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T H I R D

R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON THE

S L A V E T R A D E;

TOGETHER WITH THE

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE,

AND APPENDIX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
25 July 1848.

Martis, 22^o die Februarii, 1848.

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

Jovis, 24^o die Februarii, 1848.

Committee nominated :

Sir Robert Harry Inglis. Mr. Hutt. Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Edward John Stanley. The Earl of Lincoln. Mr. Cobden. Lord Harry Vane.	Mr. Jackson. Colonel Thompson. Mr. Evelyn Denison. Lord Courtenay. Mr. Simeon. Mr. Monckton Milnes. Lord John Hay.
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Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records.

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

Lunæ, 28^o die Februarii, 1848.

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

Martis, 18^o die Aprilis, 1848.

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

REPORT	- - - - -	p. iii
MINUTES OF EVIDENCE	- - - - -	p. 1
APPENDIX	- - - - -	p. 200

THIRD 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.

25 July 1848.

LIST OF WITNESSES.

Martis, 30° die Maii, 1848.

Thomas Tobin, Esq. - - - - - p. 1

Jovis, 1° die Junii, 1848.

John Lilley, Esq. - - - - - p. 15

Commander William O'Bryen Hoare, R.N. - - - - - p. 25

Martis, 6° die Junii, 1848.

Alexander Macgregor, Esq. - - - - - p. 36

Matthew James Higgins, Esq. - - - - - p. 60

Jovis, 8° die Junii, 1848.

Matthew James Higgins, Esq. - - - - - p. 71

Martis, 20° die Junii, 1848.

Henry Barkly, Esq., M.P. - - - - - p. 79

Captain Michael Rimington - - - - - p. 100

Jovis, 22° die Junii, 1848.

The Rev. Edward Jones - - - - - p. 109

Jovis, 29° die Junii, 1848.

The Rev. John Clarke - - - - - p. 123

The Rev. William Garland Barrett - - - - - p. 134

Martis, 4° die Julii, 1848.

The Rev. Henry Townsend - - - - - p. 152

The Rev. Charles Andrew Gollmer - - - - - p. 165

Stephen Bourne, Esq. - - - - - p. 173

Mr. William Henry Pratt, and }
Mr. James Will - - - - } p. 181

Jovis, 6° die Julii, 1848.

James Macqueen, Esq. - - - - - p. 186

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE.

Martis, 30^o die Maii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Barkly.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Cardwell.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Jackson.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord Harry Vane.

WILLIAM JACKSON, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

Thomas Tobin, Esq., called in; and Examined.

5622. *Chairman.*] YOU are a resident in Liverpool?—I am.

5623. And a Merchant, trading to the West Coast of Africa?—Yes.

5624. Will you state to the Committee how long you have been engaged in that trade from first to last; how long have you had a knowledge of the coast of Africa?—I cannot speak off-hand; but I should think 50 years. When I speak of this, my recollection is not so good as it has been; and it is possible that I may be in error, but I state as nearly as I can judge; since I first went there it is about 50 years, I think.

5625. In the first part of your career you were engaged in the slave trade?—I was.

5626. And you remained engaged in that trade until Parliament passed an Act which rendered it illegal?—I did. I was in Jamaica the last time when we heard of the abolition.

5627. How many voyages did you make to the West Coast of Africa to purchase slaves before the abolition took place?—I think, to the best of my recollection, ten voyages.

5628. Were you in command of a vessel at that time?—I was in command the greatest part of the time.

5629. Did the slaves which you purchased on the coast of Africa all go to the island of Jamaica?—No, they went to different places.

5630. Will you be kind enough to state where you got them, and where you took them to?—On the first voyage I was at Loango, and we took them to Jamaica.

5631. Do you recollect how many slaves you took on board from Loango?—I cannot recollect the exact number; but I think the number that the vessel was allowed to carry was about 300.

5632. Do you recollect how many you lost; that is, how many died on the passage between Loango and the place where you delivered them?—I do not think, taking the whole of the voyages together, that we averaged more than three per cent. loss. I was going to state that on the first voyage, when I commanded the "Molly," we were then under the old Act, and she was allowed to carry 438, I think, but I am not certain about that; we had about 50 in crew, because it was war time, and we were armed. I had about 480 people on board, black and white, and we never had a fingerache the whole time, from the time we left Liverpool until we returned back to Liverpool again.

5633. *Mr. Barkly.*] That was after the passing of Sir William Dolben's Act, was it not?—I do not recollect the names of the different Acts; but it was before the last reduction, because the "Molly" was allowed to carry 430 odd, and afterwards she was restricted to 280.

5634. What number of slaves per ton was the regulation?—I do not recollect exactly the regulation; they measured the ships, and there were so many feet allowed for each.

0.53.

5635. What

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

5635. What was the tonnage of the "Molly"?—She was 301 tons, exclusive of quarter-deck.

5636. *Chairman.*] Taking the average loss of the ten voyages that you made to the coast of Africa to purchase slaves, the loss of life was only 3 per cent. in carrying them to their destination?—It did not exceed 3 per cent., taking the one voyage that I made in which we never had a fingerache.

5637. Were you then subject to rules and regulations for the proper care and comfort of the slaves?—Always. It was war time, and therefore it interfered very much; we were constantly exercising guns, and falling in with privateers, and so on, but the whole ship's company was constantly employed by the commander of the vessel in making everything comfortable that possibly could be for the slaves.

5638. *Mr. Barkly.*] Did you carry a surgeon?—Always.

5639. *Chairman.*] And you made it your interest to study the comfort of the slaves on board?—There was scarcely anything else thought of during the time that the slaves were on board but that. The crew was not allowed to lift a hand against a man of them, or a woman either.

5640. And they were treated with the greatest kindness?—Nothing could be more so. If they had been in a nursery in any private family they could not have been treated more so.

5641. Were they brought up from below every day and washed?—They were not washed every day, because the weather was such frequently that they could not, but they came up about eight o'clock in the morning, and people were appointed over the hatchways with cloths, and they were rubbed down by themselves; the stout people themselves exercised that; they got their first mess about nine o'clock; they got another at 12 o'clock, and another at four o'clock in the afternoon, with the water served out to them in the same way.

5642. Was the hold made perfectly clean for them where they were stowed away?—Every day it was cleaned, and the "'tween decks" scoured with sandstone, and firepans placed throughout the ship to purify it.

5643. *Mr. Barkly.*] What allowance of water per day was given to those slaves?—It was not served out to them excepting in a tin pannican, with a handle to it; a tub of water came round, and either one of themselves was allowed to help it out, or one of the ship's company served it out to them; and I suppose each of those would hold more than half a pint, being as much as they wished for. If it was very hot weather, in the night-time, and they called out for water, they were generally given water in the night-time.

5644. *Chairman.*] Great care and attention was paid to keeping them clean, and in good health?—No one could be more attentive than everybody in the ship, officers, and men, and all; and the men were not allowed to do anything except attend to these things, and keep themselves clean, and the ordinary ship's duty.

5645. What was the food with which you generally fed them?—According to the different countries that they belonged to, the food differed. On the Gold Coast the food that they live upon generally is Indian corn, but they have plantains, and there is a kind of ground nut, and a very excellent food it is. On the windward coast, again, they chiefly feed upon rice; they nearly live upon rice. When you get down to the Bight and the Bonny, in those places yams are their food almost invariably, with other little things with them, palm oil and other different things that they use. Then when you get away to the southern coast, again, they have cassada; but they have corn likewise.

5646. Did you purchase, at the time you took the slaves on board, a sufficient quantity to give them the food that they were accustomed to, on their voyage to the West Indies?—In going some voyages we took the rice, and to the southern coast beans likewise, and peas, out from this country. At Bonny we bought yams entirely to feed them with. The ships were generally filled with from 10,000 to 15,000 yams.

5647. What was the condition of the slave when landed compared with his condition when taken on board?—If the ship was healthy, far superior; sometimes smallpox, or measles, or dysentery, or something, broke out among them, and then they did not look so well; but if they were healthy on the voyage, they looked better; but I had never such sickness on board the vessels I was in.

5648. Notwithstanding they had diseases such as you have described, on board, the average loss of life during the ten voyages which you made was only

only three per cent. ?—It did not exceed three per cent. ; but there was not such sickness on board my vessels.

5649. *Mr. Barkly.*] Were they in a condition to go to work at once on landing in the West Indies ?—They were very anxious to go to work ; they were very loath frequently to leave the vessel on the coast of Africa. Sometimes you hesitated to take them, because you took none but young ones, and said to the natives, “ You must take them back ; I cannot take them.” I have known the young ones get hold of you by the knees and beg and pray that you would take them to your country.

5650. *Chairman.*] Was there any desire expressed by the blacks to be taken back again ?—No, never.

5651. No wish to return to their own country ?—I do not think myself that they would be allowed to return to the interior from the sea coast, because they were all from the interior of the country ; there was not one in a hundred scarcely but came from the interior of the country. There were very few indeed, unless it was for some crime, that were disposed of from the sea coast.

5652. What was the average cost of a slave at that time ?—On different parts of the coast it altered very much indeed. The first time that I speak of, when we lost none, I made a calculation, and they came to about 17 *l.* or 18 *l.* a head. But then goods, you may take into consideration, were 300 per cent. dearer than they are now. On other parts of the coast they were not half. On the Gold Coast they were generally about 20 *l.* On the southern coast I do not think that they averaged more than about 10 *l.* or 12 *l.*

5653. And what was the average price that a good slave sold for when he arrived in the West Indies ?—After the restriction as to number it was raised very much ; I think in Jamaica we averaged about 70 *l.* sterling a head.

5654. Was that before or after the reduction in the number to be carried ?—They knew there was going to be a reduction, and for the last voyages they got nearly the same prices that they did afterwards. The vessel was allowed to carry 430 odd in the first instance, and was reduced to 280.

5655. Do you recollect whether as a merchant you made as much by carrying the 280 as you did by taking the 430 ?—I was not concerned in the cargoes, and therefore I knew very little about the results of them.

5656. But your emoluments were a per-centage at that time upon the net returns ?—Yes.

5657. Then you perhaps recollect whether your per-centage amounted to as much as the voyage before, when you were allowed to carry the extra number ?—The per-centage was always paid in the West Indies by the person who sold the cargo there. The first time, with the greatest number that I have spoken of, I think my commission came to 2,000 *l.*, and afterwards they came to 1,200 *l.* to 1,300 *l.*

5658. *Mr. Barkly.*] What was the rate of commission ?—With every captain, almost, it was different, but in general it was six per cent.

5659. *Chairman.*] Had not the captain the privilege of taking a certain number of slaves himself ?—Not one.

5660. Was not it a rule to give the doctor of the ship a slave ?—Yes ; but then it was the average sale in the West Indies ; there was no particular slave of his.

5661. He was not allowed to purchase a slave for himself ?—No.

5662. But he got the average price of a slave ?—Yes, the average price of a slave in the West Indies.

5663. The object being to make him careful, so that the more slaves he landed the more pay he got ?—Yes. And there was a bounty paid by Government both to the captain and to the surgeon, provided they did not bury above a certain number ; but I forget what that number was. I got this every voyage.

5664. What check was there upon the captain giving a good and safe return of the number that he took on board, and the number that died ?—If anybody had more on board than the Act allowed there was a forfeiture, I think, of 15 *l.* for each above that number, and you were subject to every officer and every man of the crew in the ship informing.

5665. Were you subject also to be searched by the men of war ?—Never.

5666. You were subject to it ?—The only searching that ever I knew in those days was after pressed men.

5667. *Mr. Barkly.*] When you went to the coast, did you find the slaves in barracoon

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

barracoons there waiting for you?—Never; they all came from the interior of the country.

5668. How were they brought down to suit the arrival of the vessel?—On the Bonny coast, where the great bulk of it was, they came down in canoes.

5669. Can you form any estimate of the cost of transporting a slave across from Africa to the West Indies; what his keep amounted to during the voyage?—No; the result of the voyage, the first cost, and the expenses, showed what the profits were.

5670. *Chairman.*] But you cannot make a comparison between the expense then and the expense now, in consequence of your having had to man the vessel to defend yourself, it being war time?—We paid 4 *l.* a man for seamen, and we paid as high as 20 per cent. premium for insurance during the war time.

5671. *Mr. Barkly.*] Was your commission of six per cent. upon the net profit of the voyage?—No, not the net profit of the voyage, upon the sale.

5672. *Chairman.*] The net proceeds?—The net proceeds in the West Indies.

5673. *Mr. Barkly.*] The slaves were entirely purchased with British manufactures, I suppose?—No, not with British manufactures altogether. In the early part most of the cloth was Indian.

5674. *Chairman.*] Indian romalls?—Indian goods of different sorts. Bafts were a great thing; another great manufacture was Indian calicoes, printed in London, according to the patterns which we thought proper to give them. Those pieces, I recollect, came to 32 *s.* a piece. Very few Indian goods go now.

5675. Have you seen, during the course of your connexion with the coast of Africa, a gradual change take place from foreign goods to British manufactured ones?—They mostly have British manufactured goods now, because they are so very much cheaper. The Indian romalls at that time were about 15 *s.*; they get for about 3 *s.* the imitation of them from Manchester.

