown that free emigrants can be procured from the Kroo country with very little difficulty. With respect to other places on the coast, I form my opinion from information which I have gained from various liberated Africans who have been brought to Sierra Leone in slave ships. I have often spoken to them upon the subject of emigration, and from what they have told

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me, I am inclined to think that there would be no difficulty at all in getting free labourers from various stations on the coast, all down the west coast of Africa.

3882. Including the Kroo Coast and various other parts of the line of coast?—Yes.

3883. You have been in the West Indies?—I accompanied the "Growler" on her first voyage from Africa to the West Indies.

3884. You probably can form some notion of the demand which exists there for labouring emigrants?—Yes, there is a very great demand for labour there. I should observe that during my stay in the West Indies I had an opportunity of conversing with some of the people who had been sent across some two years and a half or three years previously; they seemed very well contented with their condition, and we brought back a number of return passengers, and also a number of people who were to be employed in the colony of Sierra Leone, and on the coast of Africa, or rather on the Kroo Coast, as delegates, to inform their country people of the advantages which would accrue to them by emigrating to the West Indies.

3885. Do you know that by such means the indisposition of the people to leave the country might be removed?—I have no doubt of it. Another important matter is this, that they should be thoroughly satisfied that they would have a free passage back again after a certain term, say five years, if demanded. There has not been any regular means of communication between Africa and the West Indies since the withdrawal of the regular transports.

3886. Do you think that there is a number of persons on the tropical coast of Africa who might be disposed to emigrate to the West Indies, adequate to the demand for labour in the West Indian colonies?—I think that a much larger supply could be afforded than there is any necessity for at present.

3887. But you think that it would be very desirable that the Africans should be given to understand, that after their period of service they would have the power of returning to their own country?—They should be guaranteed a free return passage after, say five years, if they demanded it.

3888. Did the Africans which you took out go under conditions of serving for a period of time?—They did.

3889. What was that period?—Five years. According to the new instructions I was ordered to guarantee them a free passage back, after labouring in any of the West Indian colonies as field labourers for that period.

3890. Had you an opportunity of witnessing the labour of some of the Africans whom you had sent out in previous years when you last visited the West Indies?—I did not actually see them labouring in the fields, but I saw many of them in the town and on estates.

3891. But you must have heard an account from those who employed them as to their conduct?—I lost no opportunity of gathering all the information on that point which I required.

3892. Was the account given to you of their conduct satisfactory?—Very satisfactory; especially that of the newly liberated people who had come over there in a very wild and savage state. I was never more astonished than when I saw them. I could scarcely believe my eyes; the people who had gone over as mere brutes, were civilized beings.

3893. Which colony do you speak of?—Demerara, and Trinidad also.

3894. You found the same result in both colonies?—I did.

3895. Do you think that the return of these people would have a civilizing effect on the natives of Africa in their own country?—I consider (to a small extent it is true) that it has already had that influence; we brought back 140 return passengers and delegates in the steamer; they created quite a sensation in the colony of Sierra Leone, and many of them brought back large sums of money and property, amounting, I may say, to nearly 1,500 *l*.

3896. Amongst how many?—Amongst 140, but I believe that as few as 22 or 23 of the return passengers handed into the custody of Commander Potburry, the commander of the "Growler," for safety, dollars to the amount of nearly 600 *l*., 540 *l*. odd in hard cash; many of them, in fact all of them, had various kinds of property on board, articles of merchandize, and various things.

3897. Had you any opportunity of ascertaining how the Kroomen behaved in the West Indies?—The Kroomen are not so settled in their habits as the liberated Africans are. If they found that by going a long distance away from the estate on which they were then working they could get an increase of wages, how-

ever

ever small it might be, they would be inclined to leave. For that reason I think it of great importance that we should enter into contracts with the Africans on the coast of Africa to perform a certain amount of labour for a certain term.

3898. Did you find that after they had entered into those contracts there was any difficulty in keeping them to their bargains?—No contract has been entered into yet with them.

3899. That has been a subsequent regulation?—Under the new regulations, though they go to the West Indies for the term of five years, and return after that time if they think proper, yet there is no special contract entered into with them as to the rate of wages, or anything of that kind.

3900. From the information which you gathered while you were on the coast of Africa, were you led to the conclusion that the slave trade is in a fair way of extinction by means of the British squadron on the coast?—I am afraid that however effective the squadron may be in checking the supply of slaves, the squadron will never have the effect of destroying the slave trade.

3901. You are of opinion that although they may give it a partial check, they will never succeed in extinguishing the trade?—In my humble opinion, I should say, certainly not, and past experience will bear me out in that opinion.

3902. Do you understand that the British fleet on the coast is in a state of great activity?—Very much so, indeed; more so of late than it ever has been. The French have lately added a number of vessels to the squadron. I believe now the arrangement is, that a French vessel and an English vessel both cruise off a particular station together.

3903. Is the slave trade at all nearer extinction now than it was before this efficient force was stationed on the coast?—I should say not.

3904. Do you consider that our expensive operations on the coast have diminished the slave trade?—No; I think that they have merely had the effect of checking the supply of slaves, but I should say that the demand has been as great as ever.

3905. Do you understand that the supply has been at all commensurate with the demand in Brazil?—I do not know the number of slaves who have been imported into Brazil or Cuba in the last year or two, but I believe it is known.

3906. As you consider that the British squadron has not diminished the slave trade, are you of opinion that it has diminished the horrors of the slave trade?—On the contrary, I think it has very much increased the horrors of the middle passage. I have had an opportunity of seeing many slave vessels when they have been brought into Sierra Leone. I have gone on board; the spectacle which presented itself to me was truly awful. I have seen men, women, and children lying upon the deck in the very last stage of existence, and the majority on board were little better than living skeletons; indeed no language can describe the scene.

3907. Is that the general character of the condition of the slaves who are brought in in the captured vessels?—It is the general character, provided they have come from any distant part of the coast. On a very late occasion a vessel was captured within a short distance of the colony, and then the slaves were in a very healthy condition, and many of them proceeded a very few days afterwards to the West Indies.

3908. How many days had that vessel embarked the slaves?—I can give the Committee that information, but not at present.

3909. You state that you have frequently had occasion to visit slavers brought into Sierra Leone?—Yes; I was at one time an officer in Her Majesty's Customs in the colony, and then, owing to the illness of one of the officers, I was obliged to perform the duty of visiting any vessel that came into the port; and I was there, of course, to make my usual inquiries as to where the vessel came from, and get the necessary particulars.

3910. In general what was the condition of the slaves which you saw on board those vessels?—The most wretched condition, as I have before stated.

3911. Would it be possible to increase their sufferings?—I should think not; hardly possible.

3912. It is as bad as can be?—It is as bad as it can possibly be, I think; they are huddled together like so many articles of merchandize.

3913. They have been compared to herrings in a barrel; is that a good illustration of it, in your opinion?—Yes, I think it is.

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3914. Do you know any particular cases of suffering?—I could mention the names of three or four vessels perhaps worse than others. I can afford that information; I have not it by me now; but several very small vessels have been brought in with a large number of full-grown slaves on board; I recollect one instance of a little vessel called the “Grande Poder de Deos.”

3915. Was that a very small vessel?—A very small vessel; she was only seven tons English measurement, and had 39 full-grown persons on board.

3916. Was that vessel intended as a tender or to make the voyage?—I think she was bound to Bahia.

3917. How many slaves were on board?—Thirty-nine.

3918. About what was the number of the crew?—I think the crew were about 12 or 14 people in all.

3919. There would be 52 or 53 persons on board this vessel of that small tonnage?—Yes.

3920. Were they in a great state of suffering?—No, they were not quite as bad as some others; they were men; and the vessel was captured very shortly after leaving the coast. There are several other cases, however, where as many as from 500 to 700 slaves have been brought into Sierra Leone in vessels of only 70 to 90 tons, English measurement.

3921. Have you any other fact?—I have a document here which shows that all the vigilance of our squadron is of little use when such matters can occur. Here is a document which was drawn up by the captain and crew of a slave vessel which was condemned in Sierra Leone. When she first arrived at Sierra Leone, she was engaged in lawful commerce; she left the port, and a few hours before leaving the port she was boarded by an officer of one of Her Majesty's vessels of war then lying at anchor in the harbour of Sierra Leone, and she was found to have no article of equipment on board, and nothing that would cause her detention, but there was a general report about the colony that she was going to be engaged in the slave trade. She sailed away from the port. If you will allow me, I will just read the document. There had been a letter published in a local paper, stating that the vessel had fitted out in Sierra Leone; that cast a reflection upon the officers of the Customs, and it was necessary to have a document drawn up to disprove it: “Captain and crew of the Brazilian vessel ‘Paquete do Rio.’ We, the undersigned, certify, and if necessary, will swear by the Holy Evangelists, that all the preparations and utensils appertaining to the traffic of slaves (nativos) found on board of the said vessel on the occasion of the late capture by Her Britannic Majesty's brig ‘Cygnet,’ were taken on board on the night of the 25th and 26th of October off the coast of Gallinas, where also the negroes were received. We certify truly and validly our deposition, confirmed by Her Britannic Majesty's brig of war, ‘Contest,’ which vessel searched us in the latitude of Cape Mount, in the night of the 24th, at nine o'clock, all our hold and cabins, and nothing being found, they let us follow our voyage. It is erroneous and false, every affirmation which any one is likely to make that we took in this port of Sierra Leone any articles of equipment, since we were oftentimes searched by the boat of the Customs of this town; therefore we swear to be an untruth any accusation made in such respect. Done and signed by us, the captain and crew of the said vessel ‘Paquete do Rio,’ in Sierra Leone, on the 3d day of the month of November 1846.” Then follows the seal of the Brazilian consulate. “The above signatures, and those on the other side, I acknowledge as genuine, of the captain, crew, and passengers of the Brazilian vessel, ‘Paquete do Rio,’ to whom it may concern; and at the request of the said captain, crew and passengers, I have passed this present document, which I have signed and sealed with the seal of the imperial arms of this Brazilian consulate in Sierra Leone, the 3d day of November 1846.” It is drawn up in the Portuguese language; from that document it will appear that the whole of the articles of equipment, and 547 slaves were shipped within the short space of four hours; sailing to the northward to elude one of Her Majesty's ships of war, she was fallen in with by the ‘Cygnet,’ which was not on that station at all, but was proceeding from Sierra Leone to Ascension.

3922. How many voyages would an active slaver make in the course of the year, provided she got free away?—I imagine she would make five or six.

3923. Have you ever heard of an instance of a vessel making so many voyages as that?—Perhaps I am wrong in saying so many, but the distance is not very great between Africa and the Brazils; I suppose if there were no squadron on the coast,

coast, and a vessel were employed on that service, she might make the passage in a very short time; she might make as many voyages in the course of the year.

3924. A witness who was examined before this Committee thought it impossible that as many as 60,000 slaves could have been carried from the coast of Africa in one year, from the want of sufficient accommodation; do you think that the difficulty which startled him might be explained by the number of voyages which the same vessel could make in the year?—It was presumed that the “Growler,” when she was employed in the emigration service, would make six voyages in the course of the year; she was to steam across, and sail back, and she would be about five or six weeks sailing back.

3925. Mr. *E. Denison*.] By what parties were you sent out upon your late occupation on the coast?—I received my appointment from the Colonial Office.

3926. Are you going again, or is your business over?—I intend to return to the colony in a short time; in the course of six weeks or two months, I believe.

3927. To the coast of Africa?—To Sierra Leone. I am, however, not certain of that at present.

3928. If you were going to obtain free labourers from any part of the coast of Africa, with your present knowledge of the matter, to which part should you go to obtain them?—I should advise that Government permit emigration from very many stations on the coast of Africa, from Sierra Leone down to the Bights of Benin; in fact in the very hotbeds of slavery; I would establish agents at some of the most notorious slave-trading depôts on the coast, subsidizing the native chiefs and appointing resident agents there, men who had been in the West Indies, and who would be able to acquaint their country people with the advantages which would accrue to them by emigrating to the West Indies.

3929. When you speak of free labourers being obtained from these new parts of the coast of Africa, that is a matter of opinion rather than a matter of experience?—It is a matter of opinion; but I hold that opinion upon the information which I have gained from the people who have come from those places. If you will allow me I will just read a memorandum of a scheme which I drew up, and which I intend to submit to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government; it is quite rough.

DRAFT of PLAN of EMIGRATION.

WITH the view of promoting free emigration from the West African Coast generally to the West Indies, to whatever extent may be required, it is proposed that the British Government should enter into treaties, say for terms of five or seven years, with the native chiefs, at or near the most notorious slave-trading depôts, as well as at other stations on the west coast of Africa, extending from Sierra Leone to the Calabar Coast, about latitude 4° North; say at Sherbro, Gallinas, Kroo Coast, Dixcove, Cape Coast, Akoo or Addah, Popo, Whydah, Badagry and Lagos, promoting legitimate commerce, subsidizing the chiefs for their prohibiting the slave trade, and affording every facility to a free emigration from their respective districts.

That a Commissioner of emigration be ordered to proceed to the several stations, for the purpose above stated.

That a small merchant steamer, of about 250 to 300 tons, should be employed in this service, which should be placed at the disposal of the Commissioner, and in which he should at once proceed direct from England to Sierra Leone, to collect there a sufficient number of sub-agents of emigration and delegates of different tribes, to be chosen from among the emigrants who have lately returned to Sierra Leone from the West Indies. The steamer should then proceed with the Commissioner and sub-agents to the several stations named, at each of which he would enter into a treaty with the native chief, and locate a sub-agent and delegates.

That the treaty with such chief consist of the stipulations set forth in the subjoined form.

That the subsidy to the native chief should be equivalent to the profits accruing from any engagement which such chief might have with slave traders.

The Commissioner should explain to the native chief the advantages now afforded by the British Government relative to emigration.

That the sub-agents be authorized to enter into labour contracts with the emigrants from their respective stations, to be approved of by the “Protector of Immigrants” in the West Indies; such contracts to consist of the following stipulations, viz. :—

That the term of the contract be for a period of not less than five years.

That a free passage, together with sufficient clothing, and other comforts during the voyage, in vessels of a certain class and tonnage (in accordance with the provision of the Passengers' Act), be found at the expense of the colony to which such emigrant may proceed.

That after the above period of five years, provided during that time they had been engaged as labourers for owners of land in the colony, they shall be entitled either to demand a free passage back to their native country, or such right shall be commuted to a grant from the Crown land of the colony, equal in value to the cost of such passage.

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That regular transports be employed (one for each colony receiving immigrants) to convey emigrants from one or other of the stations on the African coast, as the Commissioners may direct.

That as soon as it may be requisite, supplementary vessels be employed in this service. Vessels so employed need not be chartered expressly for such service, but it might be arranged that ships proceeding from England to the West Indies for return cargoes should be chartered to call at a station or stations on the West African Coast (to be hereafter named by the Commissioner of Emigration), and convey such emigrants as might be collected by the sub-agents. It would not be necessary to delay the vessel at such station for a period longer than five or six days.

Such ships should be of a proper class and tonnage (in conformity with the provisions of the Passengers' Act), and should be otherwise properly fitted for this service.

That a surgeon should accompany such vessel, and who should be the superintendent of the emigrants while on board the vessel.

That the surgeon superintendent on board should satisfy himself that every emigrant embarked of his own free will, and enforce the observance of regulations such as annexed hereto.

That the Commissioner of Emigration, should he deem it advisable, be empowered to charter a ship at either of the stations, on the occasion of his first visit, should it be found that there were a sufficient number of emigrants ready to embark for the West Indies.

With respect to emigration, more especially from Sierra Leone and the Kroo Coast, I would suggest the adoption of a plan already submitted by me, as Chief Emigration Agent, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Many arrangements which, from my own experience, I know would be necessary to the well working of the above plan of emigration, and which are connected with its detail, are not here entered into, as the foregoing is merely intended to convey the substance of such plan, which could be more detailed by the writer if such a course should be deemed advisable by the Committee.

3930. Have you formed an idea of the number of treaties, in a general way, which would be necessary to be entered into?—I should imagine that it would be quite sufficient to begin with those stations which I have named in this memorandum.

3931. How many would those comprise?—I think eight or nine.

3932. Can you give us any idea of the probable amount of subsidy which would have to be paid on that plan?—I think the amount would be very trifling.

3933. If the plan of making treaties were to succeed pretty generally, the benefit of it would be destroyed, supposing some of the chief posts of the slave trade were still left open, would it not?—But the slave trade would be stopped at those stations I have named, and we may presume that a free supply of labour to the West Indies would, perhaps, be an indirect means of checking the demand for slaves on the part of Brazil and other slave-trading nations, and perhaps finally of stopping it.

3934. *Chairman.*] By underselling the productions of the slaveholder?—By underselling the production of slave labour.

3935. *Mr. E. Denison.*] You have told us that the improvement in the condition of the negroes who were taken over to the West Indies was very striking indeed?—It was so.

3936. That they were comparatively civilized, and much improved in their habits?—Very much improved.

3937. Do you think that after a residence of five years in the colonies, and with this great change in habits, speaking generally, they would wish to return to their own country and to that wild state which they had left?—The ambition of the negro is to become a petty trader. I am of opinion that many of those who returned on board the "Growler" are now perhaps occupying small shops about the colony; their great ambition is to become hawkers or traders round the colony. They could accomplish this, under present circumstances, perhaps easier at Sierra Leone than elsewhere.

3938. But when men were carried off from various parts of the coast, and had made the progress which you speak of in civilization, do you think that they would wish to return, or that they would be likely to remain?—Some would perhaps remain; I think the generality of them would wish to return, not to their native country, but to Sierra Leone.

3939. Would not that make a great difference, in your view, of the advantage of taking the free labourers over; if all that you carried over were likely to return at the end of their term, it would make it a process which would have so often to be repeated?—But many advantages would be derived from that very fact;

fact; constant intercourse between a civilized country and an uncivilized one must be productive of good results to the uncivilized country.

3940. It would be favourable to the civilization of Africa?—I think it would be of the greatest advantage to the civilization of Africa.

3941. But it would increase the expense very much to the West Indies in both ways; first of all by requiring more men to be taken to fill the places of those who return, and next because you would have to supply return passages to all who wanted to come back?—In the meantime the West Indies would derive a great advantage from the labour of these people.

3942. But your opinion is that at the expiration of their term, in spite of the change in their habits, they would wish to return to Africa?—It is perhaps hardly possible to give an answer to that question. Some I dare say would, and others would wish to remain. They could be quite as comfortable, or more so in fact, in the West Indies; they would get their grant of land there and live amongst civilized people. It is my opinion that they would not wish to return at present to the slave countries on the coast; they might wish to return to Sierra Leone. If they were to go back to the coast of Africa they would be bought and sold as slaves immediately, however civilized they might be. We have had many instances in the colony of Sierra Leone of men and women being brought up there two or three times in slavers.

3943. Your opinion is, that proper measures being taken, it would be possible to obtain from the coast of Africa a considerable supply of free labourers?—I am of that opinion; I feel so satisfied of it that I would risk a year's salary upon the result, provided no obstacle was thrown in the way of a fair and legitimate trial.

3944. Colonel *Thompson*.] When you state that the slave trade has not been diminished by the present squadron, do you mean that it is not less now than it was at some preceding time, or do you mean that it is not less than it would have been if the squadron had been absent?—If I might form an opinion from late operations, I should say that since the year 1846 the trade has increased; at least I cannot say the trade has increased, but the number of captures have increased; there have been a greater number of vessels employed in the slave trade. I think there can be no doubt of that.

3945. Do you think that the number of captures having increased is evidence that the slave trade has increased?—I think it is, although it may be presumed at the same time that there has also been an increased vigilance on the part of the squadron.

3946. Is it not as likely to be a proof of the efficacy of the squadron as of the increase of the trade?—It is so, perhaps.

3947. In saying that the squadron has not diminished the slave trade, do you mean that the slave trade would not have been more if the squadron had been away; do you mean that the squadron produces no effect in diminishing the slave trade?—It has diminished the supply of slaves, but I am of opinion that it has created a greater demand in checking that supply.

3948. What do you think would be the effect of taking away the squadron at this moment?—I should say that we should have a very large exportation of slaves all down the coast of Africa immediately, and then probably it would cease. I think that the markets in Brazil and Cuba would become so glutted, and there would be such an over population there, that the demand of course would be stopped.

3949. What proportion of labourers have you known removed from the coast of Africa who have not previously gone through the process of being slaves?—All who have proceeded from Sierra Leone had been formerly slaves; they are all liberated Africans, but probably many of them may have resided for a length of time in the colony of Sierra Leone. Other people have gone; the Kroomen have gone; large numbers of Kroomen have gone from Sierra Leone and from the Kroo Coast.

3950. How many of the Kroomen do you think have gone?—I cannot state the exact number; I cannot state nearly the number, but some hundreds.

3951. How many have returned?—Very few have returned as yet.

3952. Does the process go on of conveying Kroomen; do they continue to go?—No, not at present, I believe, but immediately the supply from Sierra Leone has stopped, vessels will proceed to the Kroo Coast and take emigrants from that part of Africa.

3953. *Chairman*.] Did you ever know an instance of Kroomen offering themselves

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selves at Sierra Leone?—I have known instances of Kroomen proceeding direct from Sierra Leone and proceeding also direct from the Kroo Coast. There were two supplementary vessels sent out some time ago; they first of all came to Sierra Leone and failed in obtaining emigrants there, and they then proceeded to the Kroo Coast, where they took on board free emigrants and went over to the West Indies. Shortly after that the Government stopped it and said that emigrants must not proceed from any other part of Africa than from Sierra Leone. A small schooner was chartered by some parties interested in Sierra Leone, and she went to the Kroo Coast and touched at two or three stations and brought about 75 or 80 people; they remained three or four days, waiting for the arrival of the transport, which was hourly expected; the transport did not arrive, the people were tired of waiting, and they dispersed about the colony.

3954-5. Lord *H. Vane*.] I understood you to state that you were about to return to Sierra Leone; is that on your own account, or will you be sent by the Government?—I was going to mention that it is uncertain at present whether I return on the part of the Government or not. I intend to go under any circumstances. I have resided there for very nearly four years, and am quite climatized.

John King, Esq., M. D., called in; and Examined.

J. King, Esq., M. D.

3956. *Chairman*.] YOU, I believe, are pretty well acquainted with a large portion of the west coast of Africa?—I have been on the coast from Cape Mount as far as the river Sette, near to Loango, and have also visited Sierra Leone.

3957. Will you be so kind as to inform the Committee what opportunities you have had of knowing the coast of Africa?—I have been constantly resident upon it for a period of about five years.

3958. In what capacity were you there?—As surgeon of Mr. Jamieson's steam-vessel, the "Ethiope," and latterly as supercargo also of the same.

3959. In the latter capacity you ascended the river Niger, I believe?—I have been up the Niger in both capacities.

3960. How high did you go up?—On our first ascent, 1840, we went to within 30 miles of Boosah, and on our second, 1845, as far as Rabba.

3961. How many miles did you ascend at the highest point?—Including the windings of the river, about 650 or 700 miles perhaps.

3962. You have been engaged in trading along the coast?—Yes, I have.

3963. You must be generally acquainted with the system by which this country proposes to itself to put down the slave trade?—I am.

3964. What is your opinion of the success which has attended that system?—I do not think that it has at all conduced to put down the trade in slaves.

3965. You do not think that it has succeeded?—It has not succeeded.

3966. You do not think that it is calculated to succeed?—It is not calculated to suppress the slave trade.

3967. Have you reason to believe that at the present moment the slave trade is going on with great activity?—I have.

3968. Do you think that the British squadron on the coast has actually prevented Brazil from receiving the number of slaves which it required for its own purposes?—Notwithstanding all our vigilance, Brazil has ever found the means, it appears, of supplying itself abundantly with slaves.

3969. Are you of opinion that the supply has been almost equal to the demand, notwithstanding the operations of the squadron?—Yes, I have no doubt that it has.

3970. Has the operation of the squadron on the coast been unattended with evil?—It has been the means of aggravating fearfully the miseries of the slaves.

3971. It has, in your apprehension, not only failed in its object of preventing the slave trade, but it has also aggravated the sufferings of the slaves?—Yes, to a most incredible extent.

3972. Have the different plans resorted to by this country for the purpose of putting down the slave trade ever operated injuriously upon the interests of commerce?—I cannot just at this moment satisfactorily answer that question.

3973. Do you remember the expedition which was called the Niger expedition?—I do.

3974. Had not that a prejudicial effect?—It had, most unquestionably, and was the means of driving a British merchant out of the Niger, who was peaceably trading

trading there at the time. But it has acted injuriously in a twofold manner *J. King, Esq. M. P.*
besides.

3975. Will you explain in what respect?—In this country it has prejudiced the public mind against all operations in the Niger for the future, and in Africa, seeing that the natives have no idea of purely benevolent designs on the part of this country towards them, it has confirmed a suspicion of long standing in their minds, that our intentions are of a sinister character.

3976. Do you consider that it would be necessary to maintain the squadron which is now stationed on the coast of Africa for the purposes of protecting legitimate commerce?—No, not for the purpose of protecting commerce.

3977. *Lord H. Vane.*] Do you mean that there need be none at all?—Of course our commerce there must be protected as it is everywhere else, but I do not think that the squadron is needed for that purpose.

3978. *Chairman.*] You have no hopes that the slave trade will ever be extinguished by the means of force which are now resorted to for that purpose?—None whatever.

3979. You look upon such an undertaking as wholly quixotic?—I do.

3980. And worse than quixotic, very expensive?—I look upon it as altogether useless our trying to suppress the slave trade by force, and that it is therefore a great and unnecessary expense our continuing to do so.

3981. The slave trade, I apprehend, is in the nature of a contraband or smuggling trade?—It is, so long as there is a squadron to make it so.

3982. And so long as there is a great demand for slaves there will be a supply?—Of course there will.

3983. Are you of opinion that the attractive force which America exerts upon the labour of Africa is so powerful that no naval squadron which we could station on the coast would be adequate to suppress it?—I am.

3984. Are you of opinion with Lord John Russell, that if the whole of the British navy were stationed on the coast it would be inadequate?—Even then, I believe, the slave trade would be found to flourish.

3985. The cruelties which are necessarily attendant upon the slave trade, acting in opposition to the British squadron, are very great?—They are, from all I can learn everywhere.

3986. What course would you recommend, having had such opportunities of considering the subject, as the best means of repressing the slave trade?—I do not think that it is possible to suppress it at all, so long as there is a demand for slaves on the other side of the Atlantic.

3987. What the people of Brazil want is, I apprehend, the means of cultivating their land?—It is.

3988. To make their land valuable to them?—Yes.

3989. It is not necessary for that purpose that the cultivators should be slaves?—Free labour, I conceive, would do equally as well.

3990. If they could procure in Brazil labourers who are capable of labouring in a tropical country, that would answer all the purposes of the people in Brazil and Cuba?—There can be no doubt of that, I should think.

3991. Do you think that the system of emigration of free labourers from Africa might be made to answer the purposes of the proprietors of Brazil?—I think it might to a very considerable extent.

3992. Would it not be necessary, in order to set on foot any such system as that, that Brazil should take some steps towards emancipating the slaves existing in the country of Brazil?—Yes, it would; and I think that arrangements might be made with the government of Brazil to that effect.

3993. *Lord H. Vane.*] You stated that you thought that no squadron would be required for the purposes of commerce; I afterwards corrected you to state that you supposed that some vessels would be required. Am I right in the supposition that you subsequently corrected the opinion which you formerly expressed, that no squadron would be required for the protection of commerce on the coast of Africa?—One or two vessels would give all the protection our commerce requires.

3994. Do you think that one or two vessels would be sufficient for the protection of a commerce so extensive as that on the coast of Africa?—In the Bights of Benin and Biafra, I should say that one vessel would be quite sufficient; another, or perhaps two, to exercise surveillance from the Gambia to Accra, and

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J. King, Esq. M.D. one to visit occasionally the South-west Coast. In all four, and those to be steam-vessels.

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3995. You stated, also, that you thought that no naval squadron would be sufficient to put down the trade; do you qualify that at all?—It is such an extensive line of coast, upwards of 3,200 miles from Senegal to Benguela, that no squadron, in my opinion, would be able to blockade it.

3996. You think it utterly impossible by any augmentation of naval force?—I do; by any that could be spared, at any rate, for such a purpose.

3997. *Mr. Jackson.*] Have you ever had occasion to seek for the protection of a British man-of-war?—Never.

3998. During the whole course of your traffic with the natives on the coast of Africa, you have done it without having any protection of the sort?—Yes.

3999. Is it your opinion that, taking the trade of the Niger wherever you have been, any protection is necessary beyond that of dealing fairly?—None whatever.

4000. You have been in the various rivers in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, have you not?—I have.

4001. But you have never found it necessary to call in the aid of a man-of-war to assist the British trader?—No; so long as you deal honestly and fairly with the natives there is no protection required.

4002. You would have no hesitation in going if there were no man-of-war on the coast?—None.

4003. You have no fear from the depredations of the natives?—No.

4004. Did you ever, in the course of your experience, hear of any pirates being there?—Never.

4005. Is it your opinion that the trade up the Niger might be considerably increased if proper steps were taken?—Yes, I think there cannot be a doubt about that.

4006. What articles do you think could be obtained in exchange for British manufactured goods?—The articles are various.

4007. Will you name them?—Ivory, and the shea-butter or vegetable tallow, would be the most extensively sought after for some years.

4008. With reference to shea-butter, could any quantity be obtained?—Any quantity in course of time.

4009. Will you give some idea as to your views, both with regard to the time that would be required and the quantity that could be obtained?—I should say that, in the course of five or six years, a very considerable quantity of the shea-butter would be obtained.

4010. What do you mean by the term “considerable;” will you give it in tons?—Perhaps to the amount of 600 tons a year.

4011. And that is an article which is not imported now in any quantity?—It is not imported at all, that I am aware of.

4012. Did you ever know of any being imported into this country?—None, before that which I sent; I sent about 12 tons.

4013. Do you know what price was paid for it?—Thirty-eight pounds.

4014. Was it in exchange for British goods that it was obtained?—It was.

4015. In a few words, then, you think that a very large trade indeed might be carried on with the natives in the interior of the country, and that in exchange for our goods 600 or 700 tons weight of shea-butter could be obtained annually?—Yes, that quantity in a very few years; when it would gradually go on to increase after, and become as large a trade, in time, as the palm-oil trade is now. There are other articles besides.

4016. What other articles?—Peppers, rice, grain, ground-nuts, &c.

4017. *Chairman.*] Is shea-butter obtained from the nut or from the tree?—From the nut.

4018. It does not destroy the tree at all?—Not at all.

4019. It is a sort of palm, is it not?—No, it is not a palm. Both nuts and a sample of the butter can be obtained from Mr. Jamieson, I believe.

4020. *Mr. Jackson.*] Do you think that any quantity of cotton could be obtained from there?—There is a considerable quantity of cotton grown in Interior Africa now, which the natives manufacture for their own purposes. If there were a demand for it, I have no doubt it could be obtained.

4021. The supply would be unlimited, I suppose?—It would.

4022. *Dye*

4022. Dye woods?—The common bar-wood and cam-wood are all that I have seen. *J. King, Esq. M. D.*

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4023. Indigo?—Indigo the same as cotton, I should say.

4024. Does the sugar-cane grow there?—It does.

4025. Have you seen much of it?—I have seen small fields of it at several places.

4026. There would be no limit to the quantity of sugar, I suppose?—There could be any quantity of the cane obtained. I do not suppose that the natives could manufacture sugar out of it.

4027. Suppose that proper steps were taken to instruct the natives how to produce cotton, sugar, indigo, and shea butter, do you think that there would be any limit to the consumption of British articles in the interior of the country taken in exchange for what they would give?—There would be no limit, in my opinion.

4028. Have you found, from your intercourse with the natives, any desire, generally speaking, on the part of the population to trade?—They have every desire to trade; it seems to be inherent in them, indeed: and, I am confident, that up the Niger, the people there are looking for us now.

4029. And it only wants proper encouragement to induce them to produce and export what they do not now, and what we import from other countries; and you have no doubt that they would take freely any quantity of British manufactured goods in exchange for their own produce?—It only wants encouragement, and I have no doubt whatever but produce would soon be abundantly found for the purposes of barter.

4030. The squadron being on the coast of Africa, and being known as the preventive of slavery, has a tendency to bias the mind of the black man rather against the British subject than otherwise, has it not?—It has, so far as my experience enables me to judge.

4031. But you found, throughout your intercourse with the black men, that wherever the white man dealt fairly with them he had no necessity whatever to call in the aid of any naval force to carry on his operations?—I have invariably found it so.

4032. You do not agree, then, with some of the traders who have been in the River Bonny, and have indiscreetly trusted black men there with a large quantity of British goods, that it is necessary for the protection of the British trader to call in force?—Errors, I conceive, may be committed by white men in that respect, but as the usage of the trade now is to trust, the white trader ought also in some shape to be protected.

4033. Do you think that a settlement could be readily formed at the confluence of the Chadda and the Niger?—Yes; I think that it might be formed there with ease, and be made the port of Interior Africa for the export of its produce.

4034. Would it require any quantity of troops to protect the settlement?—I do not suppose it would require any; for the trade might be easily carried on without any settlement of that description.

4035. You would not fear anything from the violence of the natives?—I should fear nothing; I should have no hesitation whatever in remaining myself at the confluence, with a vessel as a store ship only to conduct trade in with the natives.

4036. You want nothing for your own protection whatever?—I should want nothing whatever but my own people.

4037. And you have no doubt that a good trade might be carried on?—None whatever.

4038. *Mr. Simeon.*] You stated that there would be almost an unlimited supply of shea butter; do you believe that there would be a corresponding demand for that shea butter in England?—Yes, I think there would.

4039. What articles would the shea butter be principally useful for?—For the manufacture of soap, and it would be likewise used for the manufacture of candles.

4040. In fact you would have no fear of overcharging the market of this country if the shea butter were imported?—None.

4041. Is the shea butter useful for the same purposes as palm oil is used for in our manufactures?—There has been none imported into this country excepting that which I sent from the Niger, and that, I believe, has been sold for the manufacture of soap.

4042. In fact shea butter in this country could be used for the same purposes to which palm oil is now applied?—Yes, it would.

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4043. Is the shea butter procurable at a cheaper rate than the palm oil?—It is much cheaper than palm oil in the country.

4044. *Chairman.*] Has it been manufactured into soap?—Yes, I believe it has.

4045. Do you understand that it makes a superior kind of soap to the palm oil?—I have never learned whether it does or not.

4046. With respect to the emigration of the Africans, from your experience on the coast, do you think that there would be any great difficulty in obtaining labourers for the West Indies?—No, I do not think there would.

4047. Do you apply that observation to other parts than the Kroo Coast?—Yes, it is applicable to all the line of coast.

4048. Do you know that any large number of labourers could be obtained?—After a few years, I am of opinion, a large number would be obtainable.

4049. *Mr. Jackson.*] Do you think that arrangements might be made with various chiefs and kings to give you an unlimited supply of Africans, the condition being that they should return to their own country at the expiration of service?—Arrangements might, no doubt, be made to that effect.

4050. And then there would be no limit to the supply?—I think not.

4051. You would take the whole range from Cape Palmas to Ambriz?—Yes, and also from Cape Palmas to the Gambia.

4052. From your experience you have little hesitation in coming to the conclusion, that in one or two years you could make arrangements to obtain an unlimited supply of free labourers?—Such arrangements, I think, might be then made.

4053. The only guarantee being to take them and bring them back again?—Certainly.

4054. Can you give the Committee any idea of the cost at which you could obtain that supply per head?—I could not, at this moment, exactly say.

4055. *Chairman.*] Did you observe a very great difference in the character and habits of the people as you departed from the sea coast and went up the River Niger?—They improved very much as we went inland.

4056. Would you consider them in a higher state of civilization?—They are, most unquestionably, more civilized.

4057. Are there any manufactures carried on in the interior?—Yes; and there is an inland commerce as well, and markets everywhere.

4058. We may conclude from your evidence, that you consider that any attempt at stopping the slave trade by forcible means is altogether chimerical?—I most certainly do think it is altogether so.

4059. That it is more than chimerical, that it is positively mischievous?—Yes.

4060. That you look to other means than force for the purpose of stopping the slave trade?—Yes; and I am moreover of opinion that our physical-force system on the coast of Africa is a great drawback, in the meantime, on the civilization of that continent itself.

4061. Will you be so kind as to explain that idea?—At present there is a universal desire and demand for foreign manufactures and produce everywhere throughout Africa, and I conceive that if that demand cannot be supplied from a legal source it must necessarily be supplied from slave trading, so long as slaves are commercial articles of export, and wanted: I look upon it that, no matter from what source it springs, commerce has a decided tendency to civilize mankind in some respect; in short, that an individual using, for example, a knife and fork to eat his dinner with, is a more civilized man than he who uses his fingers only for the same purpose. This being the case therefore, and no legal trade existing to satisfy such demands sufficiently, every obstacle to a commerce in slaves even, becomes a drawback, in my opinion, to the civilization of the African people.

4062. *Mr. Simeon.*] When you say that the natives of the interior are more civilized than those on the coast, is it your impression that the tribes in the interior are naturally a superior order of men, or that the tribes on the coast have been demoralized by occasional contact with white men?—I mean that the tribes in the interior are naturally superior to the people on the coast.

4063. Should you think that hitherto the effect of the presence of white men upon the coast has been beneficial or prejudicial to the civilization of Africa?—Most certainly beneficial.

4064. *Mr. Jackson.*] The slave trade is an injury to the legitimate trade instead of a benefit, is it not; it would be to the advantage of the British merchant

if there were no slavery?—It would, as his trade then would have to supply the whole African demand for foreign manufactures.

4065. Therefore every slave vessel which interferes with the British merchant is an injury to him?—Yes.

4066. And as a general rule, the British merchant suffers from the activity of the slave trade?—Yes, generally speaking, he may be called a sufferer.

4067. Therefore it is clearly the interest of the British merchant to do away with slavery, in order that he may make a greater profit by legitimate business?—It is.

4068. He can have no object in sustaining it in an indirect mode?—None.

4069. Colonel *Thompson*.] If you were engaged in promoting legitimate commerce on the coast of Africa, would you, as a means to that end, begin by removing the repression of the slave trade as it results from the squadron on the coast of Africa?—I am of opinion that the squadron does not repress the slave trade, and that it is no protection to our commerce on the coast of Africa.

4070. What do you think would be the immediate results of the removal of the squadron?—I do not think that any great evil would result from it; there would no doubt be a brisker demand in the Brazils and other slave-importing countries for slaves for a short time, but it would soon cure itself; and the demand and supply would then regulate each other.

4071. Would not the consequence be, that there would be a continual slave trade on the coast of Brazil?—I cannot conceive that there would; but at any rate, there could be no great harm in trying it.

4072. *Chairman*.] Supposing that there were a continual slave trade on the coast of Brazil, would it not be better that the slave trade should be carried on to the coast of Brazil, unaccompanied by the horrors by which it is now attended, than that there should be such attendants?—I am of opinion that it would.

4073. At present Brazil seems to obtain from Africa almost all the slaves it requires?—They all come from Africa, so far as I am aware.

4074. The numbers probably would not be very much enlarged if they had every facility of acquiring them?—I do not suppose they would; or that the demand would be much greater than it now is.

4075. And the employment of labour in Brazil must, under any circumstances, be in proportion to the land and the capital in Brazil to employ the labour?—It must, and these will necessarily regulate the supply of slaves.

4076. That must be the limit to the demand for slaves?—It must.

4077. Mr. *Jackson*.] The supply of slaves would be very much increased by the lives that would be spared in the transit across the ocean?—No doubt the mortality there would be very much lessened.

4078. Therefore there would be a considerable increase into Brazil without any increase whatever from the coast of Africa?—Without any increase at all of the trade perhaps.

4079. And you are of opinion that if Brazil were allowed to glut itself with labour, slave labour or free labour, the demand would very soon cease from the coast of Africa for slaves?—I am, and I have no doubt commerce would soon begin to extend itself at the same time on the coast of Africa, in every direction.

4080. Such being your opinion, do you think that the men finding that the slave trade had diminished, that there was not that demand for slaves which had existed before, would turn their attention to commercial transactions and become active and industrious men, increasing the trade between this country and Africa?—I have no hesitation in saying they would.

4081. In fact, they would find the labour of their slave at home more profitable than to send him abroad?—They would find it more to their profit in time to engage in other pursuits than in the slave trade, I believe.

Jovis, 11^o die Maii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Simeon.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

Jose E. Cliffe, M.D., called in; and Examined.

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4082. *Chairman.*] YOU are, I believe, a native of the United States?—
I am.

4083. And a naturalized subject of Brazil?—Yes.

4084. You hold extensive property in Brazil?—Yes.

4085. You are also a medical man?—I am.

4086. I believe you were at one period of your life engaged in the slave trade?—I was.

4087. In what year were you engaged in the slave trade?—It would be better not to mention particulars of that nature.

4088. Were your transactions in the slave trade attended with profit?—They were very profitable.

4089. Have you discontinued that practice?—I have.

4090. The undertaking itself being profitable, what induced you to discontinue it?—In consequence of the great loss of life attending it.

4091. It was from repugnance to engage in a traffic which was attended with loss of life and suffering?—With loss of life and an increase of human suffering.

4092. Does that feeling operate to any extent amongst other parties engaged in the slave trade in Brazil?—No, in general it does not, because they attribute, or we attribute, all that suffering to England, or to a legislative principle.

4093. You do not, speaking as a Brazilian subject, consider yourselves responsible for the mortality and suffering which are attendant on the slave trade?—No.

4094. You consider that Great Britain is responsible for those circumstances?—Entirely so.

4095. When did you quit Brazil?—I left there in December last.

4096. At that time was the African slave trade in a state of considerable activity?—It was.

4097. Are you aware of what number of slaves might have been landed in Brazil from the coast of Africa in the year 1847?—Taking it from November 1846 to November 1847, we estimate the quantity at not less than 60,000, and not exceeding, perhaps, 65,000 landed alive.

4098. Between 60,000 and 65,000 landed alive in Brazil?—Yes.

4099. Are you at all aware of what number of slaves might have been taken from the coast of Africa for the purpose of landing alive 65,000 men in Brazil?—The only means which we have of calculation is from the captains, or those employed in it, stating that they receive on board their different vessels a certain amount of men. To produce that number, with what are taken by English cruisers, and what die in various ways, not less than 100,000 would leave the coast of Africa, to produce that amount of living subjects in Brazil at the present time.

4100. You conceive that to land 65,000 men in Brazil, 100,000 must have been taken from the coast of Africa; the difference being made up by the numbers who perished in the course of the voyage, those who were captured by the British cruisers, and those who perished after landing?—Yes, subject to those deductions. I would observe upon that, that it was rather a general calculation;

ulation; it could not be entirely accurate by any means, but I should think that the number was rather under stated than over stated. I would also observe that it is not improbable that from 3,000 to 4,000, or perhaps as many as 5,000 of those 65,000 would die within two months after landing; it is very probable that that number would die.

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4101. Do they perish in large numbers after landing?—Frequently, if they get to water; if they have been without water and can get a large quantity of water a great number die.

4102. Had a larger number of slaves been imported into Brazil in the year 1847 than in the year 1846?—Yes, a considerable number more.

4103. Do you consider that the number of slaves landed in Brazil was at all in due proportion to the demand in Brazil for slaves?—No; they did not come up to the demand, but they met the demand in this manner, that they reduced the price from about 600 milreas to 450 or 400 milreas.

4104. That would be in English money about how much?—It would reduce it from about 75*l.* to 50*l.*, subject to the difference of a fluctuating exchange.

4105. Do you understand that the slave trade is now increasing in extent?—There is no doubt that it is.

4106. Do you expect that the price of slaves in Brazil, in the course of the year 1848, will be maintained?—No, it will be about 25 per cent. less, the supposition is. From the greater preparations that are made they expect a greater return of slaves, which will bring down the price, probably, to 300 milreas, which would be rather less than 40 *l.*; by the present depreciated exchange it would make it a little more than 35 *l.* or 36 *l.*

4107. Then the parties engaged in the slave trade in Brazil do not imagine that the British squadron on the coast will prevent their operations?—No, because if any person expected that the British Government could entirely stop it he would not risk any property, to lose it in that manner, but it is generally a well known fact that they cannot check it, and that makes every person emulous to try what he can do.

4108. Is that trade, generally speaking, a profitable one to those who engage in it?—Very much so for those who are fortunate.

4109. Generally speaking, including the fortunate and unfortunate?—Averaging it, it is, perhaps, the most lucrative trade now under the sun.

4110. Is it as lucrative now as formerly?—Yes, I should say more so; there may be instances of people being totally ruined; I do not know one of them, I have not heard of such cases, because in the way that it is carried on, being now arranged on something of a system, it is not very easy to ruin a man with it.

4111. Is the opinion, as far as you know, entertained in Brazil that the British squadron will be able to stop the trade?—No; we consider that it cannot do it.

4112. Do you consider that it can check the trade to any considerable degree?—You may check it on any one given point for a certain time, but it would only be on a given point, because the slaves would be carried to some other place, where they could be embarked.

4113. Are you acquainted with the state of the naval force which Great Britain has now stationed on the coast of Africa?—Only from hearsay.

4114. Is it generally understood to be in a state of efficiency and great activity?—Yes; we believe that they do everything that men can do, with the mistaken view which they have of doing a thing of that kind, and attempting to do an impossibility.

4115. Then in Brazil you look upon the undertaking of the British squadron on the coast of Africa as wild and impracticable?—One party views it in that light; another party views it that you have a wish to check the rising prosperity of Brazil.

4116. With respect to the opinion formed of the probable success of the British squadron on the coast of Africa, is the opinion generally entertained that it is ever likely to be attended with success?—We are perfectly well aware that it never will be attended with success, as regards entirely checking the slave trade.

4117. Do you expect personally that it will be attended with more success than it has been attended with hitherto?—No, I do not; I am satisfied from what I know, both of Brazil and of the coast of Africa, that it will not be attended

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4118. To what circumstance do you attribute the failure of the British efforts to stop the slave trade by means of an armed force?—I would decline to answer that question, because if I enter into the minutiae of the slave trade, and describe the system which is now carried on, of course that will make you *au fait* to everything that is going on, and you will take still additional means to prevent it; therefore, with respect to describing it to the Committee, as I have yet to live in that country, I would beg to decline to answer that question. To any gentleman personally I would give some little information on that subject, but not to form the groundwork for a new plan of operations.

4119. You do not wish to expose yourself to the prejudices and passions of the people amongst whom you live?—No, nor to expose you to expending a larger sum of money, from which you would have no more success than you have already had.

4120. You cannot then conceive of any measures which the British Government could undertake for the purpose of entirely suppressing the slave trade by an armed force, which could be attended with success?—No.

4121. You look upon it as altogether hopeless?—As altogether hopeless. After having been tried in every shape, diplomatic, and by blockading the coast of Brazil, and now the African coast, I do not know anything else that you could do with decided success; you have tried all that, and last year the price of slaves came down 30 per cent., and this year no doubt it will come down 25 per cent. more.

4122. From the increased supply?—The price probably now has fallen from the circumstance of a greater number of vessels being fitted out, from having formed something like a system of carrying the trade on.

4123. The organization in Brazil you consider to be more complete and more effective?—Much more so; getting a better class of vessels, and various other things, which it is not necessary to mention.

4124. It is more extensively engaged in, and more vigorously?—Yes.

4125. And the hopes of the parties are higher?—Of course.

4126. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Was there not one year within the last six years in which there was little or no slave trade carried on between the west coast of Africa and Brazil?—There was; for one or two years there was very little done.

4127. Was not that reduction in the amount of slave trade carried on between the west coast of Africa and Brazil owing, in great measure, to the zeal and energy of the British squadron blockading the west coast of Africa; or, if not owing to that cause, to what other cause do you attribute the reduction of which you have spoken?—A difference of opinion exists upon that point; but I believe that the real consideration is this: we considered then that the British Government would be so effective in their measures which they would carry out, that people were afraid to attempt it; we soon found that they could not carry out their views so largely as they wished to do.

4128. Whatever may have been the construction in the minds of residents in the empire of Brazil, is it or is it not the fact that the presence of an English squadron blockading the west coast of Africa was contemporaneous with a great reduction in the amount of slave trade carried on?—It was.

4129. If then in a given year, or as you have stated in a late answer, for more than one year, there was a considerable reduction in the amount of slave trade carried on between Africa and Brazil, is it or is it not a reasonable conclusion in the mind of an English statesman that the continuance or the increase of a blockading squadron on the west coast of Africa might produce a corresponding reduction in the amount of slave trade carried on to Brazil?—We considered that whatever England undertook she would carry out effectually; we afterwards found that it could not be done, and therefore, whatever the amount to which you may increase that squadron to at the present time, so long as it is a profitable article of commerce, and we have means for fitting out vessels, you will never check it.

4130. Was it not an equally profitable article of commerce in the year 1842 as in the year 1846, for example?—It was highly profitable to the few who engaged in it, but there were so very few vessels then fitted out, because we supposed that England would carry out her views so thoroughly that no vessel could possibly escape.

4131. But

4131. But if the demand were great and the supply small would not the profit have been greater?—No, not in the aggregate, because so few vessels were fitted out; but the price rose, if I recollect rightly, in that year to about 800 to 850 milreas.

4132. You having been yourself as a Brazilian subject engaged in the slave trade, have, in one of your earlier answers addressed to the Chairman, in reply to one of his questions, attributed the horrors of the slave trade to British legislation?—Yes.

4133. Up to March 1807 the slave trade was a legal trade, unrestricted, except in the case of British vessels, by what is called Sir William Dolben's Act; were not great horrors found to exist in the slave trade as carried on at that time?—Of course I know nothing of that time.

4134. Without asking you, from personal experience, what you know, are you not aware from historical evidence that there were such horrors?—Yes.

4135. If then you are aware from historical knowledge and evidence that such horrors existed when no British legislation interposed to prevent them, can you consistently attribute the present horrors of the slave trade to the existence of such British legislation?—Yes.

4136. Will you be pleased to explain the last answer?—Because in the olden time they never suffered from water; contagious diseases might have been produced on board from the imprudence of the captain or from many other sources, but that wholesale murdering for want of water I believe never occurred then, or only in cases of imprudence on the part of the captain; that part of it is only historical, or from men whom I have heard speak of it, who have been engaged in it.

4137. Your last answers, and the whole course of your examination up to the present question, have been limited to the horrors of the middle passage, and it is in respect to the middle passage that the Committee presume your immediately last answer has been addressed to them, namely, in regard to the want of water. But can you state, even in respect to the middle passage, that many instances have occurred in recent years, in which slaves have been thrown overboard in consequence of the want of water?—I believe that instances have occurred.

4138. Your preceding answers, however, have been limited to the horrors of the slave trade as they exist in the middle passage?—Yes.

4139. *Chairman.*] Do you remember in what year it occurred that there was a reduction in the slave trade, contemporaneously with the activity of our squadron?—1842 and 1843 were the years when slaves were the most dear that they have ever been.

4140. At that period was colonial produce at a high price?—At that time not being engaged on the sea-coast, I cannot tell you.

4141. Are you of opinion that this reduction of the slave trade was produced by the activity of the British squadron, or by other causes?—By other causes.

4142. You do not attribute it to the activity of the British squadron, or to any new expedients resorted to by the British squadron?—No.

4143. You are of opinion that it must be referred to other causes?—To other causes entirely different.

4144. I think you stated that the operations of Brazilian traders had been checked by a belief that Great Britain would succeed in any undertaking to which she set her hand?—Yes, that was the opinion.

4145. And that deterred persons from engaging in the slave trade?—Yes.

4146. I understand you also to state, that since that time the undertaking having been put to the test of a fair experiment, it has been found to fail?—Entirely so.

4147. And that the opinion entertained in Brazil now is, that it would be utterly impossible for Great Britain to succeed in such an undertaking?—Yes, that is the opinion prevailing.

4148. You were asked with respect to the horrors which attended the slave trade before the slave trade was prohibited by British law; do you believe, from the information which you have collected as matter of history, that the horrors which attended the trade previously to the year 1807 were anything like as great or as extensive as they are now?—No. I would observe, that the trade was conducted in a very bad manner by very incompetent persons, and no doubt a great deal of suffering did occur at that time, but I believe nothing like to the extent that it occurs at the present time.

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4149. The great distinction is, that in former cases it was a legal trade, and in the present case it is a smuggling trade?—Yes. In the former case, the owners of the vessels fitted out their vessels sufficiently liberally, and their object was to sell their produce when they found a market; therefore they had no object in starving or killing their slaves, or ill-treating them on the passage.

4150. You mentioned that one of the causes of extreme suffering to which you referred was the want of a sufficiency of water?—Yes.

4151. Are there not other causes of suffering, such as confinement in an insufficient space?—Yes, and occasionally a want of provisions; because any quantity of rice, or of any other eatable on board, is sufficient, if not to condemn the ship, to detain the vessel until she becomes thoroughly rotten and wormeaten.

4152. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Supposing it were the object of Great Britain to suppress the slave trade, would you think that such a trade could be more easily suppressed at the ports of exportation than at the ports of importation?—I should decline answering that question entirely if I comprehend the question properly.

4153. *Chairman.*] Do you consider that any means of force made use of on either side of the Atlantic would stop the slave trade so long as there was a demand for slaves?—I had better decline answering the question, because no good can arise from the answer which I would give.

4154. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] As you have declined to answer whether any means of force, considering force for the moment exclusively could suppress the slave trade, have you any objection to state to this Committee whether you consider that force in conjunction with treaties, and treaties in conjunction with legitimate commerce also, may be likely to suppress the slave trade?—I think that the archives of the British Government could answer that question better than I could. You know the actual results, which I only suppose.

4155. The answer implied that past diplomacy had failed in conjunction with force?—Yes.

4156. Does it follow as a matter of course that no future diplomatic efforts may induce the Imperial government of Brazil to concur with Her Majesty's Government in suppressing the slave trade?—Not to speak too lightly of the Brazilian government, really the government are totally incapable of carrying out any such treaty; they will agree, like an African prince, to anything you like in the way of diplomacy, but the government, like African princes, are incapable frequently of carrying out their views.

4157. You mean that the commercial interest of the slaveholder and of the slave trader in Brazil is so great, as to overpower the best intentions of their own government in Brazil?—Yes, I do mean that. I mean it in this manner; that as every person is dependent upon slaves for his wellbeing, and is to be served by slaves, it is impossible to carry into actual effect any treaty that you may arrange.

4158. *Chairman.*] Have there not been occasions when the Brazilian government has attempted to carry out treaties into which it had entered with the British Government?—Yes: they issued an order at one time to the captains of the navy to take all vessels under Brazilian colours that were bringing slaves. A vessel was taken by a commander; the consequence was that he, in a very short time, was dismissed from the service.

4159. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] So long as the enormous profits of the slave trade continue, which profits you have described as the greatest of any trade now carried on, you hold that no government, ruling over subjects making such profits, can contend successfully against the cupidity of its own people?—No; the reason is this: that the Brazilian government, being extended over such a very large extent of territory, are almost powerless; it is thinly populated, and they have not the power which you have as a government here; so that whatever is public opinion will be carried through, whether it is law or whether it is against law.

4160. To what do you attribute the great increase in the Brazilian slave trade?—The real answer would be, that we know that we can bring the slaves in with greater chance of success than we formerly could.

4161. The question which, by permission of the Committee, was last addressed to you, referred, not to the facility of introducing a given article, say

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say a human being as a slave, into Brazil, but to the object which any person in Brazil might have to introduce such given article, namely, a slave; and the question, therefore, in other words was this: Why did the Brazilian seek to introduce slaves in greater numbers in 1847 than in 1845, for example?—Because it is now reduced to something of a science; the system of introducing slaves is better understood, and the facilities, or the possibilities of bringing them in are greater now than they were in 1845. I believe that the sugar question had a good deal of influence on it, the taking away of the differential duties.

4162. By “the sugar question,” you mean the removal of the differential duties?—Yes.

4163. By the removal of the differential duties, do you understand the removal of restrictions to the consumption of sugar cultivated by the labour of slaves?—In the year 1847 it was known that the removal of the differential duties presented a stimulus to the growth of sugar; that there would be a better market for the sale of it.

4164. And such sugar is produced by the labour of slaves exclusively?—Of course it is; that there is no doubt of.

4165. *Chairman.*] Were you acquainted with Brazil in 1839?—Yes; I was living there in 1839.

4166. Was not there a very large importation of slaves in 1839?—A great number in 1839.

4167. As many in 1839 as in 1847?—I should think more. My meaning is simply this, that in 1839 you could buy them in the interior for 333 milreas each, plenty of them, any number.

4168. Then the desire to obtain slaves, as shown by the importation in Brazil, was as great in 1839 as in 1847?—I should think in 1839 it was much larger, from the immense quantity which were spread all over the country.

4169. It would have been possible to have manifested as great a desire for obtaining slaves, even though the sugar duties had not been altered?—Great numbers of people in 1839 bought them, from their extreme cheapness, who really did not want them; but in 1847, when they bought them, it was to extend their plantations, or to continue their stock, or for the usual purposes for which they are wanted.

4170. You stated that the proved facilities of importing slaves from Africa had given a very great stimulus to the slave trade?—Yes.

4171. It having been shown by experiment that you can obtain the slaves from the coast of Africa, in spite of all the efforts of the British squadron to prevent it?—Yes, that is well known, because if checked at one point they can be obtained at another.

4172. And that has given a great stimulus to the slave trade?—Yes.

4173. *Lord Courtenay.*] You stated that in the years 1842 and 1843 there was a considerable diminution in the slave trade, that the number of slaves imported into Brazil was smaller than it had been in previous or subsequent years?—Yes.

4174. You also stated, that in your judgment that was not attributable to any increased activity on the part of the British squadron?—No.

4175. But that there were other causes; have you any objection to state to the Committee what the causes were which, in your judgment, led to a diminution of the number of slaves imported in 1842 and 1843?—We supposed that Great Britain would put a more effective check upon it than really practice enabled them to do.

4176. *Colonel Thompson.*] Do you think that there is any disposition, or tendency to disposition in Brazil to anything like the emancipation of the slaves there, or to cultivation by free labour?—No, nothing of the kind.

4177. That has never suggested itself?—Yes; we have had philanthropists of that kind there.

4178. And they have never made any way?—No, not a bit more than it has succeeded in the West Indies by practice. Individuals whom I have known in Brazil have made 20 slaves free; they have said, “All that you will be required to do will be to give me enough to eat out of your labour,” and the 20 could not actually support themselves and this one person, for they would not work.

4179. Do you think that any results might have arisen from the English Government attempting to make an equalization of the duties contingent on something

Jose E. Cliffe, M.D. something being done in the way of the emancipation of the negroes. If the English Government had made the admission of Brazilian sugar contingent on the Brazilians doing something in the way of the emancipation of their negroes, do you think that that could have been performed with any effect?—No, it could not, from causes which I have stated were acting.

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4180. Lord *Courtenay*.] Are you aware that towards the end of the year 1842 there was an official despatch from Lord Aberdeen, then the minister of this country, in reference to certain transactions by the squadron on the coast of Africa; the destruction of barracoons, for instance, by Captain Denman and others?—Yes.

4181. Do you consider that the publication of that despatch had any effect in leading to the renewal of the slave trade upon an increased and enlarged plan in the following year?—I could form no judgment on that.

4182. Are you able to give us any information as to what the state of opinion in Brazil was upon the publication of that despatch?—The general impression was that the British Government were compelled by the force of public opinion to carry it out, but did not wish to carry it out in that violent and offensive manner in which it was done.

4183. *Chairman*.] Is it supposed in Brazil that the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies has promoted the prosperity of those colonies?—No; we consider that they are totally ruined by it.

4184. Have the results to which you refer, the ruin of the colonies, excited in Brazil strong apprehensions in regard to any proposal for abolishing slavery in Brazil?—They certainly have. We consider it as a precedent, that if slavery were abolished in Brazil we should go the same road to ruin.

4185. You stated, in answer to a question which was put to you by an Honourable Member of the Committee, that proposals for the emancipation of the slaves in Brazil had not met with many friends in that country?—No.

4186. Do you imagine that if the effort of Great Britain to extinguish slavery in her West Indian colonies had been attended with results more fortunate to the proprietors in those colonies, those prejudices would exist in Brazil on that subject?—No. Had we seen that the West Indies had flourished in consequence of that legislative proceeding, there is no doubt that public opinion or general feeling would have produced in Brazil an emancipation.

4187. Would you go further, and say that if the experiment in the West Indies had not been proved injurious to those colonies, that if the slaves could have been emancipated without injuring the material prosperity of the planters, it would have promoted a feeling in favour of abolition in Brazil?—There is no doubt that it would.

4188. Are the slaves imported into Brazil in equal numbers of the two sexes?—No.

4189. They are chiefly males?—Chiefly of the male sex.

4190. Is not that circumstance attended with many objections?—Yes, there are many objections to it.

4191. Of course, it prevents the natural procreation of the species?—Yes, it prevents keeping up the numbers of large establishments without continual introductions from the coast of Africa.

4192. Are you aware of the fact that the black population of the United States has increased in a greater proportion than the white, notwithstanding the large immigration of white population from Europe into those states?—I have seen it so stated in several works which I consider good authority, and therefore believe it. It is stated to me by residents in Brazil that it is actually the fact that the black population is increasing more than the white, notwithstanding the introduction of immigrants.

4193. And that in spite of the supposed hostile influences of slavery?—Yes.

4194. The black race is naturally a prolific race, is it not?—It is so in countries where it is warm, very prolific.

4195. Do you happen to know the proportion of the black to the white population in the Brazils?—No, I do not.

4196. I wish to ask you some questions relative to the sufferings of the slaves on board the slave ships and in the barracoons; is there much suffering generally in the barracoons on the coast of Africa, while the slaves are in a state

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state of detention?—Not in the ordinary course of business. At present, from what I know, I believe that at times there is a great deal of suffering. We will say, for example, that there are 500 slaves waiting for a vessel; a cruiser is in the neighbourhood, and the vessel cannot come in; it is very difficult to get, on the coast of Africa, sufficient food to support them, and they are kept upon the smallest possible ration on which human life can subsist, waiting for an opportunity of putting them on board the vessel or vessels. Therefore there is a great deal of suffering now in the barracoons that did not formerly exist.

4197. It would be generally very difficult in Africa to subsist such a body as 2,000 or 3,000 slaves assembled in a barracoon, and detained there for any length of time?—I do not think that you really could support so many; 500 or 600, from what I know of the parts with which I am acquainted, would be with great difficulty supported for 20 days.

4198. Lord *Courtenay*.] With what parts of Africa are you acquainted?—The Portuguese settlements.

4199. How lately have you been there?—Not for some time.

4200. Three or four years ago?—Not so recently as that.

4201. *Chairman*.] Do you know Lagos?—Yes.

4202. Have you seen a statement that 2,000 slaves were put to death there, after having been detained for a long time in the barracoon, on waiting for shipment?—I have heard a statement that a certain number were either put to death or got rid of in some way or another, because they had not the means of keeping them, but I am not aware of the number.

4203. Have you ever heard of it in other parts?—I have heard of it in South America. I never heard of it in England. I do not vouch for the accuracy of it; but from what I know of an African chief they are very capable of doing it.

4204. Are the slaves ever hurried on board with an insufficiency of water and other accommodations necessary for their subsistence?—Yes; that frequently occurs.

4205. From what cause is it that a sufficient quantity of water for the voyage, and of other provisions, is not put on board?—A part of it arises from depending upon getting water in casks on the coast of Africa, because if found with them, it would condemn the vessel in going out; sometimes it arises, perhaps, from the inability of getting casks; at other times from being hurried, in consequence of knowing or perhaps seeing a cruiser in sight, they are obliged to cut and run at once; and perhaps it might arise in some individual cases from imprudence of the captain, and from making a longer voyage, and depending upon rains, which he did not fall in with.

4206. Would the captain of a slaver, finding a favourable opportunity for embarking his slaves and putting to sea, run the chance of the rain falling, and so obtaining a supply of water for his slaves from such a precarious source?—He would, if he knew that if he remained a few hours longer a cruiser would be on the coast; he would go to sea and run the risk in any way that he might, either by distilling a little on board, or trusting to rain.

4207. Then the sufferings on board the slavers, engendered by such circumstances, are directly attributable to our attempts at suppressing the slave trade?—Entirely so.

4208. Do the slaves in consequence of insufficient accommodation and other causes, perish in large numbers on board the vessels?—Occasionally they do; in many cases they do.

4209. Generally speaking, is there a large mortality?—There is.

4210. Is the suffering of such slaves as escape death very great?—Exceedingly so; almost beyond the powers of description. I have seen them when brought ashore, when life has been reduced to the lowest possible ebb; when they have been simply alive; nothing more than that could be stated of them; there was a complete wasting of the whole of the animal system, and a mere mass of bones, but still alive.

4211. To what causes is that attributable?—To a long passage, to a want of sufficiency of food, and to the confinement and foul air.

4212. Is the heat in the hold of a slaver very great?—Yes, I should think from 120 to 130 degrees, taking the Fahrenheit thermometer, and perhaps more.

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4213. What would that thermometer stand at on deck?—Probably not more than 100.

4214. Supposing that the air was not fetid from the crowd of persons and other causes, would that degree of heat expose the slaves to suffering?—Not to a great deal; no. Heat alone would be nothing for their constitution; no injury to them.

4215. What they suffer from then really, is the fetid state of the atmosphere?—The fetid state of the atmosphere, and not having a sufficiency of food and water.

4216. Although the Africans would not suffer from that high degree of temperature, would it not promote a great desire for drink?—Of course it would under those circumstances. Accustomed as they are from their earliest period of life to drink water, and that in very large quantities, their sufferings from want of water are more dreadful than they would be with the Anglo-Saxon race, who are accustomed to drink very little water, and require very little water; but in the tropics they require a large quantity of water and are accustomed to drink plenty of water, and of course the sufferings of people like those are infinitely, if it is possible so to say, more severe in consequence of it.