5676. Do you recollect what was the importation of palm oil into Liverpool the first year after the slave trade was abolished?—It was a considerable number of years before any progress was made in it at all. There were two houses, Mr. Bold's and Mr. Penny's, in a small way in the trade, in the Old Calabar, for perhaps two or three years; but I do not think myself that there was any progress made in the palm-oil trade for many years afterwards; I was the first to send out to the Bonny; I introduced the palm oil from that river.

5677. Do you recollect what year that was in; was it the "Kingston" or the "Molly"?—No; my first was a vessel called the "Margaret." I think that we chartered from Tomlinson.

5678. From the time that the change was made, and the natives were induced to turn their attention to the production of palm oil and legitimate commerce, the increase of palm oil has been very great?—Very great; when I first entered into it, there was not more than 450 tons a year from all parts. The late Mr. Horsfall and I went largely into it, from the knowledge that I had of it; for some years past it has been about 20,000 tons.

5679. *Mr. Barkly.*] At the time you first went to the coast of Africa, was there much slave trade carried on by foreigners in foreign vessels?—Very little. Now and then you met with a Brazilian vessel, and they mostly went to Whydah, down upon the Gold Coast. We never met any excepting one or two French vessels at Bonny, after we went there, where the bulk of the trade was carried on.

5680. Do you think that the slaves in the foreign vessels were treated as humanely and provided with the same comforts as those in the British vessels, under the Regulation Act?—I could not well say. In the two ships that were there, the French were as attentive as in our ships; the only difference which they made was, that our people were fed entirely with yams, the produce of the country, and the French never would allow a yam to come alongside of their vessel, but took beans out from France; beans and rice together.

5681. Do you recollect what the height between decks of the "Molly" was?—She would be about 5½ feet; she was built for the purpose.

5682. Was that height fixed by the Act of Parliament?—The Act of Parliament changed, but I think it was confined to four feet or four feet four inches; we were much higher.

5683. In the vessels which you commanded, the height was five feet six inches?—Yes, about five feet six inches from deck to deck; I could walk.

5684. *Chairman.*] Did you take over a fair mixture of both sexes?—In general

general there were more males than females, but not a great many more. And another thing was this, when you went to the different markets they wanted more males at one market and less at another; therefore when we knew what the market was, we endeavoured to get the cargo so as to suit that market. For instance, at Surinam and Demerara they wanted stout able men to go into the trenches or fences at once. At Jamaica again, they wanted young people, females chiefly, to go into the coffee estates.

5685. Did you keep the sexes apart during the voyage?—Always.

5686. Were they at all instructed during the time that they were crossing?—In what?

5687. Were they taught to read?—No, it would be impossible.

5688. Were they brought up to prayers?—They were not.

5689. Was there any observance of the Lord's Day?—Yes; in general it was kept a holiday, excepting so far as attending to the comfort of the slaves.

5690. Mr. *Barkly*.] Was the slave trade much increased immediately before its being finally extinguished by Great Britain?—I do not think that it was increased, because it required an immense capital to carry it on; it was only the rich houses that could carry it on a second voyage. The payments were made in one, two, and three years' bills, and unless they were rich houses they could not do anything with those bills; therefore they could not send out a vessel on a second voyage.

5691. Lord *H. Vane*.] What was the last voyage which you made?—The last voyage was from Bonny to Jamaica, and in Jamaica we heard of the abolition of the slave trade.

5692. Mr. *Barkly*.] Did those slaves sell at very high prices when it was known that the slave trade was suppressed?—I do not think that there was much alteration, because they had been anticipating it for some years.

5693. Did you never sell slaves in the West Indies at a lower price than 70 *l.* a head?—Yes; at one island they would be more in demand than at another, and a great deal depended upon how the agent that was there was to pay for them; he must pay for them in bills, and it depended upon circumstances whether those bills would be taken. There were only two or three houses of name whose bills would be taken at all.

5694. What was the lowest cash price which you ever remember being procured for slaves?—I should not think that it was less on any voyage that I was on (I am speaking merely by guess) than 50 *l.*

5695. Lord *H. Vane*.] What were the places from whence you embarked the slaves for Jamaica and for other places?—Mostly from Bonny. I, in six voyages, commanded a vessel from Bonny.

5696. Of whom did you purchase those slaves at that period?—From the native chiefs at Bonny. The inhabitants of Bonny, I should say, were about 10,000; but all the negroes that were purchased came from the interior of the country.

5697. In what condition were the negroes which you purchased, at the period of your purchasing them?—We never would take one that did not look well and healthy, and well-conditioned altogether. We never took one that was ill-looking from disease or anything of that sort; and if they got disease before the ship sailed, we generally made a present of them to some of the natives.

5698. Where were they kept; in barracoons, or in what way?—No, they came down direct from the country; the barracoons were merely a thing that was got up by the Spaniards; we never had such things as barracoons.

5699. Were there any slave dealers, or did the negroes belong to different individuals, so that the number was dispersed over a large population; in what way did you select them?—They were all dealers. A man (we will say the chief or king of one of those places) had a number of men as traders, but they were still his property, and he kept them as a protection against any other nations. Each of those men perhaps would have 50 or 100 slaves belonging to himself; they never sold those.

5700. They did not sell their domestic slaves?—They did not.

5701. Were the slaves which they sold prisoners taken in war?—We never knew anything about the prisoners; but the whole of the inhabitants of Africa are slaves; we must not consider them as freemen taken for slaves; they are all slaves. At Bonny, where I said there were about 10,000 inhabitants, there were only two families that were free; all the rest were slaves; but then they

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

were domestic slaves, and were going in their canoes; but they kept those as a protection in case of being invaded by any other nation, for there were different nations round them, and they were always quarrelling.

5702. If the number of freemen was so small, was not there apprehension of the rising of the slaves?—The traders treated those people the same as if they had been their own family.

5703. As the number of domestic slaves was so great in proportion to the free population, was there not some well-founded apprehension of an insurrection on the part of the slaves against their masters, the masters being so few in proportion?—Those people that we speak of as slaves in the towns all considered themselves as free people; that their masters would not part with them, because they could not do without them.

5704. Then they were attached to their masters?—Yes.

5705. There was a sort of clanship?—Yes, they were all attached to them; they knew of no other countries, therefore they were better treated by them than they expected in any other place.

5706. A very small proportion of those slaves were prisoners of war?—We never knew anything of that. All the slaves that came down, came from the interior of the country, many of them 300 miles and more, and we never knew anything about their being prisoners of war, excepting what I have seen in the papers here, so that we considered them all slaves.

5707. And you had no difficulty in purchasing any number that you required?—Sometimes it was much brisker than others; different causes, disputes in the interior of the country, and many things, put a stop to the trade altogether. They came down in different ways; in some places, two, three, half-a-dozen, or ten would come down from the interior of the country a day. At Bonny they came in what they called fairs, and perhaps 2,000 would come in a day. Then they would not go for any more again perhaps for two months.

5708. They would wait for the number of ships to carry them?—They had a great deal of negotiation with the chiefs, because they bought them all from the chiefs.

5709. Did the ships come at stated periods for their purchase?—No, we went all the year round. Sometimes they endeavoured to evade the rains; it was more unhealthy at that time, but at Bonny they made a house entirely over the ships, the same as the roof of any of our houses which have slates; it was done with mats.

5710. I understand that you did not find that the slaves were more unhealthy than the crew in the voyage?—Not at all so; not more so.

5711. Did you employ the slaves on board your vessels?—There was nothing to employ them at excepting keeping themselves clean.

5712. They did not assist you in the working of the ship at all?—Not at all; sometimes the men would be very glad to pull at a rope, or anything of that sort.

5713. Had you any risings of them on board the vessels?—I never had; but I have seen some.

5714. *Chairman.*] Do you consider that there is a great increase in the mortality now in moving from place to place for shipments, besides the increased mortality in the passage?—I have no doubt there is a great deal of increase of sickness and mortality from moving from place to place.

5715. *Lord H. Vane.*] But that must have existed previously; there must have been the same mortality under the old system?—No; formerly the places were fixed upon, and there were ships in almost every place, and therefore the slaves had to go to the nearest port; but latterly they have had to go hundreds of miles to get a secure place of shipment; and perhaps there was no opportunity of disposing of them there, they would have to march some other way again in all haste.

5716. When you carried slaves from Bonny, or from any other place, Bonny principally, to Jamaica, did you take them to any other ports besides Jamaica, or did you confine the disembarkation of your slaves to Jamaica itself at that time?—If the instructions going from this country were direct for Jamaica, the ships went to Jamaica direct; they laid in a cargo suitable for the Jamaica market; but frequently they had to call at Barbadoes, or some of the other islands, for instructions, because where there were one, two, or three years' bills, it was necessary for the owners to ascertain who were the proper people to deal with.

5717. Generally

5717. Generally speaking, were the number of slaves which were embarked in one vessel destined for one particular island, or for one particular place?—No; in general they were for a market, and you had to call at Barbadoes or other island to ascertain where you were to go to.

5718. You did not buy them on the account of certain planters, but you bought them for a market, in which market they were to be sold to different planters?—Yes. It was better, if we could, to be fixed for a particular market, because we laid in the negroes suitable for that market; whereas we might be ordered to another island, where they were not so suitable.

5719. But practically speaking, it was not much the custom to purchase for particular estates; you purchased rather for the general market, from which market they were to be sold to different estates, than for any particular estate?—We never knew anything about the estates; we came to a particular merchant, at Kingston in Jamaica, we will say, and he disposed of the cargoes to the planters.

5720. A sort of middle-man between you and the planters?—Yes; the commander of the vessel had performed his part of the business when the voyage was finished and the cargo delivered up to the agent to whom the owners of the vessel had ordered it.

5721. Were there many cruelties on board the vessels; I do not speak of your own vessel, but as you carried on many voyages to the coast of Africa, you must be acquainted with what was the case with respect to other vessels trafficking in slaves on the coast?—I never believed the cruelties. There are some brutes in all kinds of trades and business, but in general there was no cruelty ever exercised upon the negroes; everybody knew that by keeping them in spirits, and keeping them in good condition, it was so much better for the voyage.

5722. *Chairman.*] The captain had a direct interest in maintaining the health of his slaves, and delivering them in good order at the place where they were sold?—He had.

5723. *Lord H. Vane.*] Then you do not at all believe the statement that the middle passage in former times was attended with almost as many horrors as the middle passage now, when the object is to avoid meeting with cruisers?—I never believed in the cruelties in former times in the middle passage. Every man on board the ship, whether it was my ship or any other ship, the whole of the officers and crew, were employed altogether in endeavouring to keep the slaves in a healthy state and in good spirits.

5724. What precautions did you take in order to prevent the possibility of the slaves rising, because there was always that apprehension?—There was in regard to the stout men. With respect to the stout men we were obliged for self-preservation to keep them two and two in leg irons; that is, they had their hands at liberty, but the right leg of one and the left leg of the other had shackles. But for my own part, as soon as ever we got out, I endeavoured to impress upon their minds, that when we got to our own country they would be all set at liberty, that is, out of irons. Then in about a fortnight after leaving, I endeavoured, by keeping them in good humour, to knock perhaps a dozen out of those irons on a morning; then the next morning the same; the men took it in good part, and they used to draw lots themselves to see who should be let out the next morning, until they were about half out, and then we let them all out.

5725. You did that habitually?—Yes.

5726. Therefore generally, one day or the next day, the whole of the slaves were taken out of their irons within two or three days?—Yes; in a few days the whole were turned out. On some parts of the coast there were more dangers of that kind than there were on others. At some places there was not much danger; the nation was a peaceable set; at others they were very bad. In the Gambia they were always very bad; they would tell you to your face (I was never there); that if they possibly could they would make you jump overboard and destroy your vessel. But at every part of the coast there were different nations; every 10 or 12 miles almost there was a different language spoken; some of them were very troublesome, and others were very peaceable; and according to the nations the people in the West Indies acted in purchasing the negroes.

5727. *Sir R. Inglis.*] Not having been present at the earlier part of your examination, I shall be corrected by the Chairman if I repeat questions which you have already answered. The evidence which I have heard you give has had reference to the period immediately preceding the Act abolishing the slave trade;

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

it is understood that for nine years before that period you were yourself engaged in the trade?—I was.

5728. During all that period, Sir William Dolben's Act was in operation?—I do not recollect the names of the Acts.

5729. The Act which limited the number of slaves in proportion to the tonnage, which required a certain height between the decks, which required a certain quantity of food, including water, for each slave, and which also required the presence of a surgeon on board?—I am speaking from memory when I say that the height was four feet six, or four feet four; but I think that that was the height.

5730. Can you state to the Committee anything connected with the middle passage before such limitations were imposed by statute?—I was not in the trade before any Act took place at all; but I was in it during the time that the Act was in force allowing 430; and we were reduced afterwards to 280.

5731. Were you ever examined before a Committee of either House of Parliament, or before the Privy Council, on the subject of the slave trade?—I was not.

5732. You regard it as the interest of the dealer in slaves to deliver his commodity in a prime state, if possible?—We never took one on board a ship unless he was in a prime state.

5733. Advantages attending a traffic, when legal, cannot, in the nature of things, be assumed to continue when the traffic, whatever it may be, is declared illegal; is that your opinion?—No question the slaves were better off when the trade was legal than when illegal.

5734. It was assumed in the previous questions which I have addressed to you that the slave trade had been legal, whatever other description might belong to it, till March 1807; and the question which I proceeded to put to you was, whether from the moment when the character of the trade was changed in law, it could be carried on with such advantages to the slave in personal comfort as before it became a smuggling and illegal trade?—After it was declared illegal by this country, I never heard anything of the slave trade; but no doubt the slaves were worse off on the passage after it was abolished by law.

5735. Supposing it to be the desire of Great Britain to suppress the slave trade, is it possible, in the nature of things, that such trade can be carried on with as much personal comfort to the objects of it, to the slaves, as when the trade itself was permitted?—They certainly could not have the same comfort afterwards.

5736. The horrors then which attend the slave trade are incident to the necessity of the case, that trade which had before been legal being now a prohibited and a smuggling trade?—After the prohibition the slave trade that was carried on could not be carried on with the same comfort to the slaves as it was before. When we threw it up, the Spaniards entered into it. The Spaniards never had a ship in the trade before, but they were swarming after we threw it up, and they went into it without any good regulations or anything of that sort. When we gave it up, we gave up the wholesome regulations which were then in being to carry it on, and threw it into the hands of the Spaniards, who had no regulations at all.

5737. Do you consider that England is responsible for its own treatment of the slaves, and is not responsible for the treatment of the slaves by other nations?—We cannot have anything to do with the treatment of slaves by other nations, I should think. I speak of myself, and I should say the country at large.

5738. The object of the questions is this, when England declared the slave trade unlawful, could such trade, if carried on at all, be carried on upon other principles than those of smuggling, and consequently with increased risk to the lives and comforts of the slaves so conveyed?—There is no doubt that after it came to be an illegal trade, nothing could be carried on so clearly as when it was a legal trade, nor could the comfort of the negroes be equal to it.

5739. The fact then of the horrors of the middle passage as they exist now, is no argument against the suppression of the slave trade by Great Britain herself?—I have already stated that I never heard of the horrors of the middle passage while we carried it on, and I only hear it or see it in the newspapers now; but I do not believe one half of it.

5740. The guilt however of such trade, and the horrors attending it, belong to those who carry it on, and not to England, which has renounced it; is that your opinion?—The guilt of carrying on any trade must belong to the parties so carrying it on.

5741. Mr.

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

5741. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Do you not believe that a certain amount of hardship at least, if not cruelty, is necessary, in consequence of our restrictions?—They are more cautious; in consequence of their smuggling they require fast-sailing vessels, which have not the same comfort in them that they formerly had. I do not think that there is so much of that cramming together as is spoken of, because they have an interest in the voyage, the same as we had during the time that we carried it on; and they would not heap men upon men, and women upon women, where they must bury one half of them.

5742. *Chairman*.] You have had more than 50 years' experience in the African trade, and 40 years' knowledge of what has taken place since the slave trade was declared illegal; do you think that the squadron on the coast of Africa has been useful in preventing the increase of the slave trade?—Where we have had to do with the slave trade, with our legitimate business; the latter has put a stop to it altogether as at Bonny; but on the southern coast I believe that there is a great deal of it carried on, because it is an extensive coast, of at least 3,000 miles, taking the whole coast together, so that you never can guard the whole. They take precautions which were not necessary before. They accumulate the negroes until such time as they get a message that a ship is there to receive them, and they then get them down as quickly as possible.

5743. Then are you of opinion that the squadron which is now upon the coast cannot put down the slave trade?—They may put it down in some places, as they have done; not so much as the legitimate trade has put it down. I think that the legitimate trade on the coast of Africa has done more to put it down than anything else; but in some places there is not much to get for the legitimate trade. For instance, on the southern coast we get ivory, elephants' teeth; there were gums to be got; the gums are unsaleable. There is an article in which, if it could be carried into effect, any quantity might be done, that is copper ore; we get some at Ambriz, in latitude about 8°, and it is very superior indeed, but the natives will not allow us to go up or to send anybody up to see whether an additional quantity could be got; we have reason to believe from the appearance of it, that it is picked up on the surface of the mountains; and if that trade could be once opened, it would employ an immense quantity of tonnage by legitimate trade. But it is bordering on the Portuguese settlements at Loando St. Paul's; and though I have mentioned it to different people to see whether a company could not be formed for that purpose, they are afraid of doing it, because the settlement is close to the borders, and perhaps is included in the borders. Now the Portuguese will not meddle with it, but if we were to expend money so as to open mines there, they might claim it at once as their property.

5744. But you have always found from your experience, that wherever legitimate commerce has extended itself, slavery has diminished in proportion to the extension of commerce?—It has disappeared entirely where we have had full play for legitimate commerce. I do not think, myself, if any ship were to go into Bonny, to say that they wanted slaves, that the king and the chiefs there would enter into any contract with them.

5745. It would not be worth their while?—No; they get everything that they want by legitimate commerce, and it is my opinion that that has always had more effect than all the suppression of our men of war.

5746. The more legitimate commerce is extended the less slavery will exist?—I do not think there is anything from Bonny at all. I have some ships in the legitimate trade, and I do not think that they have met with a slaver for seven years, excepting on the south coast, where the slaves are accumulated in the interior of the country, and when a vessel comes in they come down at once; the ships are ready watered, and everything else, and are off immediately.

5747. Do you think it necessary to have a squadron on the coast of Africa to protect your commerce there?—Not at all.

5748. They never did you any good?—They never did us any good, balancing the evil with the good.

5749. Have you considered their interference in the rivers between the white traders and the black as a benefit or an evil?—I never thought that it was any benefit certainly. I think myself that where they have interfered in compelling the natives to pay the debts due to others, it has had a bad effect, because it induces the other captains to trust their goods out where they otherwise would not do it.

5750. Then if due precaution were taken by the white man in dealing with the

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848

the black, no such protection would be required, and no such interference on the part of the squadron?—I do not think that it is required at all to protect the legitimate commerce.

5751. And this is your opinion after 40 years' experience in carrying on legitimate trade with the west coast of Africa?—It is.

5752. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Will you explain to us what would be the motive of an African chief which would incline him to exchange some article of legitimate commerce, such as palm oil, or any thing else, for the goods which he wishes to get from other countries, in preference to exchanging slaves for those commodities?—At Bonny, where there is no slave trade now, as long as they get the goods for the palm oil, they do not interfere, and do not wish to interfere with the sale of slaves.

5753. But will not slaves be an easier and cheaper article of exchange than any other which can be produced in Africa?—There would be less labour in getting them into the canoes than with palm oil; but then there would be the inconvenience of watching them and feeding them, and the risk of sickness. But knowing that England is against it, I do not think myself that in those places where our legitimate trade is carried on with palm oil (I speak of palm oil, because it is the bulk of the thing), they would wish to see a vessel come in for slaves, and I very much doubt myself whether they would sell them any.

5754. Therefore would not those facts go to this, that there is some unwillingness on the part of the Africans themselves to continue the slave trade?—I believe the chiefs on the sea coast, with whom legitimate trade is largely and regularly carried on, would be unwilling.

5755. What do you suppose they would do with the prisoners whom they took in war if they did not sell them as slaves?—I am very much afraid they would destroy many of them.

5756. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] Have you ever heard of wars being carried on, or raids made for the purpose of obtaining negroes to be sold as slaves?—I see it in the newspapers, but I never heard it on the coast of Africa.

5757. You have stated that the cost of bringing down a slave to the coast was less than the expense of conveying any other article of commerce; will you state to the Committee whether the slave walked down voluntarily, or whether he were not fettered, or bound, or chained to his neighbour, in a sequence of perhaps 20 or 30 each, and all being in a state of grievous compulsion?—In different countries they had different methods of bringing the slaves down. For instance, at Bonny, from which I should think nearly half of all the negroes on the coast of Africa, that went to the West Indies in the legitimate time, were taken, they all came down from the interior of the country in canoes. They were large canoes, which would carry 100.

5758. In those canoes were the slaves chained?—No, they were not chained. A number of the stout men were placed down, with the canoe men round them. Each of those canoes would be paddled with 100 men, and they were guarding the slaves. But the stout men were tied; not two and two, but with their hands tied with thongs of their own making round the waist.

5759. In other words, they came down in a state of constraint?—The stout men did.

5760. You now refer to those brought down by water; in a former answer you referred to those brought down by land; do you know any instance in which a negro, conscious that he was to be exported as a slave, ever went down voluntarily?—I cannot say that ever they went down voluntarily; but the females and the boys, when they did come down, would prefer going off in the ships to being left on shore again. In different places there were different modes. I have spoken of them, at Bonny, coming down in canoes; on the southern coast they did not come down in canoes; it is all dry land and high land. They came down, perhaps, 20 together, with their owners or people interested in them; and they had what they called a yoke, a stick about the thickness of my wrist, which was six feet long, with a fork to it. That was put round their neck, so as to leave their hands and legs at full liberty. The end of the yoke was placed round the neck, and the fore part of it was carried by the slave before him, upon his shoulder, and another by the slave before him again, so that 20 might go in that way, and they had their hands and legs at full liberty. They had to travel sometimes; perhaps, 100 miles or 200 miles.

5761. Notwithstanding all the advantages of the middle passage, with decks

of five feet four, and a surgeon on board, you have no reason to believe that any negro ever went voluntarily from the coast of Africa to the West Indies?—I think I have stated that there was no objection on the part of the females and the boys; the stout, able men might appear not to wish to go; but if they were not taken by the captain of the ship they knew that they would not be at liberty, because they would come down for 100 miles or 200 miles, and they would belong to the chief of that place, therefore they would not be at liberty, they would be still slaves. Besides, they could not know of the advantages before spoken of until they had been some time on board; then they became reconciled.

5762. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Did the slaves, generally, regard their exportation with great apparent horror when the passage was free?—Not at all; they became familiar with us altogether, and the white people became familiar with them, and they were as friendly as people could be.

5763. They did not lose their natural cheerfulness?—No; they were as cheerful on board ship, and perhaps more so, than they were in the interior of the country.

5764. When you were embarking them and putting them on board the ship, did they seem to feel any great regret or fear at leaving their country, and being transferred to another?—I do not think that they fretted in any way about it, because they knew that in their former country they were all slaves; they were subject to it. I never saw them fret at all about it.

5765. Altogether there was nothing in the trade repulsive to a man of humane feelings?—I never saw anything excepting the name of slavery; that was the only thing. I always considered myself that every man that was taken from that country was taken from a country where there were either bad laws or no laws at all, to a country where there were laws to protect him.

5766. *Chairman.*] And that he benefited by the exchange?—Yes; but the very idea of being sold as a slave kept him sullen for a while, especially the stout men.

5767. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] You regarded the transportation of slaves from Africa to our colonies as an exchange from an inferior to a superior state of society?—I did.

5768. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] With your views, do you wish the Committee to understand that a forced removal of a negro from his own home, that home, perhaps, being consumed by fire for the purpose of taking him, is an object which the party could regard without great grief and pain, applying to the negro the feelings of a white man in England?—With regard to the natives of Africa, supposing that they all came from the interior, for I know nothing of anybody being sent from the sea-coast unless it was for some crime, I do not think myself that it was the nature of the masters of those slaves in the interior of the country ever to hurt their feelings if they could avoid it. I have stated I did not hear on the coast of these wars or raids you allude to; the slaves were procured by the Bonny or other sea-coast chiefs negotiating with the chiefs in the interior for a portion of the slaves which belonged to such chiefs.

5769. The question was, not what might be the intention of a master as to hurting the feelings of a slave, but what would be the feelings of the slave in being torn forcibly from his own home; can you conceive that that state of things would be regarded without grief and pain by the individual?—I do not think myself, excepting with the stout, able men, where perhaps they were obliged to leave their wives, that it had much effect upon the younger people.

5770. You have stated that in the case of a husband separated from his wife, it might be a matter of grief and pain. You have referred also to women and children brought down in boats on the river; may not such women and children have been separated from their husbands and fathers in the same way in which you have described the husband to have been separated from his wife?—In speaking of Bonny, where they came down in the canoes by water, there were very seldom females taken who could be mothers; they confined themselves to people not more than 17 or 18 years of age, and they never took children on board there. The men, for the Jamaica market, were confined to, I think, 21 years of age; there was a penalty in Jamaica for importing any above 21 years of age; therefore everybody purchasing negroes endeavoured to keep under the mark, and they were more saleable.

5771. Do you regard the African to be a creature of the same flesh and feelings with ourselves?—I really cannot answer that question; I cannot tell what

T. Tobin, Esq
 30 May 1848.

the feelings of other people are; I can only tell by appearances. I know that, except the stout men, they did not like to go back after they had once got on board the ship.

5772. The question had reference to a rule of conduct. Is it in your judgment permitted to a white man to deal with a black man in any other manner than he would be willing that the black man should deal with him?—It is what I have always practised, and endeavoured to have practised, to treat them exactly as we would expect them to treat us.

5773. Excepting always that you regarded the slave trade, so long as the law permitted it, to be a trade in which a man might conscientiously engage?—I thought so then, and so did the British Parliament.

5774. By the stress which you lay upon the word “then,” are the Committee to understand that you do not regard it in the same way now?—I should be very sorry to see it opened again; but I never thought that taking negroes to the West Indies, where they were well treated, was at all putting them in a worse position than that in which they were in in their own country, where they were all slaves.

5775. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Would you object to telling us why you would be sorry to see the slave trade opened again?—The whole country is against slavery.

5776. You think it very repugnant to the moral sense of the community?—Yes; I should be very sorry indeed to see it opened again.