4217. What quantity of water do you consider that an African would require for his sustenance per day?—A boy of 10 or 12 years of age would drink more than a gallon.

4218. What quantity do they usually get?—It is horrid almost to say; the quantity is very small. I have known from hearsay, within the last two years, that a teacup-full given once in three days, will support life for 20 to 30 days.

4219. Even in that temperature?—Yes; but the loss of life must be great on those occasions.

4220. Is the agony occasioned by desire for water very great?—Indescribable. There are no words that I can make use of that will describe the sufferings in the tropics from the want of water; it is ten times more horrible than the want of food. A man may suffer from the want of food four or five days and think nothing of it, but the sufferings from want of water for two days in the tropics is almost beyond endurance.

4221. Did you ever experience it yourself?—Yes, I have suffered it; I speak from what I have felt.

4222. Besides the sufferings occasioned by the want of water, occasional want of food, and the fetid atmosphere in which the slaves are placed, do they suffer from other causes, such as close confinement and bruises from the manner in which they are confined on board the slaver?—All those causes do act upon them, but I believe that there is nothing which they suffer so greatly from as the want of water. I think that that swallows up the whole of the other small causes.

4223. The slaver, I suppose, is in a very dirty condition?—It must be, because the slaves are jammed in, as I observed before. They are packed in upon their sides, laid in heads amongst legs and arms, so that it is very difficult frequently, until they become very much emaciated so as to leave room, for them to get up alone without the whole section moving together.

4224. Are they permitted to get up?—Small boys would be. Small boys are never confined; but the way in which they are put in now is, that they are generally jammed in in such masses that, even allowing that there was elevation sufficient for them to rise up, they could not rise without the whole section rising. They make two or three slave decks in a vessel which has perhaps six feet between her deck and the beams above. There would be three tiers of slaves stowed away.

4225. In six feet?—Yes; 16 to 18 inches would stow them in; then the timber, or whatever you term it, of which it is built, would occupy the rest of the space; so that you would have three tiers of them in a common deck; therefore there is not room for a very small boy to sit. They are put like books upon a shelf; consequently there is plenty of room for them to lie flat, but not enough for them to elevate.

4226. Do they lie upon their backs?—No; all upon their sides.

4227. Mr. Gladstone.] Can they turn from side to side?—By the whole section turning, not otherwise until they have become a good deal emaciated, and

and some have died out; that, of course, makes more room for the remainder. Jose E. Cliffe, M. D.

4228. *Chairman.*] Are they so placed for the convenience of stowage?—Yes, for the possibility of stowing larger numbers.

4229. By what means is the food supplied to them in that way?—By a man going down amongst them, passing down a calabash with a quantity of rice or beans, or whatever the description of food may be, and passing it round, a little portion to each one.

4230. The slaves are not brought on deck and fed there?—In a vessel where it was well conducted, the old plan used to be to bring them on deck by sections, and let them feed and let them wash themselves, and do what was necessary, and then to take them below again; but now when they are so jammed up it is impossible to do so; in addition to which, the want of water is so great that if they were to see water alongside a great number of them no doubt would jump overboard, without considering that it was salt water, therefore they are fed between decks as much as they possibly can be; a few who are suffering more than the others are occasionally brought on deck, but the object is to keep as many below as possible.

4231. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Is the want of water a general rule?—It appears to have been so for these last few years more than anything else; in making inquiries into their sufferings there appears to be more suffering from want of water than of food.

4232. So much so as to constitute an objection habitually to bringing them on deck for fear they should jump overboard?—It is so stated, and I believe it to be the fact.

4233. *Chairman.*] You spoke of the old system as being a plan of bringing sections of the slaves upon deck and feeding them there, whereas the system which you are referring to is one of feeding them below?—Yes, feeding them below, because they would be in the way in those very small vessels by bringing them on deck.

4234. Since when was the other system adopted?—I speak of the old system as preceding the year 1830, when by your last treaty, or by the principal treaty, the slave trade of Brazil ceased; I think it was either at the close of 1829 or the beginning of 1830; I think in 1830.

4235. In fact it arose in consequence of the increased vigilance of the squadron of the British Government?—Yes; previously to 1830 the sufferings of the trade were very trifling; the slaves were brought in in as good a condition as possible, precisely the same as emigrants. The captain took pride in losing the fewest possible number; he carried a surgeon also, and they had very fair attendance.

4236. Is a surgeon never carried now?—No; a respectable man would not go, and a bad one would not be worth taking.

4237. From the circumstances of dispatch under which you have described that the slaves are constantly embarked, are they not occasionally embarked when they are infected with dysentery, and ophthalmia, and fever?—They are brought down now from the interior of the country, and frequently remain for some length of time in the barracoons, upon a very small or imperfect allowance of food; they become much debilitated by it; consequently, when they are packed on board the mortality will be greater in consequence of their sufferings having been so much prolonged. In addition to which the voyage now, in consequence of having to run out of the usual line where cruisers are, in the place of being 20 or 25 days, may occupy sometimes from two months to as much as four months; and no doubt a great deal of this suffering from the want of food and the want of water, where there has been a sufficiency on board for the usual run of 20 days, may have arisen from being compelled to make such a very long passage of it.

4238. The slaves being packed in those large numbers, and exposed to a long voyage after a considerable detention, are very liable to suffer from diseases?—Yes; those are the cases in which the mortality is much the greatest, where they have been detained for some length of time in the barracoons, not having had an opportunity to be shipped; those are the cases in which the mortality is the greater, because their systems have been worn down previously to being put on board the vessel.

4239. Did you ever know an instance of a vessel losing one-half of her cargo?—

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cargo?—Yes; a good deal more than that. There was an instance in which, out of 160, which was but half a cargo, only 10 escaped, and those 10 were sold for 300 milreas, about 37*l.* I know that personally to be a fact.

4240. In that particular case, did the mortality arise from the want of water, or from contagious disease having got on board?—The slaves had been detained for nearly three months in a barracoon, so I was informed, and had an insufficiency of water. Disease broke out amongst them, apparently fever and dysentery; and they died so rapidly, that when the vessel made a port there were only 10 alive, and those 10 were sold for 37*l.* 10*s.*

4241. Have you ever heard of an instance of so many slaves having perished on board a vessel which had put to sea that it induced the captain of the vessel to return to the coast of Africa for a fresh cargo before he completed his voyage?—As a matter of conversation, but I cannot vouch for the fact, two such instances have been stated to me.

4242. *Mr. Gladstone.*] If the 10 were sold for 37*l.* 10*s.* they must have been purchased at that rate upon the supposition that only one or two of them would survive?—If one that had a more firm or iron constitution than the others survived, it would have been a fair speculation; but the presumption was that they would not survive; and from the risk of producing a contagious disease from the highly diseased state in which they were, it is not every person that would have had them gratuitously.

4243. *Chairman.*] The slaves being packed on board ship in the way which you have described, which precludes the possibility of removing them upon deck, of course all the excrement of those wretched creatures during the whole of the voyage remains in the vessel?—In a certain measure. As far as I am aware, it is found almost impossible to keep them clean.

4244. It must remain altogether in the vessel if they do not go on deck?—Yes. Many vessels after they come in are abandoned from the impossibility of getting any person to clean the vessel. I can mention the case of an Austrian-built vessel, a very fine vessel, in which there had been some French seamen on board; she was cast adrift. The Brazilian government had her brought in and cleaned out by galley slaves.

4245. Of course if that is done with regard to a fine vessel, namely, abandonment, it would be frequently done with regard to a vessel which was of small value?—Yes. This vessel was worth about 9,000*l.*, but the immense number of slaves that she brought over gave the parties such a famous profit that there was no need of troubling themselves about the vessel.

4246. *Mr. Gladstone.*] What became of her?—The government was converting her into a sloop of war.

4247. *Lord H. Vane.*] What was her name?—That I cannot tell, because there were no papers on board of her, there was no nationality left; she was an Austrian-built vessel, and her rigging had been arranged by some Frenchmen, or she had had some French seamen on board.

4248. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Did the Brazilian government get her for nothing?—They brought her in as, I believe, what you call here a derelict, found unknown; but we knew perfectly well whom she belonged to, and everything about her; the fact is well known, and the case has occurred several times.

4249. *Chairman.*] Have you any further information which you can submit to the Committee illustrative of the sufferings of the slaves on board slave ships; are there any facts to which you have not directed our attention?—No; I believe there is nothing more that I can observe upon than that their sufferings are beyond the powers of description, arising from causes which I think I have already enumerated.

4250. There is one cause to which you have not called attention, and that is the nature of the decks; I believe that it has been the practice to pack the slaves away frequently upon the casks, has it not, without the intervention of a slave deck?—Yes, that is very frequently done; but as the African is not accustomed to sleep in a feather bed, from sleeping on a hard cask no injury arises.

4251. Do not they suffer from bruises from being jammed together between the casks?—When they are first put on board, they do bruise; but afterwards they become so emaciated, and are so very light, that the bruising is very trifling then.

4252. *Mr. Gladstone.*] In point of fact, it appears that the progressive emaciation

emaciation of the slaves is a sort of means of preserving their lives?—In a medical point of view, if it were not for that emaciation, they would not exist, because the system being in a torpid state, a very little portion of food will sustain life for a certain time, and a very small portion of air also in breathing; the system is in a state of partial torpor.

4253. Is the Committee to understand that slaves ever pass from Africa to Brazil without being taken on deck at all?—Yes. I should think that in the present state it is frequently done. I do not mean to say the whole of them, but a great number are never brought on deck.

4254. And that there is no rule of bringing them on deck generally and periodically whatever?—No, not now.

4255. Lord *H. Vane*.] There used to be one?—Yes.

4256. Mr. *Gladstone*. When the food is supplied to them, is it possible for the person who supplies it to get among them, between the rows of them, or is it handed from one row to another?—If I were to speak the truth it would be this; the vessels are so excessively offensive that it is perhaps the greatest punishment to which you can put any person on board. There is some half-witted person whom they generally have almost on purpose for it, to pass the food round to them, and he is in such a hurry in doing it that those who are nearest to one of the hatchways are more likely to get a double portion of food rather than that he should go round the sides of the vessel, which is so ill-ventilated that it produces a sickening effect upon him.

4257. Then he does not get upon the level where they are, and pass between the rows of them, helping each one singly?—He should do it, but from the excessively filthy state it is not always done.

4258. Mr. *Jackson*.] He has to get upon a mass of filth?—He has to get upon a mass of filth, and almost upon a mass of living bodies at the same time, because they roll out and take up everything that they can.

4259. Lord *H. Vane*.] In that case some may go without food?—Frequently those that are more remote do not get anything at all, unless they can crawl up over the others, and get nearer to the hatchways.

4260. *Chairman*.] In the case of one of those people dying, how is the body removed?—It lies there till, perhaps, an alarm is given, or something like that, and in the morning it is generally thrown overboard.

4261. Is it always noticed?—There may be instances, and I believe there have been instances, in which they have remained until they have increased the amount of putridity; and, in fact, when they have been thrown overboard you could hardly keep them together, because the putrefaction would be so rapid in a temperature of that kind that in a few hours decomposition would take place; they would hardly hold together to be thrown overboard.

4262. Mr. *Gladstone*.] According to the account which you have given, it must be a matter of considerable physical difficulty to get out the body frequently, if the person happen to die at a considerable distance from the hatchway?—There are no doubt instances where they have been three or four days. Since the slave trade has been carried on in such a suffering manner, personally and directly I have had nothing to do with it.

4263. But you have seen cargoes when they have arrived?—Yes; I have seen some within six months past.

4264. When they were just in the state in which they had come in?—When they have come in I have gone on board a few minutes afterwards.

4265. And have you been below deck?—I have put my head below, but not for very long. A thorough-bred white man could not endure it; I have no doubt he would die from asphyxia.

4266. You have seen enough to give you personal knowledge of the condition in which the slaves are brought across the sea, just as if you had been in the vessel?—Yes.

4267. When the cargoes come in are the slaves, or a great many of them, unable to walk?—Most of them are.

4268. *Chairman*.] Are those men shackled?—No; the little ones which they bring now are not shackled. The most favourite cargoes at the present time are boys of eight to twelve years of age.

4269. Why do they bring them at so early an age?—Because at that age they are smaller, and pack more conveniently, and will endure the effects of the voyage better than persons of a more mature age.

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4270. Those boys, supposing them even in health, would not be capable of any great exertion on their being landed in Brazil?—Not for the first six months.

4271. After the first six months would they be capable of enduring the work required of them?—They would do the work which we have for boys of that age, but we find that by purchasing them young, and bringing them up, they become much better slaves than when they are purchased at a more mature age.

4272. Mr. Gladstone.] Does that never lead to the inference in Brazil that possibly they might have them bred in the country, and still have their labour really upon as favourable terms. If it is found advantageous to bring them from Africa a good many years before they have attained the full strength requisite for labour, does that ever lead to the inference that possibly if they were born in Brazil they might be as effective and as cheap labourers in the end?—I do not exactly understand the question.

4273. When a boy of eight years old is brought to Brazil, at what age do you consider that he becomes a perfectly effective labourer?—At 18.

4274. Therefore he must be fed for 10 years, during which 10 years his labour would be worth comparatively little?—On all establishments boys of that age are always useful; but when purchased so young, and brought up on the establishment, they become the most effective and most attached body of labourers that we have.

4275. If it be worth the while of the planter to feed a young negro for so many years before he becomes an efficient labourer, is that ever regarded as an argument in favour of the free-labour system more at large under which the labourer is born in your own country and is bred up from absolute infancy?—You speak of free labour, if I understand you rightly.

4276. Not absolutely?—The creoles are what we term the labourers born in the country; those of course we consider more valuable than the Africans; they are more enduring.

4277. But are they considered more expensive?—No, I do not know that they are.

4278. Is there any such thing as an estate in Brazil worked by creole labour exclusively?—On the sea coast there are some, but I have no knowledge worth giving upon it.

4279. You do not know whether they are considered to be worked as economically as estates worked by imported labour?—On the sea coast, in those very old establishments, I know nothing worth stating upon it; but in Brazil it has always been the custom to introduce so many men and so few women that there are no old estates of any magnitude that can keep up their numbers without great introduction of Africans.

4280. Is a woman considered a very much less efficient labourer than a man?—No, only they are so mischievous, so troublesome.

4281. Are you prepared to give any opinion upon the general question, whether creole labour is as economical as imported labour?—Yes; I should think in that respect there would be very little difference; if anything, it would be in favour of the creole labour, excepting that the creoles are more troublesome to manage than the Africans; from having been brought up with the whites they acquire a great deal of knowledge which the African does not acquire.

4282. Chairman.] Did you ever know an instance of as many as 1,500 slaves being carried in one vessel?—Personally I cannot say that I did, but from hearsay I am aware of either 1,650 or 1,750; I have been at the place where they were landed; the number was 1,750.

4283. But you have no personal knowledge of it?—I am aware that it was done.

4284. Mr. Gladstone.] It has been estimated that the number of slaves landed in Brazil last year was about 72,000; what should you estimate to have been the number shipped from Africa?—Of that we cannot have a positive knowledge.

4285. Chairman.] When you speak of 72,000 slaves having been landed, you speak of the slaves landed from both sides of the continent of Africa?—Yes, that would be irrespective of where they came from.

4286. Are many brought from the eastern coast?—Formerly a great many were

were brought; at the present time I do not think a great many come. The last year I am only aware of about two or three vessels that came in those parts with which I am immediately acquainted; as there are many places for landing slaves on the Brazilian coast, there might have been others which I am not aware of.

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4287. Would they be comprised in your estimate?—Yes; my estimate of the numbers would be from all the known places; but as we never make any distinction of the countries which they come from I have not the means of judging of that.

4288. Is there a great facility of shipping slaves on the eastern coast?—From the little which I know personally of it, it is a far better place for health than the upper coast; and we suppose that the reason why that place is so well blockaded is because it is a more healthy station than the upper ones, therefore you look more after it. You can do with impunity there what you dare not do on the upper coast. I will tell you what our information is respecting it. When your cruisers are getting weak, and are wearing down on the upper coast, they are sent down to cruise on the eastern coast, as being more healthy; therefore you may have more men die there than are absolutely attributable to that coast. If I were going to the coast of Africa myself I would prefer going to the eastern coast rather than to the other coast.

4289. With respect to the manner in which the slaves are shipped there, are they placed under circumstances equally injurious to themselves on board the vessel; do they suffer as much generally?—I should say that they would suffer more, because the passage would be so much longer unless they are shipped in some out of the way place where there are no British cruisers in the neighbourhood, and then they would be likely to be treated better. In addition to that, there are so many vessels continually going there from the Cape of Good Hope, that slavers are almost sure to be caught, compared with what they are on the upper coast.

4290. Do you distinguish between the slaves themselves which are brought from the two sides of the continent?—Yes.

4291. Do you give the preference to the slaves from the eastern coast?—Yes; we give preference to the Mozambique slaves.

4292. They are a finer race of men?—Yes.

4293. And more tractable?—Yes; they are an affectionate race of people, who soon acquire a knowledge of the value of money, and are fond of trading and hoarding money.

4294. You easily distinguish them in the market?—Yes; according to the race they have either five, seven, or 11 knobs, which are pricked upon the nose, and in such a permanent manner that they never become effaced.

4295. *Lord Courtenay.*] Are those marks made by the dealers in the country?—No; the mother makes them.

4296. *Chairman.*] All the tribes of Africa are distinguished by their respective marks?—Yes, like all other savages by some characteristic mark, so that in war or anything else they are easily recognised.

4297. And that is common to both sides of the continent?—Yes; the same as New Zealanders, or any other savages; they all have their national marks.

4298. *Lord Courtenay.*] Are you aware of instances in which slaves exported from the east coast have been brought from parts of Africa more nearly approaching the west, so as to be taken almost entirely across the continent of Africa previously to exportation?—Some slaves were purchased a very short time ago from that coast (they were shipped, in fact, at Mozambique) that were Benguela slaves, and I suppose they must have gone overland. I do not know of any other way that they could have got down to Quillimane without going overland.

4299. Are you able to give the Committee any explanation of that circumstance, why being so much nearer the western coast, they should be taken to the eastern coast previously to their exportation?—I could give the explanation; it was because that part happened to be excessively strongly blockaded at the time; that was the reason, and rather than let them die it was better to march them overland, and get a chance of sending them.

4300. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Is the marching them across a matter of ease?—I should say it took several months.

4301. With great risk of exposure to drought?—I do not know; that would depend

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depend upon the season of the year, whether it was the rainy season or the dry season. I can form no opinion upon that.

4302. *Chairman.*] With respect to the condition of the slaves when they are landed, are they in a state of great suffering?—They certainly are.

4303. Have you seen many cases of the slaves landed from the slavers on their arrival?—Yes.

4304. In what condition did you find them?—I do not know I could describe it, to be intelligible to you. I do not think that I have power of description enough to describe it.

4305. *Mr. Gladstone.*] You have told us these three things, that they are, very many of them, in a situation of acute suffering, and at the same time of great physical reduction and torpidity of the animal functions?—Yes; so that the knee bones appear almost like the head of a person; from the arm you may slip your finger and thumb up; the muscular part of the arm is gone; it is a mere bone covered with a bit of skin; the abdomen is highly protuberant; it is very much distended; very large. I am speaking of them just as they are landed. A man takes them up in his arms and carries them out of the vessel; you have some slave or some person that must do it if they are not capable of walking; they are pulled out, and those that are very dirty are frequently washed.

4306. *Lord H. Vane.*] Do they recover very rapidly after they are once landed?—That is according to the treatment. In those establishments in which they are kept, where they have a clever medical man, by putting them into a warm bath, and by giving them a suitable diet, and suitable regimen, those that will recover do recover quickly.

4307. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Are they for the most part lifted up on deck?—A great many of them are; a good many make attempts; they could not stand even if they were not so much emaciated. From not having perhaps stood upright for a month or two, the muscles have lost the power of supporting them.

4308. *Chairman.*] The eye has lost its speculation?—Precisely so; it has an idiotic appearance; a leaden appearance; in fact, a sunken appearance. It is almost like the boiled eye of a fish.

4309. In fact, nature is reduced to the very last stage consistent with life?—To the lowest stage in which it is possible to say that they are yet living.

4310. Do they suffer much from bruises and sores?—Many become bruised; and there are many cases in which a gangrene probably takes place, or a very large ulcer takes place from lying so long in such putrid materials they have to lie in. Many no doubt die from it.

4311. Do they suffer very much from a sort of disease called crawcraws?—Yes, but that is not on board the ships; that is a land disease.

4312. Is it not very rapidly communicated from the contact in which they are placed?—Yes, it passes like the itch would pass.

4313. Have you ever formed any estimate of the numbers who perish after they are landed?—No. In some vessels, where the captain is a humane and clever man, the mortality is always a great deal less. Where the man is a humane man, and has plenty of resources within himself, the amount of positive suffering is never so great; but with those who are more careless, the sufferings are indescribable. There is everything bad that you can either mention or fancy.

4314. The suffering would be also proportionate in some degree to the length of the voyage; whether the vessel was obliged to take a zigzag course, or caught in a calm?—Yes, that frequently occurs.

4315. And a hundred other casualties?—Yes.

4316. The slaves usually require some period of time before they can be sufficiently recovered to be brought into the market?—Frequently three months; they require to be fed and taken care of before any person would take the trouble of buying them.

4317. When they are first landed where are they placed?—In a species of barracoon.

4318. In a species of hospital, in fact?—No, a mere barracoon.

4319. *Lord Courtenay.*] A barrack?—A barrack.

4320. *Chairman.*] They are disposed of in the barracoon, in order that they may recover their health and strength before coming into the market?—The reason

reason of putting them into such a place is this: no owner of an establishment would permit a new cargo of slaves to be taken to his property, because a species of itch, or a disease of the skin which they have very much, would be propagated throughout the whole establishment; therefore no person would have them in a settled place. Those barracoons are in remote places by themselves, where there is no danger of the slaves running away; the object is to have a species of hospital where they are treated till those that get well do get well, and those that die there are buried.

4321. But as a matter of commercial policy, I presume that it is considered desirable to restore them to some degree of health and physical strength before they are exhibited in the market?—Yes. If you did not, when a purchaser took them, unless he had the convenience of taking them by water, he could not take them away; they could not walk; therefore the sooner you can get them into good condition the better; because a purchaser will take them as soon as he sees that they are able to walk, and not before.

4322. Speaking generally, how soon is it after landing before they can be brought to the market?—I have known instances, recently, in which they have been landed, and in 24 hours they have been all sold and taken away, but those have been favourable instances. Then there have been unfavourable instances, in which many of them have been as much as six months before you could meet with a purchaser for them. Both of those are extreme cases; one is highly favourable, for instance, where they have been landed from a steamer, and in the other case their sufferings have been excessive from the length of the voyage.

4323. Mr. Gladstone.] There has been a great decrease in the prices of slaves in Brazil, has there not?—In the last year.

4324. About what time did that decline in prices begin?—I perhaps could make it more intelligible by beginning with 1828. From 1825 to 1828, the price of slaves was from 200 to 300 milreas. From 1828 to 1830, it rose from 300 or 400 milreas, up as high as 1,000 milreas; that was at the time when the trade was put down by treaty.

4325. Was that in anticipation of a stricter system?—That no more would come in; hundreds and thousands ruined themselves by those purchases.

4326. Lord H. Vane.] That only lasted for about a year?—That only lasted for about a year.

4327. Mr. Gladstone.] Subsequently to that there was another decline?—In 1830 the price rose to nearly 1,000 milreas; that was the maximum. In 1831 very little was done; in 1832 about the same; in 1833 it began to go down. From that to 1838 the market was well supplied; prices became from 300 milreas to 350 milreas; that would be the average. On the sea coast, by taking cargoes at that time, you could get them for much less; 250 milreas. It always makes a difference of one-fifth on the sea coast less than in the interior.

4328. Where are you speaking of the prices?—I am now speaking of the sea coast.

4329. You commenced from 1825; did you then speak of the prices on the sea coast?—I spoke of the prices on the sea coast.

4330. Will you have the goodness to carry on the statement, speaking of the prices on the sea coast all the way through?—From 1838 to 1841 they began to rise again; the price had attained 600 to 700 milreas.

4331. From 1841 did the slaves continue at that price?—From 1841 to 1843 they continued at about the same, but in 1843 they became exceedingly dear for a short time. I am only telling you this from memory. Had I been aware of the Committee requiring it, I could have brought a book which would show the actual price of purchases.

4332. What was the case in 1844?—It was in 1843 that I said the price got to its maximum point; they were then worth 800 to 850 milreas.

4333. Eight hundred was the highest of late years?—Yes.

4334. In 1843 the price was 800, and after that it began to decline?—Yes, and has continued on a regular declination till the time when I left South America.

4335. Chairman.] It began to decline in 1843?—The end of 1843.

4336. Mr. Gladstone.] To what do you ascribe the decline?—To the greater number that had been introduced.

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4337. Simply to that cause?—That would be the commercial point of view; the greater number brought in.

4338. Did the demand for the productions of Brazil continue upon the whole pretty much the same?—Yes.

4339. There never has been any such slackening in that as to cause the decline?—No; the more slaves a person gets the more he can pay for.

4340. Has the price of slaves ever varied perceptibly according to the greater or less efficiency of the British squadron; has that ever affected the price of slaves sensibly in Brazil, to your knowledge?—I do not see how I can answer that, because I am not aware exactly of how the British squadron is placed, or the amount of it; I have no other means of judging of it than by the papers.

4341. Still being well acquainted with the course of transactions in Brazil, I do not ask you whether it ought to have been so affected, but I wish to know whether, as matter of fact, in the conversation of the market, the state of activity of the British squadron being a little greater at one time or a little less at another, has had any material effect upon the price of slaves, or whether the movements of the market have been influenced by other causes pretty much, irrespective of the British squadron?—I should think that the British squadron would have nothing much to do with it; the case is simply this, when you block up one place we always find another to go to; we do not know the movements of the squadron until they have been printed in the English papers, and of course that is too late.

4342. *Chairman.*] Have you ever heard it stated as a reason for enhancing the price of slaves that the British squadron on the coast of Africa was very active?—I have; but I considered that simply as chaff for the purpose of enhancing the price of the slaves.

4343. *Mr. Gladstone.*] The highest point in the year 1843 was 800 milreas; what is the price now?—Four hundred.

4344. Has it been a pretty regular decline since 1843 down to 400 milreas?—Yes; 750, 700, 650, 600, 550, 500, 450, and, when I left, 400.

4345. *Mr. Jackson.*] What would have been the probable effect if those cargoes had been landed without the loss; if 35 per cent. additional had been thrown into the market?—I do not think that that would have made much difference.

4346. The demand would have taken them off?—Yes.

4347. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Would not the price have been reduced by that still further?—I fancy not, because there is such a demand at the present time and has been for some years for slaves, that the increased quantity, until you get to a certain point, will not diminish the market value of them, because they do not come up to the demand yet.

4348. If the price has gone down so much, does not that seem to show that although the demand has increased rapidly yet the supply has increased much more rapidly?—No; the view which we take of it is not that; we view the facility of bringing them to be greater.

4349. Then you think that the slave traders have, on the whole, gained upon the preventive means; that they have gained upon the British squadron of late years?—Of course.

4350. And that the case of the British squadron and of those who seek to prevent the slave trade by it, is much less hopeful now than it was a few years ago?—Of course it is.

4351. Experience has confirmed the slave traders in the belief that they can baffle and beat the British squadron?—Yes; because what was carried on in the beginning by each man in the worst manner that he possibly could, is now reducing itself into something of a system.

4352. *Mr. Jackson.*] What have you found to be the average cost of a slave on the coast?—At the present time I do not know what it is. As far as I am aware there is no average, because if you have a vessel and a person has a lot of slaves, you will give a much larger price for them to put them on board in the course of an hour than if you have to wait for them some length of time. If you wait three or four days you will make a more advantageous bargain.

4353. From the information which you have been able to get, do you think that the cost has been more than 5*l.*?—I have known even as much as 8*l.* given; in other cases not more than 3*l.*

4354. The

4354. The price of a slave from 1838 to 1848 has been about 600 milreas? *Jose E. Cliffe, M.D.*
—Yes.

4355. What would that amount to in pounds sterling?—Dividing it by eight would give about the average in pounds sterling. By the exchange of the time, I recollect perfectly at that time it made 70 *l.*

4356. That is a net profit of 65 *l.* upon every slave?—Less those who have died.

4357. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Does the price of the slave on the coast of Africa rise and fall with the market in Brazil at all, as far as you know?—I could not say; the little which I know of it at the present time is this: there is an excessive population there, and if a person will not give the price asked for the slaves, and the parties do not see a probability of getting a purchaser, they will reduce their price like other people, rather than attempt to keep them when they have not the means of keeping them.

4358. You suppose that the present market price on the coast of Brazil is 400 milreas?—Yes, about that.

4359. Is that for an adult able-bodied labourer?—No; I am speaking of new slaves between 8 and 18; the average would be about 12 years of age.

4360. When you spoke of 1,000 milreas in 1830, did that indicate persons of the same age?—At that time they brought them a size larger than they do now; perhaps boys of 16.

4361. Then that indicates not quite the same commodity, so to speak. A negro sold for 1,000 milreas in 1830, does not indicate quite the same commodity as one sold for 400 milreas in 1848?—According to your way of calculating, it would be more beneficial to purchase those boys at the smaller age than the larger.

4362. Notwithstanding there must be a greater cost in feeding them before they become perfectly efficient?—Yes.

4363. Has the cultivation of Brazil extended greatly in the last few years?—It has on the sea coast.

4364. Has much new land been taken in?—A good deal.

4365. For what purposes chiefly?—Sugar and coffee.

4366. Which most?—At first, from 1830, the mania was altogether for coffee, up till about three years back; the coffee decreased very much in price within, say the last five years; sugar plantations have grown up very much on the coast.

4367. Have any estates or lands been transferred from sugar-planting into coffee-planting within your knowledge?—Not within the last few years, but from about 1825 to 1830 a great deal was planted with coffee; it was, in fact, the mania at that time; every person planted coffee.

4368. And coffee continued to be preferred up to about what period?—I should say up to five years back, when a diminution took place in price; since that, sugar.

4369. Since that have many lands been changed from coffee to sugar?—No, not in the way that you express it, because there land is of so little value that when it has ceased to grow coffee it is much better to make a new plantation altogether, and leave the coffee plantation to go to waste, to let it grow up again into wood; the new land is so much more profitable to break up than to make good land out of old land.

4370. Have you documents by which you can give the Committee an accurate account of the price of slaves in each year since 1825?—I have nothing better than a book in which there are entries of buying and selling those things.

4371. Are those entries founded upon actual transactions?—Yes; the purchase of the slaves was so much, and the sale of them was so much; a common day-book, if you must have the question answered.

4372. Have you also the means of giving us an estimate of the numbers imported for each year?—No; I would not try to do that; I am speaking of the average of transactions, and what I know to be the general run of the market, but, as regards the number, I could not state.

4373. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] The greater part of the evidence which you have addressed to the Committee, in answer to their questions, has hitherto related, first, to the horrors of the middle passage; secondly, to the condition of the slave when landed in Brazil, and to his occupation there. Did you ever take
into

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4374. You know nothing historically of the state of the slaves in barracoons?—The only information which I could give relative to their condition in that country is from statements made by the slaves themselves. In the barracoons nearly the same.

4375. Has it ever occurred to you to acquire any information relative to the destruction in the barracoons of slaves brought down for exportation when no convenient opportunity of exporting them has arisen?—I have heard of those things being whispered; no man likes to speak of them openly, but it has been stated that there have been occasions on which there has been a considerable loss of life from not having the means to feed them, and the utter impossibility of selling them.

4376. Do you consider that the loss of human life arising from that cause is to be attributed to British legislation or to the presence of a blockading squadron from the Crown of England, on the west coast of Africa?—Yes; I say so, because if you had given an ample opportunity of exporting those slaves those things would not have occurred.

4377. And so far as the detention of slaves on the west coast of Africa is concerned, you would regard that to legalize the slave trade would remove that horror also from the conduct of the slave trade?—Yes, most assuredly.

4378. But if it be the object of Great Britain, and of the House of Commons in appointing this Committee, to take the best means which may be in the power of Great Britain, or may be recommended by the House of Commons, to provide for the final extinction of the slave trade, do you or do you not consider that the detention of slaves in barracoons must be a necessary consequence of the existing state of things?—Yes, most assuredly.

4379. And therefore the destruction in particular instances of human life by the owners of barracoons is not necessarily an argument against a plan for suppressing the slave trade?—I will mention how it was in the olden time. In the olden time it was much more convenient for a vessel to remain on the coast till she could get her cargo of slaves than to have them detained some length of time waiting for her; but as the trade is now changed, there is no other remedy but barracoons.

4380. Did you ever take Kroomen as slaves on the coast of Brazil?—When you buy slaves, you are not very particular where they come from so that they are not white; there is no difference in the nation.

4381. Have you ever seen a Krooman marked on the forehead perpendicularly and horizontally with the mark of that particular race?—Yes, there are plenty of them.

4382. Have you seen them as slaves?—I have seen them in the West Indies in the olden time.

4383. By "the olden time" do you refer to the period before 1830?—Yes, long before that; I have seen them in Cuba, but not many of that nation; the Coromantis, and Munjollo, and many others.

4384. *Chairman.*] In 1845 a proposal was made to Mr. Hamilton Hamilton, the British minister resident at Rio, by the Brazilian government, which comprised a plan of converting the slave trade into an emigration of free labourers from Africa?—Yes, I have heard those statements made at the time they were published; I think there was some little correspondence published, but never entire.

4385. Do you think that such a project would be feasible?—Yes, I do.

4386. *Lord H. Vane.*] Will you explain what you think would be feasible?—Buying slaves; not waiting to get them, as is mentioned in Captain Denman's evidence, because you could not get more than 1,000 or 2,000, or perhaps 4,000, on the whole coast of Africa in a year, as far as I am personally aware, and those on the sea-coast would not be worth having, only as seamen, not for planters; but if you could have them for seven or ten years they would become not entirely de-Africanized; you could send them back again with tools, but in large bodies, and as nearly as you possibly could, you should return them to the neighbourhood from which they came, and by so doing some industry would arise from it; some increase in the product.

4387. *Chairman.*] Some increase in the products of Africa?—Some increase in the natural products, because those people when they went back would work for

for some time, and probably many of them would never become totally idle; they would always turn their attention to something which they more or less understood; there would be an increased quantity of palm oil, cutting timber, or mining, or planting; something which they would be then doing.

4388. Then if any such plan could be carried into operation it would stop the slave trade?—Ultimately.

4389. And it would not necessitate this forcible detention in barracoons?—No, because I assumed that in that manner the trade would be legalized; it would be legal to bring a certain number of slaves upon such and such conditions, giving security that they should be returned, and the Government taking cognizance that they should be returned; not a nominal treaty, but an actual one.

4390. Perhaps you have heard of the plan which has been proposed for the British Government to send vessels to the coast of Africa, for the purpose of obtaining there free Africans and carrying them to the West Indies, under an agreement to work for a certain period of years?—Yes.

4391. Do you think that a plan something similar to that might be adopted by the Brazilian government?—No, because you would not be able to get enough in that manner; you might perhaps pick up on the whole coast of Africa 3,000 or 4,000 a year; that would be nothing for anybody, and in addition to which they would be only mere criminals that would be sent out.

4392. Mr. Jackson.] Do you think it possible to make arrangements with the chiefs for the hiring of those men, not to call it purchasing them?—I cannot make that distinction, because a chief there will sell you anything; you may call it hiring for 10 years, or what you like, but it is an out-and-out purchase with him; he has no understanding of hiring.

4393. Because the principle has never been laid before him; but do not you think that a man in command of some of the slaves there would be willing to hire them off to the British Government, knowing that they would be improved by the experience which they would gain?—I can give no answer to that, because I have no means of judging of it in that point of view.

4394. How long is it since you were on the west coast?—Some time ago; not a great many years.

4395. Lord H. Vane.] Do you imagine that under any free emigration system any number of labourers could be imported, so as to compete with slave labour?—Not exactly in the way that you really wish to have them hired. If you mean to say that you will buy people and will return them voluntarily at the end of a certain time, you may get any number in that way, because they will be sold the same as slaves; but if you go identically upon the plan of hiring them, I have no knowledge of that, because such a system was not known in my time, and existed in no person's imagination.

4396. Was not that the system contemplated by the Brazilian government in the proposition which was made to Mr. Hamilton Hamilton in 1845; was not that proposition based upon that principle?—It was something like it. But assuming that the English Government agreed to it, would the Brazilian government be able to carry it out?

4397. Am I to understand from you, that even if the Brazilian government came into any such plan, still you think they could not have power, on account of the opinion of the country, to carry out such a plan?—If you would take it in this light, with reference to only those that came in on that footing, you could do it, but it must have no reference to those slaves that we are already *bonâ fide* in possession of. If you propose to bring them in from this time forward in the way which you are speaking of, I believe that the government and public opinion in Brazil would carry it out, but it must have no reference to the slaves that we hold or are in possession of on another footing by actual purchase.

4398. Mr. Gladstone.] Then do you think that a public opinion is growing up in Brazil favourable to the relaxation or improvement of the present system?—Yes. I am sorry to say that in the interior of Brazil we are getting a population nearly all black; a white man is becoming now quite a scarcity, a thorough-bred white man without a cross; the population now is getting darker and darker every day; in a very short time there will be no white men left.

4399. Lord H. Vane.] Do you think that that feature of the disproportion
between

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between the two races does produce much effect actually. Do you think that the fact that the number of white men is so small compared with the black population would have any practical effect in preventing individuals from importing slaves?—No; because no matter how black the people are, if they have money to buy slaves they are just as fond of having slaves as anybody else.

4400. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Should you have any apprehension that if the system of importing free labourers in the manner which you have suggested were established, it might create discontent among the old slaves, whose condition would remain unaltered?—That I do not know; it, perhaps, would have some effect that way, to see them sent back again; in one respect it might, in another not, because all the slaves that I have ever spoken to personally have a great horror of going back to Africa.

4401. On what account; perhaps the fear of another middle passage?—No, irrespectively of that; they say they have become Christians; they have learned to pray, and they have learned to use proper food at proper hours; they consider themselves civilized; they wear clothes, and have acquired habits in that way, in that semi-species of civilization; and they would rather be as they are, in a state of slavery, than they would go back again to be made slaves, and sold to some one else.

4402. Are they all baptized?—Yes.

4403. Are they instructed after baptism at all?—Our clergy attempt to do it pretty well.

4404. Are they generally taught their catechisms?—Yes; even though we are not Catholics, we have prayers once or twice a week, and do the best we can in that way; many who are more strict have prayers every morning.

4405. Is any other religion than the Roman-catholic tolerated in Brazil?—Yes, just as much as here; you may pray or not pray, just as you like; go to Heaven in your own fashion.

4406. *Chairman.*] You yourself are a Protestant?—Yes.

4407. *Lord H. Vane.*] Are the Roman-catholic priests very active?—Not now.

4408. *Chairman.*] What is the condition of the slaves in Brazil; are they well treated?—In most cases they are; they have plenty of food.

4409. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Do they get any wages?—Many people give them, and many people do not; the law compels them to work but five days in the week, averaging the year throughout. There are 52 Sundays in the year, and if I recollect rightly, 57 saints' days that are recognised; I think that is the number; on those days they work for themselves.

4410. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Is there much task-work in Brazil?—None; it is a thing totally unknown among Brazilians.

4411. When you speak of wages, you mean wages for extra hours?—No, you make them a gift; a boy comes and says, he wants to buy this or that, and you give it to him; that is the contract between a free man and his slave; it is a gift, it is not a hiring. We frequently let them work over-hours, eight or ten hours, being the usual hours of work for miners; we then give a lot of them a job to do, and they are paid for it at the same rate as we would pay free labourers.

4412. What happens in crop-time on the sugar estates; is the work much prolonged there?—Not a great deal.

4413. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] If it be stated by any gentleman that "some boys that I have could earn from 60*l.* to 100*l.*," are you able to state to this Committee whether the parties in question earned wages, in the English sense of the word, by day-work or by task-work, or whether it was a mode by which the owner, of his own accord, rewarded any special and extra service that such boys may have rendered to him?—My people at present, and for some years, have been employed in mining, and we allow them a certain sum for over-time; two hours in the day frequently, and on the saints' days we pay them. On the Sunday when we require them to work we pay them; when they work at nights we pay them, and keep the accounts equally as strictly as we do for the workmen.

4414. *Chairman.*] What do they do with the money; do they ever purchase their emancipation?—Very rarely; such a thing never occurred with me; not but what they have had money quite sufficient, but they have no great wish to do it.

4415. *Mr.*

4415. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Do they purchase property?—A cow, a horse, or anything like that they frequently keep. *Jose E. Cliffe, M. D.*

4416. Never anything of a permanent nature?—Very rarely; they like to spend it in silk dresses and showy things; old cocked hats and regimentals; old swords; anything excessively showy.

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4417. You mentioned a plan by which you thought that the negroes might be brought into Brazil as free labourers; did you contemplate in that suggestion that they should be nearly all men?—Anything but that.

4418. An equal proportion of men and women?—An equal proportion of the sexes.

4419. Is not that essential for the well working of any plan?—It would be essential. It would not be essential for the comfort of the planter, but it would be essential for those secondary operations which you may require to carry on upon the coast of Africa. It would be for no comfort of ours, but for the ultimate good of the people. By a man having a wife or wives, it would keep him from mixing so much with the people of the country, and he would longer retain his African manners by being with those of his own country than with others.

4420. Do not you contemplate it as the probable result of a plan of that kind, that a greater proportion of the women than of the men would remain behind in Brazil?—My opinion is, that if you left it optional with them they would all remain behind.

4421. Would you object to that?—It would be according to what your object was as regards your intention on the coast of Africa. If you were going to leave us those people free after we had had them for seven or ten years, and to let them run about the country, that would not be for our benefit, because they do not make good subjects. The only object would be to get rid of them again, and have a new set.

4422. If they acquired habits of labour in those seven years, would it not be beneficial to keep them?—No, not generally.

4423. Is not the introduction of a larger proportion of women very essential for the morality of Brazil?—No doubt it would improve the tone of morality.

4424. *Chairman*.] And the comfort?—And the comfort. Because if you put a gang of men to work in that way with an equal number of women, they will work much better, if you can only keep them to the work; but women, like monkeys, take so much looking after. And then the women are always better fed than the men; because the women get their own rations, and they always get some of the best of the men's rations also; consequently they are more healthy, and robust, and strong. They always come in for a better share of everything.

4425. Supposing that any number of Africans so introduced into Brazil should afterwards return to their own country, do not you think that that might be the means of introducing industrial and civilizing habits into Africa?—Of all the methods which have been tried, that perhaps would be the most likely. I do not say that it is the best; but my belief is that it would be the most likely to do it, because the African is very partial to mining, very partial to working for gold; and you might produce a great deal of good in that manner.

4426. Would not they take to other habits besides searching for gold?—Many of them would plant cane; many of them would work on the soil; in palm-oil making. In fact, according to whatever they had been brought up to, they would be the most likely to continue to follow it out. And especially in the place of giving them money, which no doubt the English Government would do, give them tools.

4427. Mr. *Gladstone*.] How do you contemplate that the expenses of the passage each way should be paid?—Just the same as you pay your cruisers at the present time.

4428. By the Government?—Of course.

4429. Each way?—In Brazil, as we are not so badly off as that, we could pay them ourselves; we would pay the expenses of the passage each way.

4430. That is, the planters?—Yes. I should say that we could do that very well; whether the West Indies could or not, you know best about that.

4431. Mr. *Jackson*.] Have you ever made a calculation of what would be

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the cost of taking over 500 men?—No, but I could judge from taking over emigrants from Ireland to the United States. A 20-days' run in the tropics could not be very expensive.

4432. If the average price for an emigrant from this country to the United States was 3 l. 4 s., a hired labourer would not cost any more if carried to Brazil or to our West Indian colonies?—No; take them on the average at 1 l. each, 1 l. would carry them very well, or 30 s. for food, and 1 l. more for freight.

4433. Supposing a vessel took in palm oil and other produce, during the time that the natives were collecting, she would, at a very small cost, take over to the West Indies or to the Brazils from 500 to 1,000 of those men?—Yes.

4434. And according to you, at a cost of about 2 l. or 50 s.?—Yes, because you do not require salt beef and salt pork, and so on, for them. Mandioka and beans and rice would be all that would be requisite.

4435. And yams?—Yes; take them over as people of colour, and not as white people; I would follow their own natural customs.

4436. You would not give them food which Englishmen had been accustomed to, but they would have their own food, consisting of rice and yams, and so on?—Yes; I would observe that I think by breaking away the bars of the rivers, the alluvial deposits of gold, you would ultimately fit the coast of Africa for other people, making it more healthy.

4437. *Chairman.*] You have been on the coast of Africa, and must know something of the natural productions of that continent?—I have been a little on the sea coast; I cannot say very much upon that; all the products which I have known are slaves, bees' wax, ivory, shea butter, hides, cotton.

4438. Palm oil?—Palm oil or cocoa-nut oil, gold dust.

4439. Skins?—Skins in the raw, and some imperfectly tanned. There are many dyestuffs and many valuable species of woods in the neighbourhood of the rivers; I do not know much else, if anything.

4440. *Mr. Gladstone.*] What number of slaves are employed in mining in Brazil?—I cannot tell; as a matter of estimate we think that about 40,000 are employed for diamonds, slaves and people.

4441. And in other mines, how many?—It would be a simple supposition on my part; there may be 20,000 men, but it is mere supposition.

4442. What is the whole labouring black population of Brazil?—I do not know; there is no possibility of estimating it.

4443. It has been given in evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, that the increase of sugar plantations in Brazil has been partly connected with the depression of our West Indian Colonies?—Yes.

4444. Is that the case extensively, in your opinion?—It is the case; because within the last year, as soon as it was known that the differential duty was to cease, the government immediately ordered two very extensive sections of country to be laid open for planters, in which they will give a quantity apparently of from 500 to about 800 acres of land to any person who is willing to take it up, who possesses over and above 50 slaves. Many have got grants there of 4,000 acres of land.

4445. *Chairman.*] Have you any notion what the whole area of that plot of land is, in acres?—It is a very large block; it extends some degrees in length; it is many leagues in breadth also; I cannot state the extent, because it was not all surveyed when I was there; it was bounded by mountains in an unknown district.

4446. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Has much land been occupied in those districts?—When I came away they were cutting a road, and the first party of explorers had gone there and had not returned.

4447. In speaking of the period of depression of our West Indian colonies, you mean the period of the reduction of the differential duty against Brazilian sugar?—When the government of Brazil saw that your planting in the West Indies must ultimately come to nothing, they were of opinion that by stimulating the industry of the population to plant more sugar and less coffee for a series of years till the market was overdone, it would be a more profitable speculation.

4448. Was the time when the government took that view the time of the reduction of the differential duty on Brazilian sugar?—A very clever minister some years ago pointed out that this would occur, and he caused the first outline of the survey to be made.

4449. He

4449. He pointed out that what would occur?—That your colonies would ultimately go all to ruin; I speak of the West Indies and the Mauritius. *Jose E. Cliffe, M. D.*

4450. Did he point out that they would go to ruin on account of diminished industry on the part of the negroes, or on account of the alteration of the law at home?—He could not speculate upon the alteration of the law; he speculated upon what we knew of the natural slave habits, that by making the slaves free you would go on and on till at last there was nothing more to go on with.

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4451. Am I to understand you that you suppose that the West Indian colonies have been depressed because the industry of the negroes in the West Indies has been progressively diminishing, or do you ascribe that depression to the admission of the Brazilian sugar to compete with theirs?—That of course I can say nothing about; this minister said, "We will have some ground ready to plant sugar, because we know that the English colonies sooner or later will go to ruin; we will be ready for them."

4452. But did the government lay out those districts of which you have spoken for cultivation at the period when the differential duty on Brazilian sugar was reduced here?—No; the original plan was formed some years back, but it was only last year that they began to offer those grants of land in those places.

4453. Not having offered them before, what induced them to do it last year?—Because they considered that there would be a much better market for sugars.

4454. *Chairman.*] An extended market?—An extended market and a market where there were not sugars before introduced from Brazil.

4455. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Although the plan was not carried into effect till last year the Committee understand you to say that it was formed by a minister of Brazil, with reference to a contingency which actually happened?—Yes; who spoke of it as a thing that would come.

4456. *Chairman.*] Do you know that tract of land which you have spoken of?—I have been over some of it.

4457. Is it in a very high degree of fertility?—Yes; finer land perhaps the sun does not shine upon; it is land upon which I observe that there are a large number of forest trees growing of 10, 12, or 15 feet in diameter.

4458. *Lord Courtenay.*] Where is that tract of land?—On the sea-coast.

4459. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Can you form any idea of the quantity of sugar which can be produced from the new area opened to sugar cultivation by the late measure of the government of Brazil; or can you give the answer in another form, by stating how many millions of acres may be found in the area so allowed for sugar cultivation?—No; I can form no opinion of that, because a great part of it is so little known; there are hundreds of miles of country which no one knows anything correctly about.

4460. *Lord H. Vane.*] But the extent is very great?—Yes.

Captain Christopher Claxton, R. N., called in; and Examined.

4461. *Chairman.*] YOU are an Officer in the British Navy?—I am.

4462. And have been in command of the "Great Britain"?—I have had charge of the "Great Britain" lately.

*Captain
C. Claxton, R. N.*

4463. Have you been on the coast of Africa?—I have been on the coast of Africa a great while ago.

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4464. Have you any acquaintance with the slave trade?—Not at all; I only want to say a few words about the "Great Britain."

4465. In connexion with this subject?—In connexion with this subject.

4466. Will you make that statement?—It is simply that as the Government are sending vessels to carry Africans to the West Indies the "Great Britain" would carry more in one trip than all that they have sent put together.

4467. You think that would be an economical mode of conveying them out to the West Indies?—I think that it would not only be an economical mode, but a mode which would give great satisfaction; and that inasmuch as she would carry 1,200 very comfortably, it would not be worth while for the Government to let their officers go with them.

4468. How do you connect that with the slave trade?—I understood that you were also looking to the view of putting down the slave trade by importing immigrants

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immigrants into the West Indies. If they are to be obtained, one of the great drawbacks to their going is that the officers are obliged to be on the coast who superintend the embarkation and so forth; in this case it would be worth while for the officers to be in the ship, she carrying so large a quantity as she might.

4469. What number of Africans do you think you could carry in the "Great Britain"?—According to the Government regulation of 12 feet to one man, she would carry 1,500.

4470. In what length of time do you think she could make the voyage from the coast of Africa to the West Indies?—She could make the voyage from the nearest part of the coast of Africa to the West Indies in about 18 days, and from the furthest part of the western coast in about 25 days.

4471. To what part of the West Indies would she take them?—Anywhere. She would be four days longer going to Jamaica than to Trinidad, Demerara, or any of the Leeward Islands.

Martis, 16^o die Maii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Lord Courtenay.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Hutt.

Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Simeon.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Captain Thomas Forsham, called in; and Examined.

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4472. *Chairman.*] YOU reside at Birkenhead?—I do.
4473. You have been some years engaged in the African trade?—I have.
4474. Between Liverpool and the coast of Africa?—Yes.
4475. How many years have you been engaged in that trade?—I have been in the trade since 1831.
4476. And are, I presume, very well acquainted with the west coast of Africa?—Yes; the Bight and the rivers.
4477. Between what points does your acquaintance with the coast of Africa extend?—I know it from sailing along it, from Mesurado to Cape St. John, on the south coast, nearly upon the Line.
4478. Still north of the equator?—Yes.
4479. Having had so much experience of that portion of the coast of Africa, you must have been led to form some opinion of the nature of the operations of the British squadron on the coast for the purpose of preventing the slave trade?—Yes.
4480. What is your opinion of the success of those operations?—From my own experience and what I have heard, I have known them to be successful in capturing slaves; but I know that there are a great number of slave vessels which escape capture.
4481. Are you of opinion that the operations of the British squadron on the coast prevent the exportation of slaves in large numbers from Africa?—I do not believe they do. From the oil rivers the slave trade is not carried on; not directly from the oil rivers.
4482. But the slaves are carried from other parts of the coast?—They are.
4483. If the British squadron succeeds in preventing the slaves being carried away from some points, are not the slaves necessarily carried off from others?—There is no doubt of it; they are carried from one part of the country to the other by the creeks which intersect the country.
4484. Are you of opinion that it would be possible for the British squadron to prevent the carrying away of slaves from one point or another of that coast?—No, I do not think it would be possible.
4485. You look upon the undertaking as not likely to be attended with success?—

success?—I think, myself, that so long as there is a demand for slaves they will be procured from the coast of Africa, from some point or another, from the facilities in the interior, by the creeks, of removing them in the canoes great distances.

4486. Are you aware whether the slave trade is or is not carried on now under circumstances of great cruelty?—I should say it was.

4487. Do you think that the cruelties are at all aggravated by the attempts to escape the vigilance of the British cruisers?—No doubt they are, on account of the hurry which they are in, in shipping them and carrying them away in an unprepared state. If they have any suspicion of a cruiser being near, they will scarcely hesitate at anything in making an attempt to get the slaves on board and escape.

4488. Is the commercial intercourse between the coast of Africa and this country on the increase?—It is.

4489. With a view to the prevention of the slave trade, do you think it desirable to promote that commercial intercourse?—I can only speak as far as the rivers go. As far as increasing the commercial intercourse in the rivers, I have no doubt that it would do a great deal towards it. At present there is no slave trade carried on directly from the rivers, and I think that by extending the commerce, it would prevent their allowing foreign slavers to come in there.

4490. Have you been much on the coast of Africa?—Yes.

4491. The institution of domestic slavery is common in Africa, is it not; in all parts of it?—Yes.

4492. Do you understand that they dispose of their own slaves for the purposes of the foreign slave trade?—I believe they formerly did; I think not at present. Where they have had useless slaves, or slaves who have misbehaved themselves, I have known them to have been sold to the foreign slave vessels.

4493. As a species of punishment?—Yes; to get clear of them.

4494. Do you think that the slave trade has any tendency to drive out the legitimate commerce on the coast of Africa?—No, I do not think that it has at all; I cannot see that it has or can have any tendency to do that.

4495. Do you think, on the other hand, that legitimate commerce would have a tendency to suppress the slave trade?—I do.

4496. Since you have been acquainted with the coast of Africa, has there been any marked extension of particular branches of commerce?—The palm-oil trade is the principal trade; it is almost a monopoly.

4497. Has that largely increased?—Yes, it has.

4498. You stated that it was almost a monopoly?—It is the only trade in the rivers; and what I mean by its being almost a monopoly is, that it is confined almost to Liverpool; the merchants lately have not, that I am aware of, looked to any other trade or commerce out of the rivers.

4499. They do not export from Africa any gold dust?—That is on the windward coast. I am not acquainted with that trade; I have been down it, but never traded there to any extent.

4500. In the course of your commercial operations on the coast of Africa, have you ever felt the advantage of the British squadron in the neighbourhood?—No, not individually.

4501. You have never had occasion to apply to the captain of a man-of-war for assistance?—No, I never have; it has been done frequently by masters of vessels and supercargoes in the rivers.

4502. Are you of opinion that it is very desirable to keep up a large squadron on the coast of Africa for the purpose of protecting British commerce?—No, by no means.

4503. Is there anything that British commerce on the coast requires, which could be legitimately supplied by the British Government?—Yes, I should say protection afforded it; and I think that, provided we had a British consul somewhere in the Bight, with a man-of-war occasionally looking into the rivers, it would be beneficial to the commerce; we should have more confidence in trading.

4504. Do you know anything of the disposition of the natives of Africa along that portion of the coast with which you are acquainted, to emigrate?—I do not think that they would emigrate; they are averse to it. I am only acquainted with the rivers; that is, the Bonny, the New Calabar, the Old Calabar, and the Cameroons.

4505. Mr. Jackson.] Which rivers have you been in?—I have been in all those rivers.

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4506. The Cameroons?—Yes.
4507. The Old Calabar?—Yes.
4508. The New Calabar?—I have not been trading in the New Calabar; I have in the Bonny.
4509. Have you been up the Brass?—No.
4510. The Nun?—No.
4511. The Benin?—No.
4512. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Your experience does not enable you to state with respect to the whole population along that extent of coast to the Line that the natives would not be disposed to emigrate?—No; as far as the Kroo coast I know; that is from Grand Bassam to St. Andrew's.
4513. Do you think that that would supply a considerable number for emigration?—No; I do not think they would emigrate to remain any length of time from their own country.
4514. The Kroo people are much in the habit of leaving their own district, are they not?—Yes; they are very willing to go on board the ships that are lying to trade in the rivers, and to remain with them in the country; but they have an aversion to coming to England, unless they have a promise to be returned immediately to their own country.
4515. They do not like to remain long away?—No.
4516. Mr. *Jackson*.] Have you not known many of the Kroomen come three, four, or five times to Liverpool on board ship?—Not without their being in their own country in the interval.
4517. After they have returned to their own country they have never objected to take the voyage again?—No, provided they are sent back again. I have had one over four times with me.
4518. He had no reluctance whatever to come to England?—No.
4519. But rather a desire, while he could go back again?—Yes. Even those who have never been do not refuse to come; they do object to come in the winter months, when they can avoid it; and will not come at all unless they have a guarantee to be returned.
4520. With that guarantee given to them by the master of a British merchantman, have they the slightest objection to placing themselves under his protection, and leaving their own country to come to England?—I have never found them to have.
4521. You have no doubt in your own mind that hundreds would take the same view, and come if required?—I dare say they would.
4522. Your experience in the Bonny, the Old Calabar, and the Cameroons, you say has been since the year 1831?—Yes; I have been trading since 1833 myself in the rivers.
4523. Did you not find that as the trade in those rivers increased for palm oil, the slave trade diminished in proportion?—Yes; since the palm-oil trade has increased the slave trade has diminished decidedly in the rivers.
4524. And do you attribute that to the increased demand for palm oil yielding a greater profit to the black man than the sale of the slave does?—No; I should say that the sale of slaves would yield a greater profit, but I attribute it to the treaty which was made with the kings by the British Government.
4525. Are you alluding to that treaty which Captain Tucker made?—I am.
4526. Which has never been fulfilled?—Not thoroughly.
4527. By the British Government?—By the British Government.
4528. I think you were a party to that, were not you?—No; I was not in the river at the time it was made.
4529. But you have heard of it?—I have.
4530. Are you aware that certain measures were taken by Captain Tucker to induce King Peppel to enter into a treaty with this Government for the purpose of abolishing external slavery in his dominions; and that the British Government did not fulfil their portion of the contract?—Yes.
4531. The treaty has been of use, I suppose, inasmuch as it has left a sort of moral influence on the mind of the King of the Bonny that it will still be carried out?—I do not know.
4532. But he has not pursued the slave trade since that period?—I believe not. I have not heard of a slaver being in the Bonny since 1838; there was one there when I left the river in that year.
4533. Can you give the Committee any idea of the increase in the supply of palm

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palm oil, from the year 1831 to the year 1848, or thereabouts?—In the Bonny River, I cannot. I have not been trading lately in the Bonny River, but in the Old Calabar.

4534. When were you last in the Bonny?—I was last in the Bonny in the year 1844, I think.

4535. Perhaps you can give us a general idea of the increase between 1831 and 1844; whether the quantity was doubled or trebled?—I should say it had been nearly doubled.

4536. What has been the increase in the last three years in the Old Calabar?—Nearly double.

4537. In the three years?—I think it has.

4538. Owing to internal wars, a great portion of the trade which was carried on in the Bonny is now carried on in the Old Calabar, is it not?—It was supposed to be so for a short time, when the Bonny war first commenced and was raging; but there was a war which broke out likewise in the Old Calabar River with the Andonee people and the natives of the interior, at the markets where the oil came from, and that for a length of time prevented oil from coming down to the Old Calabar; but afterwards there was a greater supply.

4539. You knew Eyo Honesty and Eyambo?—Very well.

4540. They were both men who could speak English, and read?—Yes.

4541. You have no doubt seen their letters?—Yes.

4542. They were men from whom you could get particulars as to the natives in the interior?—From Eyo particularly.

4543. Have you ever gathered from him how far the effect of British commerce upon the chiefs of the rivers has extended into the interior of Africa?—I have learned, not the exact distance, nor the district, but that they have extended their markets, and are still extending them, finding new creeks and new markets.

4544. In the interior?—In the interior. They generally go by the length of time which the canoes take; the markets are a fortnight, or three days, or five days, and some as long as a month.

4545. Then the greater the supply of British goods, the greater is the amount of African produce, and the greater is the extent of territory from which the produce of Africa is derived?—Just so.

4546. And the further the trade goes into the interior of Africa?—Just so.

4547. Therefore, one advantage of the increase of commerce with the traders on the mouths of the rivers would be to extend the trade in the interior of Africa to a considerably greater amount than is carried on now?—Yes.

4548. In your experience, have you ever seen or heard of any pirates on the coast?—I have heard of them; and I was once myself boarded by a schooner that I have no doubt was a pirate.

4549. When was that?—It was in 1836, I think.

4550. Whereabouts were you?—I was then off Cape Mesurado.

4551. Have you ever required the assistance of any British man-of-war when trading in the rivers for any other purpose than collecting in the trust?—No.

4552. You have never been assailed by the natives?—No.

4553. Do you think that it would require the presence of a man-of-war to protect you from any assault on the part of the natives?—I think it would; I think it would be good, because in case of any disturbance or ill-feeling in point of trade, a man-of-war would mediate and settle things quietly.

4554. During the 17 years' experience which you have had on the coast, you have never yet had occasion to call in a man-of-war to settle any other difference between you and the natives, except to collect the trust, which may have been judiciously or injudiciously given to the black man?—I have not.

4555. Have you known of any other instance in which a man-of-war has been required to be called in for the purpose of protecting the commerce?—I heard of an instance, a short time ago, in the Bonny River, where the supercargo of a vessel had met with his death from the natives.

4556. Were you in the Bonny at the time?—I was not.

4557. You do not know the particulars which gave rise to the assault on that man, and the cause of his death?—I do not.

4558. You do not know that he was the assailant in the first instance?—I do not; I only have it from hearsay.

4559. Your certain knowledge is confined to the three rivers which you have named?—To the rivers.

4560.

4560. And

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4560. And your knowledge of the windward coast is merely that which as a passer by you have obtained; you are not able to tell us the ports on the windward coast?—No.

4561. Mr. Gladstone.] You have not yet explained to the Committee the precise manner in which you think that legitimate commerce would tend to the extinction of the slave trade?—I think that if commerce were extended in the rivers it would call the attention of the chiefs and traders there entirely to it; they would require more hands and more canoes to go further into the interior for the oil.

4562. Do you think that they would find a more profitable occupation for the people, whom they now sell as slaves, in employing them as labourers in the preparation and bringing down of the produce of the country?—I do not know how far the lucrateness of it might be found, provided the slave vessels went there; but I do not think they would. In the Old Calabar, particularly, I do not think that the king would allow slavers to enter again.

4563. In consequence of what?—In consequence of the treaty that he entered into; and likewise from his wish to be under the protection of the British Government.

4564. We wish to set aside for the present the consideration of any effect that may be produced by positive treaty stipulations, and also to set aside the consideration of the desire that native powers may have to associate themselves in any manner with the British Government. Looking specifically and exclusively to the operation of those motives which commerce would set in action, how is it that you think that those motives would be brought to bear in favour of the limitation or extinction of the slave trade; do you think that the chiefs would find legitimate commerce more profitable, or is it that you think that finding it as profitable and more respectable, they would on the balance give it the preference?—So long as there was a great demand for slaves, no doubt the slave trade would be the most profitable; but I think that they gain a sufficient profit now, in point of commerce, and by increasing it they would gain more; they would get further into the interior and have cheaper markets, and get a greater profit upon the articles which they brought down.

4565. And you think that finding legitimate commerce profitable, they would be satisfied with it, without perhaps minutely calculating whether the slave trade could yield a larger profit?—I have no doubt that they would.

4566. Then you think that the presence of our cruisers is very effective in repressing the slave trade?—In the rivers that I have spoken of it has been so; as also the treaty, which they still consider binding.

4567. Mr. Jackson.] You say that you have not experienced the effect of the slave trade yourself?—No.

4568. Therefore you cannot judge what the effect would be upon the legitimate commerce which was carried on previously?—I can only judge that if it were allowed it would no doubt be more profitable for a time, and would of course injure the British commerce.

4569. It would interfere seriously with the legitimate commerce of the rivers?—Yes, I believe it would.

4570. Therefore you, as trading to the coast of Africa, representing the interest of a British merchant, come to this conclusion, that every slaver in the River Calabar was an impediment, rather than a gain, to the legitimate commerce of the country?—No doubt of it.

4571. And if the slave trade were carried on upon the coast, and in the interior, where the palm oil comes from to supply the demand on the coast, would it not tend to disorganize all those arrangements which have been entered into between petty chiefs and traders, and to prevent that palm oil from coming which now finds its way to the ships in the rivers?—No doubt of it, because the people employed in getting palm oil would then be employed in getting slaves.

4572. And it would very much interfere with the profits which the chiefs in the rivers now get by palm oil?—Of course.

4573. Therefore at present it is more advantageous for the chiefs on the coast to carry on legitimate commerce than to carry on the slave trade, which might or might not be more beneficial?—Yes, I should take it in that light myself.

4574. The one is certain?—The one is certain, the other is attended with a risk.

4575. The one is attended with no risk, the other is attended with a great risk?—Yes.

4576. Colonel

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4576. Colonel *Thompson*.] Do the Kroomen take by preference to the sea business; do they prefer being employed on board ship?—Yes.

4577. And are they generally so employed?—Yes.

4578. To what extent did you ever know them to be employed in agriculture?—None, except just merely planting a little rice and corn in their own country along the sea coast; that is the only knowledge which I have of it.