5777. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Do you think that in the absence of the British cruisers it would be less easy for the merchants of England to carry on their business with security?—I do not think that the squadron is of any service to our legitimate trade. If in these questions being put by different gentlemen, and put in different words, I should not be clear in my answers, I beg to state that my recollection is not so good as it has been.

5778. *Chairman.*] Have you any additional remarks to make?—In giving an opinion that the British squadron on the coast of Africa is of no advantage to our legitimate trade, I would add, that we frequently feel inconvenienced by it. I felt it myself in my legitimate trade on the coast of Africa; but we feel the inconvenience likewise from the treaties that have been made by other nations. In one instance *Mr. Horsfall* and I had a vessel on the coast of Africa; she got to Cabenda, a man-of-war (I forget the name now) came. She said, “You are not to trade here.” The captain wanted to know why; however he got no satisfaction; he was not allowed to trade, and they put an armed boat upon the bow and another on the stern for the purpose of preventing the legitimate trade. In asking the officer why that was, he said, “You are not to trade here; you must take your cargo down to Loango.” Loango was about 60 or 70 miles off, and the cargo was not suitable for Loango; it was not suitable for that trade at all, therefore he did not go down; he disposed of some of his cargo at one place and some at another; but it was a very serious disadvantage to us to do so. I wrote to the Admiralty upon the subject, and stated the inconvenience attending it, that it was impossible for us to carry on the trade with those restrictions, and I got an answer from them to say that the trade would not be prevented excepting at notorious slave-trading places. The man-of-war officer was to judge whether it was a notorious place or not; now there was not so much trade there; it mostly came down from the River Congo, from the inland; what we got there was perhaps a few elephants’ teeth, and orchilla weed, which is a new thing altogether there; it was never known before the legitimate trade was opened. At another time, in the same vessel, but I cannot recollect whether it was the same voyage or not, some of the sailors had volunteered on board a man-of-war. Where they were dissatisfied we always thought that they were better away; but they gave information to the captain, I suppose, of the ship-of-war that there were casks of handcuffs, and leg-irons, and such things, down in the lower hold; they came on board and removed 4,000 casks of powder from the hold up upon deck, and hauled it all over the deck, to look for those things; there was not such a thing in the ship. There is hardware, which goes out in every ship to a certain extent; whether the men intended that or not I cannot tell; but they tossed the whole cargo over and over, and they brought the 4,000 casks of powder (they were small casks) upon deck to find the articles which it was alleged were in the vessel; there was not such a thing in the ship. Those are some of the inconveniences. The same vessel fell in with a man-of-war; it was calm, and she was seven miles off; a
 boat

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

boat came, and a midshipman (I believe he was a midshipman) ordered the captain of our vessel to go away to his man-of-war, which was seven miles off; there was great danger that he could not join again in the night-time. We have likewise on the southern coast great inconvenience from being boarded and examined by the Portuguese. We have had vessels seized and detained. There were three chests of guns taken out of one of our boats close to the ship, and taken away to Loando St. Paul's; they were kept away about a month or six weeks and then returned again; but they were returned after they had been exposed to the weather; they were all bright muskets, and they were good for nothing when returned. Legitimate commerce cannot be carried on where there is anything interfering constantly with it. We ourselves now have given up that trade.

5779. In consequence of the interference of the men-of-war?—That is one of the inconveniences. The Portuguese condemned Mr. Horsfall's vessel, a man who had always large estates in Jamaica, but who never would listen, nor even thought of such a thing, as importing a negro himself; he had an objection to it altogether; he was the most determined man almost in the kingdom, as much so at least as any, and his vessel was detained and condemned. The consequence is, that we cannot get 100*l.* insurance done in Liverpool now upon any ship bound to the south coast with parties with whom we have been accustomed to do largely. I may also mention that some time since Mr. Horsfall and myself had a very promising trade at Cape Lopez. A Spanish captain who had lost his vessel (a slaver), placed himself under the protection of the king there, who refused to give him up (considering himself bound to protect the man who had taken refuge with him) on the demand of the man-of-war officer. The latter immediately landed with armed men, fired on the town, and declared that part of the coast under blockade; this so exasperated the king against the English that we were never able afterwards to renew our trade there.

5780. Have you any further remarks to make?—I have a letter from one of our captains, who states some of the difficulties that we have to encounter. Here is a letter from a Mr. Moffat, who was our agent on the south coast:—"Copy original, per 'Coquette,' Ambriz, 9th November 1845. Messrs. T. Tobin and Son. Gentlemen, I have now to inform you of my arrival at Ambriz, on the 4th instant, and sailed on the 6th for Mazula. I have been detained twice by the Portuguese men-of-war, and once your vessel, the 'George Canning,' taken possession of and forcibly held by a Portuguese officer and marines, and detained for the space of three hours. Whilst at Loango, the Portuguese seized three chests of guns, your property, whilst on their way to Mazula, in a hired launch; the documents you will receive; they were returned yesterday. Messrs. Horsfall & Son's 'Lady Sale' is seized; the 'Lalla' is seized; the schooner detained, but the latter is given up. Legitimate commercial affairs cannot possibly be carried on on this south coast of Africa, unless British merchants are better supported." This mentions the "George Canning;" she was a small vessel that we purchased to assist in the legitimate trade there. In going from place to place, we have always been afraid of carrying a sufficient quantity of water, because one of the stipulations in the treaties is, that if you have more water than sufficient, you are liable to be detained; and a Portuguese officer, perhaps, is to adjudge whether you have too much or not. Now I have a vessel that has just come in; she made the passage in 35 days out. I have had them where they have been upwards of five months; therefore you should put in much water; but if you do, it may be considered that it is having more water than sufficient; and that subjects you to be detained, and probably condemned. She was short of water, having a long passage, nearly three months, for it is a difficult passage, and running short of water, the captain was obliged to bear up for Cape Lopez, instead of going to Ambriz; he got to Cape Lopez, for the purpose of getting water; he was there; the natives knew his wants, and it cost him upwards of 40*l.* to get a cask of water, they knowing that he must have it; therefore it is one of the hardships that we cannot carry water sufficient for the purpose of a legitimate voyage. We are obliged to pinch them very much indeed, and scarcely give them sufficient water to boil their rice.

5781. Mr. Cardwell.] Is grain to be purchased in the southern parts of Africa?—Grain is to be had, but they chiefly live upon cassada; they have, however, Indian corn, and peas, and beans, and all those kind of things.

5782. Could you import it into Liverpool?—We did import some about 12 months ago, but we were liable to be detained by the first man-of-war, or foreign vessel

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

vessel of war, for having them; because of all those things we are obliged to have a certificate from the Custom-house here: and if you buy them on the coast of Africa you can have no certificate from the customs; therefore they may detain your vessel immediately, and whatever the result is you cannot come for a farthing of damages. It is enough to prevent any legitimate commerce being carried on at all.

5783. Then any considerable commerce in articles of food to be imported from the coast of Africa would be interfered with by the Equipment Article?—It would; they might be detained. Rice for instance; the windward coast of Africa is entirely a rice country, but you are not at liberty to take the rice in there for your own crew; it must either be in the list of provisions or else it must be part of the cargo.

5784. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Have any vessels in which you have been interested yourself ever been detained?—They have never been seized so as to be condemned, but we have had inconveniences such as I have mentioned, and very great inconvenience.

5785. But the inconveniences which you have suffered have been from the suspicions and not from any vessel having been actually seized?—They have been suspicions, and if there had been any reason for it they would have detained the vessel; but we have been obliged to curtail the number of all those kind of things to prevent that, seriously to our own disadvantage; for instance, as I mentioned about water, we cannot carry water sufficient, or so much as we would wish to do.

5786. Are you aware of any vessels, the circumstances of which you know, having been unjustly seized?—That vessel of *Mr. Horsfall's*, which I named, she went into the River Congo; it is difficult to get water upon the southern coast, and the men-of-war go into the River Congo, which is a fresh-water river altogether; she went there to see if she could trade, in the first place, and for some puncheons of water, because they cannot get it upon the coast; that was one of the principal reasons why she was condemned, because of this water and an iron pot.

5787. Did I understand you correctly to say that you were prevented landing your goods at some port, only on the ground that that was a port at which a great deal of slave trade was practised?—That was the answer which the captain of the vessel got from the officer who guarded the ship with two boats, one on the bow, and one on the stern, to prevent her trading at Cabenda, on the ground that it was a suspicious place of trade. I wrote the particulars of it to the Admiralty, and I got an answer from the Admiralty upon the subject, stating that orders were given not to detain vessels, or interfere with the trade, excepting in places which were denounced as great slave-trading places. But they might construe that of every place on the south coast.

5788. Therefore you are prevented by the present regulations from legitimate trade with what are considered suspicious places?—Exactly so, according to the Admiralty letter I have mentioned.

5789. Would not those places which are considered as suspicious, namely the places which are most in the habit of exporting slaves, be the very places into which we should try to introduce legitimate trade, and thus substitute one article of exportation for another?—Exactly so. It is my opinion that if instead of restricting them in that manner, they had endeavoured to encourage all the legitimate trade, they would have done away in a great measure with the slave trade.

5790. And would not those places which are regarded as suspicious be exactly the places at which you would be likely to land your goods with most advantage?—A great deal would depend upon what produce you could get for them. In the place that I was speaking of, there are some elephants' teeth to be got, and orchilla weed, and frequently specie, which has been brought either by the Spaniards or the Portuguese.

5791. Do the other parties to the slave-trade conventions in which we are interested take a pleasure in molesting English ships?—I do not know that they can feel pleasure in doing it, but it is a very great inconvenience indeed to the legitimate trade; so much so that merchants engaged in legitimate trade, if they are annoyed by those kind of things, will throw it up.

5792. *Chairman.*] Have you had any vessels lately from the Congo?—I had a vessel, about a fortnight ago, that came in, which had been up the Congo for the purpose of getting her water, coming from Ambriz.

5793. Did

5793. Did the captain of the vessel state on his return whether any men-of-war had been in the river?—He stated that he had gone up the river about 30 miles, for the purpose of getting his water for the passage home. The current runs very strong indeed, and the vessels lie close to the trees, with their yards touching the trees. He stated that a man-of-war had come into the river, within a few miles of him, and gone away again; and that the officer of the man-of-war had stated, that he had been up the Congo for the purpose of examining the river, and that there were no ships there, whereas our vessel was there. The captain of our vessel could see his, because his was open to the sea; but he could not see our vessel, because she was locked in by the trees.

5794. Then we must infer from that, that if your vessel had been a slaver she would have escaped capture?—There are a thousand creeks all there through the Congo, so that it is impossible to find them. I should name likewise, that when the "George Canning" was at Cape Lopez, as before mentioned, and was distressed for water, the natives plundered her of a great part of her cargo. The captain and the mate had both died on the windward coast, or soon after leaving the windward coast. She came in there to get water; they would not give her water unless the commander of the vessel, who was one of the sailors then, went ashore for it to make a bargain. The natives came off, and they plundered a great part of the cargo.

5795. Had the "George Canning" been allowed to take out sufficient water, this calamity would not have ensued?—No; and she would have made the passage in half the time that she did.

T. Tobin, Esq.

30 May 1848.

Jovis, 1° die Junii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Barkly.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

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

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

John Lilley, Esq. called in; and Examined.

5796. Mr. Jackson.] ARE you an African Merchant, residing in Liverpool?—
I am.

5797. How long have you been acquainted with the coast of Africa?—Nine-
teen years.

5798. Have you resided there for a considerable period?—About 11 out of
them.

5799. Where was your principal residence?—The Cameroons.

5800. You lived on shore there?—The whole of the time.

5801. Did you erect a house for yourself?—Yes.

5802. Are you acquainted with other parts of the coast of Africa?—Yes,
Bonny and the Calabar, and slightly with Benin.

5803. You have been up the River Benin?—I have.

5804. How far?—About 50 miles.

5805. Have you traded on the windward coast also?—I have.

5806. Have you made many voyages to the coast of Africa?—Yes; five
distinct ones, besides the time of residing there.

5807. During your residence in the River Cameroons were you in the habit of
going from river to river?—I was.

5808. Making the Cameroons your depôt for trading with every river in Biafra
and Benin?—Yes.

5809. Also trading with the south coast?—Yes; slightly with the south coast,
too, as far as the Gaboon.

Q. 53.

5810. And

John Lilley, Esq.

1 June 1848.

John Lilley, Esq.

1 June 1848.

5810. And the island of Fernando Po?—The islands of Fernando Po, Princes, and St. Thomas's.

5811. Having resided so long on the spot, do you consider yourself well acquainted with the habits and customs, and the opinions and feelings of the people there?—Perfectly so.

5812. You spoke the language?—Yes, I did when I resided there.

5813. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] What language was it?—It is the language of the Cameroons; I cannot give any other name for it.

5814. *Mr. Jackson.*] Had you any sort of settlement belonging to yourself there?—I had.

5815. Which you considered exclusively as your property?—Yes.

5816. What number of natives had you connected with it?—Men, women, and children, I suppose there would be about 200 residing within what I considered my town.

5817. When you went there what was the state of the River Cameroons as regards trade?—There was very little trade when I first went there.

5818. What were the habits of the people; were they inclined to violence or peace when you first went?—They were rather indifferent, not inclined much to violence; but they would have done so provided there had not been a check kept upon them.

5819. The trade of that river has increased considerably?—Considerably; it has more than doubled since I first went there.

5820. Have you been able to form any opinion as to whether, if the Government of this country would sanction such a proceeding, you could obtain from the River Cameroons and the adjacent districts any supply of labour to go to the West Indies?—Yes; I should think it could be done without any difficulty.

5821. Have you been able to form any idea as to what quantity you could get out of the River Cameroons in 12 months?—I should think there might be got out of the Cameroons to the amount of 2,000 in the 12 months.

5822. And the Old Calabar?—From the Old Calabar I think any quantity.

5823. The Bonny?—The Bonny I cannot say so much about; there is not the least doubt that at the Bonny, there being so many chiefs, and all powerful ones, they might increase it very much. I am giving a statement now merely from the different chiefs in the different places. At the Calabar they are more civilized than at other places; they understand better the nature of those people going; so that there would be no difficulty at all with them, on the understanding that they would be returned. The Bonny, I think, would be in the same position, provided it was explained to them what it was for.

5824. *Chairman.*] Provided it was explained to the chiefs?—To the king and chiefs. I think there would be no difficulty at all in the Bonny.

5825. *Mr. Jackson.*] The south coast; Corisco and the Gaboon?—At Corisco I know men could be had.

5826. Have you ever tried the experiment?—I have. I was in the habit of going to Corisco, and at one time I thought of residing in the Island of Princes. I said to the senior officer on the station, "There are a great many slaves on this property; they do nothing; is there any way of getting free labour from the coast?" He said, "No, you will not be allowed to do it." I said, "We can hire people, surely?" He said, "You will not be allowed to do it." I said, "A few men came over in the ships, and those could be put on shore to work." He said, "No, I do not think it can be done." I said, "I want a few men, and I will try and see what can be done." There were men who came over as passengers from Corisco to the Island of Princes, and remained there 12 months, and went back again.

5827. Could you have got any supply at that time at Corisco?—I suppose I could have got to the amount of 200 or 300 without any difficulty then.

5828. Can you give the Committee any idea as to the cost of obtaining them?—Nothing but the two months' advance, which is about 20 s.; about 10 s. a month.

5829. You are an extensive shipowner yourself?—Yes, I am.

5830. And having been a nautical man for many years, you can form a good idea as to the cost of carrying over these men to the West Indies?—Yes, I can.

5831. At what price per head do you think you could carry them, including provisions, to the West Indies, so as to leave you a profit on the transaction?—

With

With a freight out, I should say that you might take them over for about 3 *l.*, provided you could insure a freight for coals out to Sierra Leone, or to Fernando Po; but of course that would be governed a great deal by circumstances; in the present state of things it might be so.

5832. Would the plan which you would adopt be this, to enter into negotiation with the chiefs of the different districts for the hiring of so many labourers?—No, I should not do that; I should go to the chief, and state that I came there to hire men. I should say, “I want so many men for a certain purpose;” and the person being known to him, and it being stated that they should be brought back at a certain time, according to agreement, I think there would be no difficulty. The advance would be paid to the king or the chief that you got them from.

5833. And you entertain no doubt in your own mind, from your 11 years’ experience and residence in that district, that you could obtain a good supply of men upon those terms?—Yes, I do think so.

5834. I believe I am correct in saying that you have yourself purchased, in quantity and in value, as much produce from the black men on the coast of Africa as any man living?—Yes, I am certain of it.

5835. Therefore your transactions having been to a very large extent, have enabled you to come to the opinion which you have formed?—Yes, they have.

5836. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] If you entertain no doubt of the feasibility of the plan in respect to which you have now been examined, namely, that of removing to the West Indies from the coast of Africa 2,000 negroes from the Cameroons, many from the Bonny, and negroes to any amount from Calabar, as the Committee understand you to have stated, will you be pleased to explain whether there be anything which prevents the adoption of this plan now, or prevented its adoption last year, or in 1846, or at any other given period?—No, I am not aware of anything which has prevented it, or which would prevent it.

5837. Are you aware that the plan has ever been attempted in any portion of the region of Africa open to the commerce of England?—Excepting the Kroo Coast, I am not aware of any other part.

5838. In respect to the Kroo Coast, can you state to the Committee, either from your own observation, or from your knowledge generally, what number of free labourers may at any time have been furnished in the course of one year, in aid of labour in the West Indies?—I really cannot; and when you ask me the question of free labourers, I cannot explain it at all, because we do not know them as anything else but free men.

5839. The Committee are aware, from evidence already received, and from their own general knowledge of the subject, that the Kroomen have been maintained in a state of freedom very different from the state in which the other natives of the west coast of Africa exist; but the question had reference rather to the number of persons, whatever might be their civil condition, in Africa who could be removed as *bonâ fide* free labourers to the West Indies. Can you state to this Committee that those whom you describe as the 2,000 who may be exported from the Cameroons, or the number that may be exported from the Bonny, or the numbers without limit who may be exported from Calabar, in any degree answer even such a description of freedom as the state of the Kroomen; would they not, in other words, be practically the slaves of the king or the headman to whom, as you say, and not to themselves, the two months’ pay in advance is to be made over?—I have no doubt they would be mixed; there would be the two parties together.

5840. In point of fact, can you state to the Committee that the plan to which you have been directing their attention is one which can be *bonâ fide* an importation into the West Indies of men voluntarily leaving their native country?—I say so, decidedly.

5841. Notwithstanding that the payment of two months’ wages in advance is to be made, not to the individual whose labour is to be transferred, but to another person, such person being his king or chief?—Yes, certainly.

5842. Does that seem consistent with the ideas of freedom?—It is consistent, because all their property is in common; everything that they have in all the towns is in common.

5843. When you state that every thing is in common, do you mean that the king or headman is himself lord of the soil, of the property, and of the persons?—If he requires it he is; it is so in every place.

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5844. What

John Lilley, Esq.

1 June 1848.

John Lilley, Esq.

1 June 1848.

5844. What personal knowledge have you of the interior of Africa, or of any portion beyond the mere seaboard?—Nothing more than the seaboard. I have been up the river, but not sufficient to give the Committee any information.

5845. Then you spoke in the answer which you last addressed to the Committee rather upon your belief, founded upon the information of others, than from your own personal information, as to the state of society?—I am speaking from my own knowledge; from my knowledge of the seaboard, I say from that that it is a fact, that all that is earned by those people, when they go back, is divided amongst their town.

5846. You are still speaking of the people of Calabar and those places?—Yes, of all.

5847. For example, would King Brass have an absolute property in the possessions and in the persons of his subjects?—He would.

5848. Therefore the exportation of any of his subjects would be, so far as he was concerned, the exportation of those in whom he has an absolute property?—Certainly.

5849. With that explanation, can you consider that the persons so exported can be regarded as free agents, voluntary labourers, free labourers, or any description other than that of slaves?—I consider them free to go on board, and they remain on board free; there is no restriction upon them.

5850. *Mr. Jackson.*] The Committee understand from you that for the payment of two months' advance to the king or chief, such of his subjects as think fit to go on board a vessel can do so, it not being compulsory on them by the payment of that amount to the king to do it, but a voluntary act of their own?—A voluntary act of their own.

5851. *Chairman.*] I understand your observations to apply to the Cameroons River, the Calabar, and to the Bonny?—Yes, principally, and the Kroo Coast. I know the whole of the Kroo Coast and the south coast, but I have been more at the other parts.

5852. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] What security has King Brass, for example, that his subjects, or his slaves, whatever they may be, whom he permits to leave his dominions on the payment of 20*s.* in advance, will ever return to him, or will ever be restored in any way to Africa?—Nothing but good faith in the trader who engages them; from a knowledge of the respectability of the party contracting.

5853. You have been a considerable time, as you have already stated to the Committee, on the coast of Africa?—I have.

5854. Have you had, generally speaking, a commerce free with the natives without disturbance?—Generally I have.

5855. Do you feel any objection to state to the Committee the exception which may have existed to it in the Cameroons?—The only exception that ever I have had has been in trusting the natives; some difficulty sometimes in getting it paid.

5856. Do you feel any difficulty in explaining that transaction about palm oil in the Cameroons?—Not at all; the only difficulty which I have ever had with the natives has been in trusting them, and my complaint has been to the king: "Such a man has not paid me." He said, "Very well, if he does not pay you, you must do as we do, you must stop him and confine him," and I have had some difficulties at times in doing that; but at the latter part of my residence I had none whatever, being so well known.

5857. Had you any transaction of that kind on the coast at the time when Captain William Allen was there?—I rather think there was, but I cannot call it to mind. I cannot state exactly the commanding officer that might have been there.

5858. Will you pursue the subject and state any other instance in which you had disputes and differences with the natives, any one of which may have terminated by loss of life?—None.

5859. *Mr. Jackson.*] It has been stated in evidence before this Committee, that on one occasion one of Her Majesty's vessels went up to settle a dispute between you and one of the chiefs in the River Cameroons; do you recollect the circumstance?—No; the only person that ever came up to settle anything with me was Colonel Nicholls, at the time that he was at Fernando Po.

5860. And you and he were never upon the best terms, I believe?—No, we were not.

5861. You say that the only ground which the chief or king would have for the

the return of his subjects that went under the plan which you suggest, would be the good faith of the party who took the men from him and entered into the contracts with him?—Yes.

5862. Has that good faith invariably been observed by the British merchantmen to the Kroomen who have come on board?—It has.

5863. Has not the result been that there is an unceasing supply whenever you require them?—It is so.

5864. Any quantity for the purposes for which you require them on board a merchant ship could be obtained readily?—It could.

5865. Do you apply that principle to the district lower down, and are you of opinion that any quantity could be got, provided a party went down that the king or chief had faith in?—Yes, I think so.

5866. Would you have any objection as a mercantile man, supposing that the Government would sanction such a proceeding, to undertake a speculation of that sort, and supply one or two thousand labourers to the West Indies?—I should not hesitate to do it.

5867. *Mr. Barkly.*] You think that the kings and chiefs would put such faith in the British traders, that they would readily permit their people to embark at a stated period to the West Indies; if that emigration were put under the superintendence of the British Government, do not you think that the chiefs would have even firmer reliance upon the good faith with which all the engagements made with them would be carried out?—Yes, there is no doubt of it.

5868. *Mr. Jackson.*] Were not you present when Captain Tucker entered into some treaties with the chiefs at the Cameroons and the Old Calabar?—I was; I think it was Captain Tucker; it was in two instances; in the Calabar and the Bonny, I think.

5869. Had those treaties a beneficial effect?—Yes, I think they had.

5870. *Chairman.*] Would these Africans take their wives with them?—They would have to go; women would have to go; there would be a proportion of women that would go willingly, by giving them the same money as the men.

5871. *Mr. Barkly.*] For what period do you think they would be willing to go?—I should think three years; perhaps five; according to the age of the men or women.

5872. Would they expect a contract to be entered into with them, securing a certain rate of wages, or would they go upon the chance of what they might obtain?—They would agree to a certain rate, giving them so much, and it would be understood. There is always that faith that the contracts are carried out, and generally exceeded, because there are small things that they cannot agree for, which we give them frequently.

5873. *Chairman.*] When did you leave the coast of Africa?—In 1843.

5874. At that time, I suppose, in the district of which you have spoken, there had been no instance known of any African having been to the West Indies and returned?—There had not; merely to England.

5875. There had been no means of communicating to the inhabitants of that district the condition of the labouring population of Africa in the West Indies?—Not that I am aware of.

5876. *Mr. Jackson.*] They would not hesitate to take the word of a trader, and take the venture?—No, I do not think they would.

5877. *Mr. Barkly.*] Are you well acquainted with the Kroo Coast generally; the country in the interior?—I am not; nothing more than by passing down. I know all the ports, but nothing further.

5878. *Mr. Jackson.*] Will you be kind enough to state to the Committee where you got your crew on your voyages?—I began at Niffo, and I think that the furthest part where I have had men from the coast is the Bay of St. Andrew's; but the Kroomen do not extend any further than Cape Palmas; there is only one small town, about six miles from Cape Palmas, and that finishes the Kroomen.

5879. *Mr. Barkly.*] Do the Fishmen extend farther than that?—No.

5880. *Mr. Jackson.*] What class of men did you get on board the ships?—Men that came on board as Kroomen, but they are not Kroomen; they are what are called Bushmen; the Kroomen call them Bushmen.

5881. *Mr. Barkly.*] There are several distinct nations on that coast, although under

John Lilley, Esq.

1 June 1848.

under the generic name of Kroomen?—Yes. I think about every 50 or 20 miles you find a different nation.

5882. Have you any idea of the total population in that extent of coast to which you have alluded as the Kroo Coast?—No.

5883. Is it a dense population?—As far as the sea coast, there is no doubt of it; but many of the men that are shipped as Kroomen at the present day are not Kroomen; they are people from the interior, and they merely get the Krooman mark, and engage with us as Kroomen.

5884. There is a nation called the Grebas?—I am not aware of it by name.

5885. Are the Kroomen marked with perpendicular lines down the forehead and the nose?—Yes, on each side; a triangle on the forehead, and a mark down the nose.

5886. *Chairman.*] Perhaps you are aware that the evidence which you are now giving is not quite in accordance with the testimony which has been given to this Committee by other witnesses who have been examined here upon this subject?—I really have not heard anything of the evidence; I am only giving my own knowledge, and nothing further. I have not consulted anybody upon it; it is merely my own knowledge.