4579. Then it does not appear to you to be likely that Kroomen would agree to go to the West Indies for the purpose of cultivation?—I do not think they would; they would prefer going as they do in the ships, and assisting in the merchant vessels, as they do in their own country.

4580. Mr. *Jackson*.] Have you any idea what Eyambo or Eyo Honesty would get in the way of profit from a puncheon of palm oil?—No, I cannot tell you that.

4581. You have no idea what the cost of a slave would be?—No.

4582. And not knowing which is the most profitable, you cannot come positively to the conclusion that he would make more by the slave than by the palm oil?—No, only by hearsay.

4583. You assume the fact?—I do.

4584. Mr. *E. Denison*.] The slave trade is a trade in which large profits are made, is it not?—I believe it has been, and is still.

4585. Supposing that a demand for slaves should continue in Cuba and in the Brazils, looking to the great extent of the coast of Africa, do you not think that they would always be able to get slaves if they wanted them?—I have no doubt of that.

4586. *Chairman*.] I understood you to say that the British squadron had been the means of suppressing the slave trade to some extent?—As far as making captures, it has.

4587. I think that the explanation which you gave was, that the British squadron had negotiated treaties with the kings and chiefs of Africa, and in that manner had effected an extinction of the slave trade at particular points, rather than by the employment of force?—Yes, there was no force required afterwards; no slavers came into the rivers.

4588. Mr. *Jackson*.] Then the treaties have done more to put an end to the slave trade in the oil rivers where you have traded than the force which the squadron could bring to bear against it?—Certainly; there has been no occasion for force.

4589. You consider that the treaties, which have cost this country a mere bagatelle in comparison with the squadron, have done more good than the squadron in the rivers?—In the rivers that I have been into, certainly.

4590. Have you ever heard the principal traders in the River Calabar express any desire to re-open the slave trade?—No.

4591. No desire whatever to alter the present system of legitimate commerce which is carried out?—No.

4592. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Then do you think that if the squadron were removed from the rivers, there would be a re-opening of the slave trade, or not?—King Eyo, the present king of the country, would, I think, as far as lay in his power, repress it, and would not allow slavers to come into the river.

4593. Speaking of all the rivers, do you think that the slave trade would revive in those rivers if the squadron were removed?—Not in Old Calabar, but I could not say for the Bonny and the New Calabar Rivers.

4594. You think it might?—I think it might there.

4595. Mr. *Jackson*.] In the Old Calabar and the Cameroons, you think not?—In the Old Calabar and the Cameroons, I think not.

4596. You have a greater knowledge of the Calabar than of the Bonny?—I have had no knowledge lately of the Bonny. From what I have known of that part, and of the conduct of the king and the natives before, I should say that they would willingly enter into it again, if they had the opportunity.

4597. Has not the trade somewhat diminished in the Bonny lately in palm oil; there has not been the same quantity exported?—For some two or three years, when the war was raging, there has not; but there is a greater supply again.

Captain *George Mansel*, R.N. called in; and Examined.

4598. *Chairman*.] YOU were, I believe, for some time in command of the squadron on the west coast of Africa?—I was.

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4599. You

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4599. You also commanded a frigate under the admiral on that station?—I did; the "Actæon."

4600. When did you leave the African station?—At the commencement of this year.

4601. How long were you stationed on that coast?—Three years.

4602. Do you consider that the present squadron is in any respect inferior to the African squadron in former times?—Quite the reverse.

4603. You think that it is in a high state of efficiency?—I do.

4604. Is the slave trade, according to your information, carried on more or less successfully now than in former times?—I have understood that it is more successfully carried on of late; but I do not know exactly how to reconcile that with my own experience upon the station as to the increased number of captures, particularly in parts where slaves were collected in very large quantities, and, from the frequent captures of vessels directed upon that part of the coast for their transport, were, as I was informed by the governor-general of Angola, in a state of actual starvation, from the impossibility of embarking them; that is particularly at a place called Mazoula and its vicinity, which is nominally within the territories of the crown of Portugal, but over which the Portuguese exercise no authority whatever; it is between Ambriz and St. Paul de Loando.

4605. Do you consider that the number of captures made by the British squadron is any proof that the slave trade is not carried on with activity?—None whatever.

4606. Is it not rather a proof to the contrary, that it is carried on with activity?—Yes, I conceive that it is. But to give an idea of the risk incurred by those people, and the losses which they sustain, and the great expense that they must go to in insurance, which I believe is carried on to a great extent, I can state a circumstance respecting five very fine clipper vessels which were started at one time from Brazil belonging to the same owners. I had received very clear information on the subject of which I am now speaking. One of those vessels was captured by the "Styx," one by another steam-vessel, I believe the "Devastation," one by the "Contest," one by the "Actæon," whilst the fifth accomplished her object. The slave dealers themselves admit that where one vessel out of five, or even six, effects its purpose, they are more than indemnified for the loss of the others, so much is the value of the slave enhanced by the difficulties and impediments thrown in the way of the dealer, as well as by the increased demand for the produce springing from an almost virgin soil.

4607. Looking to the extent of that coast, and to the facilities which the coast affords for the shipment of slaves, do you imagine that it would be possible by any means of naval force to suppress the slave trade, so long as there existed a high demand for slaves on the other side of the Atlantic?—I am perfectly convinced that it would be impossible.

4608. Are you acquainted with the particular plan for the suppression of the slave trade which has been proposed and strongly recommended by Captain Denman?—I know the general outline of the plan.

4609. Have you read the sketch of it which he submitted to the Admiralty?—Yes.

4610. Do you think that the vigorous enforcement of that system would effectually extinguish the slave trade?—I cannot think that it would.

4611. Do you think that it would to any important degree diminish it?—I do not think it would. I differ from Captain Denman in his view of vessels being stationary, and stationary only at certain points. I quite agree that at some points it is necessary to enforce a strict blockade, such as the most notorious slave points, for instance, Cabenda, where the slave trade, I may almost say, is concentrated; it is quite necessary, I am convinced, to have a man-of-war constantly on that part of the coast; but if you are to keep upon an extent of coast, embracing upwards of 2,000 miles, 24 vessels at anchor, I leave you to judge how much of the coast they will leave unguarded.

4612. Are you of opinion, that though by means of that system of blockade some stations might be effectually restrained in regard to the slave trade, the slave trade would shift its quarters and break out elsewhere?—I entertain no doubt whatever of it.

4613. Mr. Gladstone.] Is there any multiplication of the number of 24 vessels by which you think you could effectually suppress the trade?—I should fear not. In order to illustrate what I speak of, namely, the difficulty of vessels doing that,
I will

I will just take the very place I have mentioned, Cabenda. In many parts of that coast there is a very strong current along shore; it is particularly the case at Cabenda. When I commanded the division to the south I was at anchor at Cabenda, from the month of January to the month of May. I frequently used to weigh, and I have been, in trying to get to the Congo from Cabenda, in getting up to a certain point, called Red Point, which is only 12 miles from Cabenda, four days at it, and have been obliged to relinquish it. Therefore a slave vessel might have been taking in her cargo at Red Point within sight of me, and if my boats were absent in another direction, with perfect impunity, and the certainty of embarking and getting away safely; consequently I do not see how that system is to be carried out of keeping ships at anchor to guard the coast. I cannot say that I agree in it.

4614. Colonel *Thompson*.] Would not the employment of steam vessels remedy that?—Certainly steam vessels are preferable, but we have some steam vessels upon the coast. It remains to be seen how the Government would like the expense of steam vessels, because there is a great difficulty about their moving from the coast to take in their coals at the different depôts, and it is not everywhere that you can have them. Upon the south coast there is only one point where we have a depôt, which is at St. Paul de Loanda, where the steam vessel is obliged to proceed for the purpose of coaling, thus quitting her station.

4615. Mr. *Gladstone*.] There is only one depôt for coals upon how many miles of the coast?—From Fernando Po to the southern extreme of the station, viz. at St. Paul de Loanda.

4616. That being what number of miles?—It must be very nearly 1,200 miles.

4617. How is the depôt situated with reference to the extremities; how far is it from Fernando Po?—St. Paul de Loanda is about 850 miles from Fernando Po, to the northward.

4618. And how far from the other extremity?—St. Paul de Loanda is about 500 from the southern boundary of the station.

4619. Therefore it appears that a steam vessel might have to leave her post, and go a distance of 1,000 miles to come back to it with coals?—Yes.

4620. Colonel *Thompson*.] Has not the smuggling trade in the Channel been believed to be in the position of losing four vessels out of five?—I have not the least doubt of it.

4621. Do you think that any important diminution in the smuggling trade took place in consequence?—Certainly not.

4622. You think that the smuggling trade went on as much as ever?—I believe so.

4623. Although they lost four out of five of the vessels?—Yes, I believe so.

4624. *Chairman*.] From the responsible situation which you have held on that station, you must necessarily have paid a great deal of attention to this subject; are you aware of a letter which was addressed by Mr. Clarkson, as president of the Anti-Slavery Society, to Lord Aberdeen, in the year 1845, on the mode of suppressing the traffic?—Yes; I was so much struck with it, that I cut it out of the "Times" newspaper, when I was on the coast, and have it now in my pocket.

4625. Do you generally agree with those views of the Anti-Slavery Society, as expressed in that letter?—Yes, I do, certainly.

4626. As you have Mr. Clarkson's letter, will you be so kind as to read the passages which are more immediately in accordance with your views?—"In pointing out the true remedy for the slave trade, they observe," this is a reference to the African Institution, "Once more, we solemnly repeat, that by the total abolition of slavery only can the slave trade be annihilated. Destroy the demand of the slaveholder, and there will be no longer traffic carried on, to supply wants which shall no longer exist; but whilst a demand, whether for merchandize or for men, does exist, all experience shows that hopes of gain will tempt unprincipled men, despite of all laws, human and Divine, to run every risk in order to supply it." There is another passage, which I would read: "Supposing, however, there were cordial co-operation on the part of other nations, the vast extent of coast to be watched and guarded presents an insuperable obstacle to the accomplishment of the object. No fleet of cruisers that this country could send forth, to the various coasts of Africa, the West Indies, Brazil, and the Eastern Seas, would be adequate to the service. The trade would go on, in spite of all efforts to crush it, and terminate only with the demand. In this view of the case the Committee are fully sustained by the

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high authority of Lord John Russell. When Colonial Minister, his Lordship addressed a communication to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, in which he says: 'To repress the foreign slave trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties.' 'The most cursory glance at official papers will show that the greatest possible number of slaves are now crammed into the narrowest possible space, and that consequences at which humanity sickens are the necessary result.' 'But that new laws will be effectually executed in countries into which they have been introduced on the suggestions of a foreign power, however just in principle, and noble in design, for the purpose of putting down a profitable traffic, against which no moral feelings exist throughout the whole population, is not to be expected.'"

4627. Do you entirely agree with the sentiments expressed in those passages?—I do.

4628. Have you read Sir Fowell Buxton's work on the subject of slavery?—Yes, I have.

4629. Does he support on those points the views of Lord John Russell, Mr. Clarkson, and yourself?—I conceive so.

4630. Have you any hesitation in condemning entirely the employment of a marine force as a means of extinguishing the slave trade on the coast of Africa?—No; I think it is impracticable.

4631. You concur also, I apprehend, in that sentiment of Mr. Clarkson, that the employment of a marine force on the coast of Africa has increased the horrors of the slave trade?—I should fear so.

4632. *Mr. Gladstone.*] With respect to the plan of Captain Denman, I think I may gather from you, that you appear not only to consider that it would not be sufficient for this purpose, namely, the total suppression of the slave trade; but that if adopted without qualification it would not be the best means of using the naval force even for that purpose; that it too much contemplates the ships remaining at anchor?—I think so.

4633. You think that they must be more moveable?—It would be impossible to lay down a general rule for it, but in approaching as nearly to a general rule as you can, I should say that I would keep them differently stationed at different periods, because the correct information that those slaves dealers get of the positions of the vessels of war is astonishing. Should they ascertain that your ships are always at anchor at certain given points, they would direct, as nearly as they could, a simultaneous approach of six or seven slavers to a stated part of the coast, where they would be certain of finding only one of our cruizers stationary; and during the time that one or two of those vessels occupied the cruizer and her boats, the remainder would have time to ship their cargoes without even anchoring, which they have been known to do within a period of three hours, even on an open coast. I therefore believe the better way would be to vary the positions of the cruizers, whether under weigh or at anchor; to alter occasionally their distances from the land, by sealed orders, and thus throw the slave dealer into the greatest possible state of uncertainty as to the difficulties he must expect to encounter.

4634. *Chairman.*] Do you think it possible to raise the activity and efficiency of the squadron to a materially higher point than that which it has now attained?—The only way in which I think that it could be increased would involve a very great increase of expense, and that would be by a further extension of the use of steam vessels.

4635. But assuming the squadron to be composed as it is now, of the present number of steam vessels and of sailing vessels, do you think, speaking generally, that all is done by it that can be done?—I do; it is under the command of a very judicious and energetic officer.

4636. Do you think that it may be argued fairly by those who are much attached to the present system, that even if it does not succeed in extinguishing the slave trade, yet it imposes a very heavy fine upon it in the shape of the numerous captures which are made, and the various expenses to which slave traders are put, and that therefore it is fair to presume that there would be a great extension of the slave trade if the squadron were removed?—I have no doubt that there would be a very great extension of the slave trade temporarily,

if

if the squadron were removed; but if I come to look at it in a more extended view, and more particularly practically in the present state of the world, in case of war, which these people foresee as well as you do, I leave you to judge what will be the effect when they know that it is compulsory upon us to withdraw that squadron; because, in case of war, it would be absolutely impossible for you to keep up 26 sail of small vessels upon the coast of Africa.

4637. But you think that if the squadron were withdrawn, there would be for a time a considerable extension of the trade?—Decidedly.

4638. What would afterwards limit it?—That it would be perfectly satiated.

4639. Then do I understand you rightly to mean this, that ultimately the extension of the trade would be governed by the demand, and that that would be the case whether you had a squadron or no squadron?—Most decidedly. I have been in the island of Cuba some years ago, and from particular circumstances my attention has been very much kept alive on Cuba and the Havannah, and I am very much inclined to think that an unlimited importation of slaves into Cuba would wrest it entirely from the hands of the Spaniards, and convert it into a second Hayti.

4640. You think then that it can only be stated that the squadron diminishes the extent of the slave trade with reference to the temporary extension which it would assume if the squadron were withdrawn; but that, speaking of its permanent extent, the squadron really does not materially affect it?—I am afraid so.

4641. Mr. Jackson.] But if the squadron has the effect of a temporary stoppage of the slave trade, it also increases the horrors?—That I am firmly convinced of, because it could not be the interest of the generality of the slave holders to embark 500 men at the risk of losing 250 of them on the passage if there were no other impediment than that.

4642. If the squadron, therefore, were withdrawn, the glut of slaves in the slave-acquiring countries would be so great as to put a stop to the demand, and the trade would be carried on unaccompanied by the present horrors?—That is my personal idea.

4643. Colonel Thompson.] Do you think that the people of Brazil and of Cuba promote the breeding of slaves?—I am not prepared to answer that question.

4644. Would there not be a perpetual demand for new slaves from the coast of Africa?—I have not the least doubt that there would be a certain demand, but nothing equal to what it is at present.

4645. Why not equal to the present?—Because they would have the whole of their ground in cultivation, and therefore, unless there were an extraordinary mortality among the slaves, which I do not see that you have any reason to expect, there certainly would be a smaller demand for their importation into those places.

4646. Chairman.] You must be generally acquainted with the state of suffering that the slaves are in on board the slave ships?—Yes.

4647. You made, I presume, some captures while you were on the coast?—Yes.

4648. Have you ever heard or read of such horrors as you witnessed on board those slave vessels?—Never. I could not have supposed it possible that so many people could have been packed into a vessel by any device, as I have seen packed into slave vessels.

4649. Did you ever yourself capture a vessel in which there were a number of slaves packed in that way?—We captured a vessel not much larger than a river barge, a vessel of 127 tons; it had stowed between decks, in close confinement, 447 people.

4650. Must not this state of things go on year after year without any intermission, so long as there is a demand for slaves in Brazil, and an attempt to intercept the supply on the part of the British squadron?—I fear so; it is the only conclusion that I can arrive at.

4651. A good deal of attention has been directed in this country to a despatch which you communicated to the Admiralty, stating that you received information of the wholesale murder of upwards of 2,000 slaves at Lagos; can you inform the Committee what induced the chief of Lagos to commit that wholesale butchery?—His inducement for it was simply that the feeding of so large a number of idle people was burdensome to him; and finding no prospect of his being relieved by their embarkation, he had recourse to this extreme measure of brutality.

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4652. Do you remember the date of your despatch?—To the best of my recollection it was in September or October 1846.

4653. In the same despatch you mentioned that an account had reached you of a similar atrocity having been practised in the neighbourhood of the Gallinas?—Yes.

4654. Do you believe that murders of that description are at all uncommon on the coast under similar circumstances?—I know that murders on the coast are common, but I am not aware of them upon so large a scale as the one that I had occasion to report. I know that when I was in command of the northern divisions, and was at the Gallinas, there were a large number of slaves collected in the barracoons; we had information from the shore that the rice crop had failed that year, and that it was the habit of the parties to turn these people out upon the beach, in order to see if they could pick up anything in the shape of sustenance, and that the beach was strewed with their bones.

4655. Do you remember that chapter in Sir Fowell Buxton's work which treats upon this particular subject?—I do.

4656. Do you consider that the statements which he has brought together are of an exaggerated character, or should you be disposed to give them credit from the information which your experience has obtained for you?—I am afraid that there is a great deal of truth in those statements; I am not aware of the great extent to which he alludes, but I remember to have been sent down to Bimbia to coerce the people there, and I called on the missionaries. It was my business to obtain information whether the King of Bimbia, King William, was faithful to his engagements and treaties with us, and I called upon the missionaries to inform me as to what had passed under their own observation. Everything was perfectly correct and creditable to King William, and I found him a very rational person. Before I came away, the missionaries, finding that I had made rather a favourable impression upon him by his being relieved from the threat of force, requested me to profit by the impression that I had made, and to induce this man to use his utmost efforts to put down the system of sacrificing slaves upon the death of their masters, and of people of any great power or authority in the country. I had no authority from the Government to make demands of that sort, but I took upon myself to do so, and I told him that it would be highly creditable to him, and highly palatable to the British Government if he would consent to the abolition of such horrors, and use his influence to carry on the same abolition among all his neighbours, which he promised to do. I do not know whether that has had any effect or not.

4657. Did you understand that the slaves who were immolated on those occasions were slaves that had been retained in the barracoons, or had been rejected by the slave merchants?—No; it was in the interior chiefly. I am very happy to have an opportunity of bearing testimony to the honest conduct of that man at Bimbia, because, before he had made any treaty with us he set his face against slavery altogether, at least the exportation of slaves, and sent over to Fernando Po, to Captain Becroft, to mention that a slave vessel was there, and to request that he would send a man-of-war over to capture her, which was done; she was taken by the "Rapid."

4658. Do you understand that it is a common practice in the interior of Africa to offer up those large immolations of slaves?—I fear so.

4659. A great deal has been said with respect to the advantage of our maintaining a large squadron on the coast of Africa for purposes other than purposes of suppressing the slave trade. Are you of opinion that the African station is a favourable one for training seamen?—Quite the reverse; I have a very strong opinion that it is the worst school which can be devised for that purpose.

4660. Will you explain in what respect you consider it unfavourable?—Because although you are subject to violent tornadoes upon the coast, they give such ample warning, and are so irresistible, that when that warning is given you have nothing to do but to take in every sail before it comes upon you; there is ample time for it; there is no excuse for an officer to be taken by surprise; and those who know the coast particularly well are most particularly careful about it, not only on account of securing their spars and their sails, but one of the great means adopted to preserve the health of the men is to keep them dry, and this is always accompanied with torrents of rain. But with the exception of the tornadoes now mentioned, and which never last more than three hours, you never have a gale of wind; you never have occasion to reef your sails in bad weather; you have never any

any occasion to exercise the men in those little ways which in northern climates make the best seamen. On the contrary, your men get into the habit of doing this with great facility and ease, and when they come into a northern climate they find a very material difference. It not only is a bad school, but those sailors who have become from practice good and first-rate men, are, I believe, unfortunately more liable to be affected in health by the climate than those who are younger than themselves; the consequence of which is, that you lose the services of really good seamen, and you do not make any in return.

4661. *Mr. Jackson.*] That accounts, in some measure, for the desire of sailors to go back?—It does; it is the only way in which I can account for it, and I do assure you that upon my return to England three months ago, when my ship, which I flattered myself was in very good fighting order, was inspected by the commander-in-chief, the men were so perfectly paralysed by the change of climate, that I looked upon them with astonishment.

4662. *Chairman.*] With respect to the sanitary state of the squadron during the time that you were on the coast, was it very satisfactory?—I think it was, in comparison with former years, as far as I could understand.

4663. As compared with the squadrons on other stations, should you say that the loss of life and the loss of health were more remarkable?—I should say so.

4664. Much more?—Much more.

4665. The plan which Captain Denman has so strongly advocated involves the necessity of keeping ships close in shore, and occasionally landing the crews for the purpose of destroying barracoons. Would not that be attended with great loss of life to the ship's company?—I should conceive so; I never let one of my men put his foot on shore, unless it was by absolute compulsion.

4666. You think it is exposing the men to very great risk of life, to land them occasionally for enterprises on shore?—I think so, of the worst description, because it introduces fever into the ship and into the squadron, and demoralizes the whole ship's company.

4667. It has an effect subversive of discipline, as well as injurious to health?—I should think so.

4668. Personally did you suffer while you were on the coast from fever?—Yes; I did very much indeed.

4669. More than once?—Yes; but then I went on shore; if I had remained on board the ship, most probably I should have escaped from it.

4670. During the time that you had command of the squadron did you encounter any great difficulty in your relations with the flags of other nations?—There were occasionally difficulties with the squadron in co-operation with the squadrons of other nations. That will always be a subject of some delicacy, because more particularly in the war of chicanery, if I may so call it, that exists upon that coast where the slave vessels have recourse to all sorts of expedients to defeat the vigilance of the cruisers; where you have to ascertain what their nationality is; where you have to bring them to rather roughly when you fall in with them in the night, and without being able positively to make out that they are slavers; an officer, in his anxiety, may be induced to use measures that would seem extremely uncourteous to a vessel of war; and where perhaps our allies are ridiculously sensitive, it gives rise to some very troublesome complaints, and might in some cases very seriously compromise the good understanding between two countries.

4671. The difficulty in distinguishing vessels at night must frequently lead to those sort of difficulties?—It has done so, but Sir Charles Hotham is a man of very good tact, and has got over the difficulties.

4672. The nature of the employment of officers upon that coast must strongly demand the exercise of great tact and great judgment and discretion?—Undoubtedly.

4673. And of course in the navy no more than in any other profession are those good qualities universal?—Certainly.

4674. The indiscretion of an officer might bring this country to the brink of a war?—There is not the least doubt of it.

4675-79. And perhaps that occasionally has occurred?—Yes; there is not the least doubt of it.

4680. *Mr. Jackson.*] Did the murder of the 2,000 slaves take place by the order of the chief of Lagos, or by the direction of the Brazilian or European slave dealers?—By the chief of Lagos.

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4681. *Chairman.*] And you understood that that atrocity was committed in consequence of the detention of the slaves in the barracoons?—Yes; two vessels under Sardinian colours had been strictly watched by the “Styx” and the “Hydra;” they found, as Lagos is an open coast, that they could not successfully embark their slaves, and they got tired and started from the coast, and upon that this general massacre took place.

4682. *Mr. Jackson.*] There is a lagoon opposite Lagos?—Yes.

4683. Did you ever send your boats into the creek?—Never.

4684. *Chairman.*] Referring for a moment to the state of health of the ships on that station; did the ships' companies suffer considerably from navigating prizes from the points where they captured them, to Sierra Leone?—Yes, certainly; unless by accident (which is a very rare thing) there was a man-of-war at Sierra Leone when they came in, which took them at once on board; there was no possibility of providing for those people but on shore, where they could not be constantly under the eye of the only officer who was with them; they were living in lodging-houses, exposed to all the temptations to which unfortunately seamen yield so very easily, as well as to the bad influence of the climate, and the consequence of it was, that they almost invariably contracted fever. I was in command of the division to the north at one period during a very rainy season, and as such I had to receive, by every opportunity of a vessel coming down, the prize crews that had been left on shore at Sierra Leone. Fortunately I had a covered deck, but the whole of my main deck was filled with cots and hammocks of fever patients; the heat was overpowering, and the rain beyond anything that you can conceive in this country, and from the damp and the heat combined the ship was literally steaming between decks, and the atmosphere was worse than anything that you can conceive, without the possibility of our remedying it. Many of these people died, and I considered myself very fortunate that I succeeded in keeping my own ship's company free from the infection.

Jose E. Cliffe, M.D.

Jose E. Cliffe, M.D. called in; and further Examined.

4685. *Chairman.*] HAVE you drawn up some observations relative to the state of the African slave trade?—I have done so.

4686. Will you communicate that paper to the Committee?—

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

From the earliest records of man's existence, slavery or bondage was coeval with his social history, and the rights of property; but in most instances, the slave, serf, or bondsman, was of his own colour, and thus they were sooner or later lost to view by amalgamation; but from the striking dissimilarity of the African race amidst the people where they are expatriated, but few totally disappear in this manner; and they continue to exist in different countries a distinct race, upon whom slavery, or forced labour, or freedom, does not produce the exterminating effects that it would have done on any other constituted race of beings.

It appears, in point of fact, that a large portion of the natives of Africa are born slaves; some are daily being made slaves of by seizure for debt, due by any one of their district, also for tributes or rents of land; prisoners of war, and criminals; and from the facility with which it is suffered, has rendered the adaptation general, and without some striking change should occur, will continue to exist for ages.

Amongst the Africans themselves it appears that slave-dealing is thought requisite, as a forced emigration, that is rendered necessary by the prolific nature of the African, and which evil has been augmented by not taking away the sexes in more equal proportions; and the population for any given period remains nearly equal to the amount of food, easily produced; and the African slaveowners themselves patronizing female slaves for agricultural pursuits more than male slaves, the births are excessive, relative to the population.

From various constitutional defects or other causes, they have not improved their social condition in the last 2,000 years, unless by the introduction of the musket their forays have been rendered more bloody, though of less continuance and quicker decided, and the usual fondness of savages for spirituous liquors.

Their incessant wars, and with the acknowledged cheapness of human life, the rude treatment in their razzias or forays, their travelling down to the coast, their detention at pestiferous stations at the mouths of rivers, their atrocious sufferings in the middle passage, and the universal knowledge that slavery only ends with life, yet what have the Africans themselves done to obviate this state of things? in short, if the first steps of the trade did not begin with themselves, the white man could not succeed in kidnapping any number of consequence. This will show at once the difficulty of effectually putting a stop to the slave trade

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trade while the African is a prime mover in it; and as the severity of the climate is such that the cupidity of the whites cannot withstand to form settlements, and thus rapidly exterminate them by the advance of civilization, as is usual, the African therefore remains as a breeding market for tropical labour; and although their own free labour has done nothing for the real improvement of their country, or the amelioration of the New World; in short, has made the tropical agricultural and mineral productions available for the gradual and increased requirements of a continuous and advancing commercial career of the world; although so much has been done through the aid of the coloured race as regards the productions of what once were luxuries, but are now rendered necessities of life; and the various tropical productions are now required, regardless of the profit or loss to all concerned.

It would appear that in the history of the world that Infinite Wisdom has determined that every country shall contribute its especial productions as its share of the social relations; man exacts, and commerce expects this; but has not Africa shown her incompetency by its people to fulfil this law? and yet, safe by its present increasing pestilential climate from colonization, or even research, it has rendered its share alone by prematurely developing the meridional and tropical parts of the American continent at the expense of neglecting its own more proverbially rich continent; and society owes this debt to Africa to endeavour to direct its energies to their own country. And although many and zealous have been the schemes of the philanthropist and visionary to obviate this unnatural state of things, the attempts have not succeeded to accomplish these desirable results, and it appears that scarce a single effort has produced more than a loss of life and money, although the reasonings have been carefully deduced from facts, but belonging to a very distinct race of the human family, and which totally fail when misapplied, as they have hitherto been in all African undertakings, without leaving even an historical trace to show coming generations the futility of proceedings conducted on an unsound basis, or at the same time lessening any part of the sum total of Africa's sufferings and misery.

The British Government for a series of years have tried treaties, diplomacy, blockades of both continents, and yet the slave trade is acknowledged to be on the increase, and attended with horrors in its present details that even the old buccaniers, those fierce avengers of Spanish cruelty, would scarcely have practised; and all the attempts to suppress hitherto have actually produced an increased amount of misery and suffering that is unparalleled in the annals of crime, and that no language can adequately describe; and though up to this time it has been usual to suppose that slavers will give up their vessels to any appearance of force, yet before long a state of things will arise very different from this, and the loss of life arising from frequent and petty skirmishes will eventually add something more to the loss of white and black life, and to the horrors of a trade that has baffled England's legislation as well as her acknowledged supremacy of the Ocean, and not forgetting how much British commercial interests have and must suffer by these harassing legislative crusades in the nominal cause of Africa's freedom. Yet with all this the West Indian and Mauritian planters have nearly, or are about entirely extinguished, and the merchants connected with them, that once princely class of men, have seen the accumulated wealth of years gradually sacrificed and swept away, themselves reduced to beggary, and that without any sympathy, until the ruin was total and complete, and as equally unlooked-for to have been brought on by legislation.

To remedy this state of things, allow, under exceedingly strict Government surveillance, the free importation of blacks to those places requiring them. They are to be brought and bought on merchants' account, tattooed on some conspicuous part the year of their introduction; let them serve, say eight or ten years, in the usual employments they are required for; let the amount of sexes be as near equal as possible; let the present useless Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies, by their agents, see that those indentured blacks have the entire and full treatment allowed by special enactments, under the penalty of forfeiture; and at the end of their engagements it should be optional to return to Africa or remain as free labourers.

But, when returned, to be from a fund that would accumulate from an annual capitation tax; also to furnish (compulsorily) them useful tools to a certain amount for each family, to be given on their arrival on the coast; but it must be a *sine qua non* that the sexes must be as near equal as possible.

By so doing, if not too late for the British colonist, the present form of the slave trade would cease, and no doubt the government of Brazil and Spain would readily admit of similar arrangements for their subjects, as these well know that a period will arrive when in their respective countries the white race will disappear, either by a gradual black amalgamation, or a more sudden extinction from violence, produced by grievances, real or imaginary, influenced and acted upon by some popular master mind. The English colonies would soon resume their more than wonted prosperity; the curse of absenteeism could not exist under this varying form of things; and although the many disadvantages the colonist must labour under, such as local taxes of many kinds, long cultivated and worn-out lands, insular position as regards provisions, &c., yet the superior energies of the Anglo-Saxon race, with its aid of superior machinery, ingenuity, improvements, &c., would rise above these obstacles, and soon compete in quality, as well as in quantity, with those more favoured nations, with whom taxes are light and lands of superior richness are of small value, and provisions, especially meat, cheap and abundant. Sugar, and many of its preparations, as sweetmeat, succades, would enter largely, as an article of food for the European population, and with much benefit to their health, thus amply providing for an increased consumption of colonial produce throughout Great Britain.

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And those emancipated blacks that are now uselessly shortening and wasting their lives, from the estates lying waste or going to ruin, would be compelled to work at reasonable wages, or retire from those districts where active operations were carrying on. Many, very many, rather than remove, would soon be reclaimed from a life of idleness, theft, and debauchery, to be useful workmen, when it was found they could no longer be permitted to live rent free without industry exerted in some form or other; and by seeing a well-regulated and well-governed set of indentured labourers employed, they would be compelled to adopt an active life, not passive, as at present, whilst the estates are going out of cultivation.

It now remains to be shown the effects upon Africa of its returned free labourers with their families; for being returned before they are de-Africanised, or, in other words, before they have lost their language and capabilities of withstanding the climate, and in masses, to the sections of country they formerly belonged to, if possible, or near it, or to found new colonies where at present unpeopled, or allowed freely to mix with their own countrymen, their already acquired habits of labour would not cease at once; they would plant more than sufficient for their own consumption, and as many plants at once take root in Africa, continue to grow for years, the germ of commerce would be really laid, civilization and religion of some kind would go on increasing, and as the inhabitants of the interior are really capable and worth civilizing, whilst those of the coast are generally too vicious.

They would soon increase the present slip of 50 miles of coast and the 70 miles of river and creeks that at present do produce something for the traders.

The introduction of tools would facilitate labour, and their fondness for European fabrics for dress would stimulate them to produce an equivalent for barter or trade.

The rivers would be deepened in their researches for gold, a work to which the African has a strong predilection; and it is well known the African rivers are capable of producing annually an amount equal to that of Russia; and those workings would have a tendency to drain those swamps, render many of them dry and the most fertile of soils, and much of the malaria of the interior would be diminished rapidly as the country was brought into active operations by the hand of man; and a general development of its natural resources would be laid open to the growing desires to accumulate riches, which it is believed in the interior they are prone to do.

It would also give the British Government an opportunity to look after and to cherish and increase, as far as possible, that African trade now existing, and which, from the jealous feelings now existing from various causes, the chiefs in some places would more willingly acknowledge the French rather than the English flag; this trade is rarely protected by the cruisers, as they are so actively employed against the slaves. I should be sorry to see this trade paralysed by the efforts of another nation who founds colonies, but cannot keep them.

I think that it is in the course of events that the British flag shall cover the whole western coast of Africa, as the French colonies will soon fail (humanly speaking) if the English Government does its duty by Africa; and the Portuguese settlements will soon follow the destiny of their once-famed Indian possessions, and a trade would arise that must obviously be most valuable for a northern nation, whose maritime predilections are so widely and variously extended.

It seems at the present time to be a favourite theory that free-labour labourers can be picked up from the coast in considerable numbers, and sent by their chiefs. (*Vide* the Honourable Captain Denman's evidence.) This is only another name for slave trading. As the chief receives the amount agreed upon entirely, this mode is commercially (if not militarily) highly objectionable, as if these Kroomen and Fishmen of the coast, who serve as sailors, as canoemen, as oil and butter makers, wood cutters, &c., are taken away, who is to supply the place of them promptly? and from the very paucity of their numbers, worth less than nothing to the general body of planters, as it only shows him what he could do if the Legislature had dealt fairly with him, whilst the present African trade would be materially lessened, if not paralysed, for some time.

Now, as the energies of the whites soon overrun a continent because it was either richer or gave hopes of easily-acquired wealth more than the Old World, the same views properly carried out, would inexpensively produce a similar result on a continent where people already abound, and whose proverbial riches tempted the former mistress of the world to colonize in its more northern parts.

There would also exist plenty of room for an active and beneficial display of the various existing societies, who could do much permanent good without a corresponding amount of annoyance and ultimate evil; and the colonies in the interior would be more permanent than those on the sea coast, as spirituous liquors do not exist there in any quantity, and at an enormous price.

I regret that from such an ample store of materials as 25 years has furnished me of a knowledge of the African, his wants and wishes, I have only so partially been able to throw any light upon a subject worthy of a more able examination, and upon which the future happiness of so many thousands, if not millions, must depend; and as it was Great Britain who made the first active step in the slave trade, I trust she will be the first in repairing those evils which at present exist, and prevent the perpetration of those wholesale murders that is now necessarily caused by the slave trade; and by those well acquainted with it, it is firmly believed can never be put down, let the sacrifice be what it may, so long as the price is so excessive, and caused by the demand being greater than the supply.

Those views may unfortunately be in advance of the spirit of the age, yet the various evils

evils spoken of are now beginning to force themselves on the attention of so many, that some serious changes will sooner or later be imperiously called for. Jose E. Cliffe, M.D.

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I have purposely avoided the recital of details of the slave trade; of the frequent sufferings of the blacks when captured by the cruisers; the sufferings of the late planters; the loss of traders; the ruin of merchants; as also the legislative enactments required for carrying at little expense this plan into effect; also the system of the new carrying trade; laws for the first allotments, by purchase of the merchant or carrier, of the indentured families; their allowances, work, treatment, religious instruction, capitation tax, if required, for their return with their families; tools; their allotments of land; their mark to prevent a second return unless voluntary, or longer detention than legal, as it is first desirable to know whether these outlines are capable of conveying the benefits which are so highly desirable to all parties.

I would observe, soldiers can now enlist for a period more or less equal to what I propose for the African; the cases are so analogous that remarks are unnecessary; yet it is said a great boon has been conceded to the former.

An AVERAGE of the PRICE paid for SLAVES in *Brazil* in the following Years, taken from the Books of a Proprietor on the Sea Coast.

	\$	\$
1825. Average price of fair sample of slaves	- 200 to	250
1828. Ditto - - - - ditto - - - -	- 300 to	350
1830. Ditto ordinary and very ordinary	- 700 to	800
" Ditto picked ones	- - to	1,000
1832. Average price of slaves	- 750 to	650
1833. Ditto - - - -	- - to	500
1834. Ditto - - - -	- - to	450
1835. Ditto - - - -	- - to	300
1836. Ditto - - - -	- - to	300
1837. Ditto - - - -	- - to	300
1838. Ditto - - - -	- - to	300
1841. Ditto - - - -	- 600 to	700
1842. Ditto - - - -	- 600 to	700
1843. Ditto, and very inferior, from suffering	- 700 to	800
" Ditto, picked ones	- - to	900
1844. Average price ordinary slaves, and thin	- 800 to	700
1845. Ditto - - - ditto - ditto -	- 650 to	600
1846. Ditto - - - ditto - ditto -	- 600 to	550
1847. Ditto - - - ditto - ditto -	- 450 to	400
1848. Ditto, but only assumed on my part	- 350 to	300

By dividing the milreis by eight and half, the product will be pounds sterling: at the present moment, to divide by nine would be more correct.

The wealthier planters and miners will give rather more for boys of 10 to 14 years of age than for older ones.

If past 20 years of age, they are more frequently sold to poorer people, and some credit given.

Girls range from 2*l.* to 3*l.* less, in the retail trade, than boys; in the wholesale, equal on the average.

In the year the slave trade legally ceased they brought people that were useless, to make up the cargo; a fourth class.

In the interior the prices would average from 10 to 20 per cent. higher, of course subject to loss on the road, and a 30 to 90 days' credit; if longer credit is given, it is added at 1 ½ to 2 per cent. per month.

4687. Mr. Jackson.] Having heard the evidence given by the last witness, do you concur with it, from your experience of the coast of Africa, and your knowledge of trade in Brazil?—Yes; as far as I could thoroughly understand the evidence, I perfectly agree with all that was said. It is by far the most correct evidence that I have heard yet given relative to the subject, showing that it was given by a person who had a practical knowledge of the subject.

4688. And was not led away by wild theory?—No, it is not a theory made for the occasion, but is given from different practical facts.

Mr. John Logan Hook, called in; and further Examined.

4689. Chairman.] YOU stated in your last evidence that you had resided at Sierra Leone four years?—For nearly four years. Mr. J. L. Hook.

4690. And that since the month of June 1846 you had been employed in conducting emigration from Sierra Leone to the British West Indian Islands?—I have so.

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4691. You also accompanied Her Majesty's ship "Growler" on the occasion of her first voyage from Sierra Leone, by way of the Kroo Coast to the West Indies, where you had an opportunity of communicating with African immigrants whom you had dispatched from Sierra Leone in the previous year?—I did.

4692. Can you state the number of emigrants who have proceeded from Sierra Leone to the West Indies since the date of the withdrawal of the three transports, say from the commencement of the year 1845 up to the date of the last voyage of Her Majesty's ship "Growler," in November last?

4693. Can you state the number of slaves who have been brought into the colony of Sierra Leone and liberated within the last named period?—

4694. Do the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone appear disposed to emigrate voluntarily under the British flag?—The liberated Africans are disposed to emigrate to the West Indies provided they are not tampered with by the settled population of the colony. As long as they are kept in the Queen's Yard and prevented from being tampered with by the settled population of the colony, on the question being put to them, they appear to have no objection at all to emigrate; but there are very many prejudices, and very many absurd reports spread about the colony by those opposed to emigration, for the purposes set forth in my last evidence.

4695. Do you recollect any specific instance of any particular number of people being deterred from emigrating by those means?—I recollect on one occasion, when between 70 and 80 people were being embarked from the Queen's Yard, on board a transport, for the West Indies, their country people on the banks of the river called out something to them in their own language, and they all immediately jumped out of the boats into the water, and swam ashore, and returned to the Queen's Yard.

4696. Do you consider that the practice which is now adopted of locating the liberated Africans amongst their fellow-countrymen in Sierra Leone is a good practice?—I think it extremely hurtful to the operations of the missionaries there, and to the general advancement of the colony, for reasons set forth in my former evidence.

4697. In what respect?—They bring up with them their idolatrous practices from various parts of the coast, and otherwise do a great deal of injury among the more civilized portion of the community.

4698. Did you ever hear of a case of the immolation of human beings in Sierra Leone?—There was a Government memorandum issued a short time ago offering a reward for the discovery of persons who were said to have sacrificed a living child in the very centre of Free Town. So notorious of late had become the thunder worshippings and other idolatries, that when the last New Police Act was framed, about nine months ago, there was an article which specially provided a punishment for those offences. The 8th Article sets forth "that any person publicly worshipping thunder, alligators, or other reptiles, will be subject to a penalty not exceeding 10 s."

4699. Are you of opinion that those people, carrying with them their superstitions to the West Indies, would not be likely to fall into the same practices there?—No; I think that there they would immediately mix up with a much larger number of civilized people of their own colour, and would not have the opportunities which they now have in Sierra Leone.

4700. From the nature of the communities as you find them in Sierra Leone, is there not a headman who is generally responsible for a number of his countrymen?—I suppose we have as many as 40 or 50 different tribes, with a headman to each tribe, in the colony of Sierra Leone.

4701. Do you find the intervention of the headmen very useful in settling bargains with these Africans, for the purpose of carrying them to the West Indies?—The headman, who has resided in the colony for some years, can do almost what he pleases with them; they often appeal to him for advice; and I have known instances where disputes in money matters have been settled by the headman of a tribe, both parties being perfectly satisfied.

4702. Have you had any opportunities of ascertaining the general feeling with regard to emigration subsisting among the liberated Africans in the suburbs of Sierra Leone?—I found them much opposed to emigration from the following causes, viz.: 1st. Owing to the reason to which I have before referred, viz. that the old residents themselves were desirous of obtaining the services of their newly liberated

liberated countrymen, more especially as they derive no benefit by inducing them to emigrate to the West Indies; consequently they endeavour by false reports to dissuade the newly-imported African from emigrating. 2dly. From the circumstance of their being impressed with the idea that their country people will not be able to return after a stated period. Means of returning always have been, and are at the present moment, very uncertain; it is of the utmost importance that they should have the greatest confidence on this point. I consider further, that the locating the newly-emancipated negro in Sierra Leone encourages his naturally lazy and indolent disposition; he finds he can live there almost without work, nature supplying him with all his wants; that he is under the protection of the British flag, and that he can squat where he pleases, even in the town. We have no sugar or coffee plantations in Sierra Leone; the only articles of consumption grown in the colony in any large quantities are arrowroot, pepper, and ginger, the latter in very large quantities, but of so inferior a description as to be of little value.

4703. What was the result of your inquiries?—They appeared to be principally opposed to it on account of the uncertainty of return to the colony, and the unfrequent means of communication between the West Indies and Sierra Leone.

4704. Do you think that if that cause of apprehension and doubt were removed they would emigrate freely?—I think, at first, perhaps they would not emigrate freely, but as the advantages became more generally known we should have very extensive emigration from among the unemployed liberated Africans in the colony.

4705. Do they feel any confidence in the knowledge that they are placed under the protection of the British flag?—They do.

4706. How are these men paid when they are employed in Sierra Leone?—They are paid in goods (different articles of merchandize) for their labour.

4707. Are they never paid in a money payment?—Very seldom. The domestics in Sierra Leone of course get their money wages, but the labourers generally employed by the merchants there get paid in goods, which they sell about the town for whatever they will fetch.

4708. As compared with the wages which they receive, according to your knowledge on the subject, in the West Indies, do you consider that their condition is very greatly improved?—I consider that their condition is very much improved.

4709. Improved in respect to their social position, and to their economical circumstances?—In every respect.

4710. Is there a large trade carried on between Sierra Leone and this country?—The trade has increased very much of late, but Sierra Leone is more a trading depôt; chiefs come from the interior parts of the country, and trade with our merchants in the colony, exchanging their gold, ivory, wax, hides, &c., for our manufactures. The colony itself produces very little indeed; it produces arrowroot and ginger, and has produced those lately in rather large quantities, but they are of a very inferior description, and of little worth.

4711. Do you think that there are any measures which might be judiciously adopted for the purpose of encouraging emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies?—I think measures might be adopted. I would suggest in the first place that a full confidence should be established among the liberated Africans, especially the unemployed portion of them; this might be accomplished were the Governor to give his cordial co-operation to the emigration scheme, in making known (by means of public government notices) the advantages which would accrue to the liberated African by emigrating to the West Indies, the money-wages he would receive, the protection he would enjoy, and the guarantee of a return passage after a stated period of service; all these and various other matters should be most fully set forth, and above all an active cordial co-operation on the part of the Governor of Sierra Leone would do much to remove the present difficulties. I do not refer to the old and long-resident population of the colony, but to those who have been brought in and liberated within say the last 8 or 10 years. A local ordinance to prevent squatting on Crown lands in any part of the colony might also be beneficial. A monthly tax (or some other method which would impose a necessity to labour) might also prove advantageous. It is but just and right that the liberated African, a naturalized British subject, should, if he be able, make some return, however small it might be, for the protection he enjoys in Sierra Leone. A very small amount of taxation would produce a large annual increase to the colonial revenue.

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4712. What is the population of Sierra Leone?—I should say nearly 60,000 at the present time.

4713. That includes all kinds of people?—All the inhabitants of the colony.

4714. What is the general condition of the recently liberated Africans in Sierra Leone?—They reside in the suburbs of the colony, with little or nothing to do.

4715. Is there much unoccupied land in Sierra Leone?—I should say nearly two-thirds of the colony is unoccupied.

4716. Is the soil productive?—The soil is very sterile indeed, with the exception of patches here and there; it produces little or nothing that is of any worth. The last attempt to encourage cultivation on the part of the Colonial Government was during Sir John Jeremie's administration, the cotton tree was then tried, but it failed; the cotton was found to be of little value.

4717. How many emigrants were collected by you, and embarked in the "Growler," on her first voyage?—Four hundred and seventy-six heads, equal to 314 statute adults; two children are reckoned as one adult.

4718. On the second voyage, what was the number?—Four hundred and forty-one, equal to 314 adults.

4719. Did both cargoes of emigrants proceed to the same part of the West Indies?—The first cargo proceeded to Demerara; the second cargo proceeded to Trinidad.

4720. Did you accompany the steamer from Sierra Leone to the Kroo Coast, and thence to the West Indies?—I did.

4721. The steamer was ordered to proceed from Sierra Leone to the different stations on the Kroo Coast?—She was ordered to proceed from Sierra Leone to the different stations on the Kroo Coast, but as we embarked a full complement of emigrants at Sierra Leone, the commander thought it better not to touch at all the stations, as that would cause a great consumption of water and provisions, and he proceeded to one station only, which was Cape Palmas.

4722. Did you land there?—I landed there.

4723. Did you obtain many emigrants from Cape Palmas?—No; by my instructions I was ordered to take the emigrants from Sierra Leone, provided they could be procured from that colony. If the steamer could obtain a full complement of emigrants from Sierra Leone, she was to take them in preference to embarking Kroomen from the Kroo Coast.

4724. Did you find any indisposition on the part of the Kroomen to proceed to the West Indies?—The chief of Cape Palmas, one King Freeman, told me that if the steamer returned with a number of his people, and those people gave a good account of their treatment in the West Indies, and other information which he wished, and if he was satisfied that they would have means hereafter of returning, the steamer need go to no other station; that he would fill her up from his own station on her next visit. The chief officer of the "Growler" was a witness to those remarks of the chief.

4725. When the Kroomen arrived in the West Indies did they take to agricultural pursuits?—I believe all those who have emigrated from the Kroo country have engaged in agricultural pursuits.

4726. They did not continue a seafaring life?—I am not positively aware that they all engaged in agricultural pursuits, but I believe that to be the case.

4727. Were any complaints made to you by those who were disposed to employ them, that they were disinclined to agricultural labour?—No; only so far as this, that if a number of Kroomen were working on one estate, and found that by proceeding to another estate they would be able to get a certain increase of wages, however small that increase might be, they would be inclined to leave where they were working and proceed to some other estate.

4728. They were not so steady in that respect as natives of other parts of Africa?—Not so settled in that respect as the liberated Africans.

4729. Were they generally a well-conducted set of men, orderly and peaceable?—From all I heard in the West Indies, very much so.

4730. Do the emigrants generally complain much of the voyage?—Owing to the regulations of a man-of-war, there were some differences on board, on the steamer's return to Sierra Leone.

4731. The question refers to the voyage outward?—On the voyage outward there was no complaint, I believe; the people had been liberated from slavery, and they were not at all civilised; in fact, they were little better than wild savages.

4732. Did

4732. Did you lose any men on board?—I think we had 18 or 19 deaths on board.

4733. That was a large number, was it not?—It was rather a large number; but there were a large number of emigrants.

4734. I mean a large proportion?—It is perhaps rather a large proportion; but it was owing to a disease which is very common and fatal among the Africans, dysentery.

4735. Colonel *Thompson*.] What did the returned emigrants complain of?—There was a complaint of their treatment on board the vessel. Those were people who had lived five or six years in the West Indies, and were far more civilised than they were when they first went over, and the regulations on board a man-of-war would not admit of their indulging in any little pleasures of their own, or anything else.

4736. What were the particular subjects of complaint?—That some had been put in irons and others flogged.

4737. For what?—For various causes construed into offences. The matter has already, I believe, been laid before the Secretary of State. If you wish me to give you the full particulars I shall be most happy to do so.

4738. What were the objects with which the inhabitants of Sierra Leone attempted to dissuade the Africans from going to the West Indies?—Partly from a desire to obtain their labour in their own yam and cassada grounds, and partly from the idea that when they went to the West Indies they were made slaves of; that they were not free people there.

4739. Do you think that the indisposition of the Africans, after such communications with the inhabitants of Sierra Leone, to going to the West Indies, did not proceed from that being the first time that they knew there was a chance of their staying where they were. Was not it the fact that the time when they had those communications with the inhabitants of Sierra Leone, was the first time that the Africans had any idea that they had an option in the case?—They are not forced on board the emigration transport; they are under the protection of the local government there for some months before they proceed to the West Indies, and they are perfectly aware that it is quite optional with them to go or remain in the colony.

4740. To go to the West Indies or to stay at Sierra Leone?—Yes; but in order to procure their services for the West Indies, agents have been employed to go among them, people who have been to the West Indies, and to explain to them the advantages which would accrue to them by emigrating; the wages which they would get, and the fact also that we have no work for them in the colony. By those means we have succeeded in obtaining many people from the Queen's Yard; that is prior to their being tampered with by their country people outside.

4741. By "tampering," you mean that the Sierra Leone people told them that they would give them good wages, if they would stay where they were?—No. I do not think you will be of that opinion, when I inform you that the rate of wages in Sierra Leone is from 6 *d.* to 8 *d.* a day, and that it is only a certain class of people who can obtain labour at all, and those are principally Kroomen.

4742. Still the Sierra Leone people offered to the natives of Africa what was satisfactory to them?—No; I am not aware that any offer was ever made to them.

4743. But of this fact there is no doubt, that the natives of Africa exhibited a preference to staying where they were?—I should say not, since they proceeded to the West Indies. Some of their own nation, who had been to the West Indies, explained to them the advantages which would accrue to them by emigrating, and they forthwith proceeded on board the vessels, and emigrated.

4744. Did not you say that some of them had jumped overboard?—A number of people were being embarked, and some of their country people called to them, in their own language, and told them that when they got to the West Indies they would be made slaves, and they immediately jumped out of the boats, and swam to the Queen's Yard. I only mentioned that circumstance to show you the effect which may be produced by a mere word.

4745. Then the reason why they were not influenced by your advice to go to the West Indies was, that somebody else told them they would be slaves?—The newly-emancipated negroes are very prone to suspicion, and just at the moment of embarkation, when one of their own countrymen told them that they would be

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made slaves if they went to the West Indies, I think it is not to be wondered at that those people all jumped out of the boats and went to the Queen's Yard.

4746. Is it to be wondered at that the people of Africa would prefer remaining in Africa?—But it must be borne in mind that Sierra Leone is not their native country. If they were to return to their native country, very likely they would be bought and sold as slaves again instantly. We have very many instances where people have been brought up three or four times to the colony of Sierra Leone in slave vessels.

4747. Does not that prove, that one reason of wishing to stay in Sierra Leone is, that they cherish the expectation of returning to their own country?—I think not; they have no wish to return to their own country at the present moment.

4748. Then why did those people return three times?—That is a matter, I believe, which has puzzled many of the people of Sierra Leone; it is reported that they were smuggled away. In fact, an instance came before me when I was on the jury, in Sierra Leone, a very short time ago; a bill was found against a man for smuggling two boys away from the colony, and sending them down to Gallinas; two liberated boys, who had been employed by residents in Sierra Leone; the man was punished for the offence.

4749. *Chairman.*] The emigration from Sierra Leone, I presume, is entirely voluntary?—Quite so.

4750. And if parties proceed from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, it is from the expectation of their condition in the West Indies being better than in Africa?—Yes, the sub-agents and interpreters have explained to those who have already emigrated that they will receive good wages there, and also be made free-men; a matter which it is rather difficult to assure them of.

4751. You think that if a number of those Africans should be taken to the West Indies to be employed there, but to return to Africa and inform their countrymen of the condition in which they had been placed in the West Indies, it would induce large numbers to proceed to the West Indies to be hired as labourers?—It would so, and that point has been already proved. It is only with the assistance of the agents, or rather the delegates who have been sent over from the West Indies, that we have persuaded so many to proceed to the West Indies from among the newly liberated Africans.

4752. From what you have said, I presume you conclude that a man-of-war is not a very fit vessel in which to convey those emigrants to the West Indies?—I consider that a man-of-war is a most unfit vessel for the service.

4753. Why?—It is impossible that a number of volunteer passengers on board can have their usual little comforts, and do as they please, as they would do on board a transport; the man-of-war regulations would not admit of it; in fact, it is impossible to keep up the man-of-war discipline; that has already been proved in the case of the "Growler;" and in my opinion it is a great hardship to require free volunteer passengers to work the ship (as was the case in the "Growler"), or to submit to restraints imposed by such regulations.

4754. Is the "Growler" not now employed in the service?—She is not now employed in the service.

4755. Did not the "Growler" convey return passengers and delegates from British Guiana and Trinidad to Sierra Leone?—She brought back from Guiana and Trinidad about 140 return passengers and delegates.

4756. And you look to those persons as a means of promoting emigration?—Many of them were sent over for the express purpose of explaining to their country people what they would have to do in the West Indies, and the rate of wages which they would get.

4757. What was the general feeling amongst those parties as to their treatment in the West Indies?—Many of them were much more pleased than others; but to use the words of nearly the whole of them, they said the West Indies was a very good country for a working man, but that a lazy man could not live there; those were their words, as nearly as I can remember.

4758. That if a man chose to work they thought he would do very well?—That if a man chose to work he could make plenty of money.

4759. How long were those people in the West Indies?—Most of them for periods of three, four and five years, and some longer.

4760. Did you consider that the condition of those people was improved by the experience which they had had of civilization in the West Indies?—Greatly improved.

4761. Was

4761. Was their appearance and their conduct improved?—They were improved in every respect, I think.

4762. The emigration was entirely from Sierra Leone, I think you have said?—Entirely from Sierra Leone.

4763. Do you think it would be desirable to confine emigration to that point for the future?—No; I should suggest that emigrants should be allowed to proceed from many other stations on the coast.

4764. Can you mention any particular point from whence emigrants might be expected to be obtained?—I have mentioned that in a draft of a plan which you have before you.

4765. You say that emigrants can be obtained from other stations than the Kroo coast. On what grounds do you form that opinion?—From the opinion that I have gained from those people who have been brought up in slavers at various times, and with whom I have conversed upon the subject, they led me to suppose that we should be able to procure emigrants from many other stations.

4766. Do you consider that a fair trial has been made of the facilities for procuring emigrants from the coast of Africa to the West Indies?—No trial has ever yet been attempted from any other place than Sierra Leone, sanctioned by the Government, and but a very imperfect trial, I consider, has been hitherto afforded, even from Sierra Leone.

4767. You have laid before the Committee a plan; do you suppose that if Her Majesty's Government were to sanction that plan, it would not be liable to misconstruction on the part of foreign states?—I think not, for I think that Spain has already tried the experiment in China; a vessel has been employed in such service, and has conveyed 300 or 400 emigrants thence to the Havannah. I am not aware that any objection was raised on the part of the British Government. And I am of opinion that if Brazil, or Spain, was to adopt such a measure as I propose, and if free emigrants proceeded from the coast of Africa to Brazil or Cuba, and remained free in those countries, it could not be said that those powers were encouraging the slave trade by such a proceeding.

4768. And there have been free emigrants, I think, imported into Brazil from Belgium?—I believe so.

4769. Is there any contract system in Sierra Leone?—We have an Act in force in Sierra Leone called the "Grumetta Act," under which you can punish a man by loss of wages and imprisonment if he breaks his engagement with you; you may call that a contract system to a certain extent.

4770. What was the period of time for which you engaged the services of the Africans?—By my instructions I was ordered to guarantee them a free return passage after five years' service.

4771. Do you think that if the emigration which you have recommended to the West Indies were extensively promoted, it would tend directly or indirectly to the suppression of the slave trade?—I think it would finally prove one of the best remedies yet attempted to stop the demand for slaves, by affording our planters in the West Indies a supply of labourers to enable them to compete with the production of slave labour by underselling it. It cannot be doubted that as long as there is a demand for slaves that demand will by some means or other be supplied, however vigilant our squadron may be. Though it would no doubt be impolitic to withdraw the squadron, it nevertheless appears necessary to adopt other measures to render the present plan more effectual. I am of opinion that a free emigration, properly conducted, would not only prove a most valuable aid to the present system, but further, that it would prove an important assistance in the future civilization of Africa.

4772. Have you any further observations to make?—I would merely observe, that in the event of Her Majesty's Government adopting a plan of emigration such as the one I have proposed, it is of great importance that there should be as little delay as possible in complying with the stipulations of the treaties entered into with the native chiefs. The Commissioner of Emigration should immediately report, direct to the Secretary of State, his proceedings with respect to the treaties and plan of emigration; and no time would therefore be lost on the part of our Government in fulfilling the conditions of such treaties, and in making the necessary arrangements relative to the transport of emigrants. It is also of equal importance that the Commissioner should be well acquainted, not only with the emigration service, which he would have to conduct, but also with the manners, customs, and character of the Africans, as well, it may be added, as being able to

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withstand the effects of the climate on the sickly shores of Africa, while using his utmost endeavours to promote the success of the scheme, which, as I have before stated, I think could be successfully carried out, provided no obstacles are thrown in the way of a fair and legitimate trial.

Jovis, 18^o die Maii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Macgregor Laird, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

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4773. *Chairman.*] DO you wish to make any explanation of your former evidence?—I am desirous to explain more fully my reply to Question 2968. What I meant to convey to the Committee by that reply was that no commercial house in Brazil or Cuba could avoid being indirectly instrumental in bringing slaves from Africa. The principle I have endeavoured to prove is that any effective measure to put down the slave trade must be by affecting the demand in the western world. Now, any mercantile house giving credit to a planter for a sugar mill, or any other manufactured article, or even discounting any bill of exchange drawn against slave produce, in this indirect manner keeps up that demand which creates the trade. It is as impossible as it would be impolitic to prevent this; and the Committee will, I hope, see that in no other sense did I wish it to be thought that British capital was engaged in the trade. Messrs. Overend, Gurney & Co. do more in this way, on the arrival of every Brazilian or West Indian mail, than any other men in London; and no one thinks of stating that they encourage the slave trade.

4774. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] In other words, you mean that the connexion with the slave trade and the employment of slaves is indirect and circuitous, arising from a supply of merchandise, or from discounting bills of exchange, and in no way necessarily connected with a direct traffic in slaves?—That is my meaning.

Thomas Berry Horsfall, Esq., called in; and Examined.

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4775. *Chairman.*] ARE you an African Merchant residing in Liverpool?—I am.

4776. You are the Mayor of Liverpool?—I am.

4777. Under what name does your firm carry on its operations?—Charles Horsfall & Sons.

4778. How long has your firm been engaged in the African trade?—More or less, for the last 30 to 40 years.

4779. How long have you yourself been engaged in that business?—About 15 or 16 years.

4780. Has your attention been generally directed to the subject of the slave trade on the coast of Africa?—It has; more particularly with reference to the bearing of the slave trade on legitimate commerce.

4781. Are you of opinion that the entire suppression of the slave trade would be beneficial to legitimate commerce?—Certainly.

4782. From the information which you have derived in the course of your business, are you led to conclude that the slave trade is at the present moment actively carried on upon the coast of Africa?—Yes, I have every reason to believe

believe so; and perhaps it is not quite so much a matter of opinion as a matter of fact.

4783. Have you some papers relating to that subject?—I have some papers.

4784. Will you be so kind as to read them?—The first is a note which I received from Mr. Crosbie just as I was leaving Liverpool.

4785. Who is Mr. Crosbie?—A partner in the firm of Jamieson & Company. He says, "I have a letter this morning from an intelligent friend of ours, dated Rio de Janeiro, 26th February, from which I annex a short extract bearing upon the slave trade, which may perhaps interest you." The extract is this: "Rio de Janeiro, 26th February 1848: Within the last week 4,000 slaves have been landed here, and the trade is going on in proportion all along the coast. Bahia is literally overrun with blacks. Were our vessels withdrawn from the coast of Africa, Brazil would not, I believe, allow the introduction of slaves to the extent that is now going on." The next extracts were handed to me by a gentleman who has just sailed for the Brazils. He desired that his name might not be made public, as it might be detrimental to him on his arrival there, but I was at perfect liberty to give his name to the Chairman. These are the extracts which he handed to me: "Extracts from Bahia letters, May 23d, 1847. The slave trade is in full operation, and carried on with the greatest effrontery. A vessel arrived a few days ago, landed 304, and 80 died on the passage. Another has just come in (said to have landed at that large white house on the island of Itãparica, opposite the Victoria), and landed 800 and odd, 180 having died on the passage; she is a barque, and went to the coast under American colours, and returns with Brazilian. 29th September: The arrival of slaves this month has been about 700. Now writing, I hear of 300 more just come in. 11th September: After a long cessation of slave landing, that is, six weeks, there is a vessel come up this morning with 300 on board. A great number of vessels have sailed from here; but I suppose the captures on the coast have been great, as few vessels have returned." I might remark that these letters are written without any object; merely from a party in Brazil to his correspondent in Liverpool. "22d October: 1,560 slaves arrived here within three days, the beginning of this month. In the first quarter this year there were only landed here 1,180; in the second, 1,500; and in the third, 2,230; and already the above number have arrived to swell the amount of this quarter. November 16th: No slaves have arrived here since the three arrivals in October. We have news from the coast of no less than 17 vessels having been taken in 23 days, principally by the Portuguese cruisers. We have noticed in the 'Times' the conveyance of some of the captured slaves, with their own free will, from Sierra Leone to Demerara, in Her Majesty's steamer 'Growler.' Out of 467 so conveyed 20 died on the passage, although she was only 18 days. This is almost as bad as the slave dealing here, and the deaths are immense. Surely some one in Parliament will look into it. 15th January 1848: During the last quarter of last year we have had a larger importation of slaves into this port than has been known for the same period for the last eight years. No less than 3,500 have come in, and the city is swarming with new blacks. The profits the dealers make out of them now are very small. We have had a dreadful instance of the horrors of the traffic. Just now a vessel arrived in 53 days' passage, and landed her cargo of 726 in a miserable state of starvation; 111 had died on the passage for want of water and provisions. Two more cargoes have already been landed in this neighbourhood this month, and many vessels are fitting out. The above was an American vessel, which changed her flag to Brazilian on the coast. 21st January 1848: A fine Sardinian schooner came out some short time ago, and one night she slipped out of this port, supposed all ready to receive slaves. We have just heard of her being taken with 780 on board. Had she arrived here, it would have swelled up the number of slaves imported in three weeks, the beginning of this year, to 2,000. The last vessel only brought half a cargo; she shipped, however, all there were on the coast for this place. The poor wretches would therefore come over quite comfortably in comparison with the usual horrible manner of packing. Import to Bahia in 1847 (as publicly known): first quarter, 1,180; second quarter, 1,500; third quarter, 2,230; fourth quarter, 3,500; making a total of 8,410." These are returns which were placed in my hands.

4786. It appears that those large importations of slaves from the coast of Africa

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Africa have taken place in defiance of the British squadron stationed on that coast?—In defiance of the squadron.

4787. Are you of opinion that the keeping of a large squadron on the coast of Africa will effectually accomplish the object of suppressing the slave trade?—I am decidedly of opinion that it never will; the coast is too extensive.

4788. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Have you reason to think that the withdrawal of the squadron would or would not increase the number of slaves exported?—It decidedly would increase it, I think, unless the withdrawal were accompanied with other measures; such, for instance, as permitting free emigration to the West Indies from every part of the coast.

4789. Then *pro tanto* the presence of the squadron does diminish the export of slaves from the coast of Africa to the western shore of the Atlantic?—I think that the export is more regulated by the demand for the labour in the Brazils and Cuba. I think that if the demand were greater there would be a larger supply, whether the squadron were there or not.

4790. Mr. Gladstone.] Are you prepared to admit that in your opinion the withdrawal of the squadron would permanently, or do you mean that it would only temporarily, increase the number of slaves exported from Africa, supposing it unaccompanied with any other measure?—I think that on the immediate withdrawal there would be a decided increase; but whether there would be any permanent increase is another question.