5887. The facts which you are now stating, you feel no doubt of?—They are facts; I have been 11 years, residing the whole of the time there, which would give me some knowledge of the coast.

5888. *Sir E. Buxton.*] With respect to the Kroomen, have you ever been up the country there?—I have not; I have never been on shore on the Kroo Coast; I believe I have been at Grand Cestos once, but merely on shore.

5889. Then what is your knowledge of the Kroo Coast; in what does it consist?—Merely from my intercourse with the different chiefs in getting Kroomen down the coast, and in trading for ivory; nothing else.

5890. What grounds have you for thinking that a great supply of Kroomen could be obtained?—I have not stated about the Kroomen at all, I think; I have not entered into the question at all; we never wanted them for the shipping.

5891. You always found enough?—Always.

5892. Though you found enough for shipping, do you consider that a proof that you can find a large quantity there who would be willing to go and live for five years, or three years, in the West Indies?—No.

5893. You have no knowledge on that subject?—No.

5894. *Mr. Jackson.*] You are confining your opinion to the district of which you have spoken, from your residence there?—Yes, from my own knowledge.

5895. *Sir E. Buxton.*] And you are not aware whether the Kroomen are in a state of slavery or freedom?—No, I am not.

5896. *Mr. Barkly.*] Had you any difficulty when the Kroomen came off to serve on board your ship; had you any negotiation to enter into with the chief, or headman, or king, in any way?—Nothing more than giving him the advance.

5897. *Sir E. Buxton.*] To the headman?—To the headman, which I always saw taken away; he always took it away with him.

5898. He did not give it to the men?—Not at all.

5899. Have you any reason to believe that when the Kroomen go home their wages go to the chief?—Yes; I am satisfied that it is the case from the information they gave me. Immediately they go home it is put down to the chief, and the whole of the town come round and they divide it among them; each one takes a proportion.

5900. Do not you think it surprising that men are willing to go and work when they are not to have the wages themselves?—It is custom, I suppose, because the next one that goes does the same; and I suppose that is the reason.

5901. Is it not that they are obliged to go?—No, it is not.

5902. *Mr. Barkly.*] It is, in fact, a kind of system of communism?—Yes.

5903. They divide the wages among the whole population?—Yes, among the whole town.

5904. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Does the chief have as much as he likes of it?—No, I think not; he may, perhaps, take the best thing out of what they bring, and the rest is divided.

5905. *Colonel Thompson.*] Did you ever know the plan which you have described of inducing natives of Africa to go voluntary, on payment to the chiefs,
reduced

- reduced to practice?—Nothing more than for our shipping; for the use of the shipping.
5906. For the use of the shipping on the African coast?—Yes, for the palm-oil trade.
5907. Never anywhere else?—Nowhere else.
5908. Was there any difficulty during the time that the slave trade was legal, in your apprehension, in getting the same kind of thing done for the shipping?—No, there was not.
5909. It always was done?—Yes.
5910. There always was facility in procuring Africans to navigate vessels on the coast of Africa, but no further?—Always; even the slave vessels did it.
5911. But no further?—No further that I am aware of.
5912. Do you know of any instance of any native of Africa agreeing to go to the West Indies, either as a sailor, or to serve on shore?—No, I do not know of any instance.
5913. Mr. *Barkly*.] Have not you heard since your departure from the coast that three or four vessels have gone?—Yes, but not of my own knowledge; only from hearsay.
5914. Colonel *Thompson*.] Do you know whether the Africans on board those vessels went voluntarily or not?—I cannot say; I am not aware.
5915. Were they taken from the coast with the consent of the chiefs under any plan similar to what you have recommended?—Not having any knowledge, I cannot say.
5916. Then can you or can you not produce any practical evidence of the possibility of reducing your plan to action?—Only what I have done myself.
5917. Did you ever take the natives of Africa to the West Indies?—No, no further than to the African Islands; as far as that I have, and I have taken them from the Corisco up to the Cameroons.
5918. Then does your evidence go to prove that it is easy to procure Africans for any service on board ship on the coast of Africa; but that you have not any practical evidence to show that they will go further, or have gone further?—No, no further than bringing them to England.
5919. They will come to England?—Yes; I have brought them myself to England.
5920. Sir *E. Buxton*.] As sailors?—As servants, and sailors in the same way.
5921. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do you know anything of the condition of the Kroomen at Sierra Leone?—I do not; I have never been at Sierra Leone.
5922. You are not aware that the Governor and Council have passed an Act to prevent more than a certain number coming from the Kroo Coast to that British settlement?—No, I am not aware of that.
5923. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Were you on the coast of Africa on your own account in the beginning, or as the agent of a house?—The agent of another house.
5924. A house in Liverpool?—Yes.
5925. What house?—Hamilton, Jackson & Co.
5926. Did you ever carry on any trade there on your own account?—Never.
5927. But your experience, of course, remains the same, whether you were the agent of another house, or in your own personal character and capacity, and you state to the Committee, as the result of your own experience, that you have no doubt that an unlimited supply of free labourers could be procured from Calabar, for exportation to the West Indies?—I think so.
5928. Mr. *Barkly*.] Have you not given the best proof of the sincerity of your belief, in stating to the Committee that you would have no objection to enter into a mercantile speculation for the purpose, if permitted by the Government?—Yes, I have stated so.
5929. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Do you mean to say that you would contract, yourself, to supply 2,000 negroes, at 3 *l.* a head?—That is for their passage from the coast to the West Indies; that would pay me to do it.
5930. And you would have to pay 1 *l.* a head as the advance which the chief would get?—Yes.
5931. You took 200 or 300 negroes from the Cameroons to Corisco, did you not?—No; I said I had had people up from the Corisco to the Cameroons, which were going to a distant country to work, and to reside.
5932. In that case you paid the advance to the chief?—Yes.
5933. Did

John Lilley, Esq.

1 June 1848.

5933. Did the men work for wages with you?—They worked for the same pay; when they left me I paid them their wages, and they went on shore.
5934. What were the wages?—Ten shillings a month.
5935. Did you provide them with food or clothing?—We found them in food; clothing is nothing, merely a waistcloth; we gave that to them when we liked; when it was considered necessary to keep them clean.
5936. In what work were they employed?—They were labourers, working at the palm oil, boiling the oil, and taking care of the premises, and pulling in the boats, and doing sundry things; fishermen, and all kinds of things.
5937. Did you find them docile?—Very; we never had any trouble with them; they were willing to do everything, as far as they could.
5938. How many men came?—I think, backwards and forwards, I have had from 50 to 60 from that part only.
5939. How many women came with them?—No women came with them.
5940. Would it be easy, do you imagine, to obtain women from Africa?—I think so; I think a man would willingly take his wife with him.
5941. Do you know whether the Kroomen ever take their women?—No, I am not aware; they do not in our ships.
5942. Mr. *Barkly*.] You do not want women on board ship?—No; we do not allow it.
5943. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You are not aware whether there is any difficulty with the Kroomen on account of their women?—I am not aware; but I should think not, from my knowledge generally.
5944. I ask you that question, because the almost universal belief is that they will not take their women in any case?—I think quite different.
5945. Still you never were there?—No, not sufficiently to know that; I do not say with respect to the Kroomen, but in the parts that I am acquainted with I think there would be no difficulty.
5946. Have you ever known a case where emigrants from Africa have taken their women with them?—No; the emigration is since I left the coast. I do not know anything about it.
5947. In those parts of the coast with which you are acquainted, the Old Calabar, at Cameroons, and the Bonny, did the slave trade exist while you were there?—Yes.
5948. To a large extent?—To a large extent.
5949. Are you aware whether it exists still?—I am not aware that it does.
5950. Can you tell us what price is usually paid for a slave in those rivers?—I think the price has varied very much.
5951. What are the highest and lowest prices given?—I should think from 4*l.* to 6*l.* is about what they pay in goods; and in money they pay two doubloons.
5952. Is not there a great fear that if we were to take to paying the chief 20*s.* for a man, other nations might come and profess to take labourers away, and make slaves of them?—That I cannot give an opinion about.
5953. But from the low moral character of the chiefs, do not you think that that might be the case?—They would not trust them, I think.
5954. Why should they not trust them if they got the money?—They would not trust the foreign nations; I think not.
5955. *Chairman*.] By “foreign nations,” you mean Brazilians, Portuguese, and Spaniards?—Yes; they would not trust them, because they would naturally conclude that the negroes would never come back.
5956. Mr. *Jackson*.] Having been in the habit of coming to England and going on board ship has given them a confidence in the Englishman that they have not got in the Brazilian and Spaniard?—Yes.
5957. You say that two months’ pay, 20*s.*, would have to be given to the chief?—Yes.
5958. And that the passage money across could be done for 3*l.*?—Yes, I think so.
5959. What do you put down for the provision?—I should say that 30 days, at 9*d.* a day, would be about the victualling.
5960. There would be a month’s wages to pay the man while on board the ship?—There would be a month lost; a month going over would be lost; that would come out of his advance; that would be reckoned in his time.
5961. That would bring it to something under 5*l.*?—Yes.

5962. Mr.

5962. Mr. *Barkly*.] With reference to the question of the interest of the chiefs in the earnings of the Africans, did you ever find any unwillingness on the part of any of those Africans that you employed when their engagement was at an end, and after you had paid them their wages, to return to the country in which their kings or chiefs were?—Never.

5963. They never asked you to take them to any British settlement?—Never.

5964. Nor to secure their earnings to them in any way?—I never knew an instance; they were always anxious to get back.

5965. *Chairman*.] You have spoken of having occasionally brought Africans as domestic servants to England?—I have.

5966. What was the nature of the arrangement which you made with those men?—Nothing more than the same wages as I had been giving them in the country.

5967. Did you guarantee their return?—It was the understanding that they were to go back with me, or in one of my ships, whichever it might be. After having been a month or two, or three months in England, according to my stay, they went back again, either with me or in one of my ships.

5968. Did you in that case enter into an engagement with the chief?—No.

5969. He was cognizant of the fact?—Yes; he asked me as a favour frequently, "Take this lad belonging to me; take him to England and let him see what it is;" and the kings in the same way with their sons.

5970. Mr. *Barkly*.] They are quite aware of the advantages which their subjects gain from the superior civilization of our country to their own?—Yes.

5971. Have you any idea of the number of Kroomen that come to Liverpool and Bristol every year in ships from the coast of Africa?—I have not.

5972. *Chairman*.] Are the Kroomen registered at the custom-house?—Yes, every one, and a bond is given for the return of them.

5973. Mr. *Jackson*.] You have had considerable experience on the coast of Africa, and you have seen the effect of our squadron; is it your opinion, from the knowledge which you have acquired, that the squadron will effectually put down the slave trade?—I do not think it ever will.

5974. *Chairman*.] Do you think that any augmentation of the force that this country is likely to employ would be effectual in extinguishing the slave trade?—I think not.

5975. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Supposing it be the object of this country to suppress the slave trade, would you or would you not recommend to this Committee to suggest to Her Majesty's Government the expediency of removing the squadron?—Decidedly I would.

5976. Supposing it be the object of Her Majesty's Government and of the British nation to suppress the slave trade, would you or would you not recommend to this Committee to suggest to the Government the removal of the squadron now on the coast of Africa?—Provided permission were given to hire labour, I think the squadron might be removed.

5977. Do you or do you not consider that the presence of the squadron is advantageous for the protection of lawful commerce?—Not at all.

5978. Mr. *Jackson*.] You resided in the Cameroons unprotected, had a house built there, and were at a distance from the river; did you ever feel that you were in danger, or required the protection of a British man-of-war?—Never.

5979. Did you find the British men-of-war there aid and assist you in legitimate commerce, or otherwise?—I rather think the reverse.

5980. Did you ever consider that the interests of the firm that you represented were benefited by the presence of a man-of-war?—No; quite the other way.

5981. Sir *E. Buxton*.] With whom had you dealings chiefly in that river?—Every one in the river.

5982. The largest merchants there besides yourself were slave dealers, I suppose?—We had very few slaves where I was; very few slave vessels. In 11 years I do not think there were more than three.

5983. Was that in the Cameroons?—Yes.

5984. Mr. *Jackson*.] Did you ever see a slaver in the Old Calabar when you were there?—No; when I was in the Calabar the slave trade was abolished, and I never remember seeing one; I have heard of one being there while I was

John Lilley, Esq.

1 June 1848.

on the coast, but never saw one myself. In the Bimbia, which is between the Cameroons and the Calabar, there have been several.

5985. Would the Cameroons and the district surrounding it produce any other article but palm oil if there were any demand for it; does Indian corn grow there?—Indian corn and the sugar cane; there is plenty of sugar cane in the interior, and caravanses in any quantity, small beans.

5986. Mr. *Barkly*.] I suppose the sugar cane is cultivated in a very barbarous manner there in the manufacture?—They do not manufacture it; they merely cultivate it for chewing.

5987. *Chairman*.] Do they cultivate it, or does it grow spontaneously?—They cultivate it.

5988. Mr. *Barkly*.] I suppose one of the inducements with the kings and chiefs to allow their men to be exported to the West Indies would be, that they would hope that they would be instructed in a better way of cultivating those articles?—Yes; and the extra gain by bringing money back.

5989. You do not think that they would look to the increased civilization of the emigrants who went?—They might as it went further on, but just at the present moment I could not state anything upon that.