4791. Do you think that it is clear that at the present moment the maintenance of the squadron diminishes the numbers exported?—I think if you take an average perhaps of 12 months, that it does not diminish them; but if you came to withdraw the squadron, my opinion is that there would be an immediate rush of a great number of vessels for a time, perhaps for six or twelve months afterwards, and that the number would increase for a time.

4792. Then you think that that excess would not be justified, to speak in commercial language, probably by the results, and that the trade would resume its usual course, regulated by the demand?—Yes; regulated by the demand entirely.

4793. Have you any means of forming a judgment upon the question, whether the mortality upon the middle passage is greatly increased in consequence of the maintenance of the squadron?—I have no doubt of that at all.

4794. If the ultimate regulator of the numbers exported be the demand in the countries where the slaves are employed; if the numbers liberated by the squadron be very small, and if the increase of mortality in consequence of the preventive system be a very considerable increase, may it not be held as a probable opinion that the aggregate numbers of those exported from the coast of Africa are positively augmented in consequence of the maintenance of the preventive squadron?—It may be so; it is a matter of opinion entirely.

4795. For the sake of assumption, presented to you under the form of suppositions which may be accurate or may not, we will assume that the cruelties are very much aggravated, and that the mortality is very much aggravated; we will assume that the mortality of the middle passage without a preventive system would be 10 or 15 per cent., and that with a preventive system it is 20 or 30 per cent. upon the number of slaves annually exported from Africa for Brazil, which must be about 90,000; if, as we are told 70,000 were landed in Brazil last year, that would represent an increase of something like 8,000 or 10,000 in the numbers exported from Africa to meet the excess of loss occasioned by the increase of mortality upon the passage?—Yes, certainly.

4796. If there be such an increase of the numbers exported in order to meet that excess of loss, and if on the other hand the numbers liberated are but 2,000 or 3,000, does not it rather appear as if the maintenance of the preventive squadron may at this moment positively augment the numbers carried from the coast of Africa?—I have no doubt that it augments the number of deaths.

4797. Do not you apprehend that those who carry on the trade make all their calculations and determine the quantities to be embarked in Africa with reference to the numbers which they expect to land in Brazil?—Yes, I have no doubt they do.

4798. If they want to land 1,000 slaves in Brazil on a particular adventure they embark in Africa so many over and above the 1,000 as they reckon will leave 1,000 after they have gone through the passage?—I know that that has

has been stated, but I am not prepared to give an opinion of my own upon it. It has been stated that they calculate upon a certain number of deaths, and that they embark a greater number than the vessel will carry, calculating upon so many dying upon the passage. That is a matter of calculation which they make as a matter of business, I believe.

4799. Then if that be so, would you give your opinion with some qualification when you say, that even at any given moment the maintenance of the squadron causes a smaller number of persons to be exported from Africa than would be exported if the squadron were not there?—No; I think it would be precisely the same as in any other business where a restriction was taken off. I think if the squadron were withdrawn, whether justly or otherwise, the inference which would be drawn would be that parties could get more slaves, and there would be a rush; there would be an additional number of vessels put on, and an additional number of slaves exported from the coast of Africa perhaps within the first 12 months, unless accompanied, as I said before, with some other measures.

4800. You are speaking of the temporary effect; but with reference to the permanent effect, if a very much greater waste of life takes place upon the passage in consequence of the maintenance of the preventive system, may it not be true that not only is the number of slaves exported from Africa not diminished, but that it may be materially increased in consequence of the preventive system; the preventive system causing a greater mortality on the middle passage, and a greater mortality on the middle passage causing greater numbers to be embarked in order to supply a given demand in the markets of Brazil?—They would embark as many as they could.

4801. You have said that the demand in Brazil is the ultimate regulator?—Certainly.

4802. Suppose that there is a demand for 20,000 slaves in Brazil; suppose, as you have said, that the mortality without a preventive squadron would be 10 per cent., then they must embark 22,000 slaves to meet that demand for 20,000 in Brazil?—Yes.

4803. But suppose that in consequence of the preventive system the mortality is raised to 20 per cent., they must embark 24,000 slaves in order to meet that demand?—Of course.

4804. In that view of the case, it may be true that the numbers to be exported from Africa are positively augmented by the maintenance of the squadron?—Yes, if you can arrive at a clear matter of calculation under those circumstances; it is not so fine a matter of calculation as that.

4805. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] The late questions have assumed the moral possibility that England will again sanction the slave trade, so far as the removal of any measure of force to repress it is concerned; are you prepared to recommend to this Committee that any indirect addition to the horrors or mortality of the slave trade, which may be incident to its smuggling and illicit character, ought to be considered as a justification to England in respect to her renewal of a national sanction of the slave trade, and in respect to her withdrawal of a national means of preventing it?—Certainly not.

4806. Colonel *Thompson*.] Do you attach a general authority to the letters from Brazil which you have put in?—Yes, I do.

4807. Do you attach authority to that particular part of one of the letters which says that the profits of the slave importers in Brazil are now exceedingly small?—I think that was a natural consequence of the increased import; the letter which I read stated that there had been a considerably increased import, and that Bahia was overrun with slaves.

4808. Do you think that the difficulties attending the importation have nothing to do with the profits being exceedingly small?—I should have thought that that would rather have increased the profits.

4809. Do you think, as a commercial man, that increasing the charges upon the import of a commodity increases the profits?—No, not increasing the charges, but the difficulties of import would give it an additional value from the known difficulty of import; that was what I meant to say.

4810. There is no doubt that it would increase the price, but do you think that it would increase the profits?—It is a very difficult question to answer.

4811. Suppose a case closely concerning yourself, Would you or would you not think that it were an injury done to you in your mercantile pursuits if there

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were suddenly a great increase, suppose a tax or otherwise, upon the expenses of importation?—Yes, certainly.

4812. Which way do you think that that would operate upon you; would it increase your profits or diminish them; by “profits,” I mean your whole gains?—That would depend upon whether there was a corresponding increase in the price of the article which I imported.

4813. Did you ever know of such a thing as a corresponding increase of the kind which you mention?—I am not prepared to say so at this moment.

4814. Do you think, as a commercial man, that you can find an instance of a corresponding increase?—No; I should think the facts were against it.

4815. You think that there would not be a corresponding increase?—I think not, generally speaking.

4816. Do you think that that would be attended then with damage to the traders?—I think it would, as applicable to ordinary commerce.

4817. Then do you think that the difficulties thrown in the way of the importation of negroes into Brazil are or are not a cause of damage to the concern of the slave trade?—It depends entirely upon the prices which they get for the slaves on landing them in the Brazils.

4818. Do you think that the price of slaves and the number bought are or are not affected by the difficulty of importation?—Yes, I do think they are. You should be aware, that in giving any evidence with reference to Brazil, I have no knowledge of the Brazilian trade, nor am I engaged in it, nor ever was.

4819. I am asking you questions rather with reference to trade in general, but of course with the view of applying them to the inferences to be drawn from those letters from Brazil; suppose, for instance, that there were a demand for 20,000 negroes in Brazil, or for 20,000 packages of goods of any other kind in any other place, and suppose that it were suddenly discovered that, from the existence of cruisers or other causes, the risk and expense of introducing those commodities were doubled, what do you think would be the effect upon the demand and upon the commerce in those articles?—It would be a matter of calculation with the slave dealers whether it were worth importing them at all.

4820. What would be the result of that calculation?—I am not prepared to say.

4821. What would be the result of that calculation in a case of your own?—It would depend entirely upon whether it was worth importing the article with the increased expenses; we should make the calculation, the expenses are so and so; can I get a profit out of this?

4822. And would it or would it not be worth while to import the same quantity of that article?—The demand would regulate that in a great degree; if the import were less the value of the commodity would increase, and then there would be an additional import.

4823. Suppose that the demand had originally been for 20,000 negroes, and that the expenses of bringing them over were found suddenly to be doubled, would or would not the result of that be that the order for 20,000 would be something like contracted by one half; would not that be the tendency?—I think that it perhaps would for a time, till there was an increased demand again for the commodity or the slave, whichever you may be speaking of.

4824. Why should the contraction be temporary and not perpetual if the obstacles were perpetual?—Because the price would rise in the Brazils if the import were less.

4825. Would it rise to the amount of purchasing the same number?—I am not prepared to say; I really know nothing of the value of a slave.

4826. I do not put it with reference to slaves, but to any commodity. If a commodity at Liverpool, for instance, were under those circumstances, would not the final demand and consumption of that commodity be reduced in some proportion to the increase of the expenses of bringing it there?—Yes; the consumption would be decreased if the price were higher.

4827. Then would not the consumption temporarily and permanently of slaves in Brazil be diminished from the same causes?—I cannot see that the same principle applies exactly to slaves.

4828. Can you state any reason why the principle which applies to commerce in general does not apply to the commerce in slaves?—I am not on the moment prepared to assign the reason why it should not.

4829. Will

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4829. Will you allow me to put a parallel case; it is a common report that in the British Channel smugglers will continue their trade if they get one vessel saved out of five?—Yes.

4830. Do you think that that fact does or does not produce a reduction in the quantity of goods finally smuggled into England?—Yes, I think it does.

4831. Then do you think that the fact that only one vessel out of five got into Brazil with slaves would produce a similar effect there?—No; the cases are totally different.

4832. Will you state the difference?—The smuggler's efforts are not regulated by the demand in this country; the smuggler has a very small proportion of the total import of his article into this country, whilst in the Brazils there is no legal import of slaves, and nothing to compete with it. The cases are totally different; the one is regulated by the demand, the other is not.

4833. The difference I take to be, that the one meets a greater portion of the demand than the other does; is that the difference which you see?—The quantity that is smuggled amounts to a mere nothing compared to the general import; now there is no import of slaves to compete with the ordinary import.

4834. If you dealt in any particular commodity so circumstanced that four vessels out of five were captured on the route, would that, or would it not, damage and diminish your trade in that commodity?—Certainly.

4835. Does it or does it not produce a similar effect in Brazil; and if not, why not?—It does, I have no doubt, in all ordinary business.

4836. Then do you admit that the capture of four slaving vessels out of five in the passage to Brazil does diminish the final quantity of slave traffic to Brazil?—I think that that is not so much a matter of opinion as a matter of fact, which the statistical returns will give much better than any opinion which I can give you.

4837. Is it not the general result of your commercial experience that the loss of four vessels out of five upon the passage would seriously affect the existence of any traffic whatever?—Certainly it would.

4838. Then are you disposed to admit that the capture of four vessels out of five on their route to Brazil must finally diminish the quantity of negroes whom it is profitable to introduce into Brazil?—No; I think the trade is different; I think there would be more vessels fitted out, and probably the same number imported.

4839. Do you think that there would be the same number imported whether the price were caused to be high or were allowed to be low?—No, I do not; I think that it is regulated by the demand; if the price of slaves is high in the Brazils they will fit out more vessels, if it is low they will not fit out so many.

4840. The question which you are asked is whether the same quantity would be imported into Brazil, the price being high or the price being low; whether the height in price would diminish the number imported; if the cost of the import of the negro in Brazil be doubled, will that or will it not diminish the quantity of negroes imported?—Certainly, I think it will, until there is a corresponding increase in price.

4841. Then I am to understand you that you think that the raising of the cost of the negro in Brazil would affect the quantity of negroes finally demanded and paid for?—Yes, the cost of import.

4842. The cost of import would diminish the quantity finally consumed, as in the case of other articles?—Yes, unless there were a corresponding rise in the price in Brazil; it would not follow as a matter of course.

4843. Do you conceive it possible that there should be a corresponding rise in price so as to produce an equal amount of importation?—In all probability not; it is a matter of opinion; I do not think there would be.

4844. Is it not according to the experience of all commercial transactions that that is not the case?—Yes.

4845. Mr. Gladstone.] Do you happen to be aware of the actual per-centage of the slaves exported from Africa who are captured and liberated by the British cruisers?—No, I am not.

4846. Have you considered the question whether the preventive system does, upon the whole, tend to produce an increase in the cost of carrying slaves from

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from Africa to Brazil?—If four vessels out of five are captured, the natural inference is that it does.

4847. Have you considered the question and arrived at a conclusion yourself, whether in point of fact the maintenance of the preventive system does increase the cost of carrying slaves from Africa to Brazil?—I have not considered the subject as a matter of calculation.

4848. *Chairman.*] Is it not probable that the circumstances under which the slave trade is now carried on will induce the slave traders to economize the mode of sending the slaves across the ocean?—Yes, I think the probability is that they will.

4849. Have not you heard that they use inferior vessels to those which they were in the habit of using?—Yes, I have heard that they do.

4850. And that they endeavour to pack the slaves more closely?—Yes, I have heard that also.

4851. You have stated that you consider that a preventive squadron on the coast of Africa will never entirely suppress the slave trade?—I am afraid not.

4852. Why are you of that opinion?—The coast is so very extensive.

4853. You think that although the existing channels were closed, the trade would probably only shift its quarters and break out elsewhere?—Yes.

4854. Are you of opinion that the squadron now stationed on the coast is advantageous to legitimate commerce?—I think 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.

4855. You think that on that coast, as on other coasts of the world where British merchants are carrying on their operations, it would be desirable that there should be the protection occasionally of a man-of-war?—Certainly.

4856. Is there anything peculiar on the coast of Africa which should render protection more desirable there than on other coasts of a wild country?—Nothing very particular; there used to be pirates there at one time, many years ago.

4857. Are you acquainted with what is called the Equipment Article, which has been introduced into some of our treaties with foreign states?—Yes, I am.

4858. Perhaps you may remember that at the time when that Equipment Article was introduced into the treaties very strong hopes were entertained that it might be the means of suppressing the slave trade?—Yes.

4859. Are you of opinion that it has produced any such effect?—I am not prepared to say that it has not been beneficial in that respect. It has been detrimental to commerce.

4860. In what respect has it been detrimental to commerce?—I may be perhaps permitted to read to the Committee the observations which I transmitted a few days ago to the Board of Trade, under the impression, which was conveyed to the African Association at Liverpool, that the treaty with Portugal for the suppression of the slave trade was undergoing revision. There is a treaty with Portugal undergoing consideration, and we wrote to the Board of Trade asking whether it was the treaty of July 1842; they wrote answer and stated that it was, and that any observations from the African Association should be made now. Under that impression, we forwarded these remarks. I may mention before reading them to the Committee, that they may appear rather to strain the construction of the treaty; but the illustration which I shall have to give afterwards will perhaps justify the observations. "Upon reference to the treaty in question, it will be found that clauses are introduced in respect to the equipment of vessels, more especially as regards provisions and stores, which if strictly and literally construed may subject vessels engaged in the palm oil and other lawful trade to almost certain seizure and detention, with every probability of condemnation. We particularly desire to draw attention to the ninth article of this treaty, under which vessels may be lawfully detained and brought before the mixed commissioners, if certain things therein enumerated shall be found in their outfit or equipment. That in respect to the first of these prohibitions, viz. hatches with open gratings, we do not feel under much apprehension, as hatches of the description alluded to are seldom used; still for the purposes of ventilation they are occasionally adopted by merchant vessels engaged in lawful trade. In respect to divisions or bulkheads prohibited in the second section, it is frequently absolutely necessary to construct one or more bulkheads in the hold of the vessel for the division of the cargo, a considerable portion of which generally consists of gunpowder and spirits,

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spirits, which for safety must necessarily be protected by a bulkhead or other partition from access by the crew. In regard to the third prohibition, which extends to spare planks 'fitted for being laid down as a second or slave deck,' it is perfectly impracticable to conduct the palm-oil trade without taking out a certain quantity of planks to be cut up for heading, when the casks intended to receive palm oil (which generally go out for the convenience of stowage in packs) are put together, as also for many other lawful purposes, and for the construction of houses and factories on the coast. In regard to the fourth prohibition, which relates to the existence of shackles, bolts, and handcuffs, we may remark that vessels proceeding to Africa, where no civil authorities exist, would be considered almost unseaworthy to enter upon a voyage destitute of the necessary means of securing delinquents; and further, should this clause be strictly and vexatiously construed, even the shackles which belong to the chain cables, as well as to the topsail sheets, the pump and other bolts, and even the cargo itself, which frequently consists in part of iron in bars, may be used in justification of detention or seizure. In regard to the fifth prohibition, which relates to an excess of water in casks or tanks, we must observe that it is an almost universal practice in the trade to provide water before leaving England for the voyage out and home, on account of the difficulty of obtaining any good water in Africa, and that such provision, by a literal construction of this clause, may be considered to constitute an unnecessary supply; besides, it is by no means unusual to form a ground tier of water-casks for ballast, or for the purpose of raising light goods, comprising part of the cargo, from the bottom of the vessel. Good water can be procured at some of the islands on the coast, the obtaining of which, however, is attended with considerable delay and expence. The sixth clause we pass over, as the bond required to be given in reference to empty casks obviates all danger. The eighth prohibition, as to the existence of a boiler or other cooking apparatus of an unusual size, or if more than one boiler of the ordinary size, appears to us extremely objectionable and dangerous, as one or more boilers of a large size, in addition to the ship's cooking apparatus, are indispensable for the purpose of melting palm oil in the ordinary process of filling the casks, and large cast-iron pots, neptunes, and brass pans, for the use of the natives generally, constitute a portion of the cargo for trade. In regard to the ninth prohibition, which relates to any extraordinary quantity of rice, maize, or other food being found on board, we consider it of extreme importance to remark that all vessels proceeding to the coast of Africa for the purposes of legal trade, where the detention is necessarily dependent upon circumstances which cannot be foreseen, take out or procure on the coast a quantity of rice, varying from half a ton to three tons, for the use of the Kroomen or native sailors, being their usual natural food, and absolutely necessary for their sustenance, and who are employed in laborious occupations, such as European sailors could not in that climate endure. We may also add on this head, that it is not unusual during times of scarcity, at certain places on the coast of Africa, for small vessels engaged in legitimate trade to take supplies of rice, maize, or other articles of food from one place to another, but which under the existing treaty cannot be done without risk of capture and condemnation. And during the late scarcity of food in this country, a considerable supply of Indian corn &c., could have been procured in Africa, but for the restrictions imposed under this treaty, which unless they be modified, will at any future period offer similar obstructions, inasmuch as no custom-house or official documents could be given at the place of export. And in regard to the tenth prohibition, relating to a larger quantity of mats or matting being on board than may be necessary for the use of the crew as a merchant vessel, we have to observe that an extraordinary quantity of mats have to be provided for housing or covering the vessel and sheltering the crew, whilst lying in the narrow rivers, sometimes to the extent of 10,000, which have to be procured in the country, not unfrequently from some other part of the coast, or taken out from Europe, for the purpose, or as dunnage mats for salt, &c.; these, however, though absolutely indispensable for the preservation of the vessel and the health of the crew, constitute an infraction of the treaty. We next desire to draw attention to the arbitrary and unjust provisions of the tenth article of the treaty, which forbids compensation for losses, damages, or expenses consequent upon detention, even though the mixed commission should not pronounce sentence of condemnation.

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demnation. Thus a voyage undertaken for legal objects may be frustrated, and serious loss be inflicted at the caprice or from the cupidity of parties seeking the promotion of their own interests, without incurring any risk of being made responsible for the consequences. Having thus pointed out the objections which we entertain to some of the provisions of the existing treaty, and which, it will be observed, have all a direct bearing upon the trade more particularly carried on for undoubted and acknowledged legal purposes by this country, we now beg leave to suggest, that in the amended treaty now under consideration, provision should be made to extend the protection of a bond and certificate to a reasonable supply of the things proscribed under Sections Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, (of Article 9) similar to that now provided under the sixth section, for water casks. It will be observed, however, that the bond proposed to be taken for the additional articles does not meet the objection which exists under the ninth section of Article 9 of the treaty, in reference to rice, Indian corn, &c. taken from place to place on the coast of Africa, or exported to Europe, but which, we submit, might be obviated by an additional clause being introduced into such bond to the effect that such rice, Indian corn, &c. as might be taken on board on the coast should be for lawful commerce only. And that in reference to Article No. 10. of the treaty, we respectfully submit, that it should be entirely suppressed; and that power should be given to the court of mixed commissioners, at their discretion, to award compensation for all losses, damages, and expenses incurred from the seizure and detention of any vessel under the provisions of this treaty, in the event of a verdict of acquittal being pronounced, which principle appears to be recognised in the treaty with Spain, dated 28 June 1835, Article No. 11. We further observe, that under the regulations for the mixed commissioners (page 129 of the Blue Book, Article No. 1.), final sentence shall not be delayed, on account of the absence of witnesses or other proof, beyond the period of two months, except upon the application of any of the parties interested, when, under certain conditions, the commissioners may at their discretion grant an additional delay, not exceeding four months. Upon this point we beg to remark, that a period of six months will not suffice, under ordinary circumstances, to communicate with Europe, and to receive back with any degree of certainty the additional evidence which may be required, and that a postponement of sentence should at least be extended to a period of nine months from the day of trial. We also beg to call further attention to the clauses of Article 9 of the treaty with Portugal, and many other countries, and to express our opinion as to the danger of such. It will be observed that the right of seizure extends over the whole of the globe, with a trifling exception on the coast of Portugal, and to the north thereof; that no vessel puts to sea without being liable to seizure, and cannot by the Portuguese treaty receive any compensation for detention, however clear her innocence may be established, provided the literal construction of the treaty shall be acted upon and any one of the prohibited articles be on board: a pair of handcuffs being on board, would enable any authorized man-of-war officer of every country with which these treaties have been made to seize an East India or any other vessel, and carry her to a court of mixed commissioners, and what remedy have we? None; the existence of such a thing on board is considered *prima facie* evidence of being engaged in the slave trade and bars all compensation. What a door is here opened to the most vexatious impediments to the freedom of English commerce! We need not go through the whole of the clauses, but would observe on their peculiar danger to trade. Let us instance the immense number of vessels that went to Ichaboe two or three years since: these vessels were obliged to clear out for other ports besides Africa to procure stores sufficient for the voyage, consequently they generally entered for Africa and Columbia River. From the number of labourers they had to supply on the island, they had to take a very large quantity of water and very large quantities of provisions, and very large quantities of planks, and cooking utensils; what more would be necessary to authorize the seizure and probable condemnation of the vessel? The very same applies to vessels going to Patagonia, and even in a stronger degree, because many of these vessels were fitted with large boilers for the sake of seal and sea elephant fishery; the same applies with great force to the South Sea trades, and indeed to all trades in southern latitudes. We submit, then, that it being impossible for a vessel to go to sea
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without some one of the prohibited articles being in her outfit, and it being equally impossible for any slave trade to be carried on with only one of the articles, why should one be sufficient to warrant seizure?" That is followed by a few additional observations:—"Looking at the composition of the mixed courts of commissioners, especially with reference to the Portuguese possessions on the coast of Africa, where the deaths are so frequent that often there must be only one properly authorized English resident, we feel that in any unfortunate case of seizure, as was the fact in that of the 'Lady Sale,' the British merchant would virtually be tried in a Portuguese court, one commissioner, and the arbitrator, being, in all probability, Portuguese; that we cannot feel confidence in the verdict of such a court, the memorable words of Mr. Gabriel, the English commissioner at Loando, St. Paul's, being fresh in our memory, as reported in the Blue Book of 'Correspondence on the Slave Trade,' Class A, page 257; viz. 'The Portuguese commissioner founding his judgment in this case ('Lady Sale') solely on the three articles (water, rice, and an iron pot), without entering into any arguments respecting the evidence of the witnesses examined, or offering any remarks on the nature of the correspondence and other documents submitted to the court,' ordered her condemnation. The recorded opinion, then, of the British commissioner is, that a British vessel has been condemned by the Portuguese, looking to the literal construction of the sections Nos. 5, 8, and 9, of Article 9 of the treaty, without reference to the whole circumstances of the case. In conjunction with this you have the officers of Her Majesty's men-of-war appointing the master and others of the condemned vessel to command and navigate a slave prize; men who would, if guilty of the charge, have been considered felons, and who on their arrival in this country the Government at once declare that they will not proceed against, or in other words, that they considered them innocent. Here then we have the opinion of the resident English commissioner at Loando that justice had not been administered. We have the opinion of the commander of Her Majesty's vessels on the station and of the Government here, that the vessel was not engaged in the slave trade. Have we not then a right to say that we, and the British Government themselves, have no confidence in such a court? and have we not a right to claim protection for the British merchant who has done and is doing so much to abolish the slave trade, and to submit that the case should be brought before a British jury in this country for the purpose of deciding whether compensation should be granted or not? We claim the right we enjoy in our own country of appealing from a lower to a higher court. We say if the English Government deem it essential for the abolition of the slave trade that certain clauses should be inserted in the treaty, and at the same time encourage, and wish to encourage, legal trade, which cannot possibly be carried on without an infraction of those clauses, they should be prepared to grant compensation to the fair trader, who has been, by reason of such clauses, injured in his trade. We therefore say, equity demands that should a British vessel be condemned or seized, the British merchant, feeling himself aggrieved, should be able to bring the whole matter before a British jury; that the evidence in full taken at the trial at the mixed court of commissioners should (being officially certified at the court where the trial took place) be received by such jury as evidence, together with any further evidence that may be adduced; that the said jury should decree the merchant innocent or otherwise, and, if innocent, award such compensation as they may think him entitled to, which the Government of this country should pay." Those were the observations which I transmitted, as chairman of the African Association, to the Board of Trade, with these few accompanying observations: "In accordance with the intimation conveyed in your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant, that the treaty with Portugal for the suppression of the slave trade was now undergoing revision, and that if this association should have any amendments to propose, they have now an opportunity of doing so, I beg leave to enclose the accompanying observations and suggestions which have been prepared in reference thereto. I consider it proper also to add that the substance of our objections to some of the provisions of the treaty have already been communicated to the Foreign Office, and that a correspondence took place in the early part of the year 1846 with Lord Aberdeen on the subject, arising out of the case of the capture (under the ninth article of the treaty) of the British brig 'Lady Sale,' engaged in lawful trade. At

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that period a suggestion was made, as a temporary protection to the trade, that a bond should be given, and a certificate be granted by the Customs (as in the case provided for water-casks), under which certain articles absolutely necessary in the equipment of a vessel for lawful trade, though prohibited under the treaty, should be recognised as being on board for lawful purposes. This suggestion, under the sanction of the Lords of the Treasury, has since been adopted at this port, and I beg to transmit, and refer to the enclosed form now in use, but which, nevertheless, as intimated by Lord Aberdeen, in his Lordship's letter of the 18th March 1846, cannot be binding upon Portugal, or the other powers with whom we have treaties. In corroboration of our views as to the necessity of some effectual protection being extended to lawful trade on the coast of Africa, we beg to refer to the following extract from a letter from Mr. Gabriel, the British commissioner at Loando, addressed to Lord Aberdeen, dated 30th March 1845: 'Considering the very stringent measures adopted by Her Majesty's Government for carrying into effect the stipulations of the various treaties concluded with foreign powers for the extinction of the odious and abominable traffic in slaves, I respectfully propose, my Lord, that in all cases of British vessels coming upon this coast for the purpose of prosecuting a lawful trade, nothing ought to be neglected to enable the master or parties interested to establish that fact by the most irrefragable evidence.' The opportunity is now, however, afforded of considering the matter, as respects Portugal; and I cannot too strenuously impress upon your Lordships the vast importance of negotiating for the total removal of all the vexatious, dangerous, and, in many instances, useless restrictions with which the legal trade with Africa is fettered under all the treaties now in force for the suppression of the slave trade, or to provide effectual remedy for the protection of lawful trade." These observations are bearing upon the Equipment Article, and I may perhaps be allowed to illustrate this by referring to the case of the "Lady Sale."

4861. Was any draft of that Equipment Article, so far as you know, submitted to the merchants of this country before it was inserted in the treaty?—Never.

4862. Did you ever hear of any merchants who proposed to abandon legitimate trade in Africa in consequence of the annoyance and the obstruction which were created by the enforcement of that Equipment Article?—We are abandoning the south coast trade ourselves in consequence of it; the trade to the southward of the Line.

4863. Colonel *Thompson*.] Have there been any instances of Englishmen engaged in legitimate trade transferring their operations to the slave trade?—No, I do not believe anything of the kind.

4864. *Chairman*.] From what particular circumstance was your house led to think of abandoning the trade with the southern coast of Africa?—We had suffered so severely from the impediments which the Equipment Article threw in the way of the trade.

4865. You were, I believe, the owners of the "Lady Sale"?—We were.

4866. Will you state the circumstances under which that vessel was seized, and subsequently condemned by the mixed commission?—Yes. If I may ask the attention of the Committee for a few moments, I should like to read the protest of the captain, which details the whole circumstance, and details it upon oath. I think that that will give it more accurately. "By this public instrument of protest, be it known and made manifest to all to whom it doth or may concern, that on the 6th day of March last personally appeared before me, John North, notary public, duly admitted and sworn, dwelling in Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, and actually practising there, Richard Euclid Tyrrell, master of the brig or vessel called the 'Lady Sale,' belonging to the port of Liverpool aforesaid, of the register burden of 208 tons, or thereabouts, and duly noted his protest; and again on this 1st day of April instant personally appeared before me, the said notary, the said Richard Euclid Tyrrell, together with James Retallick, the chief mate, and John Andrews Cooper, of and belonging to, and all being on board the said vessel at the time of the seizure thereof hereinafter mentioned, and (pursuant to the statute made and passed in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, for the substitution of solemn declarations for oaths in certain cases) did solemnly and sincerely declare, testify, and state, as follows: that is to say, that these appearers and the rest of the crew of the said vessel set sail in her
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from Liverpool on the 6th day of July 1845, on a trading voyage to the coast of Africa with a general cargo, the said vessel being fitted out in the usual manner for the trade in palm oil and ivory, and being then tight, stiff, staunch, and strong, well rigged, manned, and victualled, and in every respect seaworthy and fit to perform her said intended voyage. That they arrived at Ambriz, on the coast of Africa, on the 1st of September last without any material occurrence, and there discharged part of the cargo. That on the 6th of September they left Ambriz for the Congo River, where they arrived on the 9th of September, and on the 11th of September began to trade with the natives. That on the 17th of September they proceeded further up the river, and on the 19th moored off Point de Laine, and after paying the custom dues at Embomma began to trade. That on the 27th of September the vessel was visited" (and I should like to call the attention of the Committee to the fact of the visiting of Her Majesty's cruisers) "and searched by the commander and one of the other officers of Her Majesty's cruiser the 'Alert,' and on the 9th of October was also visited and searched by the first lieutenant and master of Her Majesty's sloop 'Cygnet,' and the officers of both which cruisers expressed themselves perfectly satisfied as to the object of such searches. That on the 17th of October this appearer, the said Richard Euclid Tyrrell, received a letter from Mr. Power, the agent of the owners at Ambriz, requesting him to leave the River Congo, and come up to Ambriz, for the purpose of receiving instructions to proceed to the northward to one of the oil rivers. That on receipt of this letter they filled several casks of water (making altogether, with what they had, about 32 casks), in order better to ballast the vessel in beating to windward on her then intended trip, and dropped down the Congo. That on the 19th of October they were visited and searched by an officer from Her Majesty's steamer 'Prometheus,' who also expressed himself fully satisfied as to the object and equipment of the vessel. That at eight p. m. of the 26th of October they came to anchor in Ambriz Roads, about six miles from Ambriz, and at daybreak the following morning this appearer, Richard Euclid Tyrrell, went ashore in the long boat, with six of the crew, as required by the said Mr. Power, and for the purpose of receiving instructions from him, but found that he was not then at home. That between 10 and 11 o'clock a. m. on that day this appearer, the said Richard Euclid Tyrrell, being then on shore, observed a Portuguese cruiser, called the 'Constitucio,' close to the 'Lady Sale,' as the latter was then lying at anchor in the roadstead as aforesaid, and which cruiser he subsequently found (and as these appearers, James Retallick and John Andrews, who were then on board, for themselves say) had just previously sent marines and seamen (but unaccompanied by any officer, and without producing any authority from the Portuguese government or otherwise, and without making any entry in the log) on board the 'Lady Sale,' as she lay at anchor as aforesaid, and taken possession of her, upon the alleged suspicion that she was intended to be engaged in the slave trade, the pretended grounds of such suspicion being stated to be that she had more water on board than was requisite for an African trading voyage, and had also on board 15 bags of rice, and an iron boiler or pot, alleged to be intended for the use of slaves, whereas, in truth and in fact, as all these appearers say, the extra quantity of water on board (a considerable portion of which was unfit for use, from being taken into oil casks) had been taken in as ballast only, and for the purpose hereinbefore mentioned; and the said rice was solely intended for the use of seven Kroomen then on board (who live exclusively upon it), and the said boiler or pot was for the sole purpose of testing palm oil, by boiling samples of it, and not for any other purpose whatsoever, and that the said extra water, and the said rice and boiler, were absolutely necessary for the said vessel under the circumstances aforesaid. That upon observing what had happened to the 'Lady Sale' as aforesaid, and that she had a signal flying for this appearer, Richard Euclid Tyrrell, to come on board, he, this last-named appearer, sent his boat's crew off to her in the long boat, intending himself to follow as soon as he got his despatches, and while they were approaching her (she being then and there in the possession of the cruiser as aforesaid) they as well as this last-named appearer all saw her weigh anchor, hoist sail, and stand off the land, but notwithstanding which the boat's crew persevered in endeavouring to reach her, until, when about two miles from the shore, the boat was struck by a heavy sea and swamped, and it was with great difficulty and danger, by swimming, assisted by

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the send of the sea, that they succeeded in reaching the shore, escaping providentially the imminent risks not only of drowning, but of destruction by sharks. And this appearer, the said James Retallick, says, that seeing from on board the cruiser (to which he had been then taken) that the boat had swamped, and the imminent danger of her crew, he entreated the officer in command to send a boat to their assistance, but which he peremptorily refused to do; that on the 31st day of October this appearer, the said Richard Euclid Tyrrell, succeeded in getting on board the 'Lady Sale' in a canoe, and found her in the possession of an officer (who had been sent subsequently to the search) and 18 men from the cruiser, who forthwith carried her to Saint Paul de Loando, where they arrived on the 3d of November and were visited and searched by the commanders of the Portuguese corvette and brig, called the 'Relampago' and the 'Mondego,' who appeared to this appearer, the said Richard Euclid Tyrrell, from what he could understand of their conversation, to be in doubt whether they should liberate the 'Lady Sale' or send her into port for trial by the Mixed Commission Court on the said alleged charge, as they (after considering for about three hours) ultimately did, and after a survey held upon her by the Portuguese authorities, who refused to hear any explanations or evidence of the said appearer, Richard Euclid Tyrrell, or of any of the crew of the 'Lady Sale,' the trial came on, on the 7th of November, before Mr. Gabriel, as British commissioner, and a Portuguese, whose name these appearers do not recollect, as the other commissioner, and before them the trial proceeded from day to day (Sundays excepted) until the 24th of November, when the British commissioner declared his opinion to be that the seizure was illegal, and that there was no pretence for the suspicion and charge in question, whereupon the other commissioner called upon the secretary of the court (a Portuguese) to act thenceforth as a commissioner, and they two then forming the majority, and in the assumed authority of the court, declared the 'Lady Sale' to be condemned as a slaver, upon the pretended grounds of suspicion hereinbefore mentioned, notwithstanding the fullest explanation to the effect aforesaid by this appearer, Richard Euclid Tyrrell, of all the circumstances upon which such suspicion was alleged to be founded, and the most complete proof adduced by him that there existed no intention whatever on the part of the owners, officers and crew to engage in the slave trade, but that on the contrary, the same was in the strongest possible degree forbidden by the instructions with which she had been sent out, and repugnant and abhorrent to the feelings of all concerned, and notwithstanding also the clear proof (not questioned even by the Court itself) that the vessel had been seized while lying at anchor in the roadstead, and under other circumstances directly contravening the treaty, and therefore alone sufficient to render such seizure and all proceedings thereupon illegal upon the face of them. And these appearers say, that after the condemnation of the 'Lady Sale' they and the rest of her crew were delivered to the British authorities at St. Paul de Loando, and on the 9th of December were put on board Her Majesty's sloop 'Cygnet,' to be sent from St. Helena (whither the 'Cygnet' was then proceeding) to England as prisoners. That on the 18th of December the commander of the 'Cygnet' captured a slaver with 554 slaves on board, when these appearers, the said Richard Euclid Tyrrell and James Retallick, at the request of such commander, who was very short-handed (having already put crews into six prizes), consented to take charge of the slaver, and carried her into St. Helena, where they arrived on the 26th of December, and with the rest of the crew of the 'Lady Sale,' who had previously arrived in the 'Cygnet,' (with the exception of this appearer, Richard Euclid Tyrrell, who was liberated on his parole,) were lodged in prison on shore, and remained there until the 2d of January last, on which day they were put on board the merchant vessel 'Duke of Cornwall,' of and for London, under the charge of Mr. Douglas, mate of the 'Cygnet,' who was sent home by the governor of St. Helena and his own commander for that purpose, carrying with him despatches from the said Mr. Gabriel as to the said illegal seizure and condemnation of the 'Lady Sale,' and with instructions to land by the first boat which should board the Duke of Cornwall in the English Channel, and proceed with all speed to the Admiralty with such despatches. That the said Mr. Douglas did so land by a Deal boat on the 24th of February with the intention, after receiving the orders of the Admiralty, of meeting the 'Duke of Cornwall' in the Thames, but which he did not. That the 'Duke of Cornwall' arrived

arrived in the East India Docks on the 26th of February, but these appearers did not land until the next day, when they with the rest of the crew of the 'Lady Sale,' who had come home in the 'Duke of Cornwall,' went direct to the Thames Police-office, and after detailing all the circumstances to Mr. Ballantine, the sitting magistrate, offered to surrender themselves into his custody, but which offer he refused, stating that there was then no charge against them; that on the following day (the 28th of February) these appearers and the rest of the 'Lady Sale's' crew, were taken into custody by virtue, as they understood, of an order from the Admiralty, and were again taken before Mr. Ballantine, but, as it appeared to these appearers, only for the purpose of being relieved from the said charge, for the said Mr. Ballantine, upon their being brought before him, stated to them, and in consequence, as he said, of information received by him from the Admiralty, that there was no charge against them; and he then and there discharged them accordingly. Wherefore these appearers did declare to protest, and I, the said notary, at their request, have protested, and by these presents do protest, that all and whatsoever loss, damage, and expense the owners of the said vessel and her cargo have sustained on the said voyage, is solely and wholly attributable to the illegal seizure and condemnation thereof, under the circumstances hereinbefore set forth, and not to any misconduct, default, neglect, or want of skill in these appearers, or any of them, or the rest of the crew of the said vessel." This was a vessel that was seized for having on board simply 15 bags of rice, 32 casks of water, and an iron pot, which were absolutely necessary for her voyage, and not more than adequate for her voyage.

4867. Was not there some other circumstance besides those which you have stated, of an undue allowance of water and rice, and an iron pot, which induced the Mixed Commission Court to condemn the vessel?—Yes.

4868. What was it?—One of the charges preferred against her was that she was entered out for a false destination. That was not one of the grounds of her condemnation, but it was still one of the charges brought against her. It is a singular fact that, owing to the Customs regulations, no vessel could be sent to sea in what we call a seaworthy state, if we were confined to the allowance of stores which the Customs allowed; and in order to get an additional quantity of stores, all the vessels for Africa at that time were entered out, "Africa and Columbia River," or "Africa and Bombay," just as the owners thought proper to enter them out, with the view of getting sufficient stores for their seamen. It is somewhat singular in connexion with this case, that in the month of March preceding the sailing of the "Lady Sale" (the "Lady Sale" left Liverpool in July) I had represented the Custom-house restrictions to Sir Robert Peel. I had taken up the subject in our town council; and this was one of the points which, many months before, I had brought under the notice of the Government, and which was not redressed in the month of July, when she sailed.

4869. Sir R. H. Inglis.] In what year?—In 1845. I will take the liberty of just reading a few observations from my own remarks in introducing the subject to the town council: "Again, according to the printed rules regulating the quantities of bonded stores to be taken in vessels, it was well known that the allowance was very irregular, and in many instances wholly insufficient. For instance, in the African trade they were only allowed bonded stores for six months, while the voyage averaged from nine to twelve. The merchant was therefore placed in this position; he must either defraud his seamen of three to six months' allowance, or he must adopt the subterfuge of entering his vessel out for Africa and elsewhere, say Africa and Bombay, with the known intention that the vessel was not going to Bombay at all, or the other equally unworthy subterfuge of giving bond for the extra stores as cargo, well knowing all the time that they were not intended for cargo. Was that a position worthy of the Board of Customs? Was it a position worthy of the merchants of the town of Liverpool?" Now it happens that the restrictions of the Customs I represented myself personally to Sir Robert Peel, in March 1845. He remedied many of the grievances which were pointed out, but that was left unredressed till the month of August in the same year, one month after the "Lady Sale" had sailed.

4870. Chairman.] It is now redressed?—It is now redressed; it was redressed a month after she had sailed.

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4871. Had you not, previously to the departure of the "Lady Sale," consulted the Secretary for Foreign Affairs as to the nature of that vessel's equipment?—Yes; we were endeavouring to open up a trade with the Congo, where there had been no British trade at all; no British vessel had traded there. In the previous year we had sent a vessel up the same river, called the "Douglas." The slave traders there had interfered very much with the captain, and threatened to burn his vessel if he attempted to trade. They were jealous of the legitimate trade interfering with them. He was unable to do much, but he took a sketch of the river and marked down all the barracoons (I think there were about 30, so far as I recollect) on the banks of the Congo. He sent this sketch home to me, which I transmitted to the Foreign Office to Lord Canning.

4872. Lord Canning was Under-Secretary?—Lord Canning was Under-Secretary at that time. When the captain came home I sent him up to Lord Canning, in order to give such information as he could as to the state of the slave trade there; and before he went out again we got such information from him as enabled us to hope that the "Lady Sale," the second vessel going the next year, might do better than he had done in the year preceding. Before her sailing we submitted the instructions to Lord Canning, to see that we were perfectly clear in everything that we did, and in order to ascertain how far we should be committed in the event of any slave dealers coming to buy our goods. We took Lord Canning's opinion upon that and acted upon it; but the question, I presume, is asked to show that the transaction was perfectly open. We even submitted our instructions to the captain to Lord Canning before the vessel sailed, without any anticipation of such an event as this occurring.

4873. Sir R. H. Inglis.] In point of fact, your object was rather by legitimate commerce to supersede the slave trade than to be yourselves in any way parties to it?—Quite so; we always repudiate it in the strongest terms. In fact, if any captain of ours were to do any one act that should implicate either him or us in the most indirect way in the slave trade, he would forfeit the whole of his wages and commissions.

4874. The injury of which you complain in respect to the condemnation of the "Lady Sale," is an injury with which the law has had nothing to do. In point of fact, it was according to the treaties which placed the seizure in the hands of the Commission at St. Paul de Loando?—Exactly.

4875. The municipal law of England and the political Government of England, are alike guiltless in respect to the condemnation of which you complain?—Not exactly so. The fact is, that by the treaty they were justified in condemning that vessel if she had only an iron pot on board; and by the treaty as it now exists, if a Portuguese cruiser were to capture every palm-oil vessel on the coast of Africa, she would be perfectly justified under the treaty.

4876. Neither the municipal law nor the Government of England are responsible for the wrong which has been done; it is a wrong arising out of a construction of treaties, is it not?—It is a wrong done to us under the existence of a treaty; but then the treaty provides that it is competent to the merchant to give such evidence as shall satisfy the Commission that the vessel was not intended for the slave trade; that evidence was tendered, the British commissioner pronounced immediately a formal acquittal; he was overruled; the Portuguese commissioner called upon the secretary, and the two overruled the British commissioner.

4877. You do not complain of this as a wrong done to you by the municipal law of England; you do not complain of it as a wrong done to you by the political Government of England, but you do complain of it as a wrong done by virtue of international treaties?—Exactly; by international treaties.

4878. Colonel Thompson.] Admitting the necessity of some kind of restrictions and investigations to discover illegal traders, have you any broad scheme to propose whereby the danger to English legitimate traders might be diminished?—Yes; for instance, there is a bond, with respect to which we made a suggestion to Lord Aberdeen. In fact, from the commencement there has been a bond, which on exhibition would be a justification for the casks, that they could not seize a vessel for having casks on board. We proposed to add to this bond, say three tons of rice, which would be sufficient; two pairs
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of handcuffs, which are necessary in a part of the country where there is no civil authority to which to appeal, to put the seamen into, or anything of that kind; so many iron pots, or whatever may be necessary for the use of the vessels trading for oil; to include those in the bond, and to have that bond acknowledged by the two countries as a legal document.

4879. It would be necessary that it should be acknowledged equally in the case of Portuguese vessels?—Both.

4880. You think that there might be some effectual stipulation of that description?—Certainly, without any difficulty whatever; and it could be of no advantage to those who were disposed to carry on the slave trade, because, for instance, three tons of rice, or 30 casks of water, or two pairs of handcuffs, would not answer their purpose, while it would answer ours.

4881. Am I to understand you that that has been proposed to the English Government or not?—Yes, and it is acted upon now; but still it is no legal document. We act upon it, and get the seal of the collector and comptroller of the Customs in Liverpool to it.

4882. *Chairman.*] Would it prevent a Portuguese cruiser from seizing a vessel which was so equipped?—It would not. We hope that it would have the effect, but still they would be justified by the treaty in seizing a vessel; they have not agreed to it.

4883. *Colonel Thompson.*] Practically do you think that it ever has that effect?—Practically I think that it has the effect; but still if they were to seize it would not be a justification, because they have not agreed to it.

4884. Do you think that it might not be improved by making it more formal?—Yes, by getting Portugal and other countries with whom we have treaties to agree to it.

4885. Have you to complain of any unnecessary interference on the part of English cruisers?—No, I think not.

4886. *Chairman.*] You referred to the question of visit; you said that the "Lady Sale" had been visited?—Yes, we are always very glad to have our vessels visited by the British cruisers; this vessel had in fact been visited three or four times by the British cruiser just before she was seized.

4887. *Colonel Thompson.*] They are not considered vexatious regulations?—Not at all.

4888. *Chairman.*] Have you any other cases which you can mention at all similar to that of the "Lady Sale"?—There have been cases where the vessels have been detained, or have had their boats seized and taken in and then liberated after a considerable detention, which has occasioned a loss and inconvenience for which we get no compensation at all. We had a small vessel seized once before by a Portuguese cruiser; she was a yacht which we sent out on the deck of a larger vessel, and launched when she was off St. Thomas's, to sail down the south coast. By the law of England a vessel of that size does not require a register, but she was seized by a Portuguese man-of-war because she had no register, and taken into Prince's Island; I applied to Lord Aberdeen with reference to it, and he obtained her restoration, but they had detained her for 12 months; and when we had put a fresh crew on board of her at the island of St. Thomas, to send her down to the south coast, she sailed from there, and we never heard any more of her. In all probability the vessel was so far decayed by lying up in a hot climate, that she had received some injury, and she and her crew never arrived at their destination.

4889. *Colonel Thompson.*] Do you know whether the slave vessels ever attempt to conceal themselves upon the plea of being engaged in other commerce?—No; I think they generally try to keep out of the way.

4890. Do you think that there is any practical difficulty, on the coast of Africa, in honestly distinguishing between slave vessels and those engaged in legitimate commerce?—Not the slightest.

4891. You do not consider it a doubtful thing?—Not at all; there can be no mistake about it.

4892. *Chairman.*] If the Equipment Article has a tendency to induce merchants to abandon the legitimate trade with Africa, and you consider that the legitimate trade is one of the means of extinguishing the slave trade, do you not consider that the Equipment Article has a tendency to favour the slave trade?—Yes, certainly, in that point of view, that the more you drive legitimate commerce away, the more the slave trade will prosper.

4893. You stated that you had communicated to Lord Canning a plan of
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some barracoons, which the captain of the "Douglas" had found up the Congo?—Yes; a plan of the river, with the barracoons marked.

4894. Your object in doing that was what?—To give his Lordship information for the cruisers.

4895. For the purpose of putting down the slave trade?—Yes.

4896. Do you connect that circumstance at all with the condemnation of the "Lady Sale"?—I am not prepared to say that it led exactly to her condemnation, but this resulted from it: Mr. Jamieson of Liverpool subsequently published a letter in the paper, stating the facts which we had communicated to Lord Canning, and mentioning our name, referring to us for confirmation of those facts. That letter, our agent wrote us word, had been exhibited there amongst the slave dealers; and I have no doubt that they endeavoured, in every way they could, to thwart us in consequence.

4897. Sir R. H. Inglis.] The vessel was at Ambriz?—She was at Ambriz when she was seized.

4898. Is there any greater slave-dealing port than Ambriz, with the exception, perhaps, of Cabenda?—I think all the ports about there are of that nature; Ambriz is perhaps as much so as any of them.

4899. Do you know any other instance of such a proceeding as that of which you complain in the case of your own vessel?—No; I believe there never was any other.

4900. Do you know any instance in which the presence of water casks has been brought forward as ground of condemnation, except the instance of your own vessel?—No, I do not at this moment know of any.

4901. In the memorial which you addressed to the Board of Trade, and in which you specified objections to different requirements in the Slave-trade Equipment Article, were your objections founded more upon general principles and on possible cases than on cases which had actually occurred?—When we first saw that Equipment Article we considered that there was no danger from it; that such a literal construction as was put upon it in the case of the "Lady Sale" was perfectly impossible; but we find now that what has occurred may occur again, and that if this case of the "Lady Sale" is allowed to pass over, as it has been allowed to pass over by Lord Palmerston, not a single vessel on the coast is secure. There is not a vessel out now, of 20,000 tons of shipping, but what might be seized at this moment.

4902. Chairman.] Are you acquainted with the cases of any vessels besides that of the "Lady Sale," in which a legitimate commerce has been obstructed by the squadrons acting for the suppression of the slave trade; vessels which were not at all connected with that traffic?—Frequently the vessels have been impeded and have been stopped, perhaps, for some hours, or something of that kind; but I am not aware of anything that came to a crisis like the case of the "Lady Sale," and the vessel being condemned.

4903. The operations of commerce have been annoyed and obstructed?—Yes.

4904. Do you know of many such cases?—I could not speak with any certainty at the present moment, but I know that it has been a matter of frequent occurrence on the coast.

4905. You have a general impression that such has been the case?—Yes.

4906. Colonel Thompson.] Am I right in supposing that foreign cruisers on the coast of Africa might be very well disposed to act with strictness towards English vessels in consequence of the strictness with which the English vessels themselves act?—Yes.

4907. And do you see in that a reason why peculiar caution should be taken in stipulations made with foreigners upon that subject?—Yes, I do; I think that the seizure of our vessel was, in a great measure, an act of retaliation, in consequence of the capture of the Portuguese vessels by the British cruisers.

4908. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Had you taken all the ordinary measures of precaution?—Yes.

4909. By applying to the custom-house and stating what number of water casks, and so forth, you intended to take?—The water was taken in in the Congo.

4910. The question refers to the number of casks?—Yes; we had given the bond for the casks, which was always given.

4911. Chairman.] All that had been perfectly regular?—Perfectly regular.

I may

I may mention that since the seizure of the "Lady Sale" the underwriters will not insure a vessel at all going to the south coast without an express stipulation that they are not responsible if seized under that treaty. I have not one of the policies with me, but there is a special clause put in exempting them from the consequences of seizure with reference to that treaty.

4912. Will you furnish the Committee with one of those policies?—Yes.

[*The Witness handed in the following Paper:*]

Dear Sirs,

20 May 1848.

Messrs. W. Rotheram & Co. (with whom we effected the great part of our insurances) have always refused, since the trial of the Lady Sale, taking our South Coast risks, without we would insert a clause exempting them from liability upon capture, expressly stating their fears of the Portuguese cruisers in that part. We have refused granting such exemption, and sent the orders to London, where we got them effected without such clause, the attention of the parties there not appearing so forcibly directed to the danger. Messrs. W. Rotheram & Co. took our risks to the other parts of the coast without any clause of exemption.

Yours, &c.

(signed) *Thomas Tobin & Son.*

Messrs. C. Horsfall & Sons.

Underwriters :

£.
100 J. Cox.
100 J. Clow.
100 A. Low.
100 D. James.
100 T. H. Holderness.

£. 500

Be it known that Charles Horsfall & Son, as well in their own name, as for and in the name and names of all and every other person or persons to whom the same doth, may, or shall appertain in part, or in all, doth make assurance, and cause themselves and them, and every of them, to be insured, lost or not lost, at and from Liverpool to the vessel's port or ports, place or places of trade and loading on the coast of Africa, and African islands, including St. Helena, Ascension, and others, all or any, during her stay and trade on the said coast and islands thereof, with leave to proceed to or off any port or ports, place or places, in any order, backwards

and forwards, and forwards and backwards, for any purpose, and thence to her port of discharge in the United Kingdom, with leave to call at or off any port or ports, and wait for orders, upon any kind of goods and merchandizes, and also upon the body, tackle, apparel, ordnance, munition, artillery, boat, and other furniture, of and in the good ship or vessel called the "Lord Nelson," whereof is master, under God, for this present voyage,

, or whosoever else shall go for master in the said ship, or by whatsoever other name or names the said ship, or the master thereof, is or shall be named or called; beginning the adventure upon the said goods and merchandizes from the loading thereof aboard the said ship, as above, upon the said ship, &c.

and so shall continue and endure, during her abode there, upon the said ship, &c. And further, until the said ship, with all her ordnance, tackle, apparel, &c., and goods and merchandizes whatsoever, shall be arrived at, as above,

upon the said ship, &c., until she hath moored at anchor 24 hours in good safety; and upon the goods and merchandizes, until the same be there discharged and safely landed. And it shall be lawful for the said ship, &c., in this voyage, to proceed and sail to, and touch and stay at, any ports or places whatsoever, for any purpose whatever, with leave to load, unload, and reload, exchange, sell, and barter all or either goods and property on the coast of Africa and African islands, including St. Helena, Ascension, and others, and with any vessels, boats, factories, and canoes, in port and at sea, at all times, in all places, and to tranship interest from the vessel to any other vessel or vessels, or from any other vessel or vessels to this vessel, in port and at sea, or at any port or ports she may call at or proceed to, without being deemed a deviation, particularly to load one cargo for the Bombay packet at Bonny, without prejudice to this insurance. The said ship, &c., goods and merchandizes, &c., for so much as concerns the assured, by agreement between the assured and assurers in this policy, are and shall be valued at, on cargo, 500*L.*, with liberty to extend the valuation on the homeward cargo, the outward cargo to be considered homeward. Interest, 24 hours after the vessel's arrival at her first port or place of trade on the coast of Africa. Warranted free from capture, seizure, and detention, and the consequences of any attempt thereat by Portuguese cruisers. Touching the adventures and perils which we the assurers are contented to bear, and do take upon us in this voyage; they are, of the seas, men-of-war, fire, enemies, pirates, rovers, thieves, jettisons, letters of mart and counter-mart, surprisals, takings at sea, arrests, restraints, and detainments of all kings, princes, and people, of what nation, condition, or quality soever; barratry of the master and mariners, and of all other perils, losses, and misfortunes that have or shall come to the hurt, detriment, or damage of the said goods and merchandizes, and ship, &c., or any part thereof; offences against the revenue of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland excepted. And in case of any loss or misfortune, it shall be lawful to the assured, their factors, servants, and assigns, to sue, labour, and travel for, in and about the defence, safeguard, and recovery of the said goods and merchandizes, and ship, &c., or any part thereof, without prejudice to this insurance; to the charges whereof we the assurers will contribute each one according to the rate and quantity of his sum herein assured. And it is further agreed by us, the insurers, that this writing or policy of assurance shall be of as much force and effect as the surest writing

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writing or policy of assurance heretofore made in Lombard-street, or in the Royal Exchange, or elsewhere in London. And so we the assurers are contented, and do hereby promise and bind ourselves, each one for his own part, our heirs, executors, and goods, to the assured, their executors, administrators, and assigns, for the true performance of the premises, confessing ourselves paid the consideration due unto us for this assurance, by the assured, at and after the rate of six guineas per cent.

In witness whereof, we, the assurers, have subscribed our names and sums assured in Liverpool.

N. B.—Corn, fish, salt, fruit, flour, and seed, are warranted, free from average, unless general, or the ship be stranded. Sugar, tobacco, hemp, flax, hides, and skins, are warranted, free from average, under 5*l.* per cent. And all other goods, also the ship and freight, are warranted, free of average, under 3*l.* per cent., unless general, or the ship be stranded.

Liverpool, 4 September 1846.

Messrs. Charles Horsfall & Son.

		£.	s.	d.
For cost of 500 <i>l.</i> insured as above, at 126 <i>s.</i> per cent.	-	31	10	-
Stamp - - - - -	-	1	5	-
	£.	32	15	-
Entered,				W. O.

4913. Colonel *Thompson.*] Have you any other suggestions which you can give connected with the safety of the English traders on the coast of Africa?—I have suggested before that if cruisers were to visit the rivers every five or six weeks where the British trade is going on, I think that the very fact of their appearing there would give them that protection which they desire. I believe that nobody is more anxious to suppress the slave trade than the British merchants. Perfectly independent of principle, it would be to their interest. I have a memorandum relating to what was found on board the “*Lady Sale,*” which I requested our overlooker of the shipping at Liverpool before I left to furnish me with. “Fifteen bags of rice, weighing 2 cwt. each, are 3,360 lbs., which for seven Kroomen at 2 lbs. each per day, and 12 seamen at 2 lbs. per week each man, would last 187 days, or six months and seven days.” The vessel would have been out fully that time before she got home, and this is what they call an extraordinary quantity of rice. Then with regard to the water, admitting that there were 32 casks (the captain states in his protest about 30 casks; on the trial I see it is mentioned 23 casks, but we give them the benefit of the larger statement), “32 casks of water, containing each 140 gallons,” (we give them the benefit of the larger sized casks, though they say some large and some small,) “are 4,480 gallons, which would last 19 men, at one gallon each per day, 236 days, or seven months and 26 days,” for which time in all probability that vessel would have been out.

4914. *Chairman.*] Had you a vessel on the south coast in the year 1839?—Yes, we had.

4915. Have you seen the evidence which has been printed by order of the House of Commons on this subject?—I have seen a portion of the evidence.

4916. That portion which has been printed?—Yes.

4917. Have you read the evidence given by an officer in the navy, Captain Matson?—I have.

4918. Did you observe there a statement which he made to the Committee relative to the destruction of a boy at Ambriz in the year 1839, under circumstances of great atrocity?—I did.

4919. The statement which he made was as follows: “Previously to the appearance of the squadron on the coast south of the Line legal trade was going on; I was part of the first squadron that went there in 1840; it then appeared that an English factory had been burnt, and that it had been burnt by one of the servants in the factory, who afterwards escaped. A British captain of a merchant vessel made an application to the chief to have this boy, his servant, given up to him; he was given up, and this boy was tied to a stake in the middle square of the different factories, and was burnt alive. That is a fact which is undoubted.” From your intercourse with the coast, would you have been in the way of hearing of such an event if it had taken place?—I have not the

the slightest doubt we should have heard of it if it had occurred; I do not believe one word of it. I have no doubt Captain Matson believed it, or he would not have stated it. I do not think that any British captain would have dared to have done such a thing. I think Captain Matson ought not to have made such a statement without giving the name both of the ship and of the captain. I do not believe one word of it.

4920. You feel confident that had an atrocity of that kind occurred you would have heard of it?—I feel confident that if it had occurred we should have heard of it.

4921. And you never heard any whisper of the kind?—Not the slightest. It is a very common thing on the death of any chief, in many parts of the coast, for his relatives to put a number of the natives to death to commemorate the event. For instance, in Old Calabar, when King Eyamha died, there were a great number of his slaves put to death. They do it under the impression that he will have those slaves to wait upon him in the other world.

4922. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] At the same time that doubt which you express as to the accuracy of the statement given by Captain Matson is a doubt not founded upon your own personal knowledge of the coast of Ambriz?—It is merely from the fact that we had a vessel there that year, and I am almost sure that we should have heard of it, if any such event had occurred.

4923. Your negative evidence as to not having heard it is not a direct contradiction of the statement made by Captain Matson that he had heard it shortly after his arrival at Ambriz?—I have not the slightest doubt that Captain Matson has heard it or he would not have stated it; but still, as to the occurrence of the event, I do not believe one word of it; I am satisfied that we should have heard of it if it had been true. Our captains always mention anything of that kind which occurs; in fact, they tell us the whole history of everything that occurs during the time that they are there. Of course we might not have heard of it, but still I think that Captain Matson ought not to have made such a statement without giving the captain's name and the name of the ship.

4924. Did you hear from the captain of any vessel whom you had employed on the coast at Ambriz in that year that a factory had been burnt down?—No.

4925. Captain Matson's story implies both that a factory had been burnt, and that the burning of such factory was attributed to a servant?—Yes.

4926. The captain of your ship mentioned neither the burning of the factory nor the burning of the boy supposed to have set fire to it?—I am not prepared to say that he did not mention the burning of the factory; it would not have made the same impression upon my mind that the burning of the boy would; I am sure that I should not have forgotten that; the burning of the factory I might have forgotten; I am perfectly satisfied that I should not have forgotten the burning of the boy.

4927. *Chairman.*] Have you an account of the quantity of palm oil imported into the United Kingdom?—I have.

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

PALM OIL imported into the United Kingdom. (*From Parliamentary Returns.*)

	<i>Tons.</i>		<i>Tons.</i>
1820	872	1834	13,495
1821	5,125	1835	12,817
1822	3,195	1836	13,831
1823	3,329	1837	11,165
1824	3,720	1838	14,069
1825	4,273	1839	17,172
1826	4,953	1840	15,772
1827	4,715	1841	20,106
1828	6,328	1842	21,214
1829	8,997	1843	20,921
1830	10,674	1844	20,732
1831	8,238	1845	25,285
1832	11,167	1846	18,342
1833	13,360	1847	25,650 estimated.

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	<i>Tons.</i>
1847: London - - - - -	4,000
Liverpool - - - - -	19,350
Bristol - - - - -	2,300
	<hr/> 25,650 <hr/>

The Rev. *John Dunmore Lang*, D. D., called in; and Examined.

Rev. J. D. Lang,
D. D.

4928. *Chairman.*] YOU are, I believe, a Minister of the Scotch Church in the colony of New South Wales?—I am.

4929. Have you visited Brazil?—I have, on three different occasions.

4930. Will you state in what year you visited that country?—In the year 1823, immediately after the declaration of independence. I then spent two or three weeks in Rio de Janeiro. Then again, in 1839 and 1846, I visited Pernambuco on two different voyages home from New South Wales.

4931. Had you any opportunities, in the course of your visits to the empire of Brazil, of seeing the state of slavery in that country?—I had.

4932. And also the operations of the slave trade?—Yes.

4933. When you were last in Brazil did you understand that any large number of slaves had been landed on that coast?—Yes; Pernambuco is the principal port into which slaves are imported in the Brazils. It is nearer the coast of Africa than any of the other ports, and more convenient for carrying on the slave-trade operations. On my first visit to Pernambuco in 1839 I examined a series of the "Diario do Pernambuco," and was very much struck at the entries of vessels from the coast of Africa that were represented to have arrived with only a few barrels of water as their cargo. I asked an explanation of the circumstance from a Scotch medical gentleman who had charge of the British hospital at Pernambuco; he told me that it was a *ruse* of the slave-trading vessels, which brought over their cargoes of slaves from Africa and landed them upon the coast, either to the northward or the southward of Pernambuco, and came up and entered themselves at the custom-house at Pernambuco with the number of barrels of water that they had remaining from their ship's stores.

4934. Did those entries appear to be very numerous at that time?—They were.

4935. Did you find the same circumstances when you last visited Pernambuco?—No; I found that there was a difference in the mode of management. There were no entries of vessels with only so many barrels of water as formerly; that practice had been given up, I presume in consequence of the different relations in which the Brazilians stood to our Government on the subject of the slave trade; but I observed and learnt that the trade itself was pursued with great vigour. During the time that I was in Pernambuco a beautiful schooner from Baltimore, quite new, and a splendid model for sailing, arrived in the harbour and was immediately purchased by a Brazilian slave-merchant for the express purpose of sending her to the coast of Africa. The American crew had so many months' wages paid to them to carry them back to the United States, and the vessel was to be put under a Brazilian slave-master, to go on to the coast of Africa.

4936. Have you reason to suppose that the slave trade was pursued as vigorously in 1846 as in 1839?—I have no doubt it was, from the inquiries which I made; from the open manner in which the matter was managed.

4937. Did you find that the people of Pernambuco were carrying on the slave trade with great confidence in the success of their operations?—Quite so; there was no doubt on the subject in that locality.

4938. Did they consider, according to the information which you obtained there, that their traffic in slaves would be seriously interrupted by the operations of the British cruisers on the coast?—Not at all; there are peculiar facilities for carrying on the slave trade on the Brazilian coast. There is a sort of vessel employed on that coast, of a construction that has been derived from the aborigines of the country—a Catamaran they call it; the Brazilian name is a Jangada: it is formed of a number of trees of light wood that are lashed together in the form of a raft, and on these a mast is erected, with a sort of basket work, as a shelter for passengers. These boats are of different sizes;

sizes; they ply along the coast for fishing, and for any illicit purpose that they may be required for. They have peculiar facilities for landing on the coast; they can run alongside any vessel, and receive persons of any description on board, and land on beaches that are quite impracticable to any European boat. I have a model of a jangada that I would have brought with me if I had had any expectation of being examined by the Committee to-day. It is quite a curiosity; and it exhibits the remarkable facilities that there are on the Brazilian coast for landing with the greatest expedition any number of slaves upon parts of the coast that are quite impracticable for European boats or vessels*.

4939. Those vessels could not have brought the slaves, I presume, from the coast of Africa?—No, but these boats could go alongside the slavers, and land the slaves in small parties on parts of the coast that are impracticable for European vessels. I mentioned the circumstance merely to point out the utter hopelessness of preventing the importation of slaves into the Brazils by means of a blockading squadron on the Brazilian coast.

4940. Did you understand when you were in Brazil, on those two occasions to which you have referred, viz. 1839 and 1846, that the slave trade was governed by the law of demand and supply, or by the influence exercised by the British squadron on the coast of Africa?—Entirely by the law of demand and supply; the persons engaged in the trade laid their account with losing a vessel now and then, but they considered that the gains of the traffic were so great, that if they escaped on so many voyages out of any given number, it would amply remunerate them for all their risk.

4941. Can you inform the Committee as to the relative condition of the trade in those two periods when you visited Pernambuco?—In 1839 there was the peculiarity which I have mentioned of persons entering their vessels at the custom-house at Pernambuco from the coast of Africa with so many barrels of water, and in those cases I was told that the vessels had landed the negroes on the coast a considerable distance either to the northward or the southward.

4942. The question referred to the relative extent of the trade in those two years?—I was not able to ascertain that, but the impression on the part of the persons whom I consulted on the subject was that the supply was quite equal to the demand.

4943. On both occasions?—On both occasions.

4944. And that the merchants engaged in the traffic did not consider that that traffic was seriously interfered with by the operation of the British cruisers?—Certainly not.

4945. Did you learn that the trade had been profitably carried on in Brazil?—Yes, there were cases of large fortunes having been made in the trade.

4946. Besides those individual cases of property having been acquired by the traffic, did you understand that it was generally attended with profit?—I could not ascertain the general character of the traffic in that respect.

4947. But the parties engaged in it conceived that they might carry it on with impunity, as related to the British suppressive squadron, and that it would generally be a profitable trade?—Quite so.

4948. With respect to the circumstances of cruelty under which this trade is carried on, had you any opportunity of noticing facts connected with that subject?—Not directly. I had no opportunity of ascertaining the treatment that the slaves had experienced on board ship beyond what has been given in evidence from other quarters to the Committee.

4949. Had you any opportunity of witnessing slaves shortly after their disembarkation from the slave vessels?—Yes. I visited the market in Rio de Janeiro, and I saw a great many at Pernambuco.

4950. Were those slaves that you saw in the slave market of Rio de Janeiro, and of Pernambuco, those who had been recently landed from the slave vessels?—In the case of Rio de Janeiro they were; the vessels from which they had been landed were lying in the harbour at the time.

4951. In what year was that?—In 1823.

4952. Did you see any persons who had been recently landed from slave vessels

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* The witness exhibited a model of the jangada at the meeting of Committee on the 25th instant.
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vessels in the years 1839 and 1846?—Not in the city of Pernambuco, because they had been landed at some distance on the coast.

4953. Had they been recently landed?—Yes, I saw some who had been recently landed elsewhere.

4954. In what condition did you find them?—They had a very miserable appearance; very dejected.

4955. Were they much emaciated?—Yes, very much.

4956. Did their appearance give you the idea of men who had been exposed to a great degree of suffering?—Certainly.

4957. Have you reason to believe that the slave trade is carried on under circumstances of very great cruelty?—I have no doubt of it.

4958. Do you think that that cruelty has been aggravated by the squadron which we have stationed on the coast of Africa for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade?—Unquestionably; that is the general opinion of intelligent persons whom I consulted on the subject in the Brazils.

4959. What, in your opinion, would be the most effectual mode of suppressing the slave trade?—I am decidedly of opinion that the most effectual means of suppressing the slave trade is by cultivating the articles that are supplied to us by slave labour at present, by means of free labour.

4960. You are of opinion that the best mode of suppressing the slave trade would be by underselling the productions of slave labour?—Quite so; I believe that to be the only legitimate, as well as the only effectual means of entirely suppressing it.

4961. By what mode would you recommend the carrying out of that principle?—I ascertained in the United States, where I made a tour through several of the slave states as well as of the free states in the year 1840, that wherever free labour had been brought into competition with slave labour, I mean European free labour, the productions which they were both employed in raising could be sold at a cheaper rate by the free labour than by the slave labour. For example, the state of Ohio is a free state on the right bank of the river of that name, and on the opposite bank is the slave state of Kentucky; the climate, and soil, and all the peculiarities, are very nearly the same in both, but the labour in the one case is that of free men of European origin, white men, and in the other almost exclusively of negroes. But the free labour is found to be so much more valuable than the slave labour that the progress of the state of Ohio is, beyond all comparison, greater than that of Kentucky; the reason assigned for this is, that in the one case the labour employed is that of free men of European origin, and in the other it is the labour of slaves.

4962. Are those two states within the tropics?—No, but they are states in which free labour can be brought into competition with slave labour in raising the same productions; for that is a specialty that must be taken into account. There are cases in which European free labour, or the labour of white men, can be brought into competition with African slave labour, and in those cases I believe it holds universally that the free labour is found to be the cheapest in the end.

4963. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Is sugar one of the products in either of those states?—In neither of them.

4964. Is there not a great distinction between the application of labour to the production of sugar and to the production of almost any other vegetable, or extract of vegetable?—The difference arises entirely from the effect of climate. Sugar cannot be grown except in hot climates, and in those climates the labour of Europeans has not been available. The point which I wished to show to the Committee was, that wherever European free labour could be brought into fair competition with African slave labour it would be found cheaper in the end; and the only reason why the labour of free white men has not been made available or brought into competition with the labour of African negroes in the climates in which slave-labour produce has been grown, is that those climates are fatal to Europeans. An American cannot sustain labour in the open air in those parts of his own country in which slave-labour produce is grown by the negroes. Wherever he can compete with the negroes, as in growing wheat or maize or tobacco, in Ohio and Kentucky, the free labour is found to be the most profitable.

4965. Colonel Thompson.] Have you seen any instances of comparison between

between the labour of free blacks and of slaves?—No; I never have been in any country where there is a considerable portion of the black population free.

4966. Have you ever made any comparison between their labour and that of slaves?—No, I have never had it in my power; but there is a portion of our own colonial dominions where the climate is so very different from that of the regions from which we have hitherto derived slave-labour produce, that European labour can there be brought into competition on equal terms with slave labour in the production of articles of tropical produce, cotton and sugar, for instance.

4967. We are speaking of the countries where European labour cannot be brought into competition; you have not seen any specimens of the competition of the labour of free blacks and of slaves?—No.

4968. *Chairman.*] When you spoke of supplanting the productions of slave labour by free labour, had you in view the introduction of free blacks into the West Indian colonies?—Not at all.

4969. Do you think that by such a mode as that the productions of our West Indian colonies could be successfully opposed in the market to the productions of Brazil?—I question it very much. I have no doubt that a stimulus would be given to the productions that are peculiar to the West Indies by the introduction of a large number of free labourers from the coast of Africa, but I question whether the result would be sufficient to meet the expectations of those who look to that source for any important operation upon the slave system, either in the United States or in the Brazils.

4970. Will you be so kind as to explain why you come to that conclusion?—I question whether free negroes could be got in sufficient numbers to compete with the numerous slaves that are actually at work in the production of sugar in Cuba and the Brazils. Then, again, their habits are very different from those of European labourers, and it will take a long time to get them to form those industrious habits which would render their labour available for the supply of a large amount of produce. But in speaking of European labour being brought into competition with slave labour, I had particularly in view the case of our own Australian colonies; that is the only part of the empire in which European labour could be brought into competition with slave labour, from the salubrity of the climate.

4971. *Mr. Jackson.*] Is it not the fact that many cotton plantations have been given up, and that sugar has been planted in the place of cotton?—I do not know any case of the kind. I travelled in the tobacco-growing states of Maryland and Virginia, and in the rice and cotton-growing states of North and South Carolina in 1840, but I was not aware of any case of that kind, because sugar is not grown in any of these states; it is only on the banks of the Mississippi, in the state of Louisiana, that it is grown; I was not in that part of the United States; but in comparing the climate where cotton is grown by slave labour in America with the climate on the coast of Australia in corresponding latitudes in the southern hemisphere, I was led to conclude, as the result of my own observation, that that particular produce could be raised to any conceivable extent by means of European labour in Australia with perfect safety. This arises from a remarkable peculiarity of our climate; and the sugar cane grows luxuriantly in latitude $27\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ south, where I have been, as well as the cotton plant; in short, all that we want to raise both of these articles of slave-labour produce in other parts of the world to any extent by means of European free labour in Australia, is an industrious agricultural population from this country; and the land in the colony is quite sufficient to pay for the expense of introducing such a population to any extent required.

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Martis, 23^o die Maii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Barkly.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Hutt.

Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Simeon.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Thomas Richard Heywood Thompson, Esq. M. D. called in; and Examined.

T. R. H.
Thompson, Esq.
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4972. *Chairman.*] YOU are, I believe, a Surgeon in the Royal Navy?—
I am.

4973. Have you been employed during the last 10 years?—I have been pretty constantly employed during that time.

4974. On what stations have you been serving during that period?—I have served principally on the east coast of South America, and the east and west coasts of Africa.

4975. Does the east coast of South America, where you have been, include Rio?—Yes; it is principally on the Brazilian coast where I have been employed.

4976. Will you be so kind as to state to the Committee in what years you were on the coast of Africa?—I was employed on the western coast of Africa in the Niger expedition, between 1841 and 1842; it was altogether about 18 months.

4977. And on the eastern coast?—On the eastern coast only about eight months; eight months in the Mozambique.

4978. In what year?—In 1846 and 1847.

4979. In what year were you at Rio?—I have been there on two occasions; first between the beginning of 1838 and the middle of 1840, and also from 1843 to 1845.

4980. On all those occasions had you opportunities of becoming acquainted with the nature of the slave trade?—I have had many opportunities of knowing the operation of it a little.

4981. During the time that you were at Rio had you any opportunities of seeing the manner in which that traffic was conducted?—I had many opportunities of seeing slavers. On the first occasion, between 1838 and 1840, I have seen numerous slavers coming into the harbour of Rio, and I have been on board of them; and I also conversed at that time with the crews of Portuguese and Brazilian ships, who had captured negroes on board of them. Subsequently, in 1843 and 1845, I have had opportunities of conversing frequently with the captured Portuguese and Brazilians, and in fact also with slave dealers.

4982. Were you employed on shore at all during the time that your ship was at Rio?—No, I was not employed on shore; but I had frequent opportunities of mixing with the people, both my own countrymen and the Brazilians.

4983. Comparing those two periods at which you were at Rio, did you observe any increase in the slave trade in the latter period?—It would be rather difficult to state; I know that between 1838 and 1840 it was remarkably active, inasmuch as our cruisers took a great number of slavers; but in the years 1843 and 1845, during which I was latterly on the station, the vessels of war were not much employed on the cruising ground; they were principally engaged in the River Plata, and therefore we could not judge; but from all reports the trade was just as active as ever; and indeed I may state that while we were cruising in the "Racer," one vessel that I served in, we were only cruising about a fortnight in 1844, and during that time we picked up two vessels, and four ran into
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the port off which we were cruising. Altogether six were said to have run in; four of them were said to have gone in in one week, of which we captured two empty.

4984. Have you turned your attention to the subject of the slave trade since you were employed abroad?—I have looked into it a little.

4985. What paper is that which you have in your hand?—This is an extract from the "Times" of yesterday: "The 'Swift' sailed 12 days after the 'Penguin' from Rio Janeiro, calling at the northern ports, and has performed the voyage in a very expeditious manner. We learn that the 'Firebrand' steamer was expected at Rio within a week; by her Lord Howden returns to this country, having failed in effecting a treaty with Brazil. The slave trade is carried on to an enormous amount; about 5,000 slaves having been landed at Bahia, in two months, from 13 vessels; and about 7,000 more in the neighbourhood of Campos, Rio Grande, and Rio Janeiro. There are several steamers employed in that inhuman and demoralising traffic."

4986. In what month do you imagine that the greater part of those slaves would be embarked from the coast of Africa?—I consider that if they came from the western coast, they would certainly leave the western coast of Africa about the beginning of March at the very outside. I should say the passage occupies about 25 days, that is the average, which I had from numerous slave dealers; in fact to Bahia less than that.

4987. Is not that the unhealthy season on the coast of Africa, south of the Line?—Yes, south of the Line, it is an unhealthy period of the year.

4988. Is it a period of the year when under ordinary circumstances the slave trade is active, south of the Line?—No, I should say not, inasmuch as in cruising I was employed in the "Brilliant" during the months from November until the middle of June, and although we picked up one slaver in the time, and three other slavers were captured during the same period, yet they stated that it was not then their season; they take a later season. On the eastern coast, I should think about September is the time that they come on the coast; July, August, and September; that is in the Mozambique Channel.

4989. Looking to those numbers at that period of the year having been imported into those parts of Brazil, could you form any estimate of the number that would probably be landed in Brazil during the year, supposing that the traffic were continued, on the average, at the rate which is there mentioned; and supposing that twelve thousand slaves were landed in the course of two months at those parts of Brazil, could you form any estimate of the number that would be landed along the whole line of coast during the year?—I have no doubt that between 60,000 and 70,000 may be given as a fair average.

4990. If you remark that in two months 12,000 slaves are landed at certain points in Brazil during the worst season of the year?—Yes.

4991. Supposing that the slave trade is conducted along the whole line of coast throughout the year, taking the favourable and the unfavourable seasons together, would not the whole number exceed the average of the two months, as given with regard to those particular points?—I should say not, and for this reason, that we are not certain whether those slaves came from the eastern or western coast; although we may presume that a fair proportion of them came from the eastern coast, yet we must believe that the greater portion came from the western coast; and therefore, taking the average, I should think about 60,000 may be given.

4992. The average is given there of 72,000?—I am aware of that, but I think that it has been a little overstated; it has always been my impression, that on the coast of Brazil it is a little overstated. I am more inclined to the belief which I have just stated, inasmuch as I think it is very likely that at certain periods there will be a greater rush than ordinary from the coast with slaves; indeed I have it on the authority of captured Brazilians in the last prize that we took, that they intended to carry on the slave trade by sending a number of vessels together, and that they could not thus all be captured.

4993. Sending them, in fact, in flotillas?—Sending them in numbers.

4994. Was anything said about arming them?—In one case there was, but when I mentioned it to my captain, as he did not understand the Portuguese very well, he said that of course it was quite absurd. They even talked of bringing three or four armed vessels, and attacking a man-of-war, which bore an absurdity on the face of it.

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4995. But they would be sufficiently armed to beat off the ship's boats, would they not?—I have no doubt of it, if they acted with greater energy than they have hitherto done; but they hitherto have not shown sufficient energy; my impression is, that it will come to that as the difficulties increase.

4996. You speak of the difficulties increasing; what are you referring to?—In proportion as the activity of the squadron increases; if the activity of the squadron should cause a greater number of captures, I have no doubt they would have to take to fighting eventually; but I am prepared to show from different circumstances, that it is not necessary for them to resort to arms, inasmuch as they can always make it a remunerative traffic without so great a risk as that of proceeding to piracy.

4997. You think that if the number of the fleet were increased, and the activity of the fleet increased also, so that the slave traders were hard pressed in conducting their operations, they would resist it by force?—I believe they would.

4998. But you are of opinion that those circumstances would scarcely arise; that from the facilities which exist for conducting the operations of the slave trade, it would be extremely difficult to place them in that situation?—I think so; indeed I could almost show it from facts.

4999. Will you explain the ground of that opinion?—In the first place, if you take an estimate of the expenses of different slavers, you will find that the cost is so extremely small, that notwithstanding the number of captures which are made, even supposing it was four times the number of last year, it will still remunerate the slave owner; 67, I think, was the number last year, and I have made a calculation (which, if you will allow me, I will state to the Committee), that if the captures were four times that number, it might seriously affect the slave trade, but that it would not put it down; that it would still be very remunerating.

5000. You are of opinion that sufficient profit, and more than sufficient, would remain to the slave trader to leave him a considerable gainer on the transaction?—I am quite certain of it.

5001. And with a sufficient profit to keep the slave trade in continued activity?—Quite sufficient.

5002. Will you be so kind as to refer to the calculation which you have made, and to lay it before the Committee?—Perhaps you will allow me to make use of the quotation from the "Times" also. Supposing it to be true, it is an important fact. I have here made out an estimate of two slavers, at different prices. I have been at the trouble of inquiring what slave captains are paid, and how they are paid; and also the manner in which the men are paid. I think that you may rely on these circumstances, and I leave you to judge whether I have overrated or underrated the value of the slavers. I have put down, in the first place, a sum, 1,500*l.*, for a vessel of between 180 and 200 tons, of American build; they are mostly old vessels; very few of them are bought when first new. I think that the evidence of all persons who have been employed in the slave trade will go to corroborate this; and therefore, if we put down 1,500*l.*, it is a very fair price for the vessel I am convinced.

5003. That is for a vessel of 180 tons?—Yes; I have two estimates showing how it works. Then you have on the average 20 men at 100 Spanish dollars a trip. If the vessel is taken they are not paid, but if they are fortunate they are paid at that rate, and sometimes they are allowed also each man to bring one slave, for which they pay at the rate of 10*l.*; this they are allowed to do, to stimulate them to greater exertion, as they have a sort of share in the vessel.

5004. We will take the outgoings?—Twenty men, 416*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Then there is victualling 20 men, for 90 days (which on the western coast you may give as the extreme of the passage); 90 days, at 1*s.* a day, which is very much above the estimate, is 90*l.* The pay of the captain is 400 Spanish dollars, 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; independently of which he is allowed a certain number of slaves; he is allowed, I think, in general about six slaves on his own risk; that is also to give him an inducement to take greater interest in the cargo and ship.

5005. Mr. *Barkly.*] Is the payment of the crew dependent upon the success of the voyage?—It is, altogether. The payment of the captain is 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; that is his actual pay, which I have from at least four captains. Then there are the feeding of 450 slaves, and the requisite medicines; I have put them down at 3*d.* a day each, and I conceive that from the cheap price of the farina on which they

they are fed, that is the extreme limit; 3 *d.* a day each slave, which is above the estimate, makes 168 *l.* 15 *s.* Then there are luxuries for the captain, which I put down at 100 *l.*; and different contingencies, 200 *l.*; making altogether 4,583 *l.* 15 *s.*

5006. Sir *E. Buxton.*] What do you put the original cost of the slaves at?—The original cost is 4 *l.* 16 *s.* each. Sometimes slaves are got as low as 3 *l.*, and they may be as high as 4 *l.* 10 *s.* and 5 *l.*; but I think 4 *l.* 10 *s.* is a fair average for the slaves on this scale. Therefore 450 slaves are 2,025 *l.*, making altogether an estimate of 4,583 *l.* 5 *s.* I have also made out a lower computation, and which I have put down as a more probable one. Taking the cost of a vessel of 200 tons of American build, considering how imperfect they generally are, I think the average of them will be very much under 1,000 *l.*; I have put down 1,000 *l.*; the second item is 20 men at 100 Spanish dollars a trip, 416 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*; the third item is 20 men victualled for 90 days at 6 *d.* a day, which I am sure is a very fair average for the victualling of those men; I am sure that their owners do not go above that, for they do not live very much better than the slaves; they live principally upon farina and a little salt pork, that makes 45 *l.*; then there is the pay of the captain, 400 Spanish dollars, 83 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*; 450 slaves, taking the lowest estimate, at 3 *l.* a head, which they may be often got at, are 1,350 *l.* Then there are the feeding of 450 slaves, and medicines for 30 days, because that is the extreme limit which may be given, taking the average.

5007. Mr. *Gludstone.*] Are they not frequently obliged to make a circuitous voyage?—Yes; but I do not think that that is the case if once they get clear of the coast; the great difficulty is to get clear of the coast. I think they make a direct voyage after that.

5008. Perhaps your object was to give a liberal allowance for the average passage rather than to give an extreme case?—That is so; I say that 30 days may be taken as the average, for I have conversed with several persons who have been captured; and in fact some of them even state as low as 15 days from Lagos to Bahia; however 30 days I think is not understated; it does not make much difference in the cost. I am taking a view as I have seen the slave trade myself; I am supposing a passage to Bahia and Rio Janeiro as an average.

5009. Mr. *Barkly.*] Do you suppose the slaves to be shipped from the south of the Line, on the west coast of Africa?—From the north of the Line.

5010. *Chairman.*] I understand that you are now taking the minimum charge; you before took the maximum?—I take two; I have taken the maximum, and am now taking the minimum; I am now alluding to the traffic on the western coast; no doubt on the eastern coast the expense is greater, but the ships are larger, and they take a greater number of slaves, and therefore *cæteris paribus* there is not much difference in the end. For feeding 450 slaves, I have put down 2 *d.* a day each, which is, I think, about as near the mark as can be; that makes 112 *l.* 10 *s.* Then there are luxuries for the captain, 50 *l.*, small in proportion; if there is any increase of risk, of course there will be fewer indulgences; various contingencies, 200 *l.*, making altogether a total of 3,257 *l.* 10 *s.*

5011. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] In a former answer you stated the same sum, 200 *l.*, for contingencies, and another sum, namely, 100 *l.* for luxuries; why do you make a distinction, the amount for contingencies being the same in both cases, but the amount for luxuries being greater in the one case than in the other by one half?—For this reason, that there are certain expenses which are unavoidable in both cases; there are the hogsheads for the water, the water butts, and the different things of that sort; the incidental expenses of that kind.

5012. *Chairman.*] Did you mean to consider the water casks as contingencies, or the number of the water casks as contingencies?—I mean things of that sort that they may have to purchase, independently of the ship; in some vessels they may have to purchase boards for the slave deck, but in many of them they have no slave deck at all, and therefore that expense is saved to them, but I put 200 *l.* for any additional expenses.

5013. For various articles connected with the outfit of the slaver?—Yes, and expenses attending on it in that way.

5014. Mr. *Barkly.*] Do they provide fresh water casks for every voyage?—No, they take the same.

5015. Then they would last?—Yes. With respect to the mortality, I have put down a very low estimate; deaths 40, out of 450 slaves, leaving 410 slaves.

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5016. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Is not that too low an estimate?—No; I think it is not much too low.

5017. That is nine per cent.?—Yes, I think that is not too low; in some cases the mortality is very great indeed, and in others it is not so much. It may be a little below; you may say 50.

5018. *Chairman*.] The assumption that there is only a loss of nine per cent. is inconsistent with almost all the evidence which we have received?—It may be under the estimate, but still I think that if all the facts were compared it would not be found too low. We know in those that are captured the number of deaths, but we do not know the number of deaths in those vessels that escape. Even that per-centage is very great when you come to consider it.

5019. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Is it your deliberate opinion that that is a fair representation of the average mortality, or is it the minimum?—I think that is about the average; I do not think it is much under or over. In some cases there may be greater mortality than in others; in some there are very few deaths, and in others a great many.

5020. Do you think that that is nearer to the average or the minimum?—I should say, perhaps, that that is nearer to the minimum.

5021. Mr. *Barkly*.] Have not you understood from the crews of slave vessels that generally every morning they have to throw several dead bodies overboard?—No, I think that that is not borne out by fact; where they are extraordinarily sick I have no doubt that their whole passage is marked by dead bodies.

5022. This only allows a little more than one death per diem during the voyage?—Yes; even that is great in a passage of 30 days, when you reflect that in 30 days there is that mortality. I think that a consideration of the case will show that even if the loss is very much greater than that, I am taking a moderate view of the gains of the slave dealer.

5023. Viscount *Brackley*.] It is from slaveowners and captains that you get the information?—I have had the greater part of my information from those persons.

5024. They report that the average is about nine per cent.?—I calculated that that was about the number out of 450, for which I have made the estimate according to the tonnage of the vessel, taking all the circumstances into consideration; that is, on the short trip between Benin and Bahia.

5025. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] The ordinary mortality on board a slave ship being nine per cent. in an average passage of 30 days would almost depopulate the world in about a year; is not that the case?—Yes; it is an enormous mortality; I have calculated that it leaves 410 slaves; but even we might add a great many more to the mortality, and yet it would leave an enormous profit to the slave dealer. I have put down those 410 slaves at 45 *l.* each, which amounts to 18,450 *l.*, leaving in the case of the first estimate a clear profit of 13,766 *l.* 15 *s.*; and according to the second, it leaves a clear profit of 15,192 *l.* 10 *s.* According to the old system of sending articles in the slave vessels themselves to purchase slaves, supposing the vessel is fitted out for the sum of 4,583 *l.* 5 *s.*, the actual loss to the slaveowner would only be 3,870 *l.*, inasmuch as you have to deduct first of all the pay of the captain and the pay of the men, which leaves altogether 3,870 *l.*, which would be the actual loss, according to the first estimate. According to the second scale, the actual loss in the same way to the slaveowner would be 2,757 *l.* 10 *s.*, inasmuch as the wages are not paid either of the captain or of the men. But suppose we take the present system, which is of sending the cargoes in neutral bottoms to the coast, the actual loss of an empty slaver would of course be just as much less as the price of the slaves, 450 slaves at 4 *l.* 10 *s.*, which I put down at 2,025 *l.* Therefore I think it will stand thus: according to the first estimate, by the present system of sending the goods for the purchase of slaves in neutral bottoms (in which case of course the goods are not captured in the vessel; the vessel is taken without those things, merely with different articles by which she is condemnable), the actual loss would be 2,058 *l.* 5 *s.*; and according to the second scale, 1,407 *l.* 10 *s.* Those 410 slaves, supposing that they are all landed, at 45 *l.* each, realize 18,450 *l.*, equivalent to the actual loss of nine empty vessels on the first scale, or a fraction under. But according to the first calculation, supposing the goods for slaves to be on board, which is a sum of 2,025 *l.*, the actual loss would be 3,870 *l.*; and by the second scale, 2,757 *l.* 10 *s.*; that is supposing the vessel to be captured with the goods on board. Then all they save is the wages.

5026. *Chairman*.]

5026. *Chairman.*] Have you any further calculation?—I have; if I may be allowed to quote the statement from the "Times," I suppose that it is true, and that 5,000 slaves have been landed at Bahia and 7,000 at other points on the coast, making altogether 12,000; taking those at 50 *l.*, if the price of slaves has risen, it will be 600,000 *l.* Now that sum would pay, according to the first scale, for 143½ full vessels, and a fraction; and according to the second scale it would defray the expenses of 217½ full vessels, supposing they were all captured.

5027. So that if one-half of the vessels were captured, there would still be a profit on the slaves?—Yes; a considerable profit. We are only going now on the number of 12,000 slaves; we do not know how many thousands have been imported into the Brazils during the year, but saying that 12,000 only were imported into the Brazils, it would leave that remuneration. Even if they were all captured it would pay for 143 full vessels and a fraction on the first scale, and on the second scale it would actually cover the expenses of 217½ full vessels. I think that that will be found substantially correct. I have not given the fractional parts, but I think that it will be found to be pretty correct.

5028. A large profit would therefore remain to the slavers under any conceivable circumstances of disaster?—I have no doubt of it, if the number of captures were doubled. The computation is easy enough; we have two circumstances to go by; the number of actual captures, and if we are to believe the reports just published in *The Times*, which, from what I know of the Brazils, I should fear are too true, we have the fact that that number (12,000) has been landed, and I think that it is about the average number, in rather more than two months.

5029. Do you consider that the squadron on the coast is very successful in putting down the slave trade?—Compared with other years it has succeeded a little. I find that between 1838 and 1844, according to the Parliamentary Returns, there were 346 vessels captured, making an average of 57 and two-thirds each year, and that in 1847 there were 67.

5030. There has been a considerable increase in the number of vessels captured in the course of the last year?—Yes.

5031. There has also been an increase in the activity of the slave trade?—That is what I fear. The number of captures is no proof that the slave trade is being put down, but rather that it is conducted with greater activity.

5032. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Although you find a larger number of captures in the year 1847, is it your belief that the captures of that year bear as large a proportion to the number of slaves carried across the sea without capture as they have borne in former years?—I could scarcely state that, not having any actual facts to guide me; but I presume that as the price of slaves, from all authority, has not risen very much, therefore the slave trade has been carried on more actively, otherwise, if the losses were numerically and comparatively greater, of course the price of slaves would have a tendency to rise, and as it does not appear to have risen, the inference is that the trade has been more active, and that there have been a greater number engaged in it.

5033. *Chairman.*] It is quite clear, from the facts which you have stated, that the squadron has not stopped the slave trade on the coast of Africa. Are you of opinion that the operations of the squadron have any great tendency to stop the slave trade?—I do not know whether my views may be correct, but from what I have seen on the coast, and from the knowledge which I have of the African character, I am afraid that it has a tendency rather to increase it, inasmuch as in the first place it keeps up the excitement. The blacks, like other people, are fond of excitement; the great excitement to them is the slave trade, as has been always remarked by persons who have visited the coast, and the presence of the squadron is generally conceived to keep up the excitement; it is now more a gambling transaction than it ever has been; it requires great activity and great combination of means to effect the escape of the slaves, and of the slavers from the coast, and altogether that has increased the excitement of it.

5034. You think from the gambling nature of the slave trade, that it lends to it an artificial excitement, which it would not otherwise have?—I have not the least question of it; it has always been said of the slave trade, that the excitement; consequent on it is one of the great inducements to the natives to keep it up, and I should say from what I have seen of them, that it is that sort of wild excitement which is most palatable to the African character, as you at present see him in his native country.

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5035. The great inducement, I presume, is the profit acquired by it?—That may be, but at the same time I conceive that the excitement also has a great deal to do with it.

5036. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Do you think that the excitement attending the trade offers an inducement to those for whose profit it is carried on, or do you mean that it is in consequence of that excitement that captains and sailors are so easily found to be the instruments of carrying it on?—I now refer to the natives themselves; there is the excitement of speculation, you may call it.

5037. The natives of Africa?—The natives of Africa, inasmuch as we cannot suppose that if the difficulty in getting slaves from the coast is greater, there will not be more excitement in consequence of that, and a greater anxiety also to assist the slaver.

5038. But have you not said that it appears very doubtful, whether the difficulty of getting the slaves from the coast is greater?—Yes, that may be; so far as we can judge from the facts of the case, the squadron does not seem to have put a stop to it; it requires greater watchfulness in my opinion, and in that way I allude to the excitement being kept up. Of course, instead of being able, as they were under the former system, to ship their slaves off leisurely at any time when the slaves were ready, they now cannot do so; all parties are kept in a state of excitement while there is a cargo waiting; both the slave seller and the slave buyer.

5039. When you said that the slave trade had become, and was becoming more and more of a gambling transaction, did you mean as regards those for whose account the adventure is carried on?—I referred to all parties.

5040. It has been stated to the Committee that, on the contrary, the slave trade has become much more systematized; that mutual insurance now prevails, and that the risks therefore being equalized by those expedients which are usual in other branches of commerce, as respects the slave market in Brazil the slave trade has become much less of a gambling transaction than it was formerly; as respects the export from Africa you may be correct in saying that it is more of a gambling transaction?—If they have taken that organized view of it in the Brazils I have no doubt that it has had a tendency to do away with the gambling; it does away with the risk in some measure; the profits will not be so large, but the individual risk will be less; yet still I think that so far as the excitement of it goes, it remains unaltered.

5041. You refer to the change from the period when there was no preventive squadron, or at least relaxed system, to a period of great activity?—Yes.

5042. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You wish the Committee to understand that in the first instance there was a stimulus in the interior of Africa, in the raid, similar to that in sporting; that they sought to catch their fellow men, and that the stimulus arising from a burning village was a sufficient inducement to persons to engage in that process?—I should not say so altogether, but I have no doubt that that has a very great effect; the excitement of it has a very great deal to do with it as well as the profit. I would not say altogether the excitement, but those two circumstances together.

5043. Whatever be the excitement on the part of those who hunt their fellow men for the purpose of making them slaves, is there any excitement when they get down to the coast; is it not then a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence, in disposing of a certain quantity of living goods?—There is no doubt that it is to a certain extent a matter of mere pounds, shillings, and pence, and it is actually so found, because it would just be the same with palm-oil; they had at one time as little difficulty in getting rid of their slaves as they had of their palm-oil. But if we put the case that the palm-oil trade were interdicted, and vessels were employed for the purpose of keeping the palm-oil from coming away from the coast, of course it would lend a stimulus and excitement to it which did not obtain before. Whether it is slaves, or whatever it may be, the prohibition lends not only a charm to it with the Africans I am convinced, but a direct stimulus.

5044. Always assuming that there is a stimulus in procuring the raw material of the slave trade in the interior, and admitting that there may be a stimulus on the part of the captain, in escaping the English cruiser, can there be any such stimulus on the part of his crew or any such stimulus on the part of those who receive the slaves on the other side of the Atlantic?—So far as the crew go we know that they have a stimulus; their pay is concerned in it, and they have the

the risk of a slave; most of them are allowed to bring a slave, paying a certain sum, about 10*l.*, I think; it is for the passage of the slave; therefore they have a direct interest in the whole proceedings; I have it from the slave captains themselves and the slave crews, that such is the system.

5045. You have already stated in evidence that the price of a slave varies, on the coast of Africa, from 3*l.* to 4*l.* 10*s.*?—Yes.

5046. Do you wish the Committee to understand that for an article, purchased at that price, a sailor, one of the crew, conveying it has to pay 10*l.* additional, or 5*l.* 10*s.* only additional?—He pays 10*l.* additional; and after all, if the slave lives, the profits are enormous, inasmuch as he puts, we will suppose, 20*l.* in his pocket (which for a Brazilian sailor is an immense sum), as well as his wages. The whole cost to him would be about 15*l.* at the very outside, and that would leave him 35*l.*, supposing that the slave sold for 50*l.*, and would leave him 30*l.*, supposing he sold for 45*l.*; so that he has a direct stimulus.

5047. Assuming that it is the great object of England to suppress the slave trade, would you or would you not recommend to this Committee to withdraw the squadron from the west coast of Africa?—I should certainly hesitate to advise that the squadron should be withdrawn; I am not capable of giving an opinion upon that. If I were asked whether I thought that the Brazils were better, I might venture on an opinion; but I would hesitate to state what my opinion is with regard to the withdrawal of the squadron.

5048. When you use the phrase, "that the Brazils were better," you mean to recommend, or to consider as an open question, that the squadron should be transferred from the west coast of Africa to the east coast of Brazil?—I allude to it in that way.

5049. What proportion of lawful commerce do you suppose exists on the west coast of Africa, as compared with the coast of Brazil?—I have not data at present on which to go.

5050. Are you aware that the lawful commerce on the coast of Brazil greatly exceeds at all events the lawful commerce on the coast of Africa?—I am aware that, according to M'Culloch's statistics, it is very much greater.

5051. The object and the powers of a blockading squadron being to stop, by search, vessels which may carry slaves or may be suspected of being fitted out for the slave trade, would not the presence of a squadron on the coast of Brazil, having the power of stopping and searching vessels, much more interfere with lawful commerce than an equal squadron on the coast of Africa, assuming in both cases that the squadron did its duty in stopping vessels?—I have no doubt that it would.

5052. If then it be the object of Great Britain to suppress the slave trade, and if you do not feel yourself at liberty to recommend to this Committee to withdraw the squadron, is there any adequate reason for removing such squadron from the west coast of Africa to the coast of Brazil?—Although I could not give an opinion about the propriety or feasibility of withdrawing the squadron from the western coast of Africa, yet certain facts are opposed to the amount of good that is realized by it. I merely judge from the statistics of the slave trade of 1847, the number of captures; and assuming from the number stated in the "Times," that 12,000 slaves have actually been landed, if that number has escaped our squadron on the western coast, facts show, comparing the expenses of fitting out slavers, and the value of slaves when they are landed on the coast of Brazil, that the squadron does not answer the purpose of putting an end to slavery.

5053. The question is not so much how the slaves escape capture, and are landed in Brazil, as whether an equal or a greater number would not escape capture if the squadron were removed from its present position on the west coast of Africa?—It is doubtful; but there is this much to be said, that the Brazilians would feel the loss much more on the coast of the Brazils, because by the present system of shipping the cargoes, with which slaves are purchased, in neutral bottoms, and landing them on the coast of Africa where the slaves are purchased, of course if an empty vessel is taken the loss is very low; but if you take a slaver with the slaves in, then there is not only the loss of the price of the slaves, but there is also the actual loss to the slave merchant himself of a voyage nearly completed, which I know the Brazilians feel very much more than they do the loss of the vessels soon after they have left the African coast.

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5054. Would the number of slaves landed in the Brazils be more or less if the squadron were removed from the west coast of Africa?—I think it is very uncertain. If we look at the years 1838, 1839, and 1840, the number of captures of Brazilian ships full of slaves was very large indeed, much more, I think, than have been taken on the western coast, that is of full slavers.

5055. Mr. *Barkly*.] You state that although more vessels may be captured on the coast of Africa, yet if the squadron were on the coast of Brazil, more negroes would actually be taken in the vessels captured than are now taken on the coast of Africa?—There is no doubt of that, inasmuch as a greater number of them would be full slavers.

5056. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] When you say “full slavers,” you wish the Committee still to recollect that there has been a great intermediate mortality on board the slaver between the time when it left Africa and the time when it may be supposed to be taken on the coast of Brazil; is not that a genuine conclusion?—Yes; but I set off against that the supposed detention in the barracoons. I suppose that under the present system slaves cannot be immediately embarked the same as they were before, and therefore, if we could arrive at the mortality from the detention in the barracoons, one might be set off against the other.

5057. Would not it be a great encouragement to the slave trade to allow the slaves to be lodged in warehouses, as they may be called, on the coast of Africa, till the slave vessel should be ready to receive its cargo?—No; if I am not mistaken, that obtains at the present time on the west coast of Africa, for it is impossible to get slaves and bring them down in a day, and to calculate to a day or to an hour when the slaver is to come. I may evidence the case of the last vessel taken by the “*Brilliant*,” when I was in her, the “*Phaon* ;” she had then been waiting some little time on the coast for the slaves to come down. Now the same slave merchant had five vessels altogether on the coast; four of them were taken; we took one, the “*Cleopatra*” captured two others, and the Portuguese man-of-war took a fourth; we had no doubt that they belonged to the same person, because the crew of the vessel that we captured stated to us that this man, Castro I think his name was, had five vessels, and they mentioned their names. When we fell in with the officers of the “*Cleopatra*,” we found that they had captured two; and we saw the other vessel that was detained by the Portuguese schooner, making the fourth.

5058. Would you, or would you not, recommend the making and enforcement of treaties by which the destruction of barracoons, intended for the reception of slaves, should be permitted?—That I have no doubt would be one step, if it could be properly carried out; but when one looks at the immense line of the western coast of Africa, it seems almost impossible to stop up the numerous channels through which slaves can come, and in proportion as the risks were greater, of course the greater would be the sum that would be paid to induce the natives themselves to engage in it, and open up new fields.

5059. If the permission to destroy the barracoon be one of the modes of destroying the slave trade, does not the system of allowing the barracoon to be erected, and to be filled, until a convenient opportunity shall arise of shipping the slaves, encourage *pro tanto* the slave trade?—It becomes a question whether they would not keep the slaves moving about; they must have some place; it would be just a question of whether they would keep the slaves from coming from the interior. I think that the natives themselves, would not hesitate, from any feeling of compunction, to expose the slaves in any manner; that they would be brought down, whether there were barracoons or not. Of course, the barracoons being removed, the slaves are without protection. If we could believe that the removal of the barracoons would prevent the slaves from being brought down to the coast, then, of course, the barracoons might be destroyed. But I take a case just mentioned; supposing that we, in Her Majesty’s ship “*Brilliant*,” had landed at Inhambane and Quillimane, where they have places for the reception of slaves and had destroyed those barracoons, I cannot believe that we should have been a bit nearer the mark; the slaves would have come down to the coast and would have had no place to go into. Indeed, I consider that one of the horrors arising out of the slave trade is connected with the detention in the barracoons.

5060. If, however, there were no places to receive the slaves, and no vessels to receive the slaves on the coast, would there be any thieves in the interior?

—Of

—Of course the slave trade depends upon the demand on the coast, and if you could keep Brazilians and Portuguese from landing at these places and having communication with the shore, and bringing goods for the purpose of purchasing slaves, then you would stop it; but while the Portuguese can establish factories and stores along the different localities there will always be a demand for slaves, and, whether there are barracoons or not, the slaves will be forthcoming.

5061. From your experience on the coast, can you state to this Committee what is the extent of coast practically open to the slave trade on the west coast of Africa?—I can scarcely do that. I have brought a map which will show some part of the slave coast; indeed I think you might take nearly the whole of the western coast. There is no doubt that the worst part of it is just in the Bight of Benin; Lagos, Popo, Whydah, and those places.

5062. For how many miles can a slave vessel, or any vessel, land?—We find that slave vessels do go over bars which even our own boats might hesitate to go over; for instance, Quillimane, on the eastern coast of Africa, which has a most dangerous bar; I may also instance the Nun, where there is a bad bar, and where they do not hesitate to take slavers over.

5063. The Nun was a branch of the Niger, up which the expedition went, was it not?—It was.

5064. Sir *E. Burton*.] Vessels of all sorts do go there frequently, do they not?—It is resorted to, but it is considered dangerous.

5065. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You have referred to the whole coast of Africa; will you be pleased to state what portion of the coast, so far as your experience enables you to give an opinion to this Committee, is open at this moment to the slave trade, and what part is for ever closed against it?—I can state that the greater part of the Kroo coast is altogether closed against the slave trade, not from physical causes, but from moral causes, in consequence of the opposition of the Kroomen themselves to the slave trade. Between Cape Palmas and Cape Coast I have no doubt that slaving takes place. It is not correct to state that no slave trade takes place on the Grain Coast. Near Bassa, in 1841, we saw a slaver off that coast; but it is not belonging to the Kroo. The next localities, where I think the greatest number of slaves come from on the western coast, are Lagos, Whydah, and Popo, inasmuch as the men that I have examined at different times state that the greater part of the slaves that have come to Bahia, of late years, have been from those localities.

5066. Is there any slave trade between the Nun and the Bight of Biafra?—Not that I am aware of.

5067. Is there any slave trade between the Bight of Biafra and Mayumba?—I think not.

5068. Or between Mayumba and Loango?—I think not.

5069. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Is there any physical cause why the slave trade might not be carried on between the Bight of Biafra and Loango?—I am not aware of any; I know that the Brazilians often bring slaves from Loango.

5070. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] As far south as Loango?—As far south as Loango.

5071. Mr. *E. Denison*.] Are you prepared to give any opinion to the Committee as to the most effectual means of putting down the slave trade?—I believe myself that it must be an extremely gradual operation. It is not to be put down by preventive force, in my opinion.

5072. What means, in your judgment, would be most likely to be effectual?—I do not think that the resources of the country have been properly called forth yet; that is judging from what I have seen along the west coast; I speak particularly of the western coast of Africa, where our own possessions are, Sierra Leone and Cape Coast.

5073. By that am I to collect that you think that the extension of legitimate commerce would be one of the means to check the slave trade?—I have not the least doubt of it, that it will be one of the great means for the civilization of Africa.

5074. Then do you think that for the promotion of legitimate commerce, a fleet of observation upon the coast is useful or not?—I question whether so large a force is necessary for that purpose, inasmuch as while there was a smaller squadron there were no cases of slavers attacking our merchant vessels; and when slavers went openly backwards and forwards for the purpose of taking their slaves the cases were extremely few, if any, where they attacked our merchant vessels.

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5075. If the Brazils and Cuba could carry on the slave trade to any extent they pleased along the coast without interference on the part of any armed force, would there be a chance of legitimate commerce growing up under those circumstances?—There is no doubt it would greatly interfere with legitimate commerce; there cannot be a question of it; but if legitimate commerce could be made sufficiently inviting by the competition in European productions, I have no doubt that it might supplant the slave trade.

5076. Seeing the great profits that there are upon slave trading, and the excitement which accompanies it, is there a chance that legitimate commerce would be as popular on the coast of Africa as slave trading, if left at full liberty?—Legitimate commerce has always been progressing, even in the time of the acknowledged slave trade; the commerce on the western coast of Africa even made some advance during the time of the slave trade; no doubt it has very much increased in those localities where the slave trade is done away with altogether, (so far as we can believe the promises of the natives themselves); namely, at the Bonny, and the different localities in the Bight of Benin, Old and New Calabar. Since the chiefs have set their faces against slavery commerce has certainly very much increased there.

5077. Besides the extension of legitimate commerce, what other prospects could be held out, in your view, towards putting an end to the slave trade?—I think the natives themselves have not been sufficiently made use of for the purposes of civilizing their own country. I take Sierra Leone, for instance. Look how few of the blacks there have risen to anything above mediocrity. Scarcely any of the immense numbers that there are have done so, although I am aware that it is stated that many have risen; but during our visit in 1841, and again in 1842, at Sierra Leone, I was very much struck with the small number of men who had raised themselves above the common condition of the lower orders of liberated Africans. One or two of them are keeping little stores.

5078. Then the civilization of the natives would be another point to which you would look forward for putting an end to the slave trade?—Decidedly. I believe it would be one of the great means.

5079. What steps would you recommend towards the civilization of the natives?—I conceive that if many of the Africans themselves were selected and educated, and brought forward and shown that they can rise above their fellows, it would act as a direct stimulus to others to try and advance themselves. Of course it is a thing that must be extremely gradual; all nations take an immense time to come to maturity, and therefore we cannot suppose that it would be otherwise with the negroes, surrounded as they are by so many circumstances tending in fact against their civilization.

5080. Do you think that the extension of free emigration to the West Indies, and the improvement of the condition of the African in the West Indies, and then his return to Africa in an improved state, would be one of the best steps towards the civilization of the country?—I have not the least doubt of it; indeed, I have always thought that if emigration were encouraged from the western coast of Africa, it would be in that way extremely useful. They would bear back with them recollections of civilized life; they would take back with them European articles of clothing; and out of that would arise a taste to imitate white people; and although they would be extremely slow at first to adopt any of our institutions, yet one thing must follow the other; you must first give them a taste for it, and they must first see that they can raise themselves.

5081. Do you think that free emigrants from the coast of Africa could be obtained in any considerable numbers?—I am not prepared to speak to that. I think a certain quantity might be got from the Kroo coast, and from the Timmanees also; I have understood they are not averse; but I think that the Kroomen are decidedly the best, inasmuch as they will work in any locality in which they are placed.

5082. If the fleet should be withdrawn from the coast of Africa, and the coast should be left open to the slave trading, what effect do you think that would have upon the prospect of obtaining free emigrants?—I think that it might not interfere very much with the object which you propose; but that is supposing the native chiefs are not left entirely to themselves. If they are left to themselves, no doubt they will openly continue the slave trade, and do everything that they possibly can to favour it; but if by a great reduction in the sum expended it is possible to subsidize them, I think that will be a means towards
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the end desired. We have in that way, I think, obtained at Bonny and other localities treaties with the chiefs, to which the parties have stuck very faithfully, although in a few cases they may have violated the treaties; but they have had inducements to observe the treaties; we have been able to substitute something for the slave trade.

5083. If you were to subsidize the chiefs, would not it be necessary to keep cruisers on the coast, to see that your treaties were respected?—Not to the same amount.

5084. I do not say to the same amount; but would not it be necessary to keep armed vessels on the coast, to see that your treaties were respected?—There is no doubt that it would be necessary to have some under any circumstances.

5085. Mr. *Barkly*.] When you speak of the extension of legitimate commerce on the coast of Africa, as being one of the means to which you look forward for reducing the slave trade, I suppose you speak of the export of the native productions of Africa as they now exist?—Yes.

5086. There is a limit to the demand for many of those productions in this country, is there not?—I am not prepared to state that.

5087. You do not recommend, so far as I understand you, the investment of money on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of producing fresh articles of export; sugar and coffee, and other articles of that description?—I should certainly think that everything which will give a stimulus to native industry, and bring forth the resources of the country, will tend to elevate the character of the people.

5088. Having had an opportunity of seeing both the coast of Brazil and the coast of Africa, do you think from the relative fertility of the soil on the coast of Africa, that it has any chance of producing those articles in competition with the soil in Brazil?—I have no doubt that it might; it is scarcely so prolific as that of Brazil, but it was remarked by all of us, and, indeed, by a German, Dr. Vogel, who was in the Niger expedition, how little had been done at our different settlements, although nature was so extremely luxuriant; how many things might be produced which were not produced. I instance coffee, which might be grown to a very great extent on the coast of Africa. On looking over the Parliamentary Returns, I find that there were only 354 lbs., value 7*l.*, in one year exported to England from Sierra Leone, although they had exported a great many thousand lbs. to other European countries.

5089. I suppose that arose from the price in this market not being remunerative?—I am not prepared to state from what cause, but it is so.

5090. Do you consider the soil of the settlement at Sierra Leone to be of ordinary fertility?—I have it on the evidence of the botanist, Dr. Vogel. If the Committee please, I can give them an extract from what he says on the subject of Sierra Leone, which is very much to the point.

5091. *Chairman*.] Who was Dr. Vogel?—He was the botanist appointed to the Niger expedition, and a man well acquainted with the physical properties required in the soil for its cultivation.

5092. Be so kind as to read that extract to which you refer?—He says, “It is singular,” speaking of Sierra Leone, “that this thickly-peopled colony should not produce anything fit for exportation. The trade in teak or cam-wood seems only a waste of the rich endowments of nature. This surely is a matter worth consideration. The Africans collected here in such multitudes furnish abundant and cheap labourers, and yet there is no cultivation on an enlarged scale. Much diligence is used to convert and educate the liberated Africans, but without any beneficial influence on the neighbouring tribes. This is not very satisfactory, and shows that if it was intended to extend civilization to these parts, great faults must have been committed, and also proves that the Africans are not inclined to follow a good example.” Now so far as following a good example, I think that Dr. Vogel was rather hard upon them, since there was perhaps not the inducement for them; probably there is not the capital necessary to call forth the resources of Sierra Leone.

5093. Mr. *Barkly*.] What is the general condition of the black population in the interior of the colony of Sierra Leone; I do not mean in Freetown, but in the interior?—I am not prepared to speak to that, as I was not any distance in the interior.

5094. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] For instance, Wellington?—I think they are contented

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tented and happy, but there is nothing apparently done to make them progress; they have clothing, and they receive a certain amount of religious education, but whether it arises from the want of capital, or whatever circumstance it may be, certainly the natives do not seem to be advancing much beyond that state in which they were first put.

5095. Mr. *Barkly*.] How long were you in Sierra Leone?—I was there on two different occasions; I was not more than about 10 days each time.

5096. Your impression is, that the bulk of the population has made very little advancement in civilization?—They certainly have not advanced so much as one might expect.

5097. Did you meet with any emigrants who had returned from the West Indies; were there any at that time in Sierra Leone?—No.

5098. You stated that the Timmanees were a nation who probably might be induced to send emigrants to the West Indies; which of the British settlements are they nearest to?—They are nearest to Sierra Leone.

5099. Do they border upon the British settlements?—Yes, immediately upon them.

5100. Have you had many opportunities of conversing with the crews of slavers which have been captured; did you get the impression from them, that if slave trading were made piracy, and they were subjected to the punishment of pirates upon being captured, it would have any tendency in making them leave off the slave trade?—I am convinced that it would be one great means of putting an end to it, and that it might be effectually stopped by it. But, not to proceed so far as capital punishment, I speak of transportation or imprisonment; no people dislike imprisonment more than the Brazilians do, and 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.

5101. Is it not the case sometimes that the crews of slavers which have been captured and brought into Rio are confined in the public prisons at Rio?—I should think not; indeed, in the case of one prize, which we took in the "Racer," I saw the crew after they were supposed to have been put in prison; I met several of them walking about, and conversed with them. Several of them had been under my care as sick persons, and I was rather astonished to find that they were walking about the streets; that they were at large, in fact; that they had not been at all confined.

5102. So that if the squadron were removed to the coast of Brazil, the risk which would be then run by the crews of slave vessels would be very much diminished; they would not undergo the hardships which they now do, if they are captured near the coast of Africa and landed on the coast?—I do not think it makes much difference whether they are captured on the east or west coast, so far as that goes, because they very soon find a passage; if they are landed, we will say, at any part of the west coast, they will very soon contrive to get to a place where slave trading exists.

5103. Do you think that the crews of slave vessels do not undergo great hardships when they are landed on the coast of Africa?—I think not; I know that we landed one crew at Quillimane, which is considered one of the worst localities, and it was at the most unhealthy season, and yet they all left us in great spirits; they thought nothing at all of it; they said, in fact, that we should probably see them again before long; which I think is the adieu of most of these men.

5104. But you think that if it were possible to make the offence punishable by transportation it would make these men refrain from entering into the traffic?—I have not the least doubt that it would check it, if not altogether suppress it.

5105. In your estimate of the profits of the slave trader you have not put down any sum for fees or payment to the authorities in Brazil. Do you suppose that the public authorities in Brazil derive no emolument in any way from the slave trade?—I think there can be no question about it that they do; indeed it was notorious in 1844 that the governor of one of the localities, that is, Bahia, did receive so much a head for every slave, and, of course, it is reasonable to conclude that such was the case when slaves were landing there in great numbers, and the vessels were brought into the harbour the next day without any inquiry

inquiry being made. I conceive that it is not maligning him to believe that it was true.

5106. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You have calculated the price of slaves at 45*l.*?
—Yes.

5107. Do not you suppose that if our cruisers were entirely withdrawn that price would fall in the Brazils?—Of course the risk being to a certain extent less it would have a tendency to fall, but there does not seem to have been a very great alteration in the price of slaves at any time, even when it was openly permitted.

5108. Do not you suppose that the price would fall in case our cruisers were withdrawn?—I have no doubt that it would have that tendency to a certain extent.

5109. If the price were to fall would not the tendency be to increase the numbers that were sold in the Brazils?—That does not follow; it just depends upon the demand for labour; but the profit arising from slaves is so great that I think scarcely anything would induce the Brazilians to give it up. If you take the case of any of the slaves that are imported, and calculate the actual value of their labour, you will find it so enormous that nothing can be more profitable to them than the labour of slaves. If we take the coffee-carriers, who are the hardest worked of any of the Brazilian slaves, the average of their life is said to be about eight years after they are imported into the Brazils. They gain from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* a day carrying coffee, and they have to support themselves; taking 300 working days per annum, you have a very enormous sum realized at the end of the eight years.

5110. Does the master get all that?—The master gets the whole of it. The system with the coffee-carriers is to send them out, and they have to bring home to their master a certain amount of money, and of course, to make a little over and above the sum for themselves they work remarkably hard, and drink to a fearful amount; they drink very hard; about eight years is said to be the average of the life of the coffee and sugar carriers, who are the hardest worked.

5111. Mr. *Gladstone*.] What is the nature of their labour?—Merely carrying the coffee and sugar.

5112. *Chairman*.] How do they carry it?—On the back.

5113. Mr. *Barkly*.] From the plantations to the shipping place?—Yes, from the plantations; and also from the different localities where the sugar is brought in the town to the ships.

5114. Sir *E. Buxton*.] They are porters, in fact?—The yare.

5115. Mr. *Barkly*.] They cannot carry a cask of coffee, can they?—Not a cask; it is all in bags.

5116. Mr. *Gladstone*.] In point of fact, they are not field labourers?—No.

5117. Is that a large class?—It must be a considerable class.

5118. They do the work of beasts of burden?—Exactly; carrying the coffee, sugar, and those things, and loading of vessels; you see them in long strings.

5119. Are they task gangs?—No; they have to bring a certain amount of wages to their masters, and whatever they gain above that goes to their own subsistence.

5120. Sir *E. Buxton*.] They are able to get about 2*s.* a day, do you say?—Yes, from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* per diem, *i.e.* from 2 to 3 pataks.

5121. One shilling and fourpence or two shillings a day, and they have to support themselves in addition?—Yes; so that the labour must be immense.

5122. Do you say that they are a large class?—They are a large class.

5123. This proves that the price of labour in the Brazils, in the towns at least, is about 2*s.* a day?—No, it is not so much as that: I should think about 1*s.* a day would be the average of the other, if you take the average of all classes; I have put it down, with the exception of those who have to work in this manner, and whose lives, therefore, are shorter, the average duration of them being eight years.

5124. The mortality among those men is 12 per cent.; 12 per cent. about kills them off in eight years?—Yes; but I have put down the others at 16 years, and supposing that one day with another they make 1*s.* a day, the actual sum to the master, at the end of the 16 years, would be 240*l.*; so that if a man had a number of slaves, we will say if he could invest 5,000*l.* in 100 slaves, if he had 100 coffee-carriers, earning 1*s.* 6*d.* daily, he would realize altogether at the end of the eight years, about 13,300*l.*, and so on in proportion.

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5125. Is the habit of letting out slaves for hire very general in the Brazils?—It is common.

5126. I suppose that is rather for extra work, than for working on estates?—Yes, extra work; in the working on the estates, it is mostly done by slaves who are located there.

5127. Have you seen anything of the system of slavery in the Brazils; have you been on the estates?—I have been on the plantations; a few of them.

5128. What is the mortality among the slaves there?—I really could not state. I class them in this way as regards mortality: I conceive that the coffee-carriers are the shortest lived, and the hardest worked; I put the planters next; thirdly, those employed in boats, rowing and different occupations connected with the water; and, lastly, or with the least mortality, those who are engaged in the towns as servants.

5129. On the estates they are chiefly men, are they not?—Chiefly men.

5130. Very few women?—Very few women.

5131. Do you know the proportion?—I am not aware of the proportion, but it must be very small; and the proportion of births, compared to the number of women, is also remarkably small. I am sorry to say that some papers which I had on the subject I am afraid have been lost or destroyed.

5132. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] In all your later answers, you referred to native Africans, and not to those who have been born in the Brazils?—I allude to native Africans altogether; indeed, the number born in the Brazils is extremely small; it is a very rare thing to see a woman with a child.

5133. Sir *E. Buxton.*] The population is almost entirely replenished from Africa?—Yes; indeed, the Portuguese do not hesitate to tell you that it does not pay them to breed the slaves and bring them up, inasmuch as the woman is kept away from her usual duties for so many years, that it would not remunerate them for the loss of time, and the cost of feeding them. Besides that, the mortality among the children is said to be great; I have no doubt it is hastened very much by the unfortunate mothers, who are obliged to neglect the children; but the climate is also said to interfere very much with them.

5134. Are you aware whether the effect of there being very few women is to lead to great immorality among the slaves?—I have not the least doubt it must.

5135-6. You are not aware of it from any experience or knowledge of your own?—I am not.

5137. Is it generally said to be so?—It is generally said to be so; indeed the Brazilians themselves have not a very high character for morality in any way.

5138. You have calculated the mortality on the passage of 450 slaves as 40. Would you not add to that a considerable mortality after landing?—There is no doubt there must be a mortality, since the condition in which most of them are landed is extremely distressing.

5139. There is a large mortality after landing, you say, and, in addition to that, must not there be a large number of slaves who are sold more cheaply on account of sickness?—I do not think that it has that effect much; soon after they are landed they are taken care of at the different localities, and in a very short time they improve. Most of them are in an extremely wretched condition when they are landed, and to look at them, they are quite unfit for labour; but in a very short time they improve.

5140. Accounts have been seen of the condition of the slaves after they arrive, which are very horrible?—No doubt, in many cases it is so. I have seen them on board many slavers; I think that they seldom sell them immediately on landing them in the Brazils; they are kept.

5141. You have not calculated the expense of keeping them after they are landed?—No, I have not put that down, but indeed it is trifling; the feeding of the slaves is a mere trifle, and the calculation which I made, at 45 *l.*, I thought was so low, that supposing the price of slaves to have risen a little, which one of the men in the last prize that we took stated had been the case (he stated that they were very dear), it would allow for any additional expenses of that description.

5142. I suppose that the growing of sugar is extremely profitable in the Brazils?—It must be.

5143. You have not been there very lately, I think?—Not since 1845.

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5144. You are not aware, from your own knowledge, whether the Sugar Act of 1846, by which that sugar was admitted into this market, has tended to increase the slave trade?—I am not prepared with any fact to the purpose, but we may reason that it would have that tendency, inasmuch as anything that causes a greater exportation of sugar must give rise to a greater demand for labour, and as that is only kept up by the importation of slaves, we must come to the conclusion that it has that effect. There is no such thing as white labour in the Brazils, although they have tried of late years to introduce the Canarios to some little extent; they are not found to answer.

5145. You have rather recommended that our cruisers should be transferred to the Brazilian coast?—I think of the two, that the Brazilians would feel it more.

5146. Are there not many practical difficulties in the way of anything of that sort; in the first place, would not the captains of the slavers keep out a considerable distance to sea, and take a favourable opportunity of running their vessels right in on shore?—On both coasts they have a system of signalling, by which they can give notice. The same thing obtains on the coast of Africa. It seems that the slaves are still enabled to be got off from the coast of Africa, judging from the price. The only criterion is the price of slaves; if that has not risen much, of course the importation into Brazil continues; therefore they are enabled, by the mutual assistance of the natives and the slavers, to carry the slave trade out perfectly on the western coast.

5147. When they arrive on the coast of Brazil, are they not willing to sacrifice their vessel by running it on shore, if by that means they can land their slaves at once?—Cases have occurred of that nature.

5148. From the nature of the vessels employed, would not that be likely to be very frequently the case if our cruisers were all on that coast?—I have no doubt of it, if they were pursued in to the shore; but the Brazilian treaty has provided for that in some measure, I think, inasmuch as a slaver cannot be taken within three miles of the shore.

5149. Would not that also be a very great hindrance, that our vessels would have to leave the chase when they arrived within three miles of the shore?—They could still continue the chase, and if they captured them, they would have to give them up to the Brazilian government. We captured one in the "Racer;" the chase with boats was commenced upwards of three miles from the shore, and she ran on shore; all her slaves were landed, but we were obliged to give her up to the Brazilian authorities, as it was within the distance prescribed.

5150. The Brazilian authorities are naturally implicated in the slave trade?—I should fear so.

5151. Therefore, if you give up slaves to the Brazilian government, you give them up to slavery in fact?—There is no question about that; all the slaves which have hitherto been given up to the Brazilian government are *de facto* slaves; and if a return were called for of those who are alive at this date, I have no doubt that there would not be one of them forthcoming, because the system is notorious, that when a slave dies upon a plantation the name of one of those apprentices is put in his place; and of course, as the different slaves on a plantation die off, the names of those unfortunate apprentices are given in, and in a few years, if we are to believe the Brazilian statements, there is no such thing as one of them living.

5152. In addition to this, would there not be great difficulty in case we took slaves, inasmuch as they would have to be landed on the coast of the Brazils for adjudication?—That does not follow. They might be sent to our West India Islands, and that would not make the matter much worse than it was a few years ago, when, after they were adjudicated, they were sent in merchant vessels to our colonies. With the additional care that they receive after capture, I think that you may put the mortality and the distress arising out of that circumstance on a par with the increased horror of the detention at present in the barracoons; you will find that the one counterbalances the other; therefore, in point of fact, if you captured slaves on the coast of Brazil, there would be as little an amount of suffering, and perhaps much less, if you take into consideration the detention in the barracoons.

5153. Would it not be sure to induce a very large mortality, if, after a voyage of 20 or 30 days or more, they had then to take a voyage of 30 or 40 days longer; is it not the case that the trade winds are not favourable to sailing from
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the Brazils to any of our West Indian colonies?—I do not think they are generally favourable.

5154. Mr. *Barkly*.] Is it not the fact, that vessels sent from Rio to British Guiana have made the voyage in a very small number of days?—I am not aware.

5155. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Another difficulty which has been mentioned is, that there would be no port for our vessels upon that coast, except a Brazilian port, and that there must be great fear that our would come in collision with the Brazilians, interfering with their trade, which they consider a very valuable and profitable one, which might lead to great ill-feeling between our sailors and the people of that country?—It has done so. When a small squadron was employed upon the coast of the Brazils it certainly had that effect; but if the Brazilian authorities had lent their hearty assistance, there is no doubt that such a feeling would not have obtained.

5156. If you take them there again, is not the same result likely to follow?—I am not prepared to state; it depends altogether on the ministry. Some members of the Brazilian government have always been opposed to the slave trade, and others just as much in favour of it.

5157. Is there not so strong a feeling among the people, that it is very difficult for a government to act against the slave trade in any way?—I have no doubt that the feeling generally on the part of the Brazilians is in favour of the slave trade.

5158. It is a very unpopular thing to act in any way against it?—It is the most unpopular question in the Brazils; that is the worst feature.

5159. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Do you know the Rev. J. F. Schön, a witness before this Committee, and one of your companions, as it is understood, in the Niger expedition?—Yes.

5160. Have you read the evidence which he gave before this Committee in reference to the condition of the colony of Sierra Leone?—I have not.

5161. Are you aware of the length of time that he was at Sierra Leone before the expedition, and at other periods?—I am aware that he lived at Sierra Leone for some years.

5162. Did you yourself, in the course of your two visits of about 10 days each, happen to observe the conduct of the liberated Africans at Divine service, either in Freetown, or in any of the villages connected with that colony?—I did not, inasmuch as it is usual for officers to attend service on board their own ships.

5163. Then you are not able to state whether the conduct of the people on that day was or was not such as you would yourself approve?—I have reason to believe, from all that I heard on the subject, that they are remarkably well conducted on the Sunday, and indeed that their general behaviour is good during the week.

5164. In what respect would you regard the state of that colony, as below the state which you would desire to be attained?—So far as the spiritual improvement of the natives goes, I think that it is in advance of their temporal improvement, taking them generally; in other respects, I speak of them as advancing above the position of the commonest people; that there is not what you may call an upward movement among them; that there are few of them who are rising to any position.

5165. What proportion constitute the congregations of Christians now in Sierra Leone?—I have no idea.

5166. In point of fact, the opportunities of observation which you have had have not been such as to enable you to give any detailed opinion?—No; I merely judge by comparison with other places; one may judge in some measure from the general appearance of society at a particular place, and the general facts relating to society, whether it is advancing or is not advancing, although it may be difficult, without going into statistics, to show that it is so or not.