5990. *Chairman*.] Do you think that the return of those emigrants to their own country would produce any beneficial effect in civilizing the district in which they lived?—I think there is no doubt about it.

5991. Then, on the whole, you recommend the plan on these two accounts; as a means of supplying the West Indian colonies with labour, and of afterwards introducing civilization into Africa?—I do, on those two grounds.

5992. You mentioned that you did not think that the British squadron on the coast of Africa was at all likely to extinguish the slave trade; do you think that the British squadron produces any injurious effect on the slave trade?—I do not quite understand the question.

5993. Do you think that the efforts for extinguishing the slave trade are the cause of cruelty in the manner in which the slaves are conveyed from the coast of Africa?—I do think so.

5994. Are you of opinion that the cruelty is in proportion to the activity and vigilance of the cruisers?—I do think so.

5995. That they go on increasing in proportion?—They do.

5996. And vary directly with one another?—They do.

5997. You do not recommend that this country should abandon its object of suppressing the slave trade, but that it should abandon that mode of suppressing it?—Yes; that is what I think.

5998. Mr. *Barkly*.] Was there any English or American missionary resident at the Cameroons during the period that you were there?—I think in the latter part of my time, one came occasionally over from Fernando Po. I have seen a missionary there, but I do not think that he resided there when I left; he came occasionally backwards and forwards.

5999. The natives have very few opportunities of embracing the truths of Christianity?—Very few indeed.

6000. And they are all in the deepest ignorance, I suppose, on the subject of religion?—They were then; at the present moment they have missionaries there. I was speaking to a missionary, I think about five months ago, that had come from the Cameroons, who had been out there some two or three years, and he stated that there was very little improvement since he had been out.

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

BRITISH SHIPPING to and from the West Coast of Africa, viz. from *Morocco* to the *Cape of Good Hope* (inclusive of the Cape).—From Parliamentary Records.

1 June 1848.

For the *United Kingdom*.

	INWARDS.		OUTWARDS.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
1820	38	8,194	58	14,193
1821	60	14,203	58	10,486
1822	43	7,156	68	11,213
1823	46	9,132	75	16,872
1824	67	15,030	97	25,155
1825	102	28,564	105	25,986
1826	103	28,113	77	22,086
1827	82	23,070	86	23,080
1828	73	19,520	99	26,947
1829	103	27,912	116	31,909
1830	126	34,763	137	38,661
1831	126	36,710	116	31,849
1832	123	30,896	138	33,716
1833	125	31,097	144	34,380
1834	137	32,313	151	35,533
1835	131	32,285	130	30,858
1836	138	32,458	174	42,671
1837	182	45,679	136	34,826
1838	133	30,643	149	36,079
1839	127	32,437	148	37,688
1840	134	32,731	152	39,851

BRITISH SHIPPING cleared at *Liverpool* for the West Coast of *Africa*.

	Vessels.	Tons.		Vessels.	Tons.
1836	- - -	15,646	1842	47	16,162
1837	- - -	9,560	1843	68	22,656
1838	52	15,009	1844	80	22,972
1839	53	15,028	1845	92	24,626
1840	55	18,107	1846	55	16,175
1841	48	17,863	1847	66	18,820

I cannot find any record of the clearances for Africa from *Liverpool* antecedent to 1836.

T. M. Myers.

Commander *William O'Bryen Hoare*, R. N., called in; and Examined.

6001. *Chairman*.] YOU are a Commander in the Royal Navy?—Yes.

6002. Have you been employed on the coast of *Brazil*?—I was employed there nearly two years; from 1843 to 1845.

6003. What vessel did you command?—The “*Dolphin*.”

6004. During the time that you were on that station had you any opportunity of observing the operations of the slave trade?—Yes, I had very great opportunities. Up to within three months of my coming home I was constantly employed in cruising, and on no other service.

6005. Did you make any captures?—I captured eight vessels.

6006. Were those vessels loaded with slaves?—The first capture that I made was a brig with 569.

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6007. What

Commander
W. O'Bryen Hoare,
R. N.

Commander
W. O'Byrne Hoare,
R. N.
1 June 1848.

6007. What was the size of that vessel?—She was 230 tons, I think, or 235, as far as I remember.

6008-9. In what condition did you find the slaves?—In the most horrid state, I believe, that ever was known in any slaver; the slaves were generally affected. I chased her for four hours, and ran her close in shore, when the crew jumped overboard and deserted her. I had been firing at her heavily during the afternoon, and the crew jumped overboard, with exception of two, who were so blind from the disease generally prevailing, the ophthalmia, that they were unable even to find their way, I suppose, to the gunwale. When I got on board, the state of the vessel and her decks was such that I could hardly stand on them, or any of the boat's crews that boarded her, from the filth and dirt. The slaves were affected to a man, I think, more or less with ophthalmia, small-pox, and craw-craw, and dysentery to a horrid extent; the decks were in such a state, and she was lying over on her beam ends when I boarded her, so that it was with difficulty we could stand. The first thing we had to do was to sand the decks heavily to be able to stand; then we found that there was no chance of getting her off without clearing her out, and having only a small proportion of boats—having two boats away at the time about 30 miles to the southward of me—it took nearly the whole night in clearing the slaves and getting them on board. I got them all on the upper deck of the "Dolphin," which they covered completely; it just held them; and I covered them over with canvas for the night. After clearing the hold I found nine of the slaves dead; I think I took nine dead bodies out. I then hove the vessel off, cleaned her hold, and whitewashed her, and cleaned all the slaves. The assistant surgeon gave them great relief, as far as the ophthalmia cases went, from washing them with zinc water, and giving them wine and bitters, bark, &c. They were in a horrid state altogether. In the morning I re-shipped them, under great threats from that part of the coast; it was a part of the coast where there were several facendas for landing the slaves; they are called facendas; that is, stores; they supply the crews of the boats employed for the purpose of landing. I transhipped them, and went 30 miles to the southward and picked my boats up, and then went into Rio with the prize.

6010. After you captured that vessel did many slaves perish?—I think 100 died on board the "Crescent;" I think the loss was 100. We got into Rio the next afternoon; before we got into Rio I think we lost four or five, between Rio and Cape Frio, which was about eight hours' sail from Rio.

6011. Was the disease communicated to your own crew?—One or two of my men got ophthalmia; the assistant surgeon himself suffered a little.

6012. It has been represented to this Committee that in some of the cases where the slaves had been crowded in large numbers on board there are not the means of bringing them on deck, even to feed them; were the circumstances under which you found that vessel such as to lead you to suppose that that had been the case?—I should say, decidedly, that during the 24 hours they could not feed them regularly; it would be a matter of great difficulty, I should say, to discern whether they had been fed or not.

6013. Did you ever in the course of your life see an instance of greater suffering and horror than you witnessed on board that vessel?—Never.

6014. Could you conceive anything worse?—Nothing; I could not, decidedly.

6015. Will you mention the case of another vessel that you took?—I took a vessel previously to that, in 1832, just after the slave treaty with the Brazils came into force; I took a schooner then, with 92 slaves on board, which had made an extraordinarily quick run across; she was the first vessel taken under the treaty. She went over as an experiment: she was the very first vessel, I believe, that went from the coast of Brazil to the coast of Africa after the treaty came in force.

6016. Had she come south of the equator?—No, I think not; I am not quite certain; we never discovered where she had come from; they destroyed her papers and charts, and everything else. That vessel was taken in 1832. The other vessels that I captured were vessels generally going across with barter cargoes. It was a difficult matter to capture vessels with slaves; we had the whole run of the coast of Africa against the cruisers on the Brazilian coast; nevertheless, they did escape, and we generally had information of their escapes from the paid informers, which we were obliged to employ on the Brazilian station; we could do nothing without it, and it was to be done with great difficulty and risk.

6017. Notwithstanding

6017. Notwithstanding those advantages a vast number of vessels escaped our vigilance?—They did escape, for this reason, that the man whom I employed, whenever he had a perfect knowledge, which he did get in a most extraordinary way, I cannot tell how, entered into a treaty generally with the merchant or the slaveowner at either of the ports as to the best bargain he could make. It lay between myself and the merchant, and if I came up to a price, 15*l.* or 20*l.* above that of the merchant, I generally got the right information; otherwise he took very good care to send me either to the north if the vessel was coming to the south, or to the south if she was coming to the north.

6018. You could not rely very much upon the information which he gave you, consequently?—No; I found out so far, after a time, what he was. That was my plan generally of attacking him; I went in a straightforward way to him and asked him what amount he had been offered.

6019. How many vessels in the whole did you capture while you were in command of the "Dolphin"?—I captured eight. I might have captured a great many more, but I was removed from my cruising in consequence of my captures. At that time they were trying for a commercial treaty with the Brazils, I believe; and I believe my captures created a great difficulty; at least I understood so at the time, and I was removed then to the packet service between Rio and Montevideo, and Buenos Ayres. They did not take my slave papers away from me, but they put me upon that service which rendered it impossible that I could cruise, or that I could chase, the orders being such, having the mails on board, that I could not leave my course in any way.

6020. In what year were you removed?—In October 1844; I then came home.

6021. Were you acting under the admiral on the station?—Under the commander-in-chief of the station; under Commodore Purvis's orders.

6022. With respect to the other vessels which you took while in command of the "Dolphin," did you find the slaves on board always in a state of great suffering?—That was the only really full vessel that we took. The other vessels were generally, with two exceptions, vessels with full cargoes, for barter, going across for the purpose of traffic from Rio. One was the barque "Bella Angela," and the other was a brigantine, the "Donna Maria."

6023. You took them, then, under the Equipment Treaty?—Yes.

6024. Mr. *Barbly*.] Were they all condemned?—There was one vessel that was condemned; but I was obliged to give her up after condemnation. I received an order from home; the order did not come direct to me; it was to the minister, Mr. Hamilton. After she was captured at Rio, I was unable to send her up, for she was in a leaky state. I sent a certificate to that effect, and she was condemned at Demerara; and after the condemnation I received an order to give her up, which I refused to obey for some time. I at last sent my boats, by the senior officer's orders, at the time in port, and they towed her into the possession of the merchant to whom she belonged; but I never gave her up, for this reason, that, being the captor, I was liable at any time from the other captors to have an action brought against me for the amount, she having been legally condemned.

6025. *Chairman*.] By whom was the order for the delivering up of the vessel issued to you?—The British consul, Mr. Hesketh. The letter is addressed to Commander Hamilton, of the "Frolic," the senior officer, and is as follows:—"Consul's Office, Rio de Janeiro, 28 November 1844.—Sir, I have the honour to acquaint you that I hold the receipt of the attorney of Anotonio Joye de Graca, owner of the Brazilian schooner "Maria Thereza," for that vessel, which document was delivered to me in exchange for the present notification, having for its object the recording to you that the said vessel is transferred to its owner's possession, according to the orders of Her Majesty's Government, and that you may deliver the said schooner, and all appurtenances, to the bearer hereof; and in order that the delivery may be completed, I have to request that you will be pleased to order her to be taken this afternoon to the place that will be pointed out by the bearer."

6026. From the observations which you made while you were cruising against the slave trade, are you, or are you not, of opinion that it would be possible for this country, by means of the squadron, to extinguish that traffic?—Decidedly not. I, two years ago, myself advanced to the First Lord of the Admiralty (and they

Commander
W. O'Byrne Hoare,
R. N.

1 June 1848.

Commander
W. O' Bryan Hoare,
R. N.

1 June 1848.

they were also laid before Lord Aberdeen, I believe) my remarks, and the points upon which I clearly proved that the coercion against the slave trade is aiding and abetting it daily; and I am more impressed with it now than ever, from accounts which I have had from Rio.

6027. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Do you mean that the presence of the squadron is daily aiding and abetting the slave trade?—I do.

6028. Chairman.] Will you be so kind as to explain the ground of that opinion?—I have a copy of what I sent in, but I can explain it better, I think, without referring to it. The grounds upon which I form my opinion are these, that the produce and the returns have been so great from the slave commerce in the Brazils that at this present moment, at Bahia, at Pernambuco, at Santos, and at Rio, there are no less in each town than 10 or 15 companies; in which companies any man possessing the amount of a dollar can take a share. Those companies have been got up within the last five years. That has been entirely caused by the coercion of the British squadron against the slave trade, for this reason, that, were there no coercion, the slave trade would be open, and their care would be great in their transfers of slaves. There is no doubt that the trade would go on to a certain extent; the transport of negroes would go on, and the trade would go on between the agents on the coast and the chiefs, and the traffic would go on generally, but not under the horrid circumstances that it does now, for this reason: that as long as cruisers are employed against them, a peculiar class of vessel, with a shallow hold, and a build for velocity, goes to the coast and ships a very large number, more than she can adequately with any comfort, or with any safety, bring across. Each man that ships in that vessel does not ship with monthly wages, or with any regular wages, from the captain down to the lowest boy; he goes for the venture, as they term it; should he succeed, he gets 200 or 300 dollars; up to the time either of his capture or of his escape, that man has a certain share in the run; consequently there is no act that they will not commit before capture, to get clear of a cruiser or captors; then the capture increases, and tends to alter the price in the slave market in the Brazils. On the news of a capture, or on a capture being made, the price of a slave will run up from 80 *l.* a head to 120 *l.* or 150 *l.* in the market.

6029. It gives a stimulus to the trade?—It gives a stimulus to the trade, a great stimulus; and the only thing, in my mind, that keeps the trade up, is the coercion of the captures.