5167. Was there or was there not an appearance of general comfort amongst the liberated Africans?—There is no doubt of that, that they are improved, but still I am of opinion that they have not risen to that extent to which they might. I cannot believe that out of so great a mass there would not have been many who could have been brought forward and elevated very much above the position they now hold. I instance the case of Mr. Crowther; he is one of innumerable others. I have no doubt that there are elements in Sierra Leone for the advancement

ment of the blacks themselves; Mr. Crowther is almost a solitary instance of a black being brought forward and educated, and made to take a leading part. I conceive that his example will be of great influence among the blacks, and I think that if there had been many others brought forward in the same sort of way it would have spoken more for the advancement of the colony.

5168. The Reverend Samuel Crowther, now an ordained minister of the Church of England, and settled at Abbeakuta, was, to your knowledge or belief, a liberated African from the hold of a slaver?—He has stated so to me, and it appears in his writings.

5169. He was one of your companions in the Niger expedition?—He was.

5170. Have you no reason to think that there are other liberated Africans who have also advanced and are now ministers of the Church, or ministers of religious congregations?—I have heard that there are persons either coming forward, or who have so far advanced as to be able to take upon themselves the duties, but I instance him as one that I have known.

5171. Were you present at any school examination in Sierra Leone?—No, I was not.

5172. A former question was addressed to you in reference to the punishment which ought to be inflicted upon a slave dealer or a slave captain, and you are understood to have stated that transportation might be a fit punishment?—Yes; I mean any restriction by which they will be kept for a series of years from the occupation of slaving.

5173. Have you ever considered the expediency of a still severer punishment than transportation, in respect to the wholesale robbery and murder combined in the slave trade?—I have thought that if it were consistent with our views of what is proper to the Brazilians themselves, that is, if we were justified in carrying it still further and going as far as transportation for life, or even the capital punishment, it would tend to do away with slavery. I can safely say that no people dislike detention under any circumstances more than the Brazilians do.

5174. Would you consider that the power of hanging at the yard-arm the captain of any vessel in which slaves were found, would be one of the best modes of suppressing slavery?—Putting aside the justice or injustice of such a measure, I say if we were justified in doing it, I have no doubt that the extreme penalty of the law carried out, would have a tendency to remove the slave trade altogether.

5175. It has been stated in evidence, that in one instance every slave embarked on board one vessel perished before reaching the western coast of the Atlantic. It has been stated, that in other instances 30 per cent. have so perished; and it has been stated that 33 per cent. or one-third is perhaps the average loss of life sacrificed in such commerce. If then, these slaves, being seized by violence, kept by violence, and transported by violence, are sacrificed in that proportion, and if the life of one man, the captain, being sacrificed, might prevent a similar occurrence in future, would you, or would you not recommend to this Committee to consider the propriety of such punishment being inflicted for such combination of crime?—I have no hesitation in saying, that all Brazilian slavers merit that punishment, and that it would not be an injustice to them if it were inflicted on them; but at the same time I know not how far they may be guided by their own notions of right. I merely look on the question with regard to my own feelings. The Brazilians, who regard slavery in another light altogether, may think that the punishment is undeserved.

5176. The punishment of hanging at the yard-arm is a punishment which by the international law of the world has heretofore been inflicted on all pirates taken upon the high seas; is not that so?—I believe so.

5177. Does not the slave trade exemplify all the guilt of piracy?—It does. Yet perhaps I am wrong in stating that it combines all the iniquities of piracy; I am not justified perhaps in saying so, inasmuch as the pirate does not hesitate to kill those who stand in the way of his gaining his object. The slaver is no doubt guilty to a certain extent in the same way, but it is rather his object to save than to destroy, if it is possible. Judging from my own feelings, I think the amount of guilt is the same.

5178. Have you any reason to know that vessels carrying slaves have resisted vessels attempting to seize them, have fired upon such vessels, and have destroyed the lives of those who attempted to stop them in their career?—I am aware of many cases where that has happened.

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5179. In what respect then does the resistance of the slave dealer differ from the resistance of a pirate in former days?—It does, so far as this, that the one knows that he is going contrary to the laws of all nations; the other is going contrary to the laws of some nations opposed to him, his own nation being only nominally opposed to the slave trade.

5180. Then you assume in the answer which you have now given, that the slave captain and the slave dealer are necessarily Brazilian subjects. Brazil is the only nation which has not concurred with Great Britain in declaring the slave trade piracy, so far as laws can make it. Might there not then be other instances of captains, say Portuguese, who violate alike the law of God and their own municipal law and the international law of the civilized world?—Still our own law shows that the Brazilian and other slavers, until they are condemned, are not pirates. I instance the case of a recapture where several of our own countrymen were murdered, and yet the law did not reach those parties, inasmuch as by our own laws the vessel was not a pirate until she was proved to be one; and the Brazilian probably argues on that, that he must first be proved to be a pirate before he can be compelled to give up his vessel.

5181. Colonel *Thompson*.] In the case of which you have intimated a possibility, of slave vessels combining to attack a British ship of war, do you think they would or would not incur the severest punishment to which piracy is subjected?—I argue from past experience that they would not, inasmuch as there have been no cases of direct punishment for it; there have been repeated cases on the west coast of Africa where our own men have been shot, and officers shot and wounded, but the parties were merely treated in the common course of the law; they were not treated as pirates; and I think that what I now state will be borne out by an examination of all the facts, that they have never been punished as pirates.

5182. I put the supposition of a combined attack on the part of slavers; supposing the slavers were to come down on a small British vessel and destroy it, would not the consequence of that be, that they would be put upon their trials for piracy?—It only makes the difference of the combination, that three or four of them would be engaged instead of one; but in point of legality, perhaps if the law does not reach them under the present system, or if it is not carried into force against them, it would be just as unlikely to reach them in the case of four or five as one. But there has been no case, I think, where they have been so united.

5183. Suppose the act of the slave trader to be a voluntary attack, which is very different from a mere defence?—The slavers do not seek the attack; I do not think that under any ordinary circumstances they would pretend to attack a man-of-war. It has been spoken of that vessels might be organized to resist the men-of-war that were placed on the station for the purpose of keeping them from embarking their slaves, but I do not think that they would voluntarily go out of their way to attack a man-of-war, if she did not interfere with them. In case it ever does come to that, I have no doubt they would have no hesitation in attacking a man-of-war, although the results might be very certain; but it would only be when it stood in the way of their carrying out their traffic; they would not seek it.

5184. Supposing there were an attack of that kind, do you think that in the apprehension of the naval profession it would amount to an act of piracy?—It certainly would be regarded as one, but it might not be treated as one. We all feel that those men who have hitherto resisted, and shot persons employed in putting down the slave trade, were worthy to be treated as pirates, but they were not treated as pirates.

5185. Supposing there were an attack made upon a British ship of war?—There can be no doubt in that case it would constitute a case of piracy.

5186. Did you ever hear under what titles the settlers in Sierra Leone (by which I mean rather to distinguish from the imported Africans) hold their lands?—No, I am not aware.

5187. Do you know whether they have sufficiently permanent titles, or whether they have not?—I believe that in most cases they have permanent titles. As regards the former settlers, and until within the last few years, I believe that they had permanent settlements; the different locations assigned to them are not changed, so far as my knowledge goes.

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5188. Did you ever hear any complaint among the Maroons or Nova Scotians, for instance, of the want of permanent and durable titles?—I have not.

5189. *Chairman.*] With respect to the state of health on board the vessels employed in Her Majesty's navy, have you had any opportunities of observing that?—The statistics are published. I have had many opportunities of observing it, but of course what would guide me in that would be the statistics of health.

5190. Are you referring to the book which was published by Dr. Bryson?—I refer to that.

5191. According to your own observation, did the crews suffer much?—I should think that the average given by Dr. Bryson is far below the number, inasmuch as it is not taken into consideration that innumerable persons leave the coast without invaliding, and many are invalided, who return with shattered constitutions. I have been messmate with many persons who have been on the coast, and I can safely say, that I have scarcely ever served with one whose constitution was not more or less shaken. In talking with Dr. Bryson, he agreed with me that the actual amount of detriment to health does not appear in the statistics; it is, 58·4, I think, per 1,000; but that falls very short of the actual amount of mischief done to health, and in fact, what you may call the mortality, since many persons die after their return from the coast of Africa.

5192. The constitution is so shaken, that the person dies after a long period of suffering?—I presume where you can trace it to service on the coast of Africa, that although it does not appear in the statistics of death, still it is referable to causes produced by that service.

5193. Then on the whole you are of opinion that the loss of health and the suffering on board Her Majesty's ships of war, is something frightfully great?—There is no doubt about it, on the western coast.

5194. Do you know whether Dr. Bryson had been himself employed on the coast of Africa?—He was for several years employed there. I think that the proportion of mortality is at least two-thirds more than in the West Indies. I am speaking of the known mortality, but that, as I stated before, does not give the actual evil of the service on the coast. I think it is as follows: South America, 7·7 per 1,000; in the Mediterranean, 9·3 per 1,000; home station, 9·8 per 1,000; East Indies, 15·1 per 1,000; West Indies, 18·1 per 1,000, while on the coast of Africa it is 58·4 per 1,000, so that it is two-thirds greater than in the West Indies, very much more than three times greater than in the East Indies, and six times and upwards more than in South America.

5195. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] From what authority do you quote those results?—I quote them from the statistical returns of the health of the Navy.

5196. *Chairman.*] Published by whom?—Dr. Bryson has published those statistical returns by order of the Admiralty, I think. This I copied from his work.

5197. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] For what period have those returns been extracted?—It is for 21 years on the coast of Africa, and I think the others were made for a period of 10 or 15 years.

5198. If that be so, the proportion in the case of the West Indies, for example, ought either to be doubled or increased in the proportion of 15 to 20?—I should not suppose so, because it gives the annual average.

5199. But if one be for 20 years and the other for 10 years, the result would be just half, would it not?—It is just this, it is the average for each year for that time; it is not the total amount; but I cannot speak confidently.

5200. *Colonel Thompson.*] Have you had any acquaintance with steam-boat service on the coast of Africa?—I was employed in steam vessels in the Niger expedition.

5201. Have you had any experience of it generally on the coast?—No: I have never been employed otherwise than in the Niger expedition on the western coast.

5202. You cannot give the Committee any information on the comparative effects of steam vessels upon the coast generally as cruisers?—No; but I understand that the "Styx," one of the steamers, has been remarkably successful in her endeavours; whether it depended on the locality in which she was placed, where the slave trade might have obtained more than upon any other station, or whether it was from increased activity, or from the other facilities arising out of steam, I am not prepared to state; but I believe she has been the most fortunate vessel employed upon the western coast.

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5203. Have you cruised on the coast of Africa?—On the eastern coast, I have, but not on the western coast of Africa.

5204. What is your opinion of the facilities which would be given on the eastern coast of Africa, which you have seen, by the employment of steam?—I think that steam will not be so effective as sailing vessels, inasmuch as you cannot have a sufficient supply of fuel. The localities are not so numerous on the eastern coast for the supply of fuel.

5205. If that difficulty were got over, what is the degree of superiority which you would attach to a steam vessel?—I very much question whether, in point of fact, there is much, unless it is in the case of rivers, for the purpose of going over bars; and for the rivers where you cannot always take a sailing vessel, a steam-boat no doubt is more advisable, but for general purposes, I should think that sailing vessels are quite equivalent.

5206. If, for instance, you had information of a slaver within 100 miles, what is the average time in which you would reach that point in a sailing vessel, and in a steam vessel?—It would depend altogether on the part of the coast, and the state of the trade wind; it might not be done under two days and a half or three days if there were the current against you as well as wind, and it might be done in seven or eight hours.

5207. How long, on an average, would a sailing vessel be in going 100 miles, taking calms and contrary winds into account?—On the western coast I can scarcely hazard an opinion.

5208. The western coast you have not seen; how long on the eastern coast, which you have seen?—I should say you might put down the average as 24 hours to go 100 miles, taking one day with another.

5209. And in a steam vessel, how long would you be going?—You would certainly be able to go direct to the point in about eight or nine hours, if she were a fast vessel; 10 hours at the outside, supposing the water to be suitable. But I wish to state a fact connected with the eastern coast, which shows that the cruising even there has not tended to put down the slave trade, although we have been most successful in the number of captures. At Angozha, which is a place near Mozambique, quite a new field has been opened up for the slave trade, and it now obtains still further to the eastward, nearer Zanzibar.

5210. *Chairman.*] Nearer to the territory of the Imaum of Muscat?—Yes.

5211. Is the slave trade carried on, so far as you know, within the territory which is claimed by the Imaum?—Scarcely at all; but those men with whom I conversed in the last vessel, stated that the slave trade was very active indeed at Angozha, and still farther to the eastward.

5212. *Lord H. Vane.*] To what countries are those slaves conveyed?—To the Brazils.

5213. In which direction are they carried?—They are carried to the eastward of Madagascar.

5214. *Chairman.*] They are not carried to countries lying to the east of the eastern coast of Africa?—No, they are taken away to the Brazils.

5215. *Colonel Thompson.*] What do you apprehend to be the reason of the slave trade appearing at those points?—I should conceive that it arose from the activity of some of the vessels; for instance, the “Cleopatra” had been most actively engaged, and on the average, about three or four a year were the number of vessels captured by her, but they were principally off Quillimane and Inhambane. Now, finding it to be so unsuccessful there, the slavers have proceeded still further to the eastward.

5216. What degree of detriment to the slave trade do you conceive to be the result of its being driven from a nearer point to a more distant one?—I do not think that it has done much to influence the slave trade on the eastern coast.

5217. In your judgment, can a worse service be done to any trade than to drive it to a remote and difficult point, rather than a near and easier one?—That I apprehend to be one of the evils arising out of pursuing the slavers on the west coast, that we are opening up a series of new channels, as it were. It is only necessary to look at the map at the Bight of Benin, where you have numerous branches and tributaries from the Niger which bring the slaves direct from Eboe and the other territories above it. There are numerous places, I am convinced, where the slave trade obtains which are not known.

5218. Have not those new channels been opened by the stopping up of old ones?—

ones?—I should conclude that to be the case, that it must break out somewhere, otherwise where do the slaves come from? They either elude the vigilance of the cruisers, or there are new channels opening up which our cruisers are not aware of.

5219. Lord *H. Vane*.] Supposing the old channels to be closed, and new ones to take the place of the old ones, do you imagine it to be possible to establish a blockade which would stop up those new channels?—I doubt it very much.

5220. Viscount *Brackley*.] What is the difference between the average passage to Brazil from the east and from the west coast?—From 60 to 70 days is about the average passage from the east coast to Brazil; and I stated 30 to be the average passage from the west coast.

5221. That would make a serious difference in the expense?—Yes, but the risk has always been supposed to be much less from the eastern coast. They employ larger vessels, which brings the actual amount of profit up to much the same mark as on the shorter passage.

5222. Lord *H. Vane*.] In those new channels which you suppose to be opened out in consequence of the closing of the old ones, do you imagine that there will be the same facilities for obtaining slaves, or not?—We know that the preventive means have increased.

5223. I understand you to be of opinion that no preventive means could be adopted, so as to prevent those new channels from being opened out, or from affording a certain supply of slaves, in order to fill up the vacuum occasioned by the closing of the old channels?—I think it would be impossible, consistently with the health of the ships' crews, to keep them in a position by which you could effectually blockade the coast. If you had ships over the bar, and saw what was actually going on at the places where they can ship slaves, I should say there might be a possibility of putting an end to it; but it cannot be done with European sailors without a frightful mortality, increasing it very much more than what it is at present.

5224. That locality is infinitely more unhealthy I understand than the others?—There is no doubt that if you have your boats close in near the shore, the mortality increases very much indeed, and the danger of sickness.

5225. And you could not carry on an effectual blockade without having your boats' crews close in-shore?—You could not. If the men could only endure the climate sufficiently to have the boats or small vessels employed in the different rivers, there might be a prospect of putting an end to the trade, because you could see everything that went on there. We will suppose the case of an American vessel employed for the purpose of supplying slave ships with goods; if she has preconcerted a plan with those vessels with which she is operating, it would be only necessary to make her appearance at sunset off a place where a vessel is known to be stationed; the certainty is that she would be chased; while that vessel is being chased a slaver can run in, take her cargo on board, and be off before the man-of-war is back; and, judging from different circumstances, I think that such is often the case.

5226. Are you of opinion that those new places are so numerous that it would be impracticable for any squadron of any possible amount to effect a blockade?—I fear so; in the Bights of Biafra and Benin, you will see the different localities where the slave trade can be carried on.

5227. What is the exact distance?—I cannot state; it may be about 160 miles.

5228. The whole of this coast of 160 miles, or whatever the exact distance may be, is equally unhealthy?—It is equally unhealthy. There are there absolutely the means of transporting the slaves from one locality to another without marching them overland; they bring them down from Eboe. It was stated to us at Aboh that a great number of the slaves from Eboe are brought down by the Benin Creek; we could not ascertain the exact route, but there are little lagoons communicating one with another along the whole of this coast by which they can transmit the slaves.

5229. Those lagoons and routes are so numerous, that if an effectual blockade were established, so as to prevent some of them from effecting their purpose, the slave traders would still be enabled to send the slaves through the others which could not be blockaded?—I have not the least doubt of it. Supposing this to be a correct chart of that part of the coast, you see that any time they can remove the slaves through these lagoons, and ship them from one part to another; so that

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while a vessel may be cruising off Little Popo, they may without any difficulty in a very short time remove the slaves to another place.

5230. In fact, in order that the blockade should be effectual, it ought to be established continuously along the whole coast of 160 miles?—Yes.

5231. It could not be effectual otherwise, and unless such a blockade were established there would always be the facility of sending slaves in this manner so as to escape the vigilance of the cruiser?—That is my impression.

5232. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Have you read the evidence of Captain Denman, on the plan which he suggested to Her Majesty's Government for the suppression of the slave trade?—I have not; I have heard it spoken of.

5233. Are you aware that his plan does not include operations by small boats so much as a continuous line of communication between larger vessels lying off the shore, at a distance of a few miles from the shore, and a few miles from each other?—I understand that to have been the plan which he suggested. Taking into consideration the impaired health which would arise out of that service, I think that it could not be continued long enough to be effective.

5234. When you refer to sickness, are you aware that the plan suggested by Captain Denman did not include that inland service which has been represented as the most fruitful of death on the coast of Africa, the boat service in rivers and creeks?—Yes, I think it may be fairly stated that nine-tenths of the cases of fever which occur on the west coast arise from boat service, from going into those localities where it would be necessary, in fact, to station the boats to make them effective.

5235. If then nine-tenths of the mortality arise from boat service, and if Captain Denman's plan do not include boat service, is it not obvious that assuming his plan to be otherwise eligible, it will materially diminish the mortality arising from the operations of the squadron blockading the west coast?—I grant that it might diminish, or that it might ward off for a little time longer the fever by having vessels thus placed, but I think it would make only the difference of a very few days, since we have the evidence of all the expeditions that have entered rivers, that beyond the 16th day scarcely any human constitution will resist the effects. Even at a distance of three miles from the shore, I conceive that that is much too short a distance to prevent the fever. If they could keep at a greater distance, with proper effect, then there might be some chance of health.

5236. Lord H. Vane.] What do you think would be the case supposing they were kept five miles from the shore?—Every mile would make a difference; no doubt.

5237. Do you think that at five miles' distance the health of the crew would be preserved unimpaired?—No, I am quite convinced it would not; and not only so, but the state of inactivity arising out of the nature of that service, unless they were actively employed cruising about, I think would greatly tend to interfere with health.

5238. It would produce a moral effect?—There is no doubt of it.

5239. Colonel Thompson.] To what extent do you think it would be practicable to raise what may be called a black navy among the British subjects on the coast of Africa and in the West Indies?—On looking at the subject it has repeatedly struck me that that might be of great importance if it could be attained. I do not think that at first you would be able to get black men who would be perhaps qualified for officers, but I think that you might get mulattoes. In that way you might have a force, if they had sufficient bravery, or if the Spaniards or Portuguese would estimate them at the same price as they do Englishmen, which I question very much. I question whether they (the slavers) would not fight. The *prestige*, of white men is very great, at least of Englishmen, but I question whether it would be so with blacks.

5240. The question supposed them to have European leaders?—In that case I think that it might answer.

5241. Will you describe to what extent and in what ways you think the service of coloured men might by degrees be introduced?—I think the most feasible plan would be, if a certain number of the more intelligent classes were brought from Sierra Leone and educated. As regards the crew, there would be no difficulty in getting any number necessary for one squadron, and if there were only a stimulus given to it by introducing greater numbers of them on board men-of-war than have been employed, it would tend to accomplish the end. Hitherto there has

has only been a comparatively small number allowed to be sent on board ; a certain number of Kroomen, and a certain number of liberated Africans on board every man-of-war.

5242. Will you allow me to make a difference between liberated Africans or Kroomen and old British subjects of colour, such men as are to be found possibly at Sierra Leone, and certainly I should imagine in our West Indian possessions?—So far as we can argue from the Niger expedition, facts went to show that even West Indians are not proof against the effects of the African climate ; therefore, if it were possible, and indeed it seems so, as far as the numbers required go, the men may be obtained on the coast of Africa, and consequently it is not necessary to trust to West Indian blacks, whom we find not to be at all proof against the effects of the climate, since there were numerous cases of fever amongst those whom we had. If you require steamers, a few of the most intelligent of the liberated Africans might be brought over to England, and I believe in that case they might be of very great use and importance. If you had black engineers you could take a steam-boat into any of those rivers, and there you could keep her without any detriment to the crew ; you could observe everything that was going on, and could effectually put a stop to any slave proceedings in any locality where that might be adopted. As regards the officers, I think you would find no difficulty in getting intelligent youths from the mulatto classes at Sierra Leone and at Cape Coast, and different places, who by being amalgamated on board vessels of war for a short time, would acquire a sufficient knowledge of naval tactics to be qualified for taking charge of vessels and boats, or any other service in that way.

5243. You imply their being put to service as midshipmen?—Yes. Of course their course of tuition would have to be the same as with all others.

5244. Do you think that any number of what would be rated as ordinary seamen in a ship of war, could be procured at Sierra Leone or on the coast of Africa?—I am afraid they have never been sufficiently trusted to ; those used on board a man-of-war have mostly been used as landsmen and ordinary seamen ; they have done their duty, and they have done their duty well.

5245. Did you ever know an able seaman taken from the coast of Africa?—Yes, there have been several ; I speak of those from the west coast.

5246. From the British citizens, if I may so call them, have you known able-bodied seamen rated?—Yes.

5247. Would there be any difficulty in to a great extent performing the service of marines by means of native Africans?—They are found to answer as soldiers at Sierra Leone, I therefore conclude, that as the duties are very similar, you might obtain a portion of them fit for that duty also ; that if they are fit for the duties of soldiers, they will also be fit for the duties of marines.

5248. Do you think that men of that description, coloured English citizens, would be generally efficient in service in the interior of Africa, either by land or by water?—I have no question of it, so far as their health goes, if they were properly educated and brought forward for it, that they might be qualified to fulfil any duties, but the experiment has not been tried. We can only judge from what we observe of them, that they are an intelligent body ; the mulattoes at Sierra Leone and Cape Coast, and all of that class, are very intelligent, and some of them, in fact, are rising people. I may instance the case of Mr. Bannerman, who is a mulatto man of very superior attainments, and who, in fact, is qualified for almost any position.

5249. If England contemplated the occupying of any portion of the interior of Africa, in the same way that it has occupied the interior of Asia, would not men of that description be most important instruments?—No doubt ; they can be the only instruments ; experience proves that white men are altogether ineffective, since they cannot resist the climate. We have the proofs of all the expeditions which have entered Africa, that European constitutions are altogether unsuited to the African climate, and that the further you advanced from the coast into the interior the worse it seems to be.

5250. Then if you were charged with acting in the interior of Africa, you would raise and educate coloured men to do it?—There is no doubt that that is the way, and I conceive the only way in which it is to be done.

5251. And do you think that so long as that is not done, a palpable instrument for the prosecution of British objects on the coast, and in the interior of Africa, is neglected and overlooked?—I certainly think so, and have long thought so.

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The views entertained by the late Sir Fowell Buxton no doubt were most correct, but the carrying out of them was unfortunately assigned to white men, and it was expected, under erroneous impressions, that European constitutions would be able to resist the effects of the climate.

5252. Then you do not think that there is any invincible obstacle to carrying out such views if the proper means are taken?—I think not; I think that it might be done by the means which I have stated, namely, mulatto persons at the head of the affair, and blacks acting under them. I believe that if they were educated and brought forward, a great deal might be done for them.

5253. Then to a great extent, you lay the failure in such objects to the defective choice of instruments?—I should certainly say so, inasmuch as Europeans are quite unfit for the climate.

5254. *Chairman.*] Do I correctly understand you to say, that you think the employment of black sailors would be sufficient to suppress the slave trade on the coast of Africa?—That I cannot say; but I say that you could use them with greater certainty of their continuing, for instance, at the work, than you could a white squadron.

5255. They would not suffer in health?—They would not suffer in health; they might go into any locality, and not suffer in health. It is that which paralyzes our service on the west coast of Africa, at least, as I conceive.

5256. Are you of opinion that if you had a ship's company, which was proof against the climate of Africa, and you could command it, you would, by employing such a force as that, be able by means of a blockade to prevent the slave trade?—I should hesitate in stating that, because I believe that no preventive means, unassisted by other means, will ever produce the desired good.

5257. *Colonel Thompson.*] When you state that you see great difficulty in suppressing the slave trade by means of naval operations on the coast of Africa, do you mean that there is great improbability of its being suppressed by that method solely, or do you admit that the application of those naval operations might be an assistant to produce the end desired, if joined with other means?—I could scarcely say how far that effect might be carried out, because the inducements are really so great to prosecute the slave trade, and the outlets through which it would take place so numerous, that one could scarcely contemplate any force sufficient, whether of blacks or whites, to put an end to it, unassisted by other means.

5258. You mean that it might be assistant, if joined with other means?—I have no doubt that it would; I conceive that any treaties which were made with the African chiefs, unless we were enabled to keep vessels there for the purpose of binding them to those treaties, would never be observed at all. I really believe that at Bonny, and all those other localities where we have treaties, if it were not that they knew that men-of-war would visit them and punish them if necessary, they would not observe the treaties; I do not think that it has yet arrived at that state, that you may conclude they observe them because the legitimate commerce has supplanted the slave trade; fear has very much to do with their observance of the treaties.

5259. Then do you think that, under all circumstances, the presence of some British vessels on the coast of Africa would be necessary to give any probability of successful results?—There is no doubt that, under any circumstances, there must be British vessels on the coast.

5260. What extent of favourable result might be expected from the operations of such a squadron as has been suggested to you, against the slave trade?—I could scarcely state; my impression is, that the outlets are so extremely numerous, that it would be very difficult to conjecture. You must remember that there are two parties acting against you; you have the slave purchaser and you have the native chief anxious to sell his slaves; therefore when you have two persons co-operating one with the other in that way, it greatly paralyzes the best exertions. But in the first place, if you could induce the chiefs to turn their attention from the slave trade, and if you could also paralyse the efforts of the slave dealer, you would do something towards putting a stop to the trade.

5261. Under any circumstances, do you or do you not think that the active operation of British cruisers against the slave trade, would be, what I may call a heavy weight against the slave-trading interest?—It certainly does not seem to have that effect at present, and that is all that I can reason from; I judge from the price of slaves, even if it had been raised 10 l.; it does not seem to have been raised,

raised, from all accounts, much, if anything, therefore I conclude that the squadron has not at all counteracted the efforts of the slave dealers hitherto.

5262. Then if you were carrying on operations on the coast of Africa, would you think it prudent to cease all operations for the suppression of the slave trade; I draw a distinction between operations for the suppression of the slave trade and operations for the protection of commerce, which you state to be necessary?—I can give no opinion about that; I think that if other means were substituted, although it would be an extremely gradual thing, yet we might be coming nearer a favourable result than by the present proceedings.

5263. But during those operations would not the force for the suppression of the slave trade, partial as its effects may be, help?—It does not seem to have the effect.

5264. What proportion, in the rough, do you think it possible to introduce of coloured people in a ship of war's crew; for instance, do you think it practicable to introduce three-fourths of coloured people in a ship of war?—I have no doubt that that might be done, but you would first have to organise them, and bring them forward for that purpose.

5265. The question assumes that you think that finally it might be practicable to compose the persons on board a ship of war three-fourths of men of colour?—But still the effect would be the same if you kept white officers, because that one-third or one-fourth would just as much paralyse the proceedings as if you had them all white, or nearly so; for to make use of the blacks thoroughly, you would have to take them into localities where a white constitution, or European constitution, would not be proof against the climate, and therefore your officers being paralysed by the effects of the climate, it would not avail you to have the remaining three-fourths of the crew black; but if you had mulatto officers, it would be otherwise.

5266. What is the extent to which you conceive it possible to introduce coloured or country-born British subjects into the naval service on the coast of Africa?—I think it is only limited by the means used to bring them forward, because there is an abundance of them. That they would be found qualified, I have not a doubt, if they were sufficiently educated, and brought up for the purpose. The mulattoes are not deficient in bravery, from what I have seen.

5267. Then you would not scruple to go to sea in a British man-of-war yourself in which all, with the exception possibly of a few of the leading officers, were coloured subjects?—I would not hesitate at all; I conceive that they are capable of being brought forward for any purposes that we may require.

5268. Then you have not formed any opinion of any infirmity existing in the coloured man in any of his gradations to the European?—No; I think that he is capable of rising to almost any point in civilization; we may judge from the people in the interior of Africa, who are essentially negro, and yet have wise institutions; they have shown that if they had had more frequent communication with civilized nations, they might have risen to the highest point of civilization.

5269. Then you believe that the pure negro from the interior is endowed with the same faculties of progression as the European?—I have come to that conclusion after looking at the subject carefully.

5270. And that he is not deteriorated by any admixture with the European?—No, I do not think that it has that effect; in fact, I should say that it has a tendency rather to improve him in this way, that a man who has a slighter shade of colour feels himself one grade above the negro. He therefore has an inducement to use any latent intellect or any opportunities that he may have, as well as the use of his own endeavours, to advance himself. But hitherto, the blacks, by comparing themselves one with another, have had no standard by which to rise. Even if you examine the chiefs, you find them so ignorant and so uncivilized (I speak of those in the littoral parts of Western Africa), that they have no inducement to advance one beyond the other. They have only the white man as a standard to go by, and they say that of course he *savies* too much.

5271. Have you ever observed any difference between the Mahometans and the Pagan natives of Africa?—I have. At Idda, one of the places which we visited on the Niger, a great many of the inhabitants are Mahometan Pagans. There is scarcely such a thing as a pure Mahometan throughout the whole of that part of Africa; they profess Mahometanism, but it is admixed with Paganism in different forms. I have also had an opportunity of comparing the Mahometan Foulahs and Mandingoes at Sierra Leone.

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5272. Sir R. H. Inglis.] In answer to certain questions relative to the state of the coast from which slaves might be exported, you appeared to desire that the Committee should understand, that at least for 160 miles north of the Line, where Whydah and Popo are situated, the coast is open to the embarkation of slaves from every point; is there one point at which slaves can be embarked without the intervention of canoes?—There is no part of that coast that I am aware of where slaves can be embarked without them.

5273. Are such canoes carried by the slavers from the Brazils to the coast of Africa, or are they procured on the coast?—They must be procured on the coast. I have not heard of their being carried.

5274. If procured on that coast, so far as the slave trade in the Bight of Benin or the Bight of Biafra is concerned, are they not got exclusively at two or three places at Cape Coast?—I should think not; I cannot answer that question from any facts of my own; I know that they have remarkably fine canoes at Cape Coast and all along there.

5275. Are you aware of their being procured in any other place than Cape Coast?—No, I am not aware.

5276. Are you aware of there being such a surf on the coast, that, except in boats of very peculiar and skilful construction, the attempt to land or embark slaves would be especially hazardous?—I have reason to believe from what I have seen at the different localities where there is surf, that the form of the canoe does not make so much difference as the dexterity acquired by the inhabitants. The canoes of those Kroomen who live on that part of the coast where there is continually surf breaking, are such that no Popo or Whydah men could attempt to go off in them through the surf. Then off Cape Coast there is a kind of canoe differing from the Kroomen canoes. The Cape Coast canoe is essentially different; it is flat-bottomed, and the whole configuration is different from that of the Kroomen canoe. I have seen them all, and I think it makes no difference as to the manufacture or shape of the canoes; it is the dexterity acquired by the natives in the use of the canoes.

5277. In point of fact, the slaver is dependent on the canoe for the embarkation of its slaves?—There is no doubt of it, unless they go inside the rivers, where they can make use of a flat-bottomed boat, which most of the slavers take with them; they have a sort of launch on deck which is more or less flat-bottomed, and intended for shallow water.

5278. Your answer applies to the case of barracoons on rivers?—Yes.

5279. Your former answer applied to the outside coast generally?—Yes.

5280. And with respect to the outside coast generally, you wish the Committee to understand that without the use of canoes constructed on the spot, slaves cannot be embarked in vessels lying outside?—That is my impression.

5281. That they do not, in other words, carry generally those boats, which are essential to the embarkation of slaves?—I have never heard that they do carry those canoes. As to a boat, a boat would be of no use on any part of that coast, and I have not heard that the Brazilians take canoes.

5282. Can you suggest any mode by which the supply of such boats or canoes to vessels generally could be limited, by registering them, or in any other way?—I cannot; because, even if the slaver had no boats, she could always find native canoes.

5283. The question had reference entirely to native canoes?—I should think that it could not be done, because it would come to this, that even if the whole of the canoes were registered, or even if you proceeded still further and destroyed them all, the Brazilians would not be long in having proper canoes for the purpose of bringing off the slaves. It would only oblige the Brazilians to bring the canoes with them, instead of finding them on the spot.

5284. Lord H. Vane.] In point of fact, those canoes, I understand you to say, are constructed on the coast, and not brought by the vessels?—They are not brought by the vessels; they are constructed on the coast.

5285. And you do not apprehend that there would be any difficulty on the coast in constructing a sufficient number for the purpose required?—I have no doubt that they would be constructed according to the demand for them, according to the actual wants.

5286. That presupposes that there is a facility of construction. You do not imagine that there would be any practical difficulty in the construction of a sufficient number for the purpose?—I have not the least question of it, judging from what

what I have seen in every part of Africa which I have visited, and especially in the Niger. They had an abundance of canoes, and could have increased the number to any amount if they had felt the necessity for it.

5287. They are all quite capable of bearing any surf which may exist on that coast?—There is no doubt of it, any surf.

5288. You think that there are sufficient means in the use of those canoes to overcome any difficulty which otherwise would arise from the greatness of the surf?—There is no doubt of that. I can speak from actual facts. Taking the three localities which I know the most of, namely the Kroo Coast, the Cape Coast, and Popo and Whydah, the canoes of each of them are differently constructed from those of the other, and yet answering all the purposes required of them in passing through surf; yet they are essentially different in shape.

5289. Therefore, in point of fact, it would not be necessary to have any register; there could not, in fact, be any register. Inasmuch as the canoes would be constructed on the spot, there would be no register, and no necessity for a register anywhere?—I do not see how any register would apply to them at all.

5290. Inasmuch as the natives would make a particular number for each particular occasion. They are of no great value, I presume?—The labour is immense in making them. But even if they were registered, a registered boat could be as well employed in slaving as in fishing.

5291. But there would be no object in registering them, would there?—I should think not.

5292. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] If the British Government gave a free passage to the West Indies from the coast of Africa to all Africans of the Negro race, and guaranteed a free passage back at any time when they might choose to demand it, do you, or do you not, think that the Negro, so far as you know his habits and inclinations, would avail himself of the opportunity of improving his condition?—I think that, to a very fair amount, you might obtain emigration on those terms; I speak now of the Kroomen. I think that you might get a tolerable amount of Kroomen.

5293. You say “a tolerable amount of Kroomen;” what amount do you include in that phrase?—I could scarcely say. I should think that 5,000 or 6,000 Kroomen might be obtained. It being quite a novelty to the Kroomen, they might be rather averse to it at first; but I have no doubt that after a few years they would just be as much reconciled to it, as they are now to the periods of service on board ships, namely, four, five, or six years.

5294. From your experience of the Kroomen, are you enabled to state to this Committee that they are admirable sailors?—They certainly turn out remarkably well as sailors.

5295. Are you aware of their habits on land; are they equally qualified for prædial service on shore?—I think the Kroomen are. We must make a distinction between the Kroomen and the Fishmen; the Kroomen are better adapted for prædial service than the Fishmen, who spend a great part of their time on the water, and are rather more averse to the duties of farming and land occupations.

5296. Would 5,000 or 6,000 be the utmost, do you suppose, that could be induced to embark from the coast of Africa to the West Indies, even under the favourable terms suggested as possible in a former question?—I think that at first there would be a difficulty, which would restrict it to that number or less; but that eventually the number might be very much increased. It would be a novelty, and until the Kroomen were acquainted with it, they would be perhaps averse to going in a much larger number than I have stated; I think that that number might be acquired from the Kroo Coast, and that when it had been fairly tried the numbers would increase.

John Bramley Moore, Esq., called in; and Examined.

5297. *Chairman*.] YOU are a Merchant, I believe, residing in Liverpool?—

J. B. Moore, Esq.

I am.

5298. Under what name are your business transactions carried on?—John B. Moore & Co.

5299. Have you been in Brazil?—Yes, I resided there nearly 14 years.

5300. When did you leave Brazil?—I left Brazil in 1835.

5301. You are chairman of the Brazilian Association of Liverpool, I believe?—

I am.

0.53.

5302. What

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5302. What is the object of that association?—The object is, the protection of anything relating to the trade connected with Brazil; to make representations to the Government on anything that we have to complain of in Brazil, connected with the commerce of the country.

5303. During the time that you were in Brazil, had you any opportunity of observing the operation of the slave trade?—Yes; I was there during the time of its greatest activity.

5304. In what year was that?—From 1822 up to the time when I think the legal traffic ceased, in 1830 or 1831, I forget which.

5305. Do you consider that to have been the period of its greatest activity?—I should say so; particularly the last portion of it, from 1828 to 1830, when great quantities were imported.

5306. In anticipation of the closing of the trade?—Yes.

5307. Have you given your attention since to the proceedings of the slave trade?—More or less; being connected with the country I must know more or less what has been going on in it.

5308. According to your information, is the slave trade now carried on with activity?—No doubt of it.

5309. Does it appear to you that the British squadron interposes any serious obstacles to the proceedings of the slave trade?—No doubt it does to a certain extent, but the supply must be, I should say, almost equal to what it was formerly, judging from the price, which I take to be a fair criterion. I think a larger number of slaves must be embarked on the coast of Africa, from the amount which we suppose to be landed in Brazil.

5310. What do you understand to be the price at present in the markets of Brazil?—The present price is about from 45*l.* to 50*l.*, and in 1845 the price was from 75*l.* to 80*l.*

5311. Then it appears that there has been a very considerable depreciation in the value of slaves in Brazil?—Very considerable.

5312. To what circumstance do you attribute that fact?—I can only attribute it to one fact, an increased supply.

5313. The supply increasing on the demand?—The supply increasing.

5314. Are the productions of slave labour in Brazil in high demand at the present moment?—They are very low at present.

5315. Sugar?—Sugar is low, and coffee also is very low; in fact every article of produce from every part of the world is exceedingly low at present.

5316. Do you attribute that to the circumstances which have produced an universal depression, or is there anything peculiar in the position of Brazil at this moment which would lead to that depression?—I attribute it entirely to the universal depression, to circumstances unconnected with Brazil in particular, because the production of Brazil as regards sugar, I am inclined to think, has rather decreased the last year. I received returns yesterday from some of the northern ports, which were to have followed me by post, and I am sorry to say I have not got them. I will furnish them to the Committee. As regards the production in Rio Janeiro, there is a decrease in the export of sugar in 1847 from 1842, of 2,947 cases.

5317. Do you look upon that as a temporary check given to the production of sugar, or is it the result of the commercial derangement which is prevailing all over the world?—I was going to state at the same time, that the production of coffee has very greatly increased. That although sugar has diminished in Rio Janeiro, the production of coffee has increased 300,000 bags for the same years. The production of coffee in 1842 was 1,331,000 bags, and in 1847, 1,611,000; therefore that shows an increase of 300,000 bags.

5318. Has not the last packet brought an account to England of an unusual activity in the slave trade?—She has.

5319. How do you reconcile that with the fact that the price of slaves has fallen so much in the Brazilian market?—The greater the quantity imported, of course the lower the price will be.

5320. Do you expect that in case of a continuance of this fall in price, the slave trade would continue to be in a state of activity?—I should think so, certainly, as no effectual check is put to it by the cruisers, unless some check were put to the importation of slaves in Brazil.

5321. Do you think that notwithstanding the fall in price, there would be
a sufficient

a sufficient profit left to induce the slave traders to continue their operations?—I should think so. J. B. Moore, Esq.

5322. Is the slave trade carried on with comparative impunity?—On certain parts of the coast no doubt it is. 23 May 1848.

5323. I am not speaking of impunity as regards the Brazilian government, but as regards the efforts made by Great Britain to repress it?—No doubt of it; and there is greater security to the parties who enter into it now, because the slave dealers can insure their cargoes; but for some years they could not do anything of the kind after the legal traffic had closed; they had to do it entirely at their own risk. Now there are insurance companies, or mutual assurances entered into, and the parties therefore do not care about losing a vessel.

5324. Are those transactions recognised by the law?—I cannot say that they are recognised by the law, for I think they are not; but it is the fact that they exist.

5325. It is practically a security to the party engaging in the trade?—No doubt of it; but I believe he could not recover in case of loss; if he tried it in a court of justice I believe he would have no redress.

5326. Where are those insurance companies?—They are in the different ports; Rio Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco, but I should say principally in Rio Janeiro.

5327. They are confined to Brazil?—They are confined to Brazilians and Portuguese, I believe.

5328. Did you ever hear of any insurances being effected in countries other than those belonging to the Brazilian crown?—Never, nor do I believe that it could be done.

5329. Do you know anything of the rates of premium?—I do not.

5330. Has the operation of our cruisers, and the other machinery which we have called into action for the purpose of repressing the slave trade, produced any kind of irritation between the people of Brazil generally, and this country?—No doubt it has, but not so with many Brazilians; many of the better classes of Brazilians are exceedingly anxious that the trade should be put a stop to. With respect to many intelligent Brazilians that I am well acquainted with, I know nothing would please them better than for some effectual mode to be adopted to put an end to the trade. I might mention such men as Dr. Saturnino.

5331. He has a place in the Brazilian Chambers?—Yes, and Orlando Cavalcanti; those are names well known in England, and I believe that they would do anything in their power to co-operate to put a stop to the trade, for they not only look upon it as an evil in a political point of view, but also on the higher ground of morality.

5332. In what respect do they regard it as a political evil?—Apprehension from getting too great an excess of black people in the country.

5333. What is the present condition of our commercial intercourse with Brazil; do we carry on our transactions under any disparaging circumstances, as compared with former times?—No, I am not aware that we do.

5334. Is there not a higher tariff in operation in Brazil?—But it is general; it is not applied specially to this country. Formerly we had a protecting duty there; British manufactures paid 15 per cent., and all foreign nations paid 25. I think that was done away with in 1826; since that time, all nations have been on an equality.

5335. Is it understood that the British Plenipotentiary, who recently visited Brazil, has been successful in his purpose?—No; he is on his return now.

5336. And it is understood that he has not succeeded?—He has not succeeded.

5337. Viscount *Brackley*.] What was his purpose?—At present we have no treaty with Brazil; several attempts have been made to effect treaties with Brazil, and so far they have all failed. One reason that has given great offence is the Act passed by the British Legislature respecting slaves; I think an Act brought in by my Lord Aberdeen.

5338. *Chairman*.] In 1845?—In 1845. That has caused a good deal of irritation, and I think that if that were done away with it would remove a great difficulty in making a treaty.

5339. Do you know the nature of the provisions of that Act of Parliament?—I believe it makes it piracy to enter into the slave trade. It is already piracy by the Brazilian laws, but it has never been acted upon by the British cruisers.

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5340. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You have stated that there has never been any case of a conviction of piracy in consequence of slave trading in Brazil?—No, I am not aware of any. There are very few Brazilians, in the first place, that are taken in acts of piracy, because most of the vessels and most of the slave trade is carried on by other nations; or under other flags.

5341. *Chairman*.] Does it appear to you that the British squadron has succeeded in its object?—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.

5342. In what respect do you consider that the evils have been aggravated?—By increasing the sufferings of the negroes. It is natural, I think, that it should be so, because, when the trade was legal, and the parties were not obliged to sail the vessels in the manner they do now, they had more time and paid more attention to the health and care of the negroes than is the case now; they have to do everything by stealth, and to carry off the slaves without having the time to make such arrangements with respect to their water and provisions as they otherwise would. They also are tempted to put a much greater number on board in the same space than they did when the traffic was legal. I have seen cargoes of slaves very often landed when the traffic was legal, and with so trifling an amount of sickness as not to be worth notice, and I have seen cargoes landed without any at all.

5343. Mr. *Cardwell*.] That was in former times?—In former times; that was when the traffic was legal.

5344. Viscount *Brackley*.] Are not some of the higher classes in Brazil indirectly connected with the slave trade; quite the upper classes?—I should say very few; it is not the Brazilians generally who are directly connected with it.

5345. *Chairman*.] By what people is it carried on chiefly?—Principally by Portuguese resident in the country, that have been naturalized, and some that are not naturalized.

5346. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Do you think that there is any spreading and increasing desire for the abolition of the slave trade in Brazil?—I should say decidedly yes, among the more intelligent Brazilians, such as I have mentioned; and I know that those feelings exist amongst a considerable part of the deputies, that is the members of parliament there; but they have very great difficulties to deal with. Such is the difficulty with so small a navy on a line of coast about 1,000 leagues in length, that in fact it would be an impossibility to prevent the landing of slaves on the coast, when the population is so thinly scattered that parties can fix themselves in particular localities, and the slaves can be landed at almost any time, on a coast like Brazil, where you can calculate upon the winds, and generally moderate weather.

5347. Recognising, as every one must do, the difficulties which you state, do you think that there is any chance of either the abolition or the mitigation of the slave trade proceeding from a change in the moral sense of the community?—That is a very difficult question to answer, because the labour of the country is entirely dependent on slaves throughout the country, and unless some arrangement were entered into by the government to free the slaves born after a certain date, I do not know how it could be brought about in the country; because, as to freeing the blacks in the country, and giving compensation to the owners, that I look upon as quite out of the question, besides the great danger of the experiment.

5348. Are many negroes bred in Brazil?—There are more bred now on the coffee estates than there were; but I should say, on the whole, not many. There has been a very large increase in the produce of coffee, because they can turn children more to account on coffee estates than they can in almost any other employment; children of very tender age can go and pick the coffee.

5349. If there were more equality of the sexes when the slaves are introduced into Brazil, there would be a possibility of a very large native black slave population growing up there?—Yes; and I should say that there are more produced now than there were some years ago, because it was not so much a consideration some years ago. The slaves generally in Brazil are treated with the greatest possible kindness. I may state that as the general rule throughout the country, and that harsh treatment is the exception.

5350. You are not aware of any distinct establishment for the breeding and sale of home-born slaves?—No, I am not.

5351. *Chairman*.]

5351. *Chairman.*] What, in your opinion, would be the consequence to the slave trade of the removal of the British squadron from the coast of Africa?—That is a very wide question, and very difficult to answer. I think there is no doubt, that if the slaves were allowed to be taken without the intervention of the British squadron, they would be taken as they were formerly, with a great deal less suffering, and the trade would increase, probably, to a considerable extent. If that should be the case, I should say it would be attended with great danger to the empire of Brazil, to its existence as a nation, and it ought to excite a great deal of apprehension, and I have no doubt it would do so in the Brazilian government.

5352. Would it not probably excite apprehension in the minds of persons of property and intelligence in Brazil?—I have no doubt it would; I know that that feeling exists now to a very great extent, and more especially in the northern ports; not so much so in the southern, because in the northern ports, in Bahia particularly, and Pernambuco, the blacks are principally from the Gold Coast, and principally of the same religion, and speak the same language. There is more unity of action among them, and there have been several attempts at a revolution there, made by the blacks. This does not exist in the southern states, on account of the immense number of different nations that are imported there, and all of them jealous of one another. You never can have the same unity of action where there are so many black nations mixed together, as in Rio Janeiro, that you can in the northern ports.

5353. Is it not probable that a knowledge of the fact that their safety against an insurrection of this large black population depended upon their own exertions, would lead the government and the people of Brazil to take the precautions necessary for their safety?—Yes; I have no doubt they would do it, but it is an extremely difficult matter for them. There are people on the coast where you have no access to get at them, where you have no authority, and these parties established themselves there to receive the slaves that are landed. You have no means of enforcing the law there, because you could not send any officer there to execute any process against the parties; that would be an impossibility; his life would not be safe; there is no population to protect him, nor any security in his going there.

5354. *Mr. Cardwell.*] You mentioned that there had been a very considerable diminution in the price of slaves in Brazil within the last few years?—From 1845 to 1847.

5355. You attribute that to the very great increase in the number of slaves imported into the Brazils?—I do.

5356. To what do you attribute that increase which has taken place so recently; to any particular changes of a commercial character?—That may have some influence, but the slave dealers are constantly on the look-out as to the best means of obtaining their slaves, and at particular periods there will be a greater chance on one part of the coast of Africa than another, and they may get a great many off. They may be on the look-out, as I know is frequently the case; they may have their slaves ready for a long time and not be able to get them away at all. I remember once meeting a slave dealer in Monte Video by accident in the streets there. He came up and spoke to me, and told me that he had landed some slaves near Maldonado, and that he had waited on the African coast a long time before he could embark them; therefore he might possibly have lost his chance altogether. This, together with perhaps other commercial causes, might induce more vigorous attempts to get a great supply of labour.

5357. What other commercial causes would you particularly refer to?—I think it is probable that the alteration in the sugar duties might have had that influence, because a fresh market was opened for Brazilian sugar which had not existed before, and the planter would naturally calculate, “now there is a very great field open for me, and I shall endeavour to produce more sugar than I did in previous years.” I think that that would naturally operate upon the numbers imported.

5358. Of course the active prosecution of the slave trade depends upon the remuneration to the slave dealer, and the remuneration depends upon the price; does the circumstance of there being so considerable a fall in price at all encourage the belief that the slave trade would be checked by the diminished remuneration, or do you consider that even at the lower price there is an ample stimulus

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stimulus to slave dealers to carry on the trade?—I should say that there is ample remuneration at the present price to induce parties to carry on the trade.

5359. Then do you think that there is in the question of price any natural limit to the carrying on of the slave trade, to which we may be considered to have nearly attained?—I should say not yet; I should say that you have not approximated that point; but of course the price will regulate the amount of the trade. The moment that you come to a point where the trade is not remunerative, and I should say largely remunerative, of course parties will not embark in a business attended with so much risk and danger.

5360. But still you think that there is an ample margin yet for the active prosecution of the slave trade with a prospect of remuneration?—I think so.

5361. Then unless political reasons operated upon the government of Brazil to induce them to put down the slave trade, you do not see any early prospect of its attaining its natural limit?—No, I do not indeed.

5362. And those attempts on the part of the Brazilian government you think would probably be unsuccessful from want of power on their part, even if they were sincere in making them?—Yes, I have no doubt they would. I may mention an instance to show the sincerity of some of the Brazilians, and their desire to do what was right in the matter. I remember a case that occurred about the time the legal traffic was closing, of a vessel which was making her last trip, and when she was in one of the ports on the coast of Africa, I forget the port now, the captain invited on board some of the princes, and several of the principal men connected with the place, to give them a dinner. As soon as he got them on board, and down to dinner, he slipped his cable and made sail; he brought those men, along with the remainder of the cargo, to Rio Janeiro, and exhibited them in the slave market, there to sell them. I was told of this circumstance, and went to the slave market myself to see these men, and I was surprised to find that one of them addressed me immediately in very good Portuguese, and another addressed me in English, telling me where they had been brought from; that they were not slaves, and how they had been taken. The circumstances under which they had been brought were represented to the Brazilian government, and the whole of those men were sent back to the coast of Africa, to the same port, in a Brazilian brig of war, by the Brazilian government. That I give as a proof that, when they have the power, they have a desire to do what is correct with regard to the Africans themselves.

5363. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Was the captain punished?—The captain ran away or he would have been punished.

5364. *Mr. Cardwell.*] Does your knowledge of the Brazils suggest any other mode by which the slave trade could be discouraged, the squadron being inefficient and the Brazilian government being powerless?—It would be very difficult. I can only speak to the fact that the present mode of putting down the trade is a most inefficient one, and has added greatly to the cruelties practised, and made the middle voyage worse than it was before. To suggest an effective remedy would be a very difficult thing, but I do think that it would be possible to enter into some arrangements which might put a stop to it by entering into engagements for taking the negroes over as free labourers; that if they were engaged as free labourers, and taken to Brazil, some arrangement might be entered into to secure and protect those parties by letting them know, and having it well explained in their own language, that they were free; that they would be apprenticed for a period of five years, or any other term; that they would receive monthly wages, and were entitled to such and such allowances. I think that something of that kind might be successfully adopted; but unless there should be a sufficient number to be a protection one to another on the different estates, it would fail entirely; because when you go on a sugar estate, where there are 200 slaves, if there should be five or six only sent in this manner, they would be lost; they would be nobody, without protection, and the thing would fail entirely.

5365. They would become slaves?—They would, in point of fact, become slaves, like the apprenticed slaves; but if there were a sufficient number on each estate, if on an estate with 200 blacks, you were to get 20 or 30 of the hired men on the same estate, those men would always hang together, and would be banded together, so as to prevent anything of that sort, and they would always be sufficiently strong to represent their grievances, and to prevent their being
made

made slaves, and merged as they have been hitherto, when smaller numbers have gone.

5366. Then, if I rightly understand your answer, it would be necessary to supply the labour market of Brazil with free labour, so as to reduce the price of slaves, otherwise you are not sanguine as to the decrease and discouragement of the slave trade?—Certainly, you must supply it from some other source.

5367. In other words, your hope of the decrease of the slave trade is upon the diminution of the price of slaves?—Yes, no doubt of it.

5368. You have spoken of the effect of the Sugar Act of 1846 upon the produce of Brazil; can you tell the Committee whether the Brazilian merchants in this country expected so full a measure of free trade in respect of sugar as the Act of 1846?—I should say certainly not.

5369. Do you know whether the general opinion of the Brazilian merchants is that that measure was extended beyond the justice and reason of the case?—At the time that the measure was brought forward I was chairman of the Brazilian Association, and what we always sought was what we called an equitable adjustment of the duties; but we never sought for equality, to be put on a footing with our colonies; we always looked to some differential duty. I frequently came to London upon the subject, myself, and always stated that in every interview which I had, that if sugar, in Brazil, cost 17 s. to produce it, and 25 s. in the West Indies, 8 s. ought to be the differential duty; because, unless it be so, you ought to give free labour and every other means to the West Indies, to cope with Brazil, and other slave countries.

5370. In your opinion there was an injustice in exposing the West Indians to free competition without placing them in a position to maintain it upon equal terms?—Yes, I think so.

Jovis, 25^o die Maii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Barkly.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

John Bramley Moore, Esq. called in; and further Examined.

5371. *Chairman.*] THERE is, I believe, a very large and active commerce carried on between Liverpool and Brazil?—There is.

5372. What are those tables which you have in your hand?—I was asked if the alteration in the duties had not given an impetus to the production of sugar and cotton, and other things in Brazil; and I then put in a table from Rio Janeiro, which showed that there had been some decrease in the exports of sugar. I now put in two others; one from the port of Bahia, which shows a decrease there in sugar; and one from Pernambuco, with a return also of cotton, sugar, and hides for 1847 and 1845, which shows a very large increase in the production of sugar there.

[*The Witness delivered in the same, which are as follow:*]

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TOTAL SHIPMENTS of SUGAR, COTTON, RUM, and TOBACCO from the Port of *Bahia*, during the Years 1845, 1846, and 1847.

	1845.			1846.		1847.			
Sugar - - - -	<i>Arrobas.</i> 3,610,717			<i>Arrobas.</i> 3,125,702		<i>Arrobas.</i> 2,996,973			
	<i>Lbs. English.</i> 115,542,944			<i>Lbs. English.</i> 100,022,464		<i>Lbs. English.</i> 95,903,136			
Cotton - - - -	<i>Arrobas.</i> 64,304			<i>Arrobas.</i> 58,213		<i>Arrobas.</i> 56,522			
	<i>Lbs. English.</i> 2,057,728			<i>Lbs. English.</i> 1,862,816		<i>Lbs. English.</i> 1,808,704			
Rum - - - -	<i>Pipes.</i> 8,659	<i>Casks.</i> 1,297	<i>Total.</i> 9,956	<i>Pipes.</i> 9,743		<i>Pipes.</i> 6,237	<i>Barls.</i> 848	<i>Total.</i> 7,085	
	<i>Canadas.</i> 1,752,044					<i>Madidas.</i> 1,269,187			
Tobacco - - - -	<i>Arrobas.</i>			<i>Arrobas.</i>		<i>Arrobas.</i>			
	Leaf - -	- -	67,942	Leaf - -	- -	89,765	Leaf - -	- -	42,912
	Roll - -	- -	261,397	Roll - -	- -	171,862	Roll - -	- -	221,172
	Total - 329,339			Total - 261,628		Total - 264,084			

TOTAL SHIPMENTS of COTTON, SUGAR, and HIDES from the Port of *Pernambuco*, during the Years 1845, 1846, and 1847.

	1845.		1846.		1847.	
Cotton - - - -	<i>Arrobas. lbs.</i> 168,903 24		<i>Arrobas. lbs.</i> 73,511 21		<i>Arrobas. lbs.</i> 128,772 4	
Sugar - - - -	2,709,328 16		2,535,318 6		3,457,071 30	
Hides - - - -	Dry Salt.	Tanned.	Dry Salt.	Tanned.	Dry Salt.	Tanned.
	126,955	89,377	170,592	109,527	116,064	87,129
	Cotton.		Sugar.		Hides.	
					Dry Salt.	Tanned.
More in 1847 than in 1845 -	<i>Arrobas. lbs.</i> - - -	<i>Arrobas. lbs.</i> 747,743 14			-	-
More in 1847 than in 1846 -	55,260 15	921,753 24			-	-
Less in 1847 than in 1845 -	40,131 20	- - -			10,891	2,248
Less in 1847 than in 1846 -	- - -	- - -			54,528	22,398

5373. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do those show the shipments to this country only, or the shipments to all parts?—To all parts; those are the total.

5374. *Chairman*.] Is a considerable proportion of these exports sent to Great Britain?—A considerable part of the Pernambuco sugars have come to Great Britain. They are more adapted at present to the trade of Great Britain than the others, on account of the mode of packing. In Bahia and Rio they are packed in very large packages, great boxes that weigh nearly a ton each, and the buyers in England will not look at them, at least they have a great objection to them. Therefore that will account for more of the Pernambuco sugars perhaps

perhaps coming here than of the Bahia, with the exception of the brown sugars from Bahia which come for refining; they are preferred as refining sugars.

5375. *Mr. Barkly.*] Does the Pernambuco sugar come in bags, then?—In bags; the great proportion is in bags.

5376. *Chairman.*] In what year did the alteration in the sugar duties come into operation?—I think it has been in operation now two years. It was in 1845 or 1846; I am not sure. Orders went out in anticipation of it, to a considerable extent.

5377. How do you explain the fact that there was a falling off in the production of sugar in the province of Pernambuco in the year 1846, as compared with 1845?—The sugar crop is very often affected by the weather. Sometimes there are seasons of great rain, and the sugar is destroyed; very often the cane is allowed to rot in consequence of the state of the roads in the interior; they cannot get it to the mills. You may produce a certain amount of cane, but you cannot always produce a corresponding amount of sugar.

5378. Is it to a casualty of that description that you attribute the falling off of the production of sugar in 1846 as compared with 1845?—I should not attribute it to that entirely. There are other causes, which it would be difficult altogether to explain. The season might have been unfavourable to the growth of it, as well.

5379. *Mr. Barkly.*] The production of sugar could not be increased however, I suppose, in Brazil, in consequence of the passing of the Sugar Duties Act of 1846, for a year or two?—Not for one year.

5380. *Chairman.*] You stated that orders had been sent out in anticipation of that Act?—No doubt of it; I sent out orders myself in anticipation of it.

5381. Generally speaking, I suppose there must have been some effort in the way of anticipation made in Brazil?—I should think so.

5382. *Mr. Barkly.*] That anticipation however, I suppose, only dated a few months before the passing of the Bill?—It had been looked forward to for several years, that a change would be made in the duties, and no doubt attention would be directed to the increase of the sugar; but supposing sugar increased, unless they got an additional supply of hands the consequence would be that other produce would decrease, which was the case in Rio de Janeiro, that sugar decreased in the amount of the export, but coffee increased very largely.

5383. Then you think that at that time they were not sufficiently supplied with slaves to extend the cultivation of both articles at the same time?—They might have been, but not certainly to a proportionate extent.

5384. *Chairman.*] The extension of the cultivation, I apprehend, would depend upon two circumstances besides the productive power of land; the amount of labour, and the amount of capital which would be applicable to the cultivation?—Quite so.

5385. Is it your expectation as a merchant, that the cultivation of sugar will go on progressively increasing if the law remain in its present state?—I should think no doubt it would go on increasing, but as to the ratio it would be difficult to say; that would depend entirely upon whether it was profitable, or more profitable than any other article that the planters turned their attention to.

5386. At present it appears that attention has been in some degree diverted from the cultivation of sugar to the cultivation of coffee?—It has been so in the southern part of Brazil, and latterly it has been turned a good deal to it in Bahia; but there is this difficulty with the planter in turning his attention from being a sugar planter to a coffee planter, that with his sugar he has a certain annual income coming in, and if he should turn his attention altogether to coffee he gets no return for about three years, as it takes about three years before the trees begin to bear, that is, to bear so as to make any amount of fruit. The tree is in its greatest vigour and in its prime when it is from five to seven years old. I should say in the fifth year the coffee tree is in its full vigour, and it continues so, according to circumstances, for two or three years.

5387. *Mr. Barkly.*] Do they have only one crop or two crops of coffee in Brazil in the year?—One crop; but coffee is collected more or less the whole of the year: the bulk of it is not. There is, in fact, only one crop of coffee in the year.

5388. *Chairman.*] With respect to the cultivation of sugar, is the process going on through all the months of the year in Brazil?—More at one season than another, a great deal; there is a particular time when the crops come in.

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5389. Mr. *Barkly*.] At what time does the crop season commence?—According to the weather and the latitude entirely; it is from September till December and January in Pernambuco and Bahia. The hottest part of the summer is from November till February and March.

5390. But there is no particular part of the year that is specially devoted to taking off the canes; you are aware that in Cuba the crop season ranges from December to May, and that at no other time in the year is any sugar made in the island; is that the case in Brazil?—That is the case also in Brazil; it may go over a space of two or three months, and that is considered the crop season.

5391. *Chairman*.] You made some observations, when you were formerly examined, on the subject of the present duty imposed on Brazilian sugar; what is the amount of the duty imposed on Brazilian sugar during the present year?—I think the difference is now 7*s.*, but I am not quite sure. The amount that I stated as a protective duty, namely, the difference between 17*s.* and 25*s.*, assuming that to be the cost of slave-grown sugar, and of our colonial sugar, which was a rate of protection that I always advocated at that time, could not be considered altogether as applicable to the present time.

5392. Will you have the kindness to state why not?—Inasmuch as the differential duty is now 6*s.*, and orders have gone out all over the world based upon the existing duties, and no doubt also in anticipation of the 18*d.* reduction to take place in July; therefore I would not have it to be understood that 8*s.* could be safely adopted now as a protective duty; but it is my opinion that some differential duty ought to exist, and that the present declining scale might be arrested.

5393. At its present point?—It would be difficult to say exactly where, because some notice ought to be given. I myself have orders now out, which I expect to be executed and to arrive here probably in the month of June or July; and of course in sending out orders we took into account that the duties would be lowered 18*d.* in July, and that parties would expect to import those sugars with that advantage; but if notice had been given, I should have been very glad to have seen the descending scale arrested at 6*s.*

5394. Mr. *Barkly*.] You think that it would be an injustice to the importers of sugar in this country to make any sudden alteration in the duties which should raise the differential duty on foreign sugar?—It would be a manifest injustice to myself, having sent out orders as the law now exists, to bring in sugars at so short a notice, and not to be able to take advantage of the law as it now stands.

5395. Are you aware whether any consideration was given to the case of the importers of British plantation sugar in 1846, when the duty was changed at a few weeks' notice?—There was a great deal of discussion and a great deal of warning, so far as the discussion went, but I do not recollect the time of notice which was officially given out by the Government. But whether they gave any notice or not, that would not alter the question of injustice to existing orders now. If a wrong was done to the West Indian colonies at that time, it ought not to follow that we should suffer also now. I have no objection to the 6*s.* whatever, supposing that I had had a month or two months' notice to have altered my orders accordingly, which are now pending.

5396. But still it would not be more unjust to the importers of foreign slave sugar now to alter the existing duties without further notice, than it was in 1846 to alter the duties which then existed upon British plantation sugar?—Certainly not, if the time and circumstances are identical.

5397. *Chairman*.] With respect to the comparative quality of the British plantation sugar and the sugar of Brazil, which is the better?—There is a great variety of qualities in Brazil. Bahia sugar is preferred for refining; Pernambuco sugars are not worth so much by 1*s.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* a cwt.; I refer to the brown sugars; that is, taking the average of them, there is 1*s.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* difference. Then, again, there is a difference in the Campos and the Santos sugars. In every locality they vary exceedingly.

5398. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do you think that Brazil can grow sugar as cheaply as Cuba?—I should say not.

5399. Is not that shown by the fact that the production of sugar in Cuba has so very much increased in the last few years, to precisely the same markets that have been opened to the sugar of Brazil, while the productions of Brazil have not very largely increased?—Just so.

5400. *Chairman*.]

5400. *Chairman.*] The Cuban sugar I apprehend is superior to that of Brazil?
—It is.

5401. *Mr. Barkly.*] Are you aware that any extensive preparations for the increase of sugar cultivation have been made by the orders of the Brazilian government recently?—No, I am not.

5402. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Have you never heard that a large area, measured by square miles, rather than by acres, has been appropriated by the Brazilian government to the culture of sugar, under the calculation and expectation that increased profits to an immense extent will be the result of such appropriation, in consequence of the increased facilities open to slave labour for supplying the markets of Europe and the world?—I never heard of the government having done anything of the kind, nor can I see the object of it where there are such immense tracts of land that you may obtain them for a mere nothing, and take possession of them, and cultivate what you please. I could go there and get any amount of land I pleased for a mere nominal price, and cultivate it:

5403. *Chairman.*] When you speak of purchasing land, of whom would you purchase it; of private individuals or of the State?—The government would give you grants.

5404. *Mr. Barkly.*] The condition being the possession of a certain number of slaves, is it not?—No; they would not impose any such condition upon you. They might in certain localities, but I never heard of any such conditions.

5405. *Chairman.*] There is, I presume, a very large extent of land in Brazil, of the very highest degree of fertility?—No doubt of it; but then the expense of bringing it into cultivation is very great. To burn down the timber and to clear the ground is a very expensive operation. The timber is destroyed; you have no means of felling it and bringing it to a market, on account of the great expense. There are magnificent forests of the most splendid timber in the world destroyed.

5406. *Mr. Barkly.*] You set fire to the timber, and you then plant the canes between the stumps, do not you, for some years?—They generally plant maize and beans, and different things of a farinaceous kind, to clear the ground; that is generally the first thing.

5407. Is sugar cultivated on the same description of soil as coffee in Brazil, or is coffee cultivated on the mountainous parts?—No; coffee is grown very much on the sides of the mountains and the slopes; not at too high a temperature; but it is a very different soil from that on which sugar is grown. They select, wherever they can, the low lands and flat for the sugar.

5408. *Chairman.*] The object of the proprietors in Brazil, in importing slaves, is simply and solely to provide themselves with the means of cultivating their land?—Entirely, and for general farming purposes, because there are some breeding estates. The breeding estates do not require so many blacks to manage as an estate where they cultivate produce.

5409. If the means could be provided of supplying them with the labour necessary for such cultivation, without resorting to the slave trade, there would be no prejudice in favour of the slave trade?—Certainly not; but there are difficulties existing about that. If you could supply a sufficient amount of free labour, I think that all the intelligent Brazilians would prefer the free labour to that of the slaves.

5410. Are you aware that a proposal was ever made by the Brazilian government to the representative of the British Government in Rio, of the expediency of adopting some plan of converting the slave trade into a free emigration of Africans?—I do not know any particulars. I have heard something of the sort mentioned, but I do not know that any such proposition was ever made. I know that the Brazilians complain and say, that if you send free blacks to the West Indies, they ought to have the same privilege; and unless the same privilege is allowed to be enjoyed by Brazil, it would be difficult for them to believe that this was not carrying on the slave trade to the West Indian colonies under another name.

5411. Would it be possible, do you think, to introduce an immigration of free labourers into Brazil while slavery is one of the institutions of the country?—I think that it would be quite practicable, within a certain range of the great cities, that guarantees for the protection of those free labourers (the details of which it would be tedious to go into now) might be entered into between the two governments; but I admit the great difficulty of free labourers going a

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great distance into the interior, where you may say that a planter is lord of the district, and does what he pleases. It would be difficult for the law to reach him, unless there were a sufficient number of free labourers on each estate for them to protect one another, and to make any grievances known; it would be a very difficult thing to carry out in the interior, but within a certain range of the principal cities I think that it would be much easier.

5412. I think you stated that while there is a great demand for labour in Brazil, the only labour now known being that of slaves, neither the British Government with a squadron operating on the west coast of Africa, nor the Brazilian government by such means as are at its disposal, can prevent the slave trade?—I give it as my decided opinion that you cannot prevent it; that if you blockade the coast of Africa, you cannot prevent them taking away slaves from the coast of Africa. On the other hand, if they get away from that coast you cannot prevent them being landed in Brazil, because the length of coast is so great, nearly 1,000 leagues; there is in general moderate weather, and there are a great number of places, rivers and bights, where the slaves can be landed at almost any time, so that it would be impossible to prevent it. I think that may be best understood by the fact, that with our coast guard and the immense appliances which we have in England to prevent smuggling, yet you find that smugglers do succeed in running spirits and different things into England; and on a coast which is uninhabited, like Brazil, I look upon it as an impossibility to prevent it.

5413. Then if it be impossible to prevent the importation of slaves while slaves constitute the only means of cultivating the soil, would it not appear that the only means of preventing the slave trade would be by the introduction of their labour in another shape, namely, by free emigration?—Yes; I think that might be the means of preventing it, and in my opinion it is one which would be very desirable. Seeing that every attempt has hitherto failed, and that all our efforts have only increased the sufferings of the blacks, I think that some other expedient ought to be resorted to, and that this would be the best. It might be tried for three or four years, and then if it should fail I do not know any remedy except making the slave trade piracy, and hanging the captain and every person of the crew up at once; that would stop it. Then you would get embroiled with foreign nations if you did that; but I do not know any other mode of doing it if this free-labour experiment should fail.

5414. Has not the apprehension of embroiling this country with other States been the cause of our not proceeding to extremities with foreigners when engaged in the slave trade?—I should think that that is the reason, because we have a law now making it piracy, and it has never been carried into execution, so far as I know; but then I do not entertain the least idea that any other nation cooperates with you to put down the slave trade.

5415. According to your information, do other nations believe that we are entirely disinterested in the efforts which we are making for putting down the slave trade?—Yes, they do; and I have read some of the speeches of the Brazilian deputies, appealing and showing to the Brazilians the philanthropy and disinterestedness of the British nation.

5416. Is that opinion the prevailing one in Brazil?—I should say, by no means.

5417. Those are the exceptions?—Such an opinion prevails amongst the more intelligent; but in a country where a great deal of ignorance naturally exists, you cannot persuade the people that we should expend so much money without some interested object to gain.

5418. Viscount *Brackley*.] What object do they call it?—They cannot imagine that a trading country like England, whose object in everything that she undertakes, they say, is an object of gain, should embark and spend her money to put down the slave trade without some ulterior object of gain to England somewhere or other; they do not say where or how, but that is the impression which they have, that we have an object of gain to ourselves.

5419. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Is it ever suggested that our object is to put down the slave trade in order to free our own producers of sugar from the rivalry of those who produce it by slave labour?—Yes, and that is perfectly understood by a great many; but I am speaking now of the masses, that they do not go so minutely and deeply into the matter, and they run away with the impression that we have some other object than that of philanthropy.

5420. *Chairman*.]

5420. *Chairman.*] Would not that circumstance, a doubt of our own disinterestedness, explain in some degree the indisposition on the part of Brazil to co-operate with us in our attempt to put down the slave trade?—Some of the administrations of the Brazilian government have been exceedingly desirous to co-operate to put it down; and if they had the power, I have no doubt that such men as I mentioned when I was here on Tuesday would do everything they could to co-operate with you; but it is exceedingly difficult for them to execute the laws in certain districts of the country.

5421. You stated that the efforts of the British squadron were not successful, and were not likely, in your opinion, to be successful in putting down the slave trade. Supposing, instead of the squadron being manned as it now is, it were manned with blacks, do you expect that its success would be greater?—Certainly not.

5422. Will you explain your reason for that opinion?—I believe the object of having black crews would be, that they stand the climate better. So far it would answer; but if you had black crews, you would require white officers. If you had them entirely black, I do not think that the blacks, without a great deal of civilization, and more education than they have now, could carry on the discipline of a ship. Then they are naturally cowards. A black that has not mixed with whites, and obtained a certain degree of civilization, is naturally cowardly; and I think that you would never be able to carry on anything in the shape of discipline unless you had the blacks brought up and educated for many years under British officers.

5423. *Mr. Barkly.*] Is it not the fact, in the West Indian regiments, which consist of blacks enlisted from the coast of Africa, that under white officers they have very great courage?—That is just a case in point. I say that with white officers, and a certain degree of education, you make very good men of them; but if you take men who have not gone through a good deal of discipline, and received a certain degree of enlightenment, they are fit for nothing; they would not exist amongst themselves for a month.

5424. Is it not the case that officers in the West Indian regiments very much prefer enlisting native Africans who have had no previous training or discipline of any kind, to enlisting the creoles of the West Indies, who are civilized and have had their minds cultivated to a certain extent?—That may be; but then it is with the object of training those men. When you first got them they would be perfectly useless, in my opinion; but after a degree of training they become valuable, excellent men, and very courageous; and I dare say that they would prefer new men to train them from the very commencement, to having blacks of the country, who have acquired vices and a great deal of information rather calculated to destroy discipline.

5425. *Chairman.*] Supposing that the fleet were manned with Africans, and persons who are proof against the malignity of the African climate, would not all the evils which are now incidental to an armed blockade attend such a system?—As regards carrying on the trade, no doubt of it. The object to be gained by black crews would be that you would have a lesser degree of mortality in your ships; but I do not entertain the question for a moment that they would make the same vigorous efforts to put down the slave trade which the British crews would.

5426. Is it not the case that the more active and the more vigilant the blockading squadron becomes, the more cruel becomes the traffic itself?—Decidedly so.

5427. Are there many free negroes in Brazil?—Not a great number.

5428. What is the general condition of the free blacks?—Their condition is very good. When I say that there are not a great many, that is in proportion; it is a small section as compared with the mass of the population. In the cities, in Rio Janeiro there are a good many free blacks, and also in Bahia and Pernambuco; but as compared with the mass of the population, of course the number is very trifling.

5429. Some statement has been made to the Committee relative to the coffee carriers in Brazil; are they slaves, or are they generally free negroes?—A great many of the coffee carriers are free men; a great many of them are from the Gold Coast, and they not only are free but they buy the freedom frequently of others, and make them work it out. I know instances of my own knowledge of the coffee carriers, wherever they have a friendly feeling towards a man whom

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they know, perhaps a countryman of their own, joining together and buying the freedom of that man, and taking him into their gangs, and deducting so much a week from his wages till he has paid them back. Those men work very hard indeed, they are very industrious hard-working men; they do not work long, but it is very hard work as long as it lasts; their work ceases generally about two o'clock; they carry coffee for perhaps half a mile or three quarters of a mile, and they go at a sort of jog-trot almost; it is not an ordinary walk, they go very fast.

5430. Mr. *Barkly*.] When you speak of their buying the freedom of their countrymen, can a slave in Brazil demand to purchase his freedom as a matter of legal right?—No, he cannot demand it. That is the case in the River Plata.

5431. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Is the enfranchisement frequently made, or is it a rare exception?—It is frequently made by those men, but it is not applicable to the blacks generally in the city. This particular branch of work is carried on generally by blacks that are of the same nation, or known to each other; I should say that this is the exception.

5432. You have referred to the importation of African negroes, as intended for the purposes of cultivating the land in Brazil; will you state, with respect to the cultivation of land, what proportion are employed in the culture of coffee, and what in the culture of sugar; and again, what proportion are employed in working mines?—I could not give any accurate information as to the numbers employed in the different occupations of agriculture and mining.

5433. On a rough calculation, can you state that there are one third employed in mining, and two thirds in sugar cultivation?—I never considered the question, and if I were to give an opinion it might be very erroneous.

5434. Have you ever seen the slaves employed in mining operations?—No; I have not been in the mining districts.

5435. *Chairman*.] The proportion of those employed in the cultivation of sugar and of coffee you have already stated is very variable?—Yes.

5436. What is the general condition of the slaves in Brazil; are they well treated?—Exceedingly well treated. The general treatment of the slaves in Brazil I should say is the most humane and kind that it is possible to conceive.

5437. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Limiting your answer to the slaves whom you have seen, namely, those employed in agricultural cultivation?—On coffee estates, on sugar estates, and on breeding estates.

5438. Mr. *Barkly*.] Breeding estates are cattle pens, are they not?—Yes. They are treated in the most humane and kind manner; I should say that harsh treatment is the exception.

5439. Of course that must depend upon the personal disposition of the proprietor?—Yes; but generally they are perfectly happy and contented; they have a good deal of leisure of their own. There are a great many holidays there, and if you were to see them upon any estate on any of the Saint-days, when they are dancing and singing all the day and night, it would convey to you an idea that they are generally well treated and contented.

5440. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] The last answer, of course, applies only to the slaves on feast-days and Sundays?—That is the time when they have an opportunity of giving expression to their own enjoyment.

5441. You have, of course, seen the slaves employed in that tropical region in digging holes for the sugar cane?—I have.

5442. Has that been a season of anything but unmixed severe labour, greater in intensity and ratio than any agricultural labour in their own native country, or in any portion of Europe?—As regards their own native country, they do so little there that it must of course be much more than they do in Africa, because they do nothing there, or next to nothing; but comparing it with European labour, I should say that the comparison would be just as great between the labour done there and in Europe, as it is between the labour in Africa and of the negro in Brazil. I should say that any European labourer does five times, and more than that, the amount of work which any negro does in Brazil.

5443. Will you compare the negro in Brazil with the negro in the West Indies before the emancipation?—I have no means of judging of the West Indies except by what I read and what I hear; but as regards the labour of the negroes in Brazil compared with that of our labourers in England, the work which they do is comparatively nothing, it is only a per-centage of it.

5444. How many hours continuously are the negro slaves employed in Brazil at certain periods of the manufacture of sugar, day and night included?

—At

—At certain seasons of the sugar crop they must work of course longer; they must work early and late to get it in within a given time.

5445. How many hours of continuous labour does that imply?—I could not state the continuous labour; you mean, of course, as applicable to one individual?

5446. To one individual?—What I have seen would be from morning till night.

5447. Would you say that it was an exaggerated statement that a negro slave was employed 16 hours consecutively, a large portion of that time being under a tropical sun, and on a soil indurated by heat to a degree not known in Europe?—I should say that it would be physically impossible to carry on labour to that extent for 16 hours a day, for any length of time.

5448. Does not the system of the slave-trade labour imply that the human animal is to be worked up in as short a period of time, or as long a period, as he may last, the supply being unlimited?—I should say not; because, suppose that an owner had 100 slaves on an estate, as a mere matter of calculation, as a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence to the owner, he would not overwork those slaves so as to destroy their physical powers within a short time, as it would necessarily put him to the expense of a fresh outlay of capital to import others to supply their place. Therefore it would be economy to the owner that he should work them moderately, and make them last longer.

5449. Have you never heard that the life of a slave is worth no more than eight years' purchase in Brazil?—No, I have not heard that.

5450. How many years' purchase would you assign as the value of a prime slave landed in Brazil?—I could not answer that with any accuracy.

5451. Would you consider it an exaggeration to say that the life of a prime slave so landed is worth no more than eight years?—I should say that it would be worth a good deal more; the climate is healthy, and from my general observation they are not over worked.

5452. The question had reference, not to a domestic slave, but to a prædial slave, a slave employed forthwith in the operations of a sugar plantation?—I should consider it too low an estimate, but at the same time I have no returns, nor have I ever seen any statement to warrant me in speaking positively upon the point.

5453. Mr. Gladstone.] Have you never seen statements of the mortality on particular estates?—Not that I can bring to mind. There are estates which I have frequently visited, and I know that the mortality has not been great, but I have no accurate data.

5454. Mr. Barkly.] Is the mortality greater, do you think, on sugar estates than on coffee plantations?—I should think it was.

5455. Mr. Gladstone.] Materially greater?—I should think it was.

5456. Viscount Brackley.] How do you reconcile the condition of the slaves which you have described with the fact that such immense numbers are required and imported from the coast of Africa? If those numbers are not required to replenish the slaves that die off, what are they required for?—You have a country that is boundless in extent, you may say, all uncultivated land; you can go on extending your cultivation *ad infinitum*; in fact, you cannot put a limit, nor for many hundreds of years can you put a limit to the cultivation, nor thousands of years.

5457. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Then you consider that the annual supply is not so much to fill up the vacancies caused by slaves being used up, as to employ such imported slaves in the culture of fresh sugar plantations?—I should say so, that it is more to make fresh cultivation.

5458. Then any measure which checked the consumption of sugar wrought by such imported slaves would *ex vi termini* tend to diminish, and finally to suppress the importation of such slaves?—Certainly; to a certain extent it would.

5459. You were asked, in reference to a large area opened by the Brazilian government for the fresh culture of sugar, whether it were or were not to be measured, not so much by acres as by square miles, and you were understood to state in reply that you were not aware that the government had opened any such area for the culture of fresh sugar?—No, I never heard of it.

5460. It has been stated in evidence to this Committee, by a gentleman long resident

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resident in Brazil, and describing himself as an owner of slaves, that, "within the last year, as soon as it was known that the differential duty was to cease, the government immediately ordered two very extensive sections of country to be laid open for planters, in which they will give a quantity, apparently of from 500 to about 800 acres of land, to any person who is willing to take it up, who possesses over and above 50 slaves. Many have got grants there of 4,000 acres of land." Does this quotation bring to your recollection any circumstances of this character?—I never heard of it before.

5461. You have said that the extent of country, assuming it to be virgin soil, is almost interminable, and that the production of sugar there might be carried on for hundreds and even for thousands of years, assuming always that there is a demand?—I think so.

5462. If nothing but the demand be necessary, and nothing but slave-labour can supply the demand, is not the encouragement of a production so to be raised in such a soil the strongest encouragement to the slave trade which can be devised?—It is to a certain extent an encouragement, but before you can carry it beyond a certain point you require another element, which most of the planters going from Portugal to Brazil in the first instance possess on a very small scale, and that is capital; because a man cannot go and import 100 slaves with which to commence a sugar estate without having a considerable capital to pay for them.

5463. What proportion of capital employed in the Brazils is, so far as you are aware, supplied by other than native Brazilian subjects?—Do you mean by that capital directly supplied?

5464. Will you be pleased to answer the question in your own sense of the word, either directly or indirectly, or both, specifying, so far as may be practicable, the proportions of each?—It is my firm belief that no capital whatever is supplied by British subjects directly for the furtherance of the slave trade, or the carrying of it on.

5465. Not by Portuguese?—They carry on their own trade of course. The Portuguese, as they are concerned in the trade themselves, and I should say principally concerned, supply a large amount of capital to carry it on; no doubt of it.

5466. Can you state whether any natives of the United States supply any other portion?—I believe that there are Americans who are connected with the trade; I know that they have been, and I think it is likely that they are at this moment; in fact I have no doubt they are.

5467. Have you no reason to believe that any subjects of the crown of Spain supply any other portion of such capital?—I should think that they do, inasmuch as they are slave dealers themselves; therefore no doubt they do.

5468. Have you any reason to fear that any subjects of Her Majesty supply any other portion of the capital so employed in the slave trade?—I can speak as regards Rio Janeiro, of which I am a very old resident, that I believe that there is no Englishman there, no merchant, directly concerned in the slave trade at all; nor am I aware of any English merchants there, except two, at any period of time during my connexion with Rio, which is now upwards of a quarter of a century, having any connexion with it whatever; those two were naturalized Brazilians, and are now dead. Directly, I believe that there is not a British merchant concerned in the slave trade.

5469. Is there any slave-trade company, or any association with or without such designation, but practically engaged in supplying the slave market, such company consisting of persons belonging to other nations than Brazil itself?—There are certain parties in Rio that are associated together by way of mutual assurance to carry on the slave trade, and no doubt there are foreigners mixed up in it; but I am not aware of any specific society formed for that object.

5470. Are there any English, to your knowledge, who hold shares in these mutual assurance companies, by whatever name they may be described?—I am not aware of any, and I should be inclined decidedly to say no. I speak of the merchants; I do not believe that there are any British merchants there who hold any shares in anything of the kind. I am not aware of any; I never heard of any; and my belief is, that there are not.

5471. In

5471. In these answers, have you referred at all to any associations for mining purposes in which slaves are employed?—Not at all. J. B. Moore, Esq.

5472. Extending your answer to the subject now brought to your consideration, are you or are you not aware of any associations, in any part supplied by British capital, for the purpose of working mines in the Brazils, such mines being notoriously to be worked exclusively by slave labour?—When the mines were first established in Brazil, I was a resident there; and, in the first instance, I think that the parties connected with all the mines, certainly with the principal part of them, had to buy slaves, to take them up the country to work the mines. Some of those, I believe, were freed, and others were not; but that they took up slaves to work the mines, there can be no doubt about whatever, and that they bought them for that purpose. As to how they stand at the present moment, I am unable to say. I think there was a law passed in England about British subjects holding slaves at all. I know that we were permitted always to hold slaves for our domestic purposes; and after some measure, which was brought in, I think, by Lord Brougham, I know that we got rid of our domestic slaves.

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5473. Mr. *Barkly*.] With regard to mining companies, was not there a mode of evading the operation of that law, by hiring slaves nominally for 20 or 30 years, or something of that kind?—They bought them and paid for them the same as any other person would at that time; but what they have done since 1843 or 1844, I am not able to state. I believe that some of them were made free, and others have gone on, I should say, without making perhaps any change at all.

5474. You are not aware that they hire them nominally for life, instead of buying them?—I have heard of such things, but I cannot speak of my own knowledge.

5475. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Are there many cases in which the capital necessary for the cultivation of estates is advanced by Englishmen?—I should say not, for this very obvious reason, that there is scarcely any Englishman, who has any knowledge of the country, who would advance his money on a sugar estate, or a coffee estate, in the country, because he would know the very great risk that he ran of ever getting his money back, if he ever wished to get his money back; and if parties were inclined to be litigious, the Brazilian would have the advantage in point of law.

5476. Then it rarely happens, in your view, that slaves are purchased in the slave market of Brazil with British capital?—I should say decidedly not.

5477. You would not go so far as to say that it has never happened; but you are persuaded that the instances are very rare?—They are very rare. I have already stated that I know of two Englishmen who were, I have no doubt whatever, concerned in the slave trade; they were both naturalized; but I am not aware of any instance of Englishmen lending money for the purpose, either of carrying on the trade, or lending money on estates there. The security would be so doubtful, that I cannot imagine that any man having a knowledge of the country, and of the manner in which the laws are carried out, would enter into such a transaction.

5478. Mr. *Barkly*.] You have spoken of the state of the law in Brazil as regards the advantage on a mortgage. Has the mortgagor the same advantages under the Brazilian law as he enjoys in the Spanish colonies by the old laws which are in force, and which absolutely prevent the foreclosure of a mortgage on those estates?—No; the law is very good, but the difficulty is to execute the law. So far as the law itself goes, it is very much the same as the English law, but there are great difficulties, which it would hardly be proper in me to enter into and explain now, in carrying it out.

5479. In describing capital as one of the limits to cultivation in Brazil by imported Africans, you of course do not doubt that capital will flow readily to that quarter where the largest profits are yielded, and that, therefore, if the cultivation of sugar in Brazil be a very profitable thing, capital will be readily found?—Yes; but it will always be limited, because it would be limited to Spanish and Portuguese capitalists. I do not think that it would make capital flow from England for that purpose to Brazil. It might find its way in another mode; they might buy Brazilian stock, and give facilities of discounts there by a supply of money, but I do not think that it would go there with that object, nor do I think that Englishmen there would employ their money in discounting slave dealers' paper.

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5480. *Chairman.*] Is an Englishman permitted, by the law of Brazil, to hold real property in that country?—Yes.

5481. The slaves imported into Brazil from the coast of Africa, I believe are chiefly men?—I should say there are more men than women, certainly.

5482. Consequently the natural increase of the species among the Africans does not take place in Brazil?—No. It has increased more, I should say, on the coffee estates of late years than formerly, and one reason may be that the women can be usefully employed as well as their children; the children can be employed at a very early age. In fact, the children on a coffee estate may be employed at five, or six, or seven years of age without incurring any labour, by putting coffee together.

5483. Will not the circumstance of the absence of the natural increase of the species account in some degree for the necessity of a continual importation of slaves?—Certainly.

5484. Generally speaking, are not the Brazilians rather indolent themselves, and disposed to indulgence towards their slaves?—They are very indulgent.

5485. And indolent?—The men, in particular in some districts of the country, are very active and very energetic; in others they are rather indolent. I should say that the prevailing feeling would be rather indolence.

5486. Is public opinion in Brazil opposed to acts of cruelty in the treatment of slaves?—Yes, I should say that it is, that acts of cruelty are the exception. A stranger going into any of the cities, going into Rio Janeiro for example, is generally shocked to see the blacks that are occupied about the arsenal, and carrying water through the street, chained neck to neck, but then he does not know, and perhaps leaves the place without ascertaining the fact, that most of those men have been condemned for murders and crimes of various descriptions.

5487. They are, in fact, convicts?—They are convicts.

5488. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Does he ever see white persons employed in the same way?—I have seen such things, but it is rare to see whites.

5489. *Mr. Barkly.*] In stating that the general treatment of the slaves is humane, I suppose that their treatment depends upon the kindly disposition of the Brazilian proprietors, and not upon any protection which is afforded to the slaves by law?—Certainly.

5490. Are there any laws which do protect the slave population?—Yes; in Rio you must send a slave to a public place to be whipped, and the authorities inflict a certain number of stripes according to the offence; it is not left to the discretion of the owner to do it. In the country, on an estate, the owner is absolute, and he can exercise his own discretion as to the amount of punishment, but in the cities you cannot do it. This arises from his isolated position.

5491. Is the owner responsible to the law for the life of the slave in the event of his death?—Yes, he would be; but you may say that practically you could not bring the thing home and cause the law to have any effect in the interior.

5492. I think it follows, from what you said in reply to some of the questions which were put to you, that in proportion as the price of slaves is high, and the slave is therefore a more valuable animal, his master will of course take more care not to overwork him or illtreat him?—I should say naturally so.

5493. Then any measure which would increase the cost of slaves is in reality attended with beneficial effects in that respect?—In that respect I should say yes, because the slave becomes certainly more valuable. A common working slave may be worth 40 *l.* or 50 *l.*; one that has learned a trade, such as a carpenter, would sell according to his ability; he might sell for 150 *l.* or 200 *l.*; and a tailor in the same way, and every other profession. A man that has been brought up to a trade of course fetches a much higher price.

5494. The question referred rather to an artificial increase in the cost of slaves; do not you think, that although the squadron may not be efficient for putting down the slave trade, the means which it adopts to suppress the slave trade enhance the cost of slaves in Brazil?—Yes, it will enhance the cost of slaves in Brazil. Then, on the other hand, it increases the suffering of the slaves when they are first taken on the coast of Africa; the parties have to resort to so many different means to evade the squadron to get them away.

5495. But those who survive the voyage, and become enslaved in Brazil, are better treated in consequence of the higher price that is given for them?—The treatment

treatment generally is so good, that I am not prepared to say that they would have better treatment; but a thing that costs you more money, you would naturally give more care to.

5496. You stated that the Brazilians thought that it was a hardship for this country to encourage free immigration into its own colonies, and to refuse to recognise any system under that name in Brazil; does it not appear to you a very different question to carry free immigrants into Brazil, where slavery forms the ground-work of society, and to carry them into the British West Indies, where slavery not only cannot exist, but where commissioners from Brazil would be at perfect liberty at any time to assure themselves of that fact?—No doubt it would be, and there lies the difficulty in emigrants going into Brazil.

5497. Viscount *Brackley*.] Do you think that if there were no hindrance to the importation of slaves by the withdrawal of our squadron, it would induce the slavers to bring more women in proportion to the males than has hitherto been done?—I should doubt it.

5498. It does not depend upon the difficulty of transport; it is not for that reason that they bring so many more males than they do females?—No. If I had a coffee estate, and had no expectation of being able to import any more slaves, to buy them to suit my convenience, I should naturally desire to have more women upon it, in order to be rearing slaves myself upon it; but if I could go to a market and buy them at a low price just as my demand required, of course I should then like to do with fewer women, because I could supply my hands by buying new ones, men who are more efficient labourers than women.

5499. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do they lock up the slaves in barracks at night on Brazilian plantations, or do they lodge in their own houses?—Generally they have rows of houses, little cottages you may call them, or huts, and they are not locked up; those that I have seen are not locked up.

5500. *Chairman*.] If the labour market of Brazil were supplied by free emigration from Africa, the emigration of a parity of the sexes might be a matter of regulation?—Quite so.

5501. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] From your knowledge of Brazilian society, do you or do you not consider that popular opinion has, in relation to the slave trade at least, a very powerful influence over the Government?—No question it has a powerful influence.

5502. The Government have repeatedly endeavoured to suppress the slave trade?—Yes.

5503. So far as decrees or even motions in the Legislature can be considered as representing their mind?—Yes. And I may state that I know that the Emperor is opposed to the slave trade being carried on, and would co-operate with the Legislature of this country in any feasible plan which could be devised for its suppression; because I know that he is opposed to it himself both on political grounds and on the higher grounds of morality, both as a matter of feeling and on political grounds to the country.

5504. Even when the sovereign is from feeling and from principle disposed to suppress the slave trade, when his responsible ministers have pledged themselves in their several departments to suppress the slave trade, when the Legislature has entertained motions for the suppression of the slave trade, and when international obligations bind the Government of Brazil to co-operate with the Government of Her Majesty in the suppression of the slave trade, still is it not the fact that public opinion has thwarted all the endeavours of the sovereign, of his ministers, and perhaps of his chambers?—No doubt of it; that is the case.

5505. If, then, public opinion be so strong in the Brazils, do you or do you not consider that the public opinion would be stimulated to further resistance to the suppression of the slave trade if they were taught to believe that the object of Great Britain, in encouraging what she might call the importation of free negroes, were practically to supply her sugar plantations in the West Indies with that species of labour which alone can raise sugar in tropical climates?—Yes, unless they could be put on a similar footing, and get free blacks into Brazil. If they had the same privilege of taking negroes from the coast of Africa into Brazil, the ground of complaint would be removed; and if you granted them that privilege you would then have a very good ground to go upon to make it piracy, and to hang any captain or crew that you might find carrying on the slave trade, because there would not be the same ground for carrying it on that they have now; but they are denied the privilege of taking emigrants from the coast

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coast of Africa to Brazil. If they enjoyed that privilege, then I think you would be justified in going any length you pleased to put down the slave trade.

5506. You have stated that the Brazilians are at present denied the privilege of importing free negroes from the coast of Africa into the Brazils; is such restriction, so far as it may exist, the result of actual law?—It may not be actual law, but I know it to be the fact. There was a discussion about it, and the British Government would not sanction anything of the kind, because they said that it would be carrying on the slave trade, and that any vessels going from Africa, whether you might call the cargoes emigrants to Brazil or not, would certainly be captured and condemned.

5507. Supposing *pari passu* the two Governments of Great Britain and Brazil agreed upon a plan by which each should be permitted to import free labourers from the coast of Africa to the coast of Brazil or to the West Indies, as the case might be, do you see any practical difficulties in such regulations being adopted by each party severally as might insure the delivery of *bond fide* free labourers into the one country or into the other?—I think that a plan might be devised by which it might be successfully carried on to both countries; to the West Indies there can be no doubt about it, that it could be carried on successfully; because there there is not the mixture and the danger of introducing free labour among slaves. But the difficulty that would arise in Brazil would be from introducing free men on estates where there are slaves already. As I before stated, I think you might get a sufficient guarantee to protect them within a certain range of the cities, or the court, where the power and influence of the Government would extend; but it would be very difficult in the interior of the country, unless there were a considerable amount of those men upon each estate. If, for example, where there were 200 men on a sugar estate you were to send five or ten of the free labourers, they might be converted really into slaves; but if you had a larger per-centage of them on an estate, you would not be able to convert them into slaves.

5508. Is it not a practical difficulty, absolutely insurmountable, to introduce fractional portions of free labour, or nominal free labour, into a community where there are at this moment perhaps two millions of men of the same race held as slaves?—I should say not; it may be attended with difficulty, but I should say that it is not an impossibility.

5509. If you introduced many free men of the same race into a population where two millions are now held as slaves, would it not produce a tendency to insurrection, if not an actual insurrection, in the great mass of the slaves. If, on the contrary, you introduced a few, would not the few be themselves converted into slaves?—If you introduced a few, I think they would practically be converted into slaves; but if you introduced many, I should entertain no apprehension of their promoting an insurrection in the country. If I had an estate in the country and got a number of those free men, as soon as they were qualified I should make them, along with some of the best of my own men, the overlookers. The free men that are overlookers of the slaves are generally much more severe than the white men are, and so far from promoting insurrection amongst the slaves, I think that these free blacks would look upon themselves as superior altogether. I should not apprehend any danger on that score.

5510. The great object, however, of the importation of free men into the West Indian colonies of England has been to supply the place of slave labour, which no longer can by law exist, and no longer does, in fact, exist?—Yes.

5511. Does not that consideration alone make such a distinction between the two cases, that that which might be practicable and expedient in the one, would become impossible, or if possible, injurious in the other?—The one is very easy and the other I do not look upon as impossible. There might be difficulties, and there would, I think, be some difficulties; but if you concede the free immigration of blacks to the West Indies, Brazil, and other countries who are denied the importation of slaves might complain, and I think upon just grounds, if they were denied the same privilege of importing free labourers also; it would be a ground of complaint, and in my opinion a just one. If they did not carry it out faithfully, and maintain the independence of the men that they introduced as free labourers, then I think would be a proper time for the British Government to interfere to enforce it, or to stop the emigration altogether; but until the experiment has been tried, I do not see how it can be denied to any country

if you avail yourself of such means of supplying your own colonies with labour. *J. B. Moore, Esq.*

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5512. *Chairman.*] In recommending free emigration from the coast of Africa as a means of supplying the imperative demand for labour in Brazil, do you or do you not contemplate, as a necessary part of that system, the gradual emancipation of the slaves in Brazil?—Certainly; it would be one means of bringing that about. I think it would be perhaps the first step towards it; and if the money that is now expended, according to our experience, so uselessly in our squadron on the coast of Africa had been expended in conveying blacks to the West Indies, you would have done more perhaps to put an end to slavery than any other step that could have been adopted; because you would have, I should apprehend, a plentiful supply; and when you once got them there, I should not entertain for a moment the idea that any of them would wish ever to return. I know it is the case with the slaves in Brazil, that if you were to offer them all to return to Africa now, scarcely any of them would go, or so small a percentage as that it would not be worth naming.

5513. Do you think that it would be a very desirable means for this country to adopt, with a view to the extinction of slavery, to abandon the attempt of suppressing the slave trade by means of an armed squadron on the coast of Africa, and to apply a portion of the money which is now expended in that manner in conveying Africans to the West Indian colonies?—I have no doubt that it would be attended with much more beneficial results in promoting that object.

5514. *Colonel Thompson.*] Do you think that there is any disposition in Brazil to proceed at present towards the emancipation of the slaves?—There is a disposition on the part of many of the well-educated and more intelligent Brazilians to emancipate them.

5515. I do not refer to the imported Africans, but I allude to the mass of slaves who are there at present; is there any disposition to proceed towards a general emancipation of the blacks in the Brazils, by the Brazilians themselves?—I should say, if you take the mass, that there would be an indisposition. If you apply the question to the better educated and more intelligent Brazilians, there is certainly a disposition to emancipate; but the difficulty will be, how first to set about it. I allude to such men as Hollanda Cavalcanti, whom I mentioned the other day. I know that it is his desire to bring about emancipation, and to prevent the importations of slaves; the difficulty is how to accomplish it.

5516. Would that disposition be promoted by being bound up with any plan for the importation of free negroes from Africa?—Yes, I think it would. I have already answered questions similar in purpose to this. If you could devise a plan of importing them, I think that it could be carried out within a certain range of the government, but that in the interior of the country it would be difficult to introduce the free negroes, unless in considerable quantities on each estate, so as to give a security to them; otherwise, if they were in small numbers, they would merge with the others, and at last they would become slaves in fact, unless there were a good percentage on each estate.

5517. Do you think that it would be practicable for the English Government to conduct any negotiations upon the basis of joining the two things together, the emancipation in the Brazils with the introduction of free labourers from Africa?—I do; but I limit the answer to this, that I think it would be difficult and perhaps impracticable to make it apply to the present population, except to children under a certain age, or to children born after a certain date. I think that the Government might enter into some arrangement which would be effectual for carrying it out with the Brazilian government, but I do not see how it could be done as regards the present slave population.

5518. *Mr. Barkly.*] But there are very few births, I suppose, as there is so small a proportion of women?—Yes; but that is rather on the increase, I should say.

5519. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] You have referred to the money so uselessly expended on the squadron on the coast of Africa, and you have considered it expedient to apply such expenditure in the conveyance of what are called free labourers from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. Will you state to the Committee the grounds on which you regard such squadron to be a source of "useless expense"?—I consider it useless expense, inasmuch as the squadron

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has not effected the purpose for which it has been sent there and maintained, which was to put down the slave trade; it has not succeeded in that object; the trade is not put down; it is carried on to a very great extent; therefore, so far as that object is concerned, I consider the expenditure of the money useless.

5520. Do you regard it to have failed in suppressing in any part the slave trade previously carried on?—I consider that it may have succeeded in particular places, but that speaking generally it has not succeeded, because the slave trade will move from one place to another; as they find the difficulties increase at one place they will then remove it to another.

5521. If the squadron have succeeded in particular places in suppressing the slave trade, and if it be correct to state, as it has been stated, that between the years 1841 and 1843 it almost entirely extinguished the slave trade in some large divisions of the African coast, would it not be consistent with sound reason to say that by strengthening the squadron, doubling it, or trebling it, or retaining the same amount of tonnage and distributing that tonnage in different proportions, the result might be a greatly increased, if not a total and absolute success in the suppression of the slave trade?—If you increase the squadron of course you will increase the difficulties of carrying on the slave trade; but the more you increase it, in all probability the more you enhance the price of the slave, and as the price of the slave goes up you will find parties still embark in the trade, and you will find that they possess sufficient ingenuity to evade the squadron; that some of the slaves will escape, and that those who do not escape will be subjected to greater privations, as well as those who do escape.

5522. Is it or is it not consistent with your knowledge, being yourself an inhabitant of Brazil at the time, that the slave trade was almost completely suppressed from 1840 to 1842?—I am not quite sure as to the year, but there was a very great falling off at one time.

5523. Was not the falling off contemporaneous with the presence of a blockading squadron?—No doubt it was; but there might have been other causes operating at the same time.

5524. But if not cause and effect, the two were coincident in point of time, namely, the diminution of the slave trade and the presence of a squadron on the coast from which the slaves were exported?—There was certainly a falling off about that time; but there might have been other causes than the squadron, which I have no doubt there were.

5525. Will you be pleased to state any causes which occur to you?—Yes; there must have been other causes from the fact that the squadron, I think, has rather been increased than diminished since then, and the trade, instead of having diminished, has been rather on the increase.

5526. Lord *H. Vane*.] What year are you speaking of?—About 1841 or 1842. We must, therefore, look for other causes; and one cause may have been, that there was a great deal of commercial distress and a great deal of pressure in the money market; and I think it is very possible that the same causes may now be in operation, and may be felt in Brazil, and that there may be a falling off in the importation of slaves as the effects of the money market in Europe become felt in Brazil about this time.

5527. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Are you or are you not aware, not only that coincident in respect to time, in the years 1840-42, the slave trade diminished, the British squadron being of a given force off the coast from which slaves were exported, but that the slave trade increased in the next ensuing year, namely, 1843-44, when the British squadron was diminished by the draughts for the China expedition?—I am not aware of the fact, but I think it is a very natural effect.

5528. If that be so, does it not follow that the continued presence of a blockading squadron, which has been successful in preventing the slave trade in certain parts in certain years, might produce a corresponding result throughout the whole extent of that portion of the coast of Africa which supplies slaves, if it were the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government so to employ Her naval force?—No doubt it would have that effect to a certain extent; but I think it by no means follows that there are not better means of putting an end to the slave trade than by increasing the squadron for that purpose, because there are a great many other circumstances to be taken into account. There is the sacrifice of life in our own navy; there is an enormous expenditure of money in the maintenance of that navy; and I should turn my attention to see if I could not devise other means

means likely to be more effectual, without the sacrifice of European life and at a lesser cost of money; and I think that those means may be found.

5529. Have you read the evidence of the naval officers who have been examined before this Committee on the subject of the expediency of continuing the squadron?—No; I have not read any of the evidence, except a small portion of Lord Palmerston's.

5530. Have you seen the evidence before the Commission consisting of the Duc de Broglie and Dr. Lushington in the year 1845, on a similar subject, in which Captain Trotter, Captain Butterfield, Captain Sprigg, the Hon. Captain Denman, Captain Adams, and officers in the French navy also were examined on the subject?—No, I have not seen it.

5531. You are not aware that they concurrently recommended the employment of the squadron?—No, I am not aware of that.

5532. Taking your own observation and experience alone, do you, when you have admitted that the presence of the squadron and the diminution of the slave trade were coincident and contemporaneous, still think that the squadron had so little to do with the suppression of the slave trade, that the term "useless expense" is applicable to its employment?—Yes; I still think that it is applicable for the reasons which I have given, that a better mode of suppressing the slave trade is open to us and may be devised; and inasmuch as the squadron employed there has not put down the slave trade effectually, I consider the expenditure of the money useless. With reference to the squadron being there, I think that every officer at present is not responsible for the captures which he makes; that is, that he has no personal responsibility. We may capture a vessel which may not be trading in slaves, and the owner of that vessel may suffer great inconvenience and injustice, and of course be put to great expense. I believe that there was some Act passed a few years ago exempting commanders from any consequences; now I think that every commander of a vessel ought to be responsible therefore for his acts, and that he should not be allowed to capture vessels at his pleasure, and let them go without being responsible and amenable to somebody for it. I think that they would be cautious in not meddling with vessels which are employed in legal traffic, which occasionally they do.

5533. From such opinions as you have now given to the Committee, it is quite clear that if there be to be employed a squadron of Her Majesty's force in the Atlantic, you would desire that it should be employed on the coast of Africa, where there is little legitimate commerce to be so interfered with, rather than on the coast of Brazil, where there is much legitimate commerce?—On the coast of Brazil questions would arise between the two nations which might give rise to great unpleasantness.

5534. Therefore, if there be a squadron to be employed, you would recommend to this Committee that it should be employed on the coast of Africa rather than on the coast of Brazil?—I am not prepared exactly to say that, because, if you had an understanding with the Brazilian government, I think that you could employ your squadron on the coast of Brazil much more effectively than on the coast of Africa, taking into account that you are on a healthy coast, and that you are not exposing your officers and crews to the same amount of mortality. But then it would be necessary that you should have an understanding with the Brazilian government to do this. It is true that the slaves would be brought over, and they would have incurred the suffering of the middle passage, but that would be greatly diminished by the greater facilities of embarking the slaves when they were not watched and hurried in the manner that they are now; because a vessel may now have her water-casks on shore, and she may have the staves of water-casks and have to put them together; she may see or get intimation that there is a cruizer on the coast, and she may hurry the slaves off and go away with half the requisite quantity of water, or perhaps even less than that. She would not be hurried, and when she got on the coast of Brazil she would be more exposed, I think, to be taken, because you can see anywhere and approach almost any part of the coast.

5535. Would it or would it not be a fair conclusion from your evidence, that, so far as the last answers are concerned, you would recommend that the slave trade should be unrestricted in the interior of Africa, on the coast of Africa, and in the embarkation and the voyage, till the slaves should arrive near the coast of Brazil?—I would have nothing understood which should imply that I would do anything or say anything favourable to carrying on the slave trade, because

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I think it is a most horrible and detestable traffic. I am only mentioning this as a means of diminishing the amount of suffering to the slaves, and also of the mortality in our navy; and I say that you would be more likely to capture them on the coast of Brazil than on the coast of Africa. Anything that could be implied from what I have stated, to the effect that I would encourage or favour the slave trade, I would certainly disclaim.

5536. *Chairman.*] Do you find, as a merchant, that the vigilance of the British cruisers acting against the slave trade, has occasionally annoyed and obstructed the legitimate operations of commerce?—Yes.

5537. Are you acquainted with the capture of a vessel called the “Guiana”?—Yes.

5538. Will you state the circumstances of that capture?—It is a vessel in which I myself was interested,

5539. Where was she taken?—She was taken on the coast of Africa. The circumstances are these: This vessel loaded out from Liverpool, I think at the end of the year 1839; she went to Bahia with orders to bring back a cargo of sugar. When she got there the consignees found that there were very few sugars in the market, and that the sugar had not come down from the country in consequence of the rains, therefore they were desirous of filling up her time. They had a charter offered to carry certain goods to the coast of Africa, on certain terms, and to come back again to Bahia in ballast. Previously to the consignees accepting this charter they went and consulted the British consul in Bahia, as to the propriety of their undertaking such a voyage. He gave his advice, and advised them that they might with great propriety do it. Consequently, the vessel was loaded, and she started on her voyage, and was captured; she was also boarded and cleared by the officer in command of a British man-of-war at Bahia. She was captured, I think, off Cape Palmas; she was boarded several times, and finally taken to Sierra Leone. At Sierra Leone she was taken into court, to the best of my recollection, in May; she was taken into court six or seven or more times before anything was done with her. The crew were kept there, the whole of her cargo was opened to see if anything could be found to prove that she was aiding and abetting in the slave trade, but there were no manacles, there was no water, nothing whatever was found to connect with the slave trade. The cargo remained there till it was destroyed by the sun, and finally in August, although there was no fresh evidence produced, she was condemned and sold there; one or two of the crew died there. Some months afterwards the crew came to Liverpool, and I had to pay their wages up to that time, and also to suffer the great annoyance of the applications of the widows of the parties who had died. Now when I first heard of this vessel having undertaken the voyage, I wrote to the consignees to say that they had deviated from instructions, and that I should hold them responsible for the ship. After that we heard of the capture, and I told them that I should take no steps about it whatever. I named a very small sum for the vessel: I said, “I will take that for it, and you must take all the responsibility, and you may have all that you can get from the British Government for this illegal capture.” They accepted the terms. My principal reason for doing that was that in such cases the Queen pays no costs; therefore you might gain, and still gain a great loss. I therefore thought it was better to make this proposition, which was acceded to. They prosecuted the matter, and spent a great deal of money upon it, and they never recovered anything; and I saw by the Gazette a few months ago that the prize money was divided. Now this is a case in which the most diligent search has been made in Sierra Leone; there is no sentence forthcoming at Sierra Leone; there is no sentence to be found at the Admiralty; there is nothing to show that that vessel was ever properly condemned, because the consignees have sent out to Sierra Leone; they have applied to the Admiralty, and there is no sentence forthcoming that I am aware of to this day. The case was one of such extreme hardship, that the late Lord Wharncliffe volunteered himself to bring a Bill into Parliament to meet the case; and he brought in a measure to meet it. It was objected to, naturally, as having a retrospective effect: the part of it which went to meet the case of the “Guiana” was struck out on that ground, and there the matter stands to this day.

5540. No redress has ever been obtained?—No redress has ever been obtained. The ship was condemned; she is now trading to the coast of Africa, belonging to parties in London, under a new name. Now I never had a transaction to the

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the coast of Africa in my life ; I never had anything to do with it ; and here is a case which if the officer had been responsible for his acts, he would not have dared to have undertaken ; he would not have dared to have captured that vessel. It was in the year 1839 that she was captured. I have a statement of the case, with all the dates and particulars.

5541. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] Was she alleged to be condemned in the Admiralty Court or the Mixed Commission Court?—I believe the Mixed Commission Court of Sierra Leone.

5542. *Chairman.*] Will you read the statement?—"The British brig 'Guiana,' of about 200 tons burden, Captain George Nickels, sailed from Liverpool direct to Bahia on 17th October 1839, laden with a general cargo of manufactured goods consigned to various houses there. She arrived at Bahia on 2d December following. The consignees of the vessel not being able to procure to their satisfaction a return cargo of produce back to Europe, in conformity with the instructions from the owners, and after consulting with the British vice-consul, recommended the captain to accept of a charter then offering, to carry a cargo of manufactured goods and other lawful merchandize, to be delivered at three different ports on the coast of Africa, a certain number of lay days at each ; and after the final delivery of the cargo at the last port of discharge, the voyage was to end. On being ready for sea the 'Guiana' was furnished with the usual regular clearance and certificates from the British vice-consulate, and after being visited and duly registered on leaving the port of Bahia by Lieutenant Hunter, commanding Her Majesty's brig 'Camelion,' the vessel proceeded to sea on 2d February 1840, and arrived off Cape Palmas on 24th March, not having seen or communicated with any vessel since leaving Bahia. On 26th March she was boarded by Lieutenant Burslem, commanding Her Majesty's schooner 'Viper,' who, after some parley and abusive language, seized the ship's register and papers, and made a prize of the vessel, under pretext of 'aiding and abetting in the slave trade.' The crew were transferred to Her Majesty's schooner 'Viper,' and a prize master and some men were put on board the 'Guiana,' with instructions to take the vessel to Sierra Leone for adjudication, the captain and mate being detained prisoners on board. The 'Guiana' arrived at Sierra Leone on 3d May, and the first hearing of the case came on on 9th June, before Logan Hook, esq., collector of customs, then acting judge. Sufficient evidence not having been obtained to condemn the vessel, an adjournment was asked for by the captors and granted. On 26th of same month the case again came on for hearing before the same parties, when a further delay was asked for by the captors, and duly granted. On 3d July the trial was again brought forward ; but as nothing new had been elicited, and a further delay again asked for by the captors, it was postponed till 15th of same month (July), and then to an indefinite period. During this delay the cargo was landed, bales and cases cut open and broken into, and a total destruction of property ensued. The vessel underwent a strict examination, but nothing having been discovered either in the vessel or cargo to implicate either, the case was brought on for hearing again on 12th August 1840, when the vessel was condemned for aiding and abetting the slave trade, contrary to the provisions of the Act of 5 Geo. 4, c. 113. It does not appear from the papers that any new evidence had been elicited since the first day of the trial, 9th June, when the judge informed the Court that the evidence was not sufficient to condemn. The captain being a prisoner without means, and the owners not hearing of the capture for months afterwards, no defence could possibly be made in this case. On receipt of the accounts of the condemnation of the vessel, October 1840, the owners of the 'Guiana' took immediate steps for obtaining official copies of the whole proceedings at Sierra Leone, in order to lodge an appeal against the sentence before the Privy Council, but the papers were so long delayed by the officials at Sierra Leone, that they did not reach this country till near the middle of July 1841 ; and although such were found both incomplete and defective, an application on the strength of them was immediately made, on behalf of the owners, by their proctor, to the Registrar of the High Court of Admiralty, for the necessary inhibition to lodge the appeal in due form before the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council. The Registrar could not, however, issue the usual inhibition without the authority of the Privy Council ; and as Her Majesty did not call a Privy Council until about 13th August, at which time the necessary authority was granted, the inhibition in consequence was not decreed

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decreed till after that date. Now the Act of Parliament then in force required that the inhibition from the High Court of Admiralty for any appeal should be decreed within 12 months from the date of sentence, and that no appeal after the expiration of that time should be valid; but as the owners of the 'Guiana,' through their proctor, had lodged their petition for appeal with the Board of Her Majesty's Privy Council since the middle of July, they had done all that remained in their power to do, since they could not compel Her Majesty to call a Council, and moreover the answering of such petitions being a mere formality and always granted, they deemed, by the advice of counsel, that the Judicial Committee would overrule the objection, and allow the case to be heard on its own merits. The case came on for hearing before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on 28th and 29th November. Their Lordships were of opinion that the just construction of their enactments was, that the inhibition must be applied for, and decreed within 12 months from the time when such decree was pronounced; and as it was admitted that in this case the decree was announced on 12th August 1840, and the inhibition was not decreed till 3d September 1841, although the appeal was lodged on 16th July, this was a case in which the enactment did apply, and consequently the appeal could not be prosecuted. Subsequently to and in consequence of the conclusion come to by the Judicial Committee in this case, the late Lord Wharncliffe, then Lord President of the Council, introduced a Bill, and which he carried through the House of Lords, to amend the late Act, and allow all appeals, if applied for within the 12 months, instead of counting from the decree of the inhibition, which, for the reason above named, might be delayed to any indefinite period depending on Her Majesty's calling a Council. In this new Bill a clause was inserted with a retrospective effect, so as to meet the identical case of the 'Guiana.' This clause, however, was expunged by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, to whom it was referred; the remainder of the Bill passed, and is now the law. The expunging of the clause alluded to deprived the owners of all further legal redress. They petitioned the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury for a return of the moiety of the proceeds of the vessel confiscated to the Crown, but their Lordships did not think proper to comply. Captain Nickels, after having been detained in prison at Sierra Leone for a considerable time, was discharged on 22d September 1840, no indictment being preferred against him. The mate died, having caught the fever before the trial of the vessel was heard. In the course of a couple of years from the above date, an application was made to the owners, by the collector of customs at Liverpool, for the restitution of the certificate of registry of the 'Guiana,' under a heavy penalty in case of nonproduction. On representing the case to the Board of Customs in London, an extension of time was granted, so as to enable the owners to procure the same from Sierra Leone; but although every effort was made, aided by the authorities in this country, to compel the transmission of this document from thence, such was not forthcoming. The registrar of the Vice-admiralty Court alleged that no such document existed there; that if such had ever been deposited there it must necessarily have been transmitted to the Admiralty along with other papers relating to the 'Guiana.' On application at the Admiralty, no such document had ever reached the registrar. After an unwearied and unsuccessful search, which took 12 months to accomplish, and a due representation being made to the Board of Customs, the penalty was annulled. It will be remembered that Lieutenant Burslem carried forcibly away, not only the ship's register but all her papers, and such not being produced at the trial, there is every reason to believe they were either wilfully mislaid or destroyed, as no trace could ever be made of them. Logan Hook, Esq. happening to be in this country when the ship's register was being sought after, application was made to him, who gave it as his opinion that the papers must have been sent to the Admiralty." I have also the protest of the party who was the agent to the vessel. "Personally appeared before me, Edward Porter, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's consul for this city and province, George Alexander Hancock Holt, partner of the house of Edwards, Holt & Co., of this city, and deposed to the following effect: That the British brig 'Guiana,' George Nickels, junior, master, arrived at this port from Liverpool in the latter part of the year 1839, to the consignment of the house of J. Edwards & Co., of which this deponent was the resident partner; that the 'Guiana' had been advertised at Liverpool to take freight for Bahia, from any one who chose to ship in the usual manner, as can be proved by reference to the Liverpool shipping
advertising

advertising gazettes, and to the entries of the goods made at that custom-house; that the cargo was consigned to various mercantile houses here, and that but a small portion was directed to the consignment of the house of this deponent. That this deponent received instructions from the owners of the 'Guiana' to purchase a cargo of coffee and other produce, but owing to the scarcity of coffee in the market, it was not possible to carry the instructions of the owners into effect. That under these circumstances this deponent advertised the vessel in the usual mode as wanting a freight or charter, which was difficult to be obtained, owing to the scarcity of produce and abundance of shipping. That this deponent was applied to by a British merchant here, on the part of Manoel Francisco Lopes (this deponent being at that time personally unacquainted with M. F. Lopes), to know if the 'Guiana' would accept a charter from him (Lopes), for the coast of Africa; to which this deponent replied, that he had no objections to see the said Manoel Francisco Lopes on the subject; accordingly, by the intervention of the third party already mentioned, this deponent was introduced to M. F. Lopes, who stated the object of the voyage to be, that of carrying a cargo of legal goods to the coast of Africa, and of returning in ballast. That, upon this, this deponent communicated the substance of the conversation he had had with Lopes to the master of the 'Guiana,' and asked him whether he had any objection to accept a charter of this nature; to which the master of the 'Guiana' replied, that if this deponent advised his acceptance of it, he would accept it. Subsequently this deponent waited upon Manoel Francisco Lopes, to ascertain more particularly what cargo he proposed to ship, what ports he desired the vessel to go to, and what amount he would be disposed to pay. Before concluding the terms, this deponent never having before acted as agent for a vessel in arranging a charter for the coast of Africa, applied to other persons who had, and obtained copies of the charter-parties of two or three American vessels. This deponent also applied to John Whately, esquire, then acting as Her Majesty's Vice Consul, and after consulting him with regard to some of the details of such a voyage, asked whether there would be any risk of seizure or detention; to which the Vice Consul replied, that if the vessel only carried tobacco, rum, dry goods, and other legal merchandize, as this deponent represented to him, there could not be the slightest risk of seizure or detention. And Mr. Whately further offered the advantage of his advice and experience as a merchant, in arranging the details of the charter-party, if required. Shortly after this, the terms were agreed upon between Manoel Francisco Lopes, as charterer, and this deponent, as agent of the master of the 'Guiana.' Subsequently (but before any goods had been shipped) a complaint was made to this deponent by the master of the 'Guiana,' that during his absence the officer commanding Her Majesty's brig 'Partridge' had been on board the 'Guiana' to procure the clothes of a seaman who had volunteered for Her Majesty's service, and had stated that he understood the vessel was bound to the coast of Africa, and that if he met her at sea he should make prize of her; and that in consequence of this speech, the crew were unwilling to proceed in the vessel. This deponent was so surprised at the proceeding of the officer commanding the 'Partridge,' that he addressed a note to Her Majesty's Vice Consul, in order to ascertain officially whether such a statement was correct; in reply to which the Vice Consul forwarded to this deponent a copy of a letter from Lieutenant Morris (commanding the 'Partridge'), stating that he had only expressed his intention of seizing the brig if he found her engaged in unlawful traffic. That subsequently to this Lieutenant Morris, perfectly unsolicited, expressed to this deponent his regret that he should have used the expressions he had used on board the 'Guiana' (this was in private conversation). That when this deponent agreed, on behalf of the master of the 'Guiana,' to the charter with Manoel Francisco Lopes, it was under the full persuasion that he was to be the only shipper; and that this deponent did not become aware of the fact of there being other shippers by the vessel until the bills of lading appeared for signature; that this deponent then called upon Manoel Francisco Lopes to ascertain the cause of there being other shippers, and was informed by Lopes, that after shipping all the cargo he had prepared, he found the vessel had still room for more, and that he thought himself perfectly justified, as he had chartered the entire vessel, in taking a small portion of cargo on freight from other parties to fill up the vessel, and diminish by so much the freight which he had to pay himself; that the parties so shipping had embarked none but legal goods; that a charterer

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charterer of a vessel taking on board goods belonging to other persons was an unusual practice of merchants, which this deponent could not dispute, and which he was not aware could in any way compromise the legality of the voyage. That this deponent never had the slightest communication with any other shipper by the 'Guiana,' excepting Manoel Francisco Lopes himself. That the charter-party of the 'Guiana' was the only transaction, of any description, which this deponent ever had with Manoel Francisco Lopes. That this deponent, on the eve of the 'Guiana's' sailing, did address to the master a letter containing advice with regard to the fulfilment of the various stipulations of the charter-party, in order, if possible, to prevent any irregularity or difficulty. That this deponent did advise the master of the 'Guiana' not to carry any letters excepting those of his charterer, Manoel Francisco Lopes; and that the answer returned at the office of this deponent to applicants desirous of sending letters was, that the brig would not carry a letter-bag. That the brig 'Guiana' was cleared in the usual manner, at the British consulate, and the manifest affirmed to by the master. That the brig 'Guiana,' after raising her anchor to proceed to sea, was boarded by Lieutenant Hunter, commanding Her Majesty's brig 'Camelion;' and that this deponent has never heard that any objection was made by that officer to the vessel proceeding on her voyage. Bahia, 2d June 1842." I have also the manifest of the cargo, which consisted of tobacco, rum, cowries, which were bought by Foster Brothers, in London; twilled cottons, printed cambrics, grey cottons, yellow nankeens, and other articles.

5543. Mr. *Barkly*.] Were your consignees at Bahia British subjects?—Yes.

5544. Did not the fact of their thinking it necessary to consult the British consul as to accepting the charter-party, and also the fact of your writing out to them that you would hold them responsible for the safety of the vessel, directly you heard of the vessel being chartered in that way, argue a general suspicion both on the part of the consignees and of yourself that the transaction was not entirely a legal one?—No, certainly not. From my own experience in Brazil, I knew that there was danger in any vessel going to the coast of Africa, because whatever she might have on board almost, you might construe something as being applicable to carrying on the slave trade in the sense of "aiding and abetting." Therefore I never would have consented to a vessel of mine going there on any terms whatever. American vessels and Sardinian vessels were taking goods similar, all legal produce, from Bahia to the coast of Africa; and the consignee thought that he might as well avail himself of the same means of engaging the vessel. But previously to doing so, or having anything to do with the coast of Africa, he waited upon the British consul, to know how far he might with propriety charter the vessel to go there. The consul advised him that he might do it with perfect safety; that as the vessel would have nothing but legal produce on board, which was named to him, he advised that he should accept the charter, and he therefore did so.

5545. Do you know the parties in Africa to whom the goods were consigned?—The owner of the cargo was Manoel Francisco Lopes, at Bahia. It was, "To the consignment of Joaquim Pinto Menezes Campos; if absent, to Dom^{os} Joze Martins." The place to which the goods are shipped was "Onim or Lagos."

5546. Sir R. H. *Inglis*.] Is there any place on the coast more notorious in slave trading than Lagos?—It has been notorious no doubt; but vessels go from Liverpool to the coast of Africa, to all those places regularly. Those are principally fine goods, not goods made for the African traffic; but there are certain descriptions of goods manufactured in England which have no other application than the slave trade; and those go out, you may say daily, from the port of Liverpool to the coast of Africa.

5547. *Chairman*.] That observation does not apply to the cargo of which you are now speaking?—It does not.

5548. Mr. *Barkly*.] Tobacco would be one of those articles?—Yes; but you cannot draw a distinction, because every man may take tobacco, and therefore it may be applicable to the slave trade, or to legal purposes; the same with rum. All people drink rum.

5549. Sir R. H. *Inglis*.] And cowries also?—And cowries also.

5550. *Chairman*.] The fact is, that it is the medium of exchange, whether for the slave trade or for legitimate commerce?—Yes; but there are certain goods that are made which are applicable solely to the slave trade. Now I would not take any interest in those goods myself on any consideration, because it might be said, according

according to Lord Brougham's Act, that I was "aiding and abetting" the slave trade by buying them; but yet they are bought in immense quantities, and manufacturers are at this moment engaged most actively in making them. But if parties consigned them to me, I do not conceive that it would be my business to inquire what they were for, if they were consigned to me for sale; and it would be found difficult, now that there are so many other things, if they were stopped, which could be introduced instead of them. Now that these goods are not used on the Gold Coast, they take fine goods there. They do not take these common checked goods, technically called nicanees and chiloes, but they take fine manufactures, such as fine shirtings and prints, and other things, for the trade there. Therefore it is very difficult to draw the line. The gunpowder which goes from Liverpool, and which also goes from Brazil, is connected with the trade in the same manner to a great extent.

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[The Witness delivered in the following Paper:]

(Translation.)

MANIFEST of the following lawful Produce and Goods that I have shipped to Onim (or Lagos, on the English maps), on board the British Brig "Guiana," Captain George Nickels, Jun., to call at the Ports of St. George del Mina and Agné, at which Ports will have to discharge part of her Cargo and receive on board other lawful Goods, on account of whom it may concern, to the Consignment of *Joaquim Pinto Meneyes Campos*; if absent, to *Domos. Jose Martins*, viz.:—

			Rs.	Rs.	
	3,401	Rolls or mangotes of tobacco	- - at 5 ff.	- - -	17,005,000
[P.] - - -	100	Pipes of rum	- - -	5,610,000	
[AV.] - - -	6	ditto	- - - at 56 ff. 100	324,000	
[F.] - - -	2	Half pipes of ditto	- - - at 27 ff. 900	55,800	5,989,800
[P.] brl. Nos. 1 to 85	193	Quintals, 69 lbs. each, of cowrie shells, bought in London by Foster Brothers, as per invoice, dated 12th July 1839, 527l. 6s. 4d., at the expense of 28 per ff. at London, on Rio de Janeiro, at that date	- - -	- - -	4,517,142
[P.] cases 1 to 14	381	Pieces of twilled cottons, 1,245 1/4 yds. at	220	2,513,555	
" " 15 to 36	500	" striped ditto	- - - at 7,400	3,700,000	
	3	" white ditto, 90 yards	- - - at 220	19,800	
				3,719,800	
				300,000	
" " 37 to 39	150	" printed cambrics	- - - at 2	- - -	2,000,000
" " 40 to 52	2,500	" yellow nankeens	- - - at 800	- - -	452,800
" bales 53 to 56	90	" grey cottons, 2,264 yards	- - - at 200	- - -	401,537
" " 57 to 60	90	" " 2,294 1/2 "	- - - at 175	- - -	1,488,000
" " 61 to 76	400	" " 9,600 "	- - - at 155	- - -	3,705,142
" " 77 to 112	900	" " 27,445 1/2 "	- - - at 135	- - -	1,624,800
" " 113 to 122	200	" blue checks 6,770 "	- - - at 240	- - -	
" cases 123 to 129	268	" checked and striped muslins	at 3,200	857,600	
		Abatement in 75 pieces	- - - at 450	33,750	
				123,850	
" bales 130 to 132	75	Pieces of grey cottons, 2,373 yards, at	145	344,085	17,373,569
" cases 133 to 135	3	Cases, containing drugs, amounting to	- - -	- - -	93,260
[L.] case 1 - - -	24	Pieces striped twills	- - - at 6,400	- - -	153,600
" " 2 - - -	35	" striped and checked muslins	at 3,200	- - -	112,000
" bale 3 - - -	25	" wide grey cottons, 600 yards	at 165	- - -	99,000
" " 4 - - -	20	" " " 584 "	at 140	- - -	81,760
				- - -	446,360
[F.] bales 1 and 2 -	50	" " " 1,200 "	at 165	- - -	198,000
" case 3 - - -	15	" checked muslins	- - - at 3,200	48,000	
	98	" yellow nankeens	- - - at 800	78,400	
	4	Dozen French handkerchiefs	- - - at 3,800	15,200	
				141,600	
" case 4 - - -	26	Pieces striped twills	- - - at 6,400	- - -	166,400
				- - -	506,000
[E. and A.] bale 1 -	20	" twilled grey cottons, 480 yds. at	210	- - -	100,800
" " 2 -	8	" " " 192 "	- - -	40,320	
	12	" " " 306 "	at 200	61,200	
				- - -	101,520
	25	" " " 600 "	- - -	- - -	120,000
" " 3 -	12	" striped twills	- - - at 7	84,000	
" " 4 -	10	" yellow nankeens	- - - at 880	8,800	
	3	" red cambrics	- - - at 12	36,000	
	12	Dozen French handkerchiefs	- - - at 4	48,000	
				176,800	
Without mark -	1	Coil of Cairo rope, 5.2 tals and 5 lbs. at	25,600	- - -	499,120
				- - -	129,009
				Rs.	46,559,251

(continued)

CHARGES.	Rs.	Rs.
Export duty on 3,401 rolls tobacco, 22 per cent. on Rs. 12,003,000 - - - - -	2,640,660	
Weighing and impost on 6,802 arrobes, at 8 rs. - - - - -	54,416	
		2,695,076
Export duty on the rum, 22 per ct. on Rs. 4,359,400 - - - - -		959,112
Import duty on the cowrie shells from Liverpool, in the British brig "Richard" - - - - -		424,000
Commission to Bernardo Meguil de Olivaro Borges, of Lisbon, for ordering the purchase of the cowrie shells, by Foster, Brothers - - - - -	24,365	
Exchange 90 per cent. in favour of Lisbon - - - - -	21,928	
		46,293
134 Bags for the cowrie shells, at 400 ff. - - - - -		53,600
85 Barricas, say barrels, for the cowries, cooperage, nails, &c. - - - - -		59,300
Disembarking and re-embarking slings, &c. - - - - -		23,900
Carriage, embarking slings and goods - - - - -		14,860
Packing of goods, baling-cases, nails, &c. - - - - -		105,100
107 Tins and nails, to cover bungs in the pipes, at 50 rs. - - - - -		5,350
A lighter with 22 packages - - - - -		2,000
Weighing and impost on shipping shells - - - - -		4,000
Freight of 3,401 rolls tobacco from Cachoéra to the City, at 40 rs. - - - - -		136,040
Boat-lines to the "Guiana," while loading, at sundry times - - - - -		5,600
		4,534,231
Commission on buying and shipping - - - - -		51,093,492
		1,532,804
	Rs.	52,626,296

(Errors and omissions excepted.)

(signed) *Manoel Francisco Lopes.*

5551. You stated that you considered that there was great danger in any vessel, though engaged in legitimate commerce, proceeding to the coast of Africa?—I believe that any vessel going from Brazil to the coast of Africa would run the risk of being captured like the "Guiana," which had no more to do with the slave trade than any gentleman in this room.

5552. Is that a peculiar opinion of your own; or do you understand that it is shared by other merchants engaged in legitimate commerce?—It is shared by others; and evidently the consignee of the "Guiana" had had some doubt on his mind, or he would not have gone and consulted the consul before he undertook the voyage; that is as to the safety of going there; the exposure to capture.

5553. Are you acquainted with the premium of insurance at which vessels are insured going from this country to the coast of Africa, engaged in commercial transactions?—I do not remember exactly now; I think it varies; it is done by the year; a vessel going on a trading voyage is insured by the year.

5554. Mr. *Barkly.*] How much do you pay per cent.?—I am not sure at this moment what they pay per cent. to the coast of Africa.

5555. Would it be eight guineas, or something of that kind?—I should think it would; because to other parts of the world I pay five by the year.

5556. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] Are there any slave markets now permitted in the Brazils?—You may so far say that there are slave markets, inasmuch as there are receivers. You go to one of the outports, say the neighbourhood of Macahé or anywhere there, and there are parties there who receive the slaves; and I believe the mode adopted is that they are dispersed about, so as not to have the appearance of having a great congregation of new blacks together.

5557. But it is known that at a given hour in a given spot a purchaser may find the article which he desires?—I have no doubt that that is known; there can be no doubt about it; and I have even heard that within no great distance of Bahia and Rio Janeiro there have been places where they have had blacks,—of course it is not made publicly known,—but where they have had them together in considerable quantities, and that parties might go and buy them there; but it would not be blazoned, it would not be made public. If a planter came down from the country, or a miner, and he came to a city and wanted slaves, he would naturally inquire of the parties who were likely to give him information, "Where can I find the commodity which I want?" They might say, "Well,

“Well, in such a district you will find what you are inquiring about ;” and that man would go there ; but he would go privately ; he would not go and blazon it forth and make it known, but he would go there and find slaves, and would buy them and take them away, perhaps across the country.

5558. Do you think that that is consistent with an honest ignorance on the part of the government, or an honest desire on the part of the government to carry into effect its stipulations with England and its own municipal laws ?—No, certainly not ; but the difficulty is for them to suppress and put it down. If you take a district, you perhaps may travel for miles between one estate and another before you come from one to another, and consequently you could send no force into that part of the country to put it down, and these blacks are passed from one to another, because those are the parties who connive at it ; hence the difficulty of the government interfering where such large districts are not populated.

5559. You have referred to the healthiness of the coast of Brazil, meaning it is presumed the sea at the ordinary station distance from the coast ; is there any difference in the same parallel of latitude between the sea station on the coast of Africa and the sea station on the coast of Brazil, separating your answer in each case from the consideration of landing, either to burn barracoons or to enter creeks ?—I should say an immense difference. I passed two nights once under the coast of Africa, very near the land, in one of the 10-gun brigs, and I do not know that I ever passed two such nights in my life.

5560. Lord *H. Vane*.] At the distance of nearly 10 miles ?—Probably 10 miles ; it was suffocation literally ; and then the dew was so great at night that we could not remain on deck without an awning ; it was so bad that I never experienced anything like it.

5561. What is the case 10 miles off the coast of Brazil ?—Ten miles off the coast of Brazil, or close inland, I do not think that there is a finer or a more healthy part of the world.

5562. Does that arise from the breeze from the land ?—There is a sea breeze every day, and a land breeze ; it blows off the land in the evening, and the country generally is a very healthy country.

5563. Are there heavy dews, or is it dry ?—There are dews at particular times. There is always some dew in the evening ; but it is very healthy. There are particular districts ; there is one district of the country that I used to travel through very often, where all the whites have the ague almost all the year, and the blacks in that particular district are remarkably healthy. You never see the blacks there with the ague, or if you do, it is a rare exception. I cannot explain the reason why it is so, unless it is from the oily nature of the skin, and many of them oil themselves, which I take to be a great preventive to any disease.

5564. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] The questions which, with the permission of the Committee, I addressed to you, had reference rather to the healthiness of the sea station on the coast of Brazil and on the coast of Africa respectively. Your last answer referred to the healthiness of the land itself in the interior, within the coast of Brazil ?—I should say that the coast is healthy ; it is perfectly healthy on the coast of Brazil, the climate is so beautiful, and the breezes blow there so regularly.

5565. *Chairman*.] Is there any case similar to that of the “Guiana,” which has come under your knowledge ?—I have heard of others similar, but I cannot from memory quote them. I know there are similar cases of some Brazilians, who have sent vessels that have been captured under similar circumstances, who have obtained no redress. I would state that I think you might do a great deal of good by educating blacks, and sending them as missionaries amongst their own tribes ; but I should doubt whether the blacks that you bring of a certain age, and convert, would be anything like so useful as those that you train up, because I think they would be very likely to go back again to their old habits.

Captain *Richard Henry Stopford*, R. N., called in ; and Examined.

5566. *Chairman*.] YOU are an Officer in the Navy ?—I am.

5567. Have you been employed on the coast of Brazil ?—I was there for two months.

o.53.

5568. What

J. B. Moore, Esq.

25 May 1848.

Capt.
R. H. Stopford,
R. N.

Capt.
R. H. Stopford,
R. N.

25 May 1848.

5568. What vessel did you command?—The “Pearl.”

5569. Have you any acquaintance with the town of Rio?—Yes, I know Rio very well.

5570. During the time that you were at Rio, did you see anything of the slave trade?—I saw a little of it.

5571. Did you ever see a case of a vessel arriving in Rio laden with slaves?—I did.

5572. Did you go on board?—I did not go on board; I sent an officer to watch the vessel.

5573. Was that vessel entered without difficulty, and did she discharge her cargo openly?—She came in at night-time. It was a fine night. She anchored in what they call Five Fathom Bay, which is on the opposite side of the harbour to the town of Rio. She discharged her slaves, and she went out again before daylight in the morning.

5574. How many slaves did you understand that she brought into Rio?—I should think, from the number of canoes which my officer reported to me, that she had brought in about 600.

5575. In what year did this take place?—In the spring of 1844.

5576. Had you any reason to suppose that operations were going on upon the coast of Brazil at the time, of a similar kind?—I heard of several.

5577. Were you led to the conclusion that our squadron on the coast of Africa was very successful in stopping the slave trade?—No, quite the contrary.

5578. As a naval officer, do you imagine that the British squadron on the coast of Africa will ever extinguish the slave trade?—Never. I have very little experience in slave business, but from all I hear from other officers, and officers whom I had under my orders on the Rio station, I should conclude that the British squadron would never extinguish the slave trade.

5579. Do you think that the British squadron placed on the coast of Brazil would ever have that effect?—No, certainly not.

5580. Will you be so kind as to explain your reason for that opinion?—From what I have understood, it is more feasible to stop it by putting cruisers on the coast of Africa than on the coast of Brazil.

5581. The coast of Brazil is a very long line of coast?—A very long line, and it is impossible to watch it.

5582. Does it abound with creeks and bays and harbours?—Yes, a great variety of places which vessels can run into at all times.

5583. Have you reason to believe that the slave trade is carried on under circumstances of great cruelty to the slaves?—Very great cruelty.

5584. Do you consider that any portion of that cruelty is to be carried to the account of the vigilance of our squadron on the coast?—I think so; I think the vessels are more crowded than they would be otherwise. If the squadron were not so vigilant I think the vessels that come across would not be so crowded as they are now. I have seen slaves put on board the “Crescent;” I used to visit her, she was lying in Rio as a reception ship for liberated Africans that were taken, and they were the most wretched objects that one could imagine.

5585. They had evidently suffered very great hardship?—Very great hardship.

5586. Did you learn anything of the public opinion in Brazil among the Brazilian subjects on the question of the slave trade, as to the supposed possibility of our extinguishing it?—They used to laugh at us. It is impossible to get information from any one on the coast. I was lying in Rio harbour, as senior officer, for the two months that I was in Rio, and I used to attempt to get information on shore with regard to vessels expected across with slaves, that I might send cruisers to intercept them. I was told by several persons, among others English merchants, “You cannot expect information from us, because unless those slaves are landed we cannot be paid for our merchandize.” Therefore you cannot expect information from any of the English merchants there. The only way we had of getting information was this: we had a spy, who was paid out of the proceeds of the slaves taken.

5587. Do you know what the price was at which slaves were sold at that time in Rio?—An able-bodied man used to fetch to the value of 80 l.

5588. Since you left the coast of Brazil have you understood that the slave trade is carried on with more activity than when you were there?—I hear so from officers who have come home since I came.

5589. Has

5589. Has there been any diminution in the activity or strength of our squadron on the coast of Africa since that time?—The squadron has been increased on the coast of Africa very much since I was at Rio.

5590. And is it well commanded?—Very well; I know the officer in command very well, Sir Charles Hotham; I was with him a long time; he is a very clever, zealous, and active officer.

5591. Lord *H. Vane.*] Yet there has been an increase of the slave trade notwithstanding that increase of the squadron?—There has; and the slaves suffer greater cruelty.

5592. Are you then of opinion, that no amount of increase in the squadron would be efficacious for the purpose of suppression, supposing expense not to be a consideration?—I think it might be done, but it would be more than any nation would undertake.

5593. Then it could not be done in effect?—It could not be done by any means that any nation possesses.

5594. *Chairman.*] Practically it could not be done?—Practically it could not be done.

5595. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] You have stated that the present system imposes greater cruelties upon the slaves?—Yes.

5596. By “the present system” it is to be understood that you refer to the presence of a blockading squadron on the coast of Africa; if it be the desire of the nation to suppress the slave trade, would you or would you not recommend to this Committee to remove such squadron from the coast of Africa?—I should not, certainly, remove the squadron entirely. But the vessels I should keep there would be for the purpose of preventing piracy, and not the slave trade.

5597. If you would not remove the squadron entirely, would you re-distribute it, either with reference to the actual ships, or to the amount of guns and tonnage therein contained; in other words, would you have more vessels, or vessels of smaller tonnage, connected by mutual observation with each other, along the same or a larger range of coast?—I think that the class of vessel already employed on the coast of Africa is fully small for the purpose; it is the smallest that we have in the navy.

5598. The 10-gun brigs?—The 10-gun brigs.

5599. Would you then increase the force of each particular ship, and would you or would you not add to each particular ship a one-gun tender, or a vessel of something like that character, to be subject to its orders?—I think that the vessels already you can call not more than tenders themselves.

5600. The question was, would you increase the force of the existing vessels?—I think I should not have so many 10-gun brigs. I should like to have a few larger ships, particularly steamers; the steamers are the most effective.

5601. You would propose, then, to increase the steam force on the coast of Africa?—I should increase the steam force. I was never on the coast of Africa; my experience merely goes to Brazil and Rio Harbour.

5602. Are you aware of any slave steamer having been fitted out from Rio and sent to the coast of Africa?—Not of my own knowledge; I have heard of them being fitted out in the different ports of the Brazilian empire.

5603. Do you believe that that system has been discontinued in consequence of its expense and comparative inefficiency in contending against the steam force of Her Majesty?—I believe it has increased lately.

5604. Do you wish the Committee to understand that the steam navigation employed in slaving has increased within the last few years?—Yes.

5605. Supposing that it were the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government to continue a squadron in order to suppress the slave trade, would you consider that such force could be most advantageously employed on the coast of Africa, or on the coast of America?—On the coast of Africa.

5606. Has it come within your knowledge that the coast of America is especially healthful to ships cruising on that station?—It is very healthy.

5607. Should you regard it as eminently healthy as compared, so far as you know from the report of others, to the coast of Africa?—Yes, decidedly.

5608. Nevertheless, with a view to the suppression of the slave trade, you consider that it is expedient to continue the operations of a blockading squadron on the coast of Africa?—On the coast of Africa, I should say, in preference to the coast of Brazil, if vessels are to be employed on that service.

5609. Mr. *Barkly.*] In speaking of the cruelties of the slave trade having been

Capt.
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been increased by the means taken to suppress it, is it only an inference that slavers are more crowded now owing to the increased activity of the British cruisers, or is it a fact that comes within your own knowledge that the number of slaves, in proportion to the tonnage of the vessels captured, is greater now than it used formerly to be?—That part of my information is merely from what I have been told by officers employed on the coast of Africa.

5610. Is it your opinion that the vessels which they capture now contain more slaves in proportion to the tonnage than they used formerly to do?—Yes.

5611. That is a fact I suppose that could be clearly ascertained?—Yes.

5612. *Chairman.*] Am I to understand that you are of opinion that the efforts of the squadron, though they may have the effect of keeping up the price of slaves in some degree in Brazil, have no practical effect in diminishing or repressing the slave trade?—They do not diminish the slave trade.

5613. To any extent?—To any extent. From what I hear from other officers who have been there, and from what I have seen myself for a short time, I should say that it just keeps up the price of the slaves, and makes it worth while for the people to run slaves.

5614. *Mr. Barkly.*] Do you know what became of those 600 slaves who were landed almost in sight of your vessel in the harbour of Rio?—They were taken away to the slave depôts, of which they have a number all round Rio Harbour; they are all very well known.

5615. Have you seen any of those depôts?—Yes. I have never been into them, but they are all very well known.

5616. *Viscount Brackley.*] Are those depôts at Rio contrary to the law?—They have a treaty of reciprocity with us to abolish slavery, and to make it piracy, but they appear to wink at it.

5617. The law is quite inefficient?—Quite inefficient.

5618. *Mr. Barkly.*] You consider it impossible for the government not to be cognizant of the fact of those barracoons existing?—It is quite impossible; they must be cognizant of it; there is one within a few hundred yards of one of their own forts at the mouth of Rio Harbour, and a very large one.

5619. *Viscount Brackley.*] Were those slaves landed from a steamer?—No, from a ship that I had information of arriving. I was furnished by our Minister at Rio, when I arrived at Rio, with a list of ships expected across with slaves; and in the case of every vessel that came in in a suspicious way after dark, or that anchored in an unusual part of the harbour, I used to send a boat to row some distance off to watch her, and find out her name if possible, and I found that this vessel was one of the vessels named in the list with which I was furnished.

5620. *Mr. Barkly.*] But you had no power to interfere within a certain distance?—Within three miles of the coast we could not interfere; my only duty was to report it to the Minister as a breach of the treaty.

5621. *Viscount Brackley.*] Did you see any slave steamer?—No; it was after I came away that they were set afloat.

A P P E N D I X.

RETURN, so far as the same can be made up at the Foreign Office, showing the Total Number of NEGROES Landed for the purposes of SLAVERY, on the Islands and on the Continent of *America*, from the Year 1844 to the Year 1847, both inclusive; distinguishing the Number so Landed in each of those Years, and distinguishing also the Number Landed in each Year on the Territory of each separate State or Power, so far as the same can be made up from Documents in the possession of Her Majesty's Government.

Appendix.

Y E A R.	Number in Brazilian Territory.	Number in Spanish Territory.	Number in French Territory.	Number in Dutch Territory.	Number in Danish Territory.	Number in Montevidean Territory.	TOTAL.
1844 - - -	22,850	7,280	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	30,130
1845 - - -	16,502	950	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	17,452
1846 - - -	50,324	419	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	50,743
1847 - - -	57,871	1,450	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	59,321
	147,547	10,099	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	157,646

157,646

This Return is in continuation of a Return printed by Order of the House of Commons, 11 April 1845, and marked 212.

This Return is made up, as was the Return of which it is the continuation, from the periodical reports made by British functionaries of each separate case of the arrival of a slave vessel in a transatlantic port; but in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining full particulars, or even the most vague intelligence, of individual cases of importation, the Return must not be considered as giving (for every year) the whole number of slaves imported, as will be seen from the annexed extracts from annual and general reports of Her Majesty's functionaries in Cuba and Brazil.

1.—Mr. *Kennedy*, Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at the Havannah; 1 January 1845.

"The enclosed list gives, in round numbers, a total of 7,280 of cargoes actually known, together with three other arrivals, of which the numbers were not given, and a remaining conviction that several vessels have come to other parts of the island, of which the particulars could not be ascertained. Adding, therefore, one-third to our numbers, as before, on these accounts, I have, with much regret, to express an opinion, that about 10,000 unhappy beings have been brought here into slavery during the last year."

2.—Messrs. *Kennedy* and *Dalrymple*, Her Majesty's Commissary Judge and Commissioner of Arbitration at the Havannah, dated 1 January 1846.

"From Enclosure No. 1 your Lordship will perceive that we are unable to refer to more than six arrivals of slave vessels during the year, of which one was under the Portuguese flag, and the others we presume under the Spanish, although of this we can only make a conjecture, inasmuch as we have not been able to learn any particulars respecting two of the vessels which arrived, on account of their not having come to this part of the island. The numbers brought by the other four, according to our reports, were about 950; and if to these we add a third, as a computation for the cargoes unascertained, including any that may have arrived of which we received no notice whatever, the number imported during the last year may be supposed to have been only about 1,300, in round numbers, as probably correct."

Appendix.

3.—From the same ; 1 January 1847.

“ On consideration of the list, showing as it does that in 1845 there were 13 vessels dispatched hence, intended for slave trade, and with the remembrance that our list for the year preceding showed 18 vessels, the first observation we have to make is, respecting the extraordinary and unprecedented fact that we have not to record the departure of any single vessel hence, during the last year, suspected of being intended for the slave trade. This is a fact as gratifying as it is extraordinary ; and we must acknowledge that the success it proves to have attended the efforts of Her Majesty’s Government to suppress the traffic is such as we had not anticipated. The great number of captures made during the year 1845, must no doubt have very considerably affected the slave dealers ; and the continued activity of the cruisers on the coast of Africa must have deterred them considerably in the further prosecution of their trade. Thus we can well believe that, as our list of arrivals of slave-vessels in 1846 shows only four to have been reported during the year, of which two were doubtful reports, and all those in the first half of the year, the further prosecution of the trade has been for the present at least given up.”

4.—From Her Majesty’s Commissary Judge at the Havannah ; 1 January 1848.

“ I have the honour to submit the customary annual report on the state of slave trade in this island during the past year, with the usual enclosures of the lists of vessels that have arrived here, or that have been dispatched hence during the year, as far as we could learn any particulars of them, suspected of being engaged in slave trade.”

“ This is the eleventh time I have had this duty devolving on me, to which circumstance I advert as enabling me to enter on a comparison between the present condition of this traffic and that in which I found it on my arrival here in 1837, for the purpose of showing the extraordinary success which has attended the efforts of Her Majesty’s Government to suppress it.”

“ Instead of 50 vessels arriving with slaves, as in 1837, in the last year, (see Enclosure No. 2.) we could not hear of more than three having arrived with slaves ; all of these landed their cargoes at great distances from the city, and from the last a proportion of one-third was seized by the authorities of the island.”

5.—From Her Majesty’s Consul at Rio de Janeiro ; 2 April 1844.

“ These returns afford no criterion as to the extent of intercourse between this district and the coast of Africa, as the clandestine importation of slaves at most of the outports is carried on as extensively as ever.”

6.—From Her Majesty’s Commissioner and Arbitrator at Rio de Janeiro ;
21 March 1845.

“ Every exertion has been used to render this return correct, but notwithstanding we have good reason to believe that many vessels have landed their cargoes of human beings of which no notice has reached us.”

7.—From Her Majesty’s Arbitrator and Her Majesty’s Consul at Rio de Janeiro ;
11 March 1846.

“ From the enclosed list it appears that the number of slaves landed is less than that in the last year by upwards of 2,700, and no doubt there has been a check in their abstraction from Africa during 1845. Taking for granted, however, that, as usual, a number of slaves have been landed of which no exact information could be obtained, we conclude that 16,000 is a fair estimate of the number of slaves landed in this province during the year 1845.”

RETURN of the Number of NEGROES found on board Slave Vessels captured by Her Majesty’s Cruisers during the Years 1844 to 1847 inclusive, so far as is known at the Foreign Office.

Y E A R.	Number of Negroes in captured Vessels.
1844	4,577
1845	3,519
1846	2,788
1847	3,967
TOTAL during the Four Years - -	14,851

INFORMATION relating to the Employment of Steam Vessels by Parties engaged in the African Slave Trade.

Sir,

Penelope, Kabenda, 14 March 1848.

IN the despatches which I have addressed to you during the past year, I have endeavoured to bring before their Lordships a general account of the transactions which have taken place, and the movements which have been made by the slave dealers to frustrate the exertions of the officers commanding Her Majesty's cruisers.

2. By the returns which I had the honour of transmitting, under date January 19th, their Lordships will observe that the captures made by the squadron under my command amount to 59 vessels, under Brazilian colours, or without nationality, whilst those of the same description effected by the cruisers under the late Commodore Jones amount to 61; the number of slaves released are as 3,258 and 4,810, in favour of the present squadron. Notwithstanding that the number of captures made by our predecessors is greater, I consider that, in reality, we have been more successful. Previous to my arrival on this station, the proportion of cruisers stipulated by the convention was kept complete; this, owing to a variety of causes, has not been the case during the past twelve months.

3. There are certain well known marts from whence the slaves are embarked; between these points the negroes are transported with great facility; if the blockade of any one is left open, all the slaves on that part of the coast are shipped without hindrance or molestation.

4. It is my duty to recommend their Lordships to employ as large a proportion of steamers as can be spared from other services.

5. The vessels equipped for the slave trade in the Port of Bahia are of the finest and most beautiful construction; stability, strength, and durability, are all sacrificed to obtain speed. Our ships, on the contrary, are burdened with guns, provisions, and stores, and we are obliged to consider speed as one only of the many requisites of a man-of-war.

6. There is not a sloop on the African station that can compete in sailing with a well-found slaver; and if their Lordships will turn to my report of captures, they will find that 23 out of 59 were either taken by steamers single-handed, or that their presence prevented escape from our cruisers.

7. At certain periods of the year, when the fresh breezes set into the Bight of Benin, a well-equipped slave vessel will escape even from a steamer; this has already happened to the "Grappler," and may any day occur to the "Blazer."

8. The dealers in Rio have placed a second powerful steamer in the trade; there may be others of whom we know nothing; but on a fair calculation, these two vessels will annually carry off at least 10,000 slaves from the coast of Africa, without, I fear, experiencing much chance of capture.

9. I cannot urge upon their Lordships in too strong terms the necessity of employing steam-vessels in the suppression of the slave trade, and I think advantages would be derived if a proportion of sailing vessels were diminished, and their expenses applied to the equipment of steamers.

10. There are certain stations which I have thought it advisable to discontinue. I have, temporarily, given up the Pongos and New Cestos, and directed the attention of the senior officer of the Sierra Leone division to the blockade of the Gallinas and Shebar. The strength of the division in the Bights has also been increased, and the limits of our cruising ground to the southward have been extended over the Portuguese territory.

11. I eagerly accepted the proposal of his Excellency the Governor-general of Angola to aid and assist his officers in their endeavours to suppress the traffic. Since September last the number of slave vessels captured within the specified limits amounts to 27. The "Styx" was especially charged with this duty, and I regret to be unable to supply her place with a vessel of the same description.

12. I would that it were in my power to report a diminution of the slave trade in those haunts which it has so long infested; but it appears that the same avidity and eagerness for gain exists. I entertain no doubt that the presence of our force tends to maintain order, and check the traffic; that without this protection it would be impossible for merchants to transact business; and that if our cruisers were withdrawn the coast of Africa would become the haunt of pirates and robbers of all descriptions.

13. I see also a prospect of totally suppressing the trade between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas; and if the Portuguese government would follow the example of the Spaniards, and pass a law awarding punishment to such of its subjects as were convicted of trading in slaves, a step in advance would be taken for the suppression in all such parts of the coast as acknowledge Portuguese dominion.

14. Their Lordships will, I hope, remark with pleasure that the Spanish flag has not been concerned in this barbarous traffic during the past year.

15. The proceedings of Liberia, her declaration of independence, and the several acts passed by her legislature for raising a revenue, &c. have formed the subject of a separate despatch (No. 74, 11th February 1848). It was not to be expected that a country recently emerging from a state of barbarism could frame laws on the most abstruse and difficult subjects without committing some errors, and infringing on the laws which civilization has established for the intercourse of the several nations of mankind. In my correspondence with the president I have already commented on such regulations as appeared to me likely to affect British commerce; and from the disposition which Mr. Roberts has shown on former occasions to attend to representations which I felt it my duty to make, I have every

reason

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reason to believe that he will use his interest with the legislature to cancel and abrogate such laws as tend to monopoly in favour of particular countries and persons.

16. In the meantime, I anxiously hope that Her Majesty's Government may see fit to recognise their independence. There is much to recommend them to the most favourable consideration of the European world; their institutions are founded on liberty and freedom; slavery, domestic or foreign, is not tolerated in any part of their republic. If countenanced and supported by England, they would prove our most valuable allies in the suppression of slavery. They can, by influence with the chiefs, and certain information of the movements of tribes, effectually put it down, and I should feel entire confidence in their desire and ability to extinguish it at the Gallinas and Shebar.

17. I am aware that it is the intention of Mr. Roberts to make certain overtures on these points to Her Majesty's Government; I shall not, therefore, touch further upon them in this despatch, except to hope that circumstances will enable Her Majesty's Government to entertain them.

18. I have no means of obtaining information on the state of British trade on the west coast of Africa. Short of collecting their debts, every possible assistance has been rendered to our merchants; the Rivers Bonny and Nunez have been visited, and our influence employed to the restoration of peace and the maintenance of friendly relations; Commodore Murray is at the present moment occupied in negotiating treaties with the native chiefs; and he is further directed to visit the rivers of the Bight of Biafra, and forward by every means in our power commercial interests.

19. I am aware that there is a desire on the part of some connected with the African trade that the commanders of men-of-war should interfere more actively in their behalf. I do not hesitate to denounce such a scheme as imprudent, and fraught with evil. Wherever our flag flies, and more especially amongst savages, it is our interest to trade in the most legal, quiet, and pacific manner; it is through this course having been long pursued that the English name and character reign paramount in Africa; it is through a contrary course having been pursued that suspicion and dislike pursue the French. The day that we begin to coerce will be the first of our commercial decline. Sound trade and fair profits are in the hands of our merchants; if they would abandon their mutual jealousy and adhere to the practice, which they have at last commenced, of giving no trust, all causes of disputes would be removed, and each would obtain a cargo in his turn; instead of this, they try to outdo each other, enter into quarrels with the natives, and then expect a man-of-war to come in and fight their battles.

20. I believe that no captures of Brazilian vessels, or vessels without colours, equipped for the slave trade, have been made by the French squadron during the past year; they appear to have confined themselves to the custody of ships of their own nation.

21. I am happy to inform their Lordships that my relations with Admiral Montaguies de la Roque have been of the most agreeable character. Causes of dispute must, in the ordinary nature of things, occur, but I have always found him willing to conciliate, and glad to arrange any temporary difficulty. I consider myself peculiarly fortunate in having so judicious a person as my colleague.

22. Commodore Bolton has only recently assumed the command of the squadron of the United States, but I feel confident that I shall find in him an officer willing and desirous to forward the service on which we are both employed, and anxious to promote friendly relations between the two squadrons.

Lastly. I am happy to have it in my power to make a favourable report of the state of the health of the officers and crews employed under my command. The deaths from all diseases, between the 14th October 1846 and 13th October 1847, amounted to 52, a smaller proportion than has ever before been known. As the number of white persons employed averaged 8,000, the proportion of deaths from all diseases was only 17.3 per 1,000, and this in a season when one-half of the white people died, both at Sierra Leone and at Cape Coast Castle.

The number invalided between the above periods amounts to 130, being at the rate of 43.3 per 1,000 men employed. Their Lordships may depend that every attention will be paid to the health of those serving under my command, and that it will always be my study to check boat service in rivers, and avoid other known sources of disease.

To H. G. Ward, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(signed) Charles Hotham,
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Sir,

"Penelope," Kabenda, 9 March 1848.

1. I REQUEST you will inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that I have received information of an attack made by an armed Brazilian steam vessel, equipped for the slave trade, on the boats of Her Majesty's sloop "Siren."

2. Intelligence reached Commander Chaloner of the arrival of the steamer in the River Congo; hoping to surprise her, he dispatched his boats from this anchorage. Information, however, of the departure of the boats was conveyed overland, giving ample time for preparation.

3. The steamer was found 35 miles up the River Congo; she was soon under weigh, and allowed the boats to close within the range of her guns. She opened a fire upon them, and although the boats were struck, and several of the oars shot away, fortunately no lives were lost.

4. It is rumoured that she made her escape with 1,400 slaves on board.

5. The

5. The recent heavy losses which the Brazilians have sustained have induced them more generally to employ steamers; and I anxiously hope that their Lordships will think proper to increase the steam force of this squadron, and frustrate, if possible, this new speculation.

6. If their Lordships will turn to the report of captures made from 14 October 1846 to 13 October 1847, they will observe, that out of 59 captures, 23 were made by four steam vessels, and the "Styx" has captured, during the time she has been on this station, 30 slave vessels; this alone will prove the vast importance of steam vessels in the suppression of the slave trade.

The Secretary of the Admiralty,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Chas. Hotham*,
Commodore and Commander-in-Chief.

Sir,
I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the accompanying copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's consul at Bahia, contradicting a statement which appeared in the "Watchman" newspaper, of the 24th November last, that three steam vessels had been fitted out at Bahia for the slave trade.

Foreign Office, 20 April 1848.

H. G. Ward, Esq.
Admiralty.

I am, &c.
(signed) *E. J. Stanley*.

My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to lay before your Lordship a copy of a paragraph which appeared in the newspaper "Watchman," of 24 November 1847, namely, "that three steamers, with engines from 200 to 300 horse power, have been fitted at Bahia for the slave trade; one of them has already arrived on the west coast of Africa, where she embarked 900 slaves, and escaped from the brig of war "Sea-lark," by steaming away from her during a calm." I beg leave to state to your Lordship that no steamers have been built or fitted at this place, neither have any sailed hence for the coast of Africa.

British Consulate, Bahia, 28 January 1848.

The Viscount Palmerston.

I am, &c.,
(signed) *Edward Porter*, Consul.

Sir,
I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loando, reporting that a large armed steamer, named the "Providencia," which had sailed from Rio de Janeiro for the coast of Africa in November last, had embarked 1,084 slaves at Ambriz in January last, and had got clear off the coast with her cargo; and that another steamer of small size had left the port of Rio about the same time for Africa, *viâ* Fayal.

Foreign Office, 12 May 1848.

I am to request that in laying this paper before the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty you will move their Lordships to direct the attention of the commanding officer of Her Majesty's naval forces on the Brazil station to these steamers.

H. G. Ward, Esq. M. P.
&c. &c. &c.

I am, &c.
(signed) *E. J. Stanley*.

My Lord,
In the course of last month accounts reached us through a source from which it was difficult to withhold credit, of the shipment of a large number of slaves from the coast to the north of Ambriz; still as they rested only in report, we would not be too hasty in communicating them to your Lordship.

Loando, 8 February 1848.

We regret to be obliged now to state that these accounts have been confirmed, and that there is every reason to believe that a barque did escape from that part of the coast towards the end of last year with a very considerable cargo of slaves.

The particulars we are unable even now to give; but our first information stated the number at no less than 1,400.

A still more startling circumstance has occurred at Ambriz itself, where, on the night of the 20th ultimo, a large armed steam ship embarked 1,084 slaves, and sailed a few hours before daylight. On the morning of the 21st she was subsequently met with, well out at sea, by an American trader on her passage from St. Helena to Ambriz; where, on the arrival of the latter, the fact was celebrated with fireworks and every kind of rejoicing.

The steamer, commanded by a Genoese, and manned principally by Spaniards, is called the "Providencia;" and by reference to the Rio de Janeiro papers, it is seen that she sailed from that port on the 25th November, for Africa, by the Azores, and that another steam vessel, of probably smaller size, left the same port about the same time also for Africa, *viâ* Fayal.

We have heard further, that the "Providencia," previous to her appearance at Ambriz, was in the Congo, and that upon the boats of Her Majesty's sloop "Siren," which were cruising in that river, approaching, she fired into them and steamed away.

How far this may be correct, and whether she shipped any slaves in the Congo, Her Majesty's

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Majesty's Government will have better and more direct means of ascertaining than we can possess; but it is believed that besides the 1,084 slaves embarked at Ambriz, she took in others elsewhere.

Whether this be so or not, the profits derivable from this adventure, supposing it even not to go beyond the positive shipment at Ambriz, are such as will, we fear, more than counter-vail all other losses, and stimulate to further and continued efforts of the same kind, and we sincerely regret to find what we had the honour to state in our last year's report so fully verified.

How far the idea therein suggested, of old craft being employed in this traffic as decoys, may appear to be justified by the fact, that out of the 21 vessels taken by the "Styx," eight were destroyed by Commander Chads on the spot as unseaworthy, it will be for your Lordship to judge.

It would seem that this is not the first successful trip the "Providencia" has made, so that it is impossible to estimate the returns which she may have yielded; but we understand that she takes her slaves at 17*l.* per head for every one received on board, including all casualties, so that confining the calculation to the 1,084 slaves alone, which we know to have been shipped at Ambriz, it gives a sum of between 18,000*l.* and 19,000*l.*

We have, &c.

(signed) *George Jackson.*
Edmund Gabriel.

To the Right Hon.
Viscount Palmerston, G. C. B.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.
The PETITION of the Members and Friends of the GLASGOW EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, in
Public Meeting assembled,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your petitioners have for many years been associated together for the purpose of abolishing slavery and the slave trade, and they deeply regret that they have now to approach your Honourable House to state that it is their solemn conviction that the condition of the negro race in slavery becomes yearly more wretched and degraded; that the slave-trade continues to be carried on under circumstances of aggravated cruelty, increasing in intensity in exact proportion with the additional means used by Her Majesty's Government in attempting forcibly to suppress it; and while Africa continues uncivilized and comparatively unknown, exposed to the ravages of the slave trade, a disgrace to all countries professing Christianity.

That your petitioners believe that the system of kidnapping and warfare, which has disorganized and desolated Africa, is occasioned by the demand for slaves, to export principally to the Brazils and Spanish West Indies, to cultivate sugar and other tropical productions. That while that demand exists, all attempts to civilize Africa by European or native agency will fail; but that when it is destroyed, the great obstacle to civilization will be removed.

That your petitioners have carefully watched the practical operation of the various treaties for the suppression of the slave trade entered into by Her Majesty's Government with foreign powers, and believe that while they have increased the cruelties of the slave trade, by making it a smuggling one, they have never yet been found to diminish the supply of slaves to the Brazils or Spanish West Indies, or to enhance the cost, so as to check the demand for them in any perceptible degree; and your petitioners are supported in this opinion by Her Majesty's late Secretary of State for the Colonies, who stated, "To repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose." "Her Majesty's advisers are therefore compelled to admit the conviction, that it is indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system."—(*Niger Expedition Papers*, p. 1, 1843.) By Messrs. Macaulay and Doherty, Her Majesty's Judges of the Mixed Commission Court, who, in their despatch of the 31st December 1838, recommended Her Majesty's Government to treat all nations as British subjects if found engaged in the slave-trade; stating this country's "only other alternative is retiring at once from a contest which she has so long waged, baffled, beaten, and insulted by a set of lawless smugglers; or wilfully continuing to sacrifice thousands of valuable lives and millions of money, with the full knowledge that the only result of farther efforts will be fresh triumphs to the slave-traders, and the increased misery of their victims;" and by Sir Fowell Buxton, who states, in his work on the slave-trade, "Millions of money and multitudes of lives have been sacrificed, and, in return for all, we have only the afflicting conviction that the slave-trade is as far as ever from being suppressed." "Once more, then, I must declare my conviction, that the slave-trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued."—pp. 203. 205.

That your petitioners have for many years observed the progress of the British colony of Sierra Leone, founded in 1787, "for the purpose of teaching the natives to give up the slave-trade on a religious principle, and to substitute for that trade a more legitimate commerce," and regret to state that it has utterly failed in affecting the slave-trade in its immediate vicinity, in extending commerce and civilization, or in spreading Christianity among the surrounding nations. In corroboration of which opinion they beg to refer your Honourable House to the Report of Captain B. Hallowell, in 1803; of Admiral Sir J. L.

Yeo, in 1816; of the Commissioners of Inquiry, in 1827; of the Select Committee on Sierra Leone and Fernando Po, in 1830; and to the Report of Her Majesty's Commissioner, in 1842.

That the naval expedition sent out to the River Niger in 1841, for the purpose, as stated by Lord John Russell, of "arresting the slave-trade at its source," has returned without effecting that object.—(*Niger Expedition*, p. 1, 1843.)

That your petitioners believe the only effectual way to destroy the demand for slaves, which created, and keeps up the slave-trade, to abolish slavery in Africa, and throughout the world, is to produce at a cheaper rate, by free labour, the sugar, coffee, cotton, &c., at present raised by the labour of slaves. That owing to the unhealthiness of the African climate, European capital and skill cannot be applied to the African soil, to raise such produce by free labour; but that in the British West Indies there exists abundance of fertile land, where the European and negro races may meet on terms of mutual safety, and, by uniting the skill and capital of the one with the labour of the other, sugar, coffee, and cotton can be raised at a less cost than in any part of the world cultivated by slave labour; that it is self-evident when that is done, slavery and the slave-trade must, of necessity, cease. And that it is in the power of your Honourable House to accomplish this great result by removing all restrictions from, and granting facilities to, the free emigration of the negro race from all parts of the coast of Africa, to Her Majesty's colonies.

That the emigration at present carried on by Her Majesty's Government between Sierra Leone and the West Indies, is not a free emigration; a system of passports, public notices, registration and fees, (Instructions to Emigration Agents in Sierra Leone,) having been established in the former place, which restrain, and, in many cases, amount to a denial of the inalienable right of the negro race to exercise that free will in removing from one place to another, which peculiarly distinguishes the free man from the slave; that, at the same time, these regulations prevent Her Majesty's colony becoming a refuge for the African who might escape from oppression and slavery, and have a direct tendency to perpetuate slavery in the surrounding nations.

That limiting the emigration to the colony of Sierra Leone, situated as it is to windward of the most populous parts of Africa, and having no communication with the interior, amounts in practice to Her Majesty's Government acting as a police force to the African slave-dealer and holder, and virtually refuses to the negro race that refuge and security from slavery and oppression, which, in the opinion of your petitioners, it is the duty and the policy of this country to afford them.

That your petitioners pray your Honourable House to abolish all such restrictions and limitations on the freedom of the African race, and to substitute in place thereof a system which shall offer, in all parts of the coast of Africa, that refuge and protection now denied them, and to those who may be desirous to emigrate, a free passage to the British West Indies, with the right to claim a free return at all times to the place from whence they came.

That your petitioners, after mature consideration, are of opinion, that within a few years after the public and declared adoption of such a system on the coast of Africa, it would be impossible for a slave-dealer to procure a cargo of slaves, except from the Portuguese settlements, as the slaves on the coast would speedily emancipate themselves, and those in the interior would take refuge on the coast,—and that the African race, being remarkable for their acquisitiveness and industry, the guarantee of the British Government of a free return to their own country, would be sufficient to induce an ample supply of free negroes to emigrate to the West Indies in search of employment.

That your petitioners have carefully compared the productive power of the free labourers in British Guiana with that of the slave labourers in the island of Cuba, as stated in a despatch of Sir H. Light (*Par. Papers*, 1842) and in "Turnbull's Cuba," (pp. 115 and 151) and find, that 25,000 free agricultural labourers in Guiana raised 30,000 tons of sugar, and supposing one-half of the 356,000 slaves in Cuba to be effective and employed in the cultivation of sugar, 178,000 slaves in 1837 raised only 100,000 tons, proving that the labour of one free man is more than equivalent to the labour of two slaves. That it further appears, from the best authorities, that for every efficient slave landed in Cuba, two others are sacrificed in his capture, passage, and seasoning. It is therefore demonstrable, that every free negro who emigrates to British Guiana destroys the demand for four slaves, with all the horrors attendant on procuring them, and that the annual emigration of fifteen thousand free negro labourers, to Her Majesty's colonies, would destroy the existing slave-trade, supposing the number of its victims to amount at present to 60,000 per annum.

That your petitioners believe, that if your Honourable House will be pleased to adopt such measures, the people of this country, now suffering under the severest privations, would be relieved from the expense of keeping up Naval Preventive Squadrons, Mixed Commission Courts, and Liberated African Departments, (estimated to cost 300,000 *l.* annually,) which have been proved, after twenty-four years' experience, to be useless as a preventive against slavery and the slave-trade, and only beneficial to the parties procuring places and pensions through them; which will, by increasing the production, so lower the price of sugar, that all classes of Her Majesty's subjects may be able to procure it, and, at the same time, increase the markets for British industry, by filling Her Majesty's colonies in the West Indies with a free negro peasantry, and, by their re-emigration to Africa, creating the taste for, and extending the consumption of our manufactures, throughout that immense continent, and eventually destroying, by peaceable and moral means, slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

Appendix.

THE Petition of the Committee of the BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

Showeth,

That your petitioners rejoice in the rapidly-spreading conviction that so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable hope of the annihilation of the slave trade, and that it is felt, not only by those who object upon principle to the use of an armed force, but by the public generally, to be impracticable to suppress it by such means.

That a review of the experience of the last twenty-five years renders it obvious that some deeply afflicting evils have resulted from the application of coercive means for the extinction of the slave trade; among which may be enumerated a dreadful aggravation of the sufferings and horrors of the middle passage,—a fearful increase in the rate of mortality in the number of unhappy victims shipped for the slave markets,—and, on the part of Great Britain, a lamentable sacrifice of life, and the expenditure of an enormous amount of treasure, in vain.

That your petitioners have always been of the opinion that the employment of an armed force for the suppression of the nefarious traffic would prove ineffectual; and, this opinion having been confirmed by indubitable facts, your petitioners respectfully yet urgently entreat your Honourable House to confine its exertions in future to the employment of such means as are of a pacific character, and to concentrate all its efforts on the universal abolition of slavery as the most effectual mode of extinguishing the nefarious traffic in human beings.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,

27, New Broad Street,
February thirteenth,

Thomas Clarkson, President.

one thousand eight hundred and forty-five.

Dear Sir,

19, Berkeley-square, 19 June 1848.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant.

In my answers to questions put to me by the Committee, and marked 3231-2, will be found the amount of slaves said to have been exported from Africa westward, from 1805 to 1810, and in the answers 3232 to 3241, the amount of slaves said to have been imported from Africa westward from 1810 to 1848.

In answer 3239, I drew the attention of the Committee to the fact, that this last account comprised only the importations, not the exportations; and that it excluded the deaths which might have occurred in the passage of the slaves from Africa to America.

In answer 3512, I stated that I felt a difficulty in arriving at an average for the deaths which occurred previously to restrictions having been put upon the trade; and in answer 3484, I said that I had a difficulty in coming to an average of deaths which occurred after the trade had become subject to restrictions. It appears therefore to me, but I state it with great respect to the Committee, that the fault in the evidence is rather as regards its incompleteness than its want of distinctness; and that what the Committee now need, would simply be, that I should for the first period add, so far as I could make out, an account of the imports to that of the exports already given; and for the second period add an account of the exports to that of the imports already given; adding also an account both of the exports and of the imports in certain intervening periods, in respect to which I may suppose that the Committee may desire particular information.

To do this to the best of my endeavour to the satisfaction of the Committee, which is my earnest wish, I have, since I received your letter, read through the evidence given in 1788 to the Committee of Privy Council, and that laid in 1818 before the Conferences in London, and that laid in 1822 before the Conferences at Verona on slave trade; and I have examined the Reports of the Commissioners on Slave Trade, at Sierra Leone, the Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Surinam, at later periods, up to the present time.

I have made an abstract of the evidence which I have thus collected on the amount of mortality of slaves on the passage; both previously and subsequently to the restrictions on the trade. For my being enabled to make up the account wanted, depends chiefly on ascertaining the mortality of the slaves, because the existing evidence, in a complete and authentic form, will furnish me only with accounts of the whole exports, and of the special imports wanted for the first period, and of the totals and particulars of the imports only of slaves for the later period.

I send to you now the abstract marked No. 1, showing the grounds on which I have arrived, though with difficulty, at what perhaps may be held to be a fair conclusion on those points.

The result which I come to is, that previously to the restrictions put upon the trade, the deaths on the passage may, on the best evidence to be got, be fairly calculated on an average at 13 per cent., and that the deaths on the passage thenceforward to the present time, may fairly be calculated at 24 per cent.

Something, both previously and subsequently to the time when the restrictions were put upon the trade, must be taken into consideration for other casualties on the voyage, say actual loss of the vessel at sea, or by shipwreck. Perhaps one per cent. would not be too much, and would suffice. At any rate, I have not data which would lead me to a better conclusion on this point; and I have added one per cent. accordingly. This will make 14 per cent. for deaths, previously to restrictions, and 25 per cent. for deaths afterwards.

In order to save the Committee the trouble of getting at the numbers which, upon this supposition, will form the amount of the export trade in the one instance, and of the import

import trade in the other, I have drawn up a paper which I enclose, marked No. 2, placing these results in a tabular form.

In that paper I have stated the average yearly exports of slaves from Africa westward and of the mortality on the passage, and the average yearly imports, and the particulars of the imports, so far as I can give them, from 1788, at stated periods, up to the present time.

In this letter, in the enclosures to it, and in the evidence of 13th April and 18th April, before the Committee on this subject, I have stated the several authorities upon which the account which I have attempted to draw out, in paper No. 2, is founded.

If the results, or any of them, be considered as having been attained by weakly grounded statements, or inconclusive reasoning, and be not altogether satisfactory, the Committee will at least see the justice of the remarks which I made in my answers before them, as to the difficulty of arriving at a just conclusion upon these points.

I have, &c.
(signed) *James Bandinel.*

William Hutt, Esq., M. P.
Chairman of the Committee on Slave Trade.

(No. 1.)

MEMORANDA on the Mortality of SLAVES in their Passage in Slave Ships from *Africa* to the *West Indies*.

FIRST as to the average amount of mortality which occurred previously to any restrictions having been put upon the slave trade.

In the evidence as to the slave trade, taken and published by the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, in 1788-89, Part 2 is entirely filled with evidence concerning the manner of carrying slaves to the West Indies; and one of the points specially treated of in that portion of the evidence was, the amount of the mortality of slaves in the passage from Africa to America, and the cause of it.

On this point the Privy Council made inquiry of 23 persons, and the summary of the evidence which was obtained in the matter of the mortality on the voyages is as follows:—

Mr. Harry Gandy made two voyages to the Gambia and Sierra Leone. He lost on the coast "a great many; 10 per cent. of one disorder alone" on the first voyage; "but few after leaving the coast;" say, therefore, altogether 13 per cent.

He gave the same account nearly as to the second voyage; say, therefore, 13 per cent. again. He lost many, also, of his crew.

Mr. Thomas Eldred made three voyages to the coast.

In the first voyage he lost	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 per cent.
In the second voyage	-	-	-	-	-	-	20 per cent.
In the third voyage	-	-	-	-	-	-	20 per cent.

He lost, also, many of his crew. The slaves died chiefly of the flux, and not (so the captains said) from being crowded, but from the vessels being long on the coast.

Mr. James Penny made 11 voyages. He spoke with uncertainty as to deaths in six.

On the first voyage he lost	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 per cent.
" Second	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 per cent.
" Third	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 per cent.
" Fourth	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 per cent.
" Fifth	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 person only of 209.
" Sixth	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 only out of 166.

He said the negroes from the Gold Coast and Whydow, who fed on Indian corn, were subject to little or no mortality. Those from the Windward Coast, feeding on rice, were most in health; and those from the Bight of Guinea, feeding on yams, were most unhealthy. It is to be observed, that Mr. Smith, late Commissary Judge at Sierra Leone, confirms this account as to the effect of the provisions.

Mr. Penny did not think that the French or the Dutch treated slaves better than the English did.

He estimated, however, the usual average of mortality at one-twelfth part; that would be $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Mr. Robert Norris made five voyages.

In the first voyage he lost	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 per cent.
" Second	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 per cent.
" Third	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 per cent.
" Fourth	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 per cent.
" Fifth	-	-	-	-	-	-	$2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

He thought this a fair average of deaths from the Annimabo, Gold Coast, and Whydah trade. He could not speak as to the Windward Coast; but he observed that many more died from Bonny and Calabar. That they died on the coast more than at sea. That neither the French nor Portuguese treated their slaves so well as we did ours; and that

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the Portuguese did not give so much room. (It is here to be observed, that two slave-per ton is the average he mentioned, and is the usual average mentioned in the examinations as having been the space allowed in the English vessels bringing slaves from Africa. Our Acts of Parliament afterwards limited the number to one slave per ton generally.)

Mr. Alexander Falconbridge made four voyages.

In the first voyage he was taken.	
In the second he lost	10 per cent.
Third	30 per cent.
Fourth	13 per cent.

He imputed the excess of deaths to confinement, owing to the bad weather, and observed (as all observed) that in fair weather the slaves were all daily brought on deck.

He thought that the French took better care than we of slaves, they giving them wine, which we did not.

Mr. Archibald Dalzell made four voyages.

In the first he lost	5 per cent.
Second	3 per cent.
Third	33 per cent.
Fourth	25 per cent.

He imputed his loss not to overloading (for two slaves per ton, he said, is not an overload), but to their being kept long on the coast. He conceived the deaths, the ship carrying two slaves to a ton, and being well equipped for them, to be on an average,

For the Windward Coast	3 per cent.
Gold Coast, Whydah, Angola	5 per cent.
Bonny, Calabar, Benin and Gaboon	10 per cent.

He said the windward passage was short, and the negroes robust. The Gold Coast and Whydah negroes also robust, but the passage longer, and the time in completing cargoes longer. That in the Bights of Benin and Biafra the negroes were not so healthy, and the passage much longer. From Angola, the passage also he said is quick. The mortality arises much, in his opinion, from the vessel being long on the coast. He gave (as all the people examined gave) detailed accounts of the treatment of the slaves; that they were well fed; that they were brought every day on deck, but that it was difficult to keep up the spirits of the men. (Many of these persons, being engaged in the trade, would probably give favourable accounts of their own treatment of slaves.)

Captain Hall made two voyages.

In the first voyage he lost	7 per cent.
Second	30 per cent.

The deaths were chiefly of dysentery; the causes, he said, were foul air, change of climate, and despondency; the women overcame their despondency, the men not.

Captain Robert Heally made many voyages.

He lost about	4 per cent.
He thought it was a large average to say, as a general average of mortality	5 per cent.

He said that slaves on board were better situated in food and in attention paid to them than kings and princes in their own country; he thought that the French did not treat their slaves so well as we.

John Anderson Ewade made seven or eight voyages.

He lost on an average	5 per cent.
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Mr. James Arnold mentions two voyages which he made:

In the first voyage he lost	8 per cent.
Second	8 per cent.

They died of dysenteries, fever, and dropsics.

Mr. William Jonas made several voyages. The deaths are often very many.

In one voyage he lost 50 per cent. This was from small-pox.

Mr. James Bowen made one voyage, in which he did not lose one slave.

Mr. David Henderson made many voyages. He gave several details:

- The slaves were ironed when they came on board.
- They were very melancholy.
- They sought much their liberty.
- They were compelled by cat-o'-nine-tails to dance on board ship.
- They sang, but it was of their sufferings.
- They suffered much from heat and want of air below.

John Dawson, Esq. had a contract with the Government of Spain for supplying Spanish colonies with slaves:

The vessels were from 300 to 600 tons.

The proportions taken, two slaves to a ton.

The loss from the Gold Coast was from - - - 1 to 3 per cent.

From the Windward, and from Angola - - - 5 per cent.

From the Bight of Benin and Cape Lopez - - - 7 to 20 per cent.

And that in the loss were included all who died from the time of purchase to the time of their being disposed of. The great mortality, he said, in those from the Bights is to be attributed to the change in the living, from low living to higher living, which induced fever, and then flux, and this carried them off.

On this evidence it is to be observed that, leaving aside the general accounts, but taking the average of 29 voyages in which the actual loss is given, the whole loss is 377 per cent., which divided by 29 will give for each voyage an average of 13 per cent. as the aggregate average of the whole voyages.

It is further to be observed that, from the general (as opposed to the particular) evidence, the captains of the slave ships themselves would only allow from 3 to 10 per cent. casualties as the average to be taken, with the important exception of the person who had a contract, and that the deaths were stated usually to be less from the Windward and from the Gold Coast, but most from the Bights of Benin and Biafra.

This evidence reaches in respect to voyages from 1760 to 1788.

In the evidence given by the African Society (not Institution, as incorrectly printed in the Blue Book, question and answer 3231,) to Lord Castlereagh, and furnished by him in February 1818 to the Conferences in London, it is said that previously to 1810 the supplies of slaves were obtained as follows: two-eighths being from the Senegal to the eastern extremity of the Gold Coast; three-eighths from Whydah and the Bights of Benin and Biafra; and the remaining three-eighths from Angola and other parts to the south of the Equator.

This distribution of exportation would not materially change the average already given, so that still it may be taken at 13 per cent. previously to any restrictions having been put upon the trade, particularly as the distribution is in relation only to the English voyages; and that the Portuguese (as is observed in the evidence produced at the Conference in 1818) confined their slave trade almost exclusively to the Bight of Benin and the coasts to the south, until the abolition of the trade of England and America.

With regard to the average to be obtained for the mortality at periods subsequent to the restrictions put upon the trade, the first account is found, I believe, in the evidence furnished by the African Society to Lord Castlereagh, and placed by him before the conference on slave trade which took place in London in February 1818. And it is curious to observe how instantly upon restrictions being put upon the trade, the ships, as it is represented, became crowded with slaves to such an excess that the mortality on board of them became more than double the average of deaths on the voyages previously to the restrictions. Upon a query put to the African Society by Lord Castlereagh, whether "it has not been found that the trade is conducted with peculiar inhumanity and waste of life by the illicit traders," the answer given was, "undoubtedly the slave ships are now crowded to excess, and the mortality is dreadful."

Five instances are then particularized as illustrative of the fact.

In the first voyage given the loss by death on a voyage was 23 per cent. in voyage to the West Indies.

Second - - - - - 22 per cent. in voyage to the West Indies.

Third - - - - - 39 per cent. before reaching Sierra Leone.

Fourth - - - - - 40 per cent. before reaching Sierra Leone.

Fifth - - - - - 15 per cent. upon capture.

The African Society stated that many more instances might be added, but that these might be considered as exhibiting the ordinary rate of mortality on board ships engaged in the illicit slave trade.

This ordinary rate, it is to be observed, averages 27 per cent., partly in voyages to the West Indies, partly to Sierra Leone.

Coming down from that time, I have examined the Reports of the Slave Trade Commissioners for the year 1830. I find that in those from Sierra Leone the number of slaves originally shipped in the ships captured is not generally stated; but in the returns for Brazilian vessels captured in the half year between January and July 1830, the number captured is eight. The number of slaves taken on board these vessels was 1,972; the number of those who died between the date of capture and that of condemnation was 532, giving an average of 30 per cent. deaths between the time of capture and that of condemnation.

In four Spanish vessels taken during the same time 868 slaves had been taken, and 59 only had died, giving an average only of seven per cent.

Taking the average again between 7 and 30, this would give 18 per cent. mortality.

I do not find a regular half-year's return from the Havannah Commissioners for this period; but in their return for the whole year 1829, for the slaves emancipated that year, they remark that the mortality on board slave vessels that year had been dreadful, of which

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no more striking instance can be given than the "Midas," in which case, out of 562 slaves embarked on the coast of Africa, only 208 lived to receive their certificates of emancipation.

I do not find any record of captures on the coast of Brazil in that year; but taking the average of mortality of slaves on board the Spanish and Brazilian vessels captured and carried to Sierra Leone, on their way from Africa to the West Indies, namely, 18 per cent., as a fair average so far as it goes, it must be recollected that the passage was not completed; and that in these cases, the slaves, when crowded, were shifted during the voyage after capture, and that they had food and care, which they might not have, particularly in respect to water, if they had not been captured; so that if the average under these circumstances proves to be 18, six per cent. at least more must be added for those who had completed their whole voyage to make it a fair average, making the average deaths at this period 24 per cent., on a voyage in a slave ship under slave captain's care, from Africa to America.

I have then gone on examining the Papers of 1839, 1840, and 1841, but I find in the cases brought before the several courts at Sierra Leone, Havanna, and Rio de Janeiro, so few cases in which the numbers taken on board on the coast are stated, that without great difficulty I cannot get at an average which may be depended upon. The cases are few; they vary in the several courts from 1 per cent. to 80 per cent.; but the cases are, in each court, too few to get an average out of them, and the excesses are under peculiar circumstances.

The only court in which a plurality of cases occurred, where the number of slaves taken on board on the coast of Africa, and the number of those who survived to be emancipated, is stated, was in the Portuguese court at Sierra Leone, in 1839-40. There were four cases in which the point was mentioned.

In the first case	-	-	-	-	-	6 per cent. was the mortality.
Second	-	-	-	-	-	25 - - ditto.
Third	-	-	-	-	-	18 - - ditto.
Fourth	-	-	-	-	-	3 - - ditto.

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which, divided by 4, again gives an average of 13 per cent. in the passage to Sierra Leone under British care.

Adding, as in the former case, six per cent. for the difference between the deaths which occurred in the passage from Africa to Sierra Leone under British care, and the deaths which would have occurred in the whole passage from Africa to Brazil or Cuba, under the care of the slave trading captain, crowded as the slave vessels were, this would make 19.

The statement of Mr. Smith, who was many years at Sierra Leone, engaged in the courts there from 1825 to 1834, and commissary judge there for a considerable portion of that time, is, that the average mortality in cases which came before him, must be taken as at least 15 per cent. Adding again, as in the former cases, 6 per cent. for the difference in the length and the circumstances of the voyage, if completed as originally intended, this would make the mortality at least 21 per cent.

Mr. Cliffe mentions in his evidence before the actual Slave Trade Committee, 4099 and 4100, that in these late years, to land 65,000 men in Brazil, 100,000 must have been taken from the coast of Africa; the difference being made up by the number who perished in the voyage; those also who were captured by British cruisers, and those who perished after landing.

Now, out of the 100,000, the number captured amounts only to about 4 per cent. There would remain, therefore, at least 30,000 casualties to be put to the account of deaths, and this makes the mortality 30 per cent.

Take, therefore, the average mentioned by the African Society in 1818	-	27 per cent.
Take that which occurred, as I before mentioned, in 1829-30, namely, 18,		
and adding 6 per cent. for the difference in length and circumstances of the voyage, when not captured	-	24 per cent.
Take that which is found in the reports of the Commissioners for 1839-40, namely, 13, adding also 6 per cent.	-	19 per cent.
Take also, with this addition, the amount given by Mr. Smith	-	21 per cent.
And take the amount given by Mr. Cliffe	-	30 per cent.

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And divide the amounts of the five reports by 5, it will give an average of 24 per cent. as the mortality of slaves in slave vessels, under slave trade captains' care, from Africa to America, subsequently to the restrictions put upon the trade.

19 June 1848.

James Bandinel.

(No. 2.)

MEMORANDA of the Number of SLAVES computed to have been Exported and Imported Westward from Africa, from 1788 to 1848.

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	78,000	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
1840 to 1845 - -	43,400	25 "	10,800	7,000	22,000	3,600	32,600	10,800	43,400
1846 - - -	85,700	25 "	21,400	1,500	60,000	*2,733	64,233	21,400	85,700
1847 - - -	83,000	25 "	22,000	1,000	60,000	*3,967	64,967	22,000	88,000

Note.—The amount of slaves imported into the Spanish colonial possessions must again be subdivided, if it be wished to ascertain the amount specially taken by Cuba. From 1788 to 1810, the importation of slaves into Cuba is said to have been on an average about 9,000 a year; but less than that number at the early portion of that period, and more than that number at the latter part of it. Say perhaps 6,000 from 1788 to 1798; 9,000 from 1798 to 1805, and 12,000 from 1805 to 1810.

About the year 1804 a marked rise in prosperity had taken place, it is said, in Cuba, owing to the revolution in Hayti, whence a great many inhabitants brought their wealth and industry to Cuba. They opened many new plantations, and the importations of negroes were consequently larger.

In 1815 the importations in Cuba had reached 18,000 a year. Then the importations going on increasing, received an impetus from the negotiations with England; and on the treaty of 1817, which allowed only the period to 1821 for the legal continuance of the trade, they reached instantly to almost double the amount of the year preceding the treaty.

From this period nearly, if not quite the whole of the slaves imported by Spain, were taken to Cuba and Porto Rico.

The difference in the numbers furnished for the two islands, may perhaps be somewhat estimated by a comparison between the amount of population in them. By a census taken of the population of Cuba in 1841, the result was as follows;

Whites	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	418,291
Free coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	152,398
Slaves	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	436,495
TOTAL									1,007,624

But the real number was supposed to have been concealed, owing to a fear that the census was connected with taxation; and Her Majesty's consul, (23 October 1843), on the best information he could collect, stated his belief that in reality the amount of population would be proved to be nearly as follows:

Whites	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	480,000
Free coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200,000
Slaves	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	860,000
TOTAL									1,540,000

The population in Porto Rico was stated by Her Majesty's consul, on the 11 January 1845, to be as follows;

Whites	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	133,155
Free coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	135,237
Slaves	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34,240
TOTAL									302,632

So that the slave population in Cuba as to Porto Rico, is as 25 to 1.

In 1824 the Portuguese possessions in America were formally recognised as the empire of Brazil.

The population was estimated in 1830, by Canralist, at 5,735,502, on the authority of documents in Brazil. Maltebrun, in the same year, estimated it at 5,340,000. Balbi at about the same. McCulloch at from 6,500,000 to 7,000,000, and from returns recently obtained from Her Majesty's consuls, the amount appears to be nearly as follows:

Whites	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	928,000
Free coloured	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,417,000
Slaves	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,995,000
TOTAL									6,340,000

At the earliest period to which this return refers, namely, in 1788, France, it is said, (see Report of Privy Council of 1788) took about 20,000 slaves for her colonies; England, 13,000 to 15,000, for hers; Holland, 4,000; Denmark, 2,000; and America from 4,000 to 5,000.

Denmark abandoned the slave trade in 1792.

England continued importing largely, and, indeed, for some few years subsequently to the war of 1793, increased her importations, partly for her ancient colonies, partly for those which she then conquered. The importations of Spain and Holland at that time decreased.

England abolished legally the trade in 1807, and soon afterwards abandoned it.

America abolished the trade in 1807, but continued importing very considerably up to the end of 1809. (See Conferences in London, 1818.)

France formally abolished the trade in 1815, but she also continued to import slaves until her decree of 1817 had inflicted a considerable penalty on the importation into French colonies, when with very little exception she abandoned the trade, so far as regarded the supply of the colonies of France. Perhaps 1,000 a year might have been put for this supply in the period next ensuing, namely, 1819 to 1825; but I had not data which would enable me to verify reports which at the time were prevalent to that effect.

19 June 1848.

(signed) J. Bandinel.

* Since April last, when returns had appeared for only 2,472 slaves captured in 1846, and 2,152 captured in 1847, a Paper dated 8 June, and marked 52* (2) has been laid before Parliament, giving the enlarged Return here come to for the slaves captured in these two years.