6030. Am I to understand you, that under existing circumstances of coercion, Brazil is adequately supplied with slaves, but that over and above the number of slaves that are sent into Brazil, a large number are carried away from the coast of Africa who perish on the voyage?—Decidedly; a number are carried away from Africa who perish on the voyage. As to Brazil being adequately supplied with slaves, I should say, no.

6031. Are you of opinion that the slave trade is increased in amount by the operations of the squadron?—Decidedly it is; there is no doubt about it. I was at Bahia in 1832, when our treaty first came into operation. I think it was the latter end of 1832; I am not certain of the month. I was in the "Dryad" at the time, and in one of the "Dryad's" boats I captured a schooner. At that time there were not more than three or four slavers in that port. I went up in 1844 to Bahia and I could not land; 3,000 dollars were offered for any man that would knife me at that time; that would assassinate me. I was informed so by the consul; the consul told me on no account to go on shore. I then pulled up the harbour, and the harbour was full; there were 80 or 90 vessels, either refitting or fitting out.

6032. Mr. Barkly.] Do not you think that the formation of those slave-trading companies in the last few years is attributable, in some degree, to the better market which has been opened for slave labour, in consequence of the policy of this country, and not to the squadron?—No; my opinion is that it has been greatly caused by the coercion of the squadron. I think that if coercion were done away with, either by the government of the Brazils, or by means being taken for proper inspection of the vessels, which could be done, the slaves would come over in an ameliorated condition and in a proper manner, and that it would be beneficial to the slave; for the treatment of the slave in the Brazils in the present day, from what I witnessed on the coast (and I had a great opportunity of seeing it in different parts of the coast where they were clearing land), is exceedingly good; there was great kindness and attention, and the slaveowners generally

generally were a very humane set of people ; a great many Germans and foreigners were there clearing land.

6033. Lord *H. Vane*.] Whether the character of the slave trade would be altered or the amount would be varied, are two very different questions ; you have been asked with respect to the amount of the slave trade, and I understood you to state positively that the existence of the squadron tends, in your opinion, to increase the amount of the slave trade as well as to increase its horrors ?—Yes, I think so, decidedly.

6034. Both the one and the other ?—Decidedly.

6035. *Chairman*.] Do you think that the same number of slaves are now landed on the coast of Brazil as would be landed if there were no squadron and no intervention ?—I think perhaps there would be more slaves landed for a time if there were no coercion.

6036. Do you think that there would be more slaves landed in Brazil if there were no intervention than are now landed, together with those who perish in the course of the voyage ?—My idea is, that were the coercion done away with entirely, more slaves would be brought across in a healthier condition, and that it would be more beneficial to the slaves, and to their comfort in general.

6037. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Will you be pleased to reconcile the answer which you have now addressed to the Committee with a previous answer, in which you used these words, “The squadron is daily aiding and abetting the slave trade” ?—I do not quite understand the question. I have lost the question to which you allude.

6038. You used, in a former answer, the following words : “The squadron is daily aiding and abetting the slave trade” ?—I recollect that perfectly.

6039. Will you be pleased to explain the last answer which you have given, your attention being now recalled to the preceding answer ?—I think the best answer which I can give the Committee on that point is the statement of a slave dealer at Bahia, at the period that I speak of, to me, which I will quote particularly. I think I can reconcile the two answers. Slaves are decidedly wanted in the Brazils, there is no question about that, and they will pursue the traffic of slaves under any circumstances ; on account of the different planters who have taken up their positions there, and have got grants or purchased land and possess slaves, they will be brought over under any circumstances. What I allude to as to their being brought over in a larger number, is their being required ; that they would be brought over in a larger number, but they would not be brought over under the existing horrors and cruelty which they now experience in consequence of the intervention and coercion which are used towards the slave trade.

6040. *Chairman*.] Am I to understand you, that in consequence of the numbers that are destroyed by those cruelties there is a larger exportation of slaves from Africa, and that in that way the British squadron is aiding and abetting the slave trade ?—No, I do not mean that ; I still wish to explain, that I think were the coercion done away with a trade would still go on in the slaves to a very large extent, perhaps to a larger number than now exists, but in a different manner ; the slave would fall considerably in price.

6041. Sir *E. Burton*.] Where would he fall considerably in price ?—In the Brazils.

6042. Do you mean that that would induce more to be sold, or less to be sold ?—I should say decidedly more ; the commodity would be more feasible, and would fall in price. What keeps up the market now, is the captures and the cruisers.

6043. Then how do you reconcile that statement, that if the price falls more may be sold, with your answer, that the presence of our cruisers, which raises the price, tends to aid and abet the slave trade ?—Because it becomes now a most profitable market. The man to whom I have referred, who was in Bahia in 1832, and whom I then knew as the merchant of a common store, was, in the year 1844, one of the richest men in the Brazils ; he is a man worth from 200,000 *l.* to 300,000 *l.* sterling, and he has made it all from the slave trade, and from the rise in the price of slaves ; from his ventures in the slaves, and from his successful runs.

6044. The trade may be profitable for the merchant ; but has not the trade in slaves been very much checked in numbers by the rise in price occasioned by the presence of our cruisers ?—Not to such an extent ; I should say decidedly not ; because the slave has been wanted, and they could not have got on, as they

Commander
W. O' Bryen Hoare,
R. N.

1 June 1848.

have done, in the Brazils without the slave ; the slave has been wanted, at times, at any price.

6045. You have already said that the price would fall, and that more would be sold, if the squadron were withdrawn?—Yes, decidedly ; the market would be increased in size, and the value would be less ; the slave would go down.

6046. And more would be sold?—More would be sold ; no doubt about it.

6047. You say that the slave trade would be increased if our cruisers were done away?—I say the importation of slaves would be increased decidedly in number, but not under the horrid cruelties and sufferings that they are at this moment ; for this reason, that the transporters of slaves, the price falling, would take very good care to employ vessels of such a nature that they would be brought over in the healthiest state. It would be to their interest to bring over alive, and in a healthy state, every one that they shipped on the coast of Africa to the coast of the Brazils.

6048. *Chairman.*] Then your answer goes to this effect, that the operation of the British squadron augments the horrors of the slave trade?—Yes ; and it makes a market generally in the Brazils, which would not exist.

6049. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] If the presence of the squadron be found to aid and abet, and so far therefore, it may be presumed, to increase the slave trade, can the removal of the squadron have likewise the same effect, of increasing the slave trade?—From what I have stated, I merely go upon these grounds, that the slave is actually necessary in the Brazils. There is an immense tract of country, and very fine country, and slaves they must have ; and my opinion is, that there would be an increase in the number of slaves ; I decidedly think that there would be a very large increase in number.

6050. By which alternative, either by the presence of the squadron, or by the removal of the squadron, for you have stated the same result to arise from the presence as from the removal of the squadron?—I still hold the same answer that I have given to the Committee, that there would be, to my mind, an increase in the numbers imported.

6051. The question is this : you have stated that the presence of the squadron will increase the slave trade ; you have stated that the removal of the squadron will increase the slave trade ; if there be an inconsistency in these answers, will you be pleased, on reconsideration, to state to the Committee by which answer you desire to abide?—It appears to me, now that I see it again, that there may be an inconsistency in my answer ; but the answer that I gave on the first point was intended to convey the idea to the Committee, that the coercion, in the present state in which it is carried on, tends to make the horror and the suffering of the trade very great, and also to increase the price of the slave.

6052. In other words, you would wish the Committee to understand, that if you legalize the slave trade again, the horrors of the middle passage would be diminished or removed?—I do, decidedly.

6053. Would you, under such circumstances, recommend this Committee to suggest to Her Majesty's Government, or to Parliament, that the slave trade should again be legalized?—Under certain restrictions with the Brazilian government, and the Spanish government, decidedly.

6054. *Sir E. Buxton.*] What restrictions?—Such as visitations, and binding the Brazilian government to certain tonnage, and to certain numbers, but tonnage principally, and to the fitting out of their vessels. I do not think myself that the slave trade ever can be abolished ; that is my idea.

6055. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] You would wish, then, not merely that the slave trade should be legalized as between Brazil and the coast of Africa, but even that it should be legalized as between Great Britain and the coast of Africa?—Decidedly not ; I have always been impressed myself, and am still, I trust, with the horrors of trading in or purchasing my own fellow-creature, for any amount, either of goods or specie. As far as the possibility goes of preventing merchants who have settled themselves down from procuring labour, I think that the slave is in an ameliorated position the moment he comes into the possession of one of those planters, in a much better position than he is in his own country. I do not allude to anything with relation to England, and the traffic of English merchants in slave trade ; my answer applies merely to the two governments, the Spanish and the Portuguese, who are the present traders in slaves.

6056. Then you are prepared to recommend the encouragement of the slave trade between Brazil and Cuba on the one hand, and Africa on the other?—Not

at all; under the denomination of slave trade I should not recommend it. I may there be thought inconsistent again; but under those circumstances I should not; I should not recommend it under the name, at all, of slave trade.

6057. *Chairman.*] Not in that character?—Not in that character.

6058. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Do you consider under the character of slave trade, the removal of negroes from Africa, against their will, to the West Indies or to Brazil?—Decidedly.

6059. Is that the character of the system which you would wish that the Government of this country should concur with the government of Brazil or of Spain in legalizing hereafter?—No.

6060. Will you explain to the Committee what is the species of commerce for supplying Brazil and Cuba with labourers which you would desire to see legalized?—That question I am unable to answer; I have not gone so far into it as that; I think there would be a measure which might be brought forward, but I would not answer that question; I would not bring forward any measure for that, or make any proposition.

6061. *Chairman.*] I understand you to say, that you consider it to be impossible to prevent the supply of labourers in some capacity to Brazil from the coast of Africa?—Yes.

6062. Do you think that the people of Brazil are so much attached to the slave trade, as to desire to have those labourers in the character of slaves, if they could have them as free men?—I think that the body of planters now settled down in the Brazils, generally are not of that character; that they have not that avaricious desire which the Brazilian has hitherto had, that is, of being possessed of slaves.

6063. In fact, what they want is to have their land cultivated?—They want their land cultivated, and I think that there is a better class of people now daily getting into the Brazils; there are a great number of Germans, and a great number of French settlers.

6064. You were referring to some papers; will you be kind enough to tell us what are the contents of them?—What I referred to was to give an idea of what a man had done who in 1832 was possessed of little or nothing. Since that I had not seen him up to 1844; I then found that he was the principal owner of a brig which I was watching at that time in Bahia Harbour, which I chased out one or two nights and chased back again. I did not succeed in capturing her; she escaped me the fourth night. On my seeing this man on one occasion in the harbour I spoke to him; I knew him again, and he recognised me; I remarked to him that we were not the welcome people that we used to be in 1832. He said, "Why?" I said, "You know what we are doing here very well." "Yes," he said. I said, "The 'Isabelle' (which was the name of the brig) is yours I understand; you are getting on in the world." He said, "Yes," and pointing to a very large house on the hill, he said "and that is mine also." I made some other remark to him, and he said, "You are quite mistaken as to your appearance being disagreeable here; you and the rest of the British cruisers have caused my good fortune, and placed me in the position that I am in now." I certainly at the time was very much at a loss to make out his reasoning, but since that I have been fully impressed, on looking into the thing, that the coercion has done it, and has enriched that man to the amount that he is possessed of at this present moment. Certainly I do not approve of the trade in any one way. I am against it, as far as I can be, from the horrors which I have witnessed in it, and have always understood in the West Indies several years before I had seen it; but my idea is, that the coercion has been the great cause of enriching the dealers in the slaves, and has kept up the enormous prices in the market, which has caused those people in the companies that I spoke of to form the companies, and induces every man that possesses anything like an amount of money to take shares in the same, from the enormous returns and profits which they give.

6065. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Is the individual to whom you refer one who afterwards went to the coast of Africa and resided there?—No; the merchant whom I speak of was never on the coast, but Domingo, who was his agent, was obliged to go; he committed, I believe, a murder at Bahia, and he was obliged to flee; he fled to the coast, and when he got to the coast, he, I understood, made an offer to the merchant to become his agent for the purpose; they all of them have a resident agent immediately on the coast for the purpose of trafficking, and having the cargoes of slaves ready down on the coast for shipment.

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6066. Was

Commander
W. O' Bryen Hoare,
R. N.

1 June 1848.

Commander
W. O'Byrne Hoare,
R. N.

1 June 1848.

6066. Was this man at Cabenda?—He was at Cabenda for some time; he was at Loando and he was at Cabenda, and he then returned after some years, when this murder blew over entirely, to Bahia. A change took place of the president, and one thing and another, and he is, I believe, at this moment residing at Bahia, and is a very rich man. He returned from his agency with a very large sum of money from the coast, made by agency alone.

6067. Admiral *Bowles*.] After the evidence which you have subsequently given, are you not now of opinion that your answer to one of the first questions which was asked you, namely, that the squadron on the coast of Africa might be considered as "aiding and abetting" the slave trade, is too strong an expression. Are you aware of the full force of the words "aiding and abetting"?—Perhaps, on consideration, the words may not be appropriate exactly. Those have been the words that I have made use of in several places in the statement that I sent in two years ago. In answer to the question, I should say that I do not intend to insinuate anything to the squadron on the coast of Africa in the shape of aiding. Having made use of the word "aiding," I do not intend to insinuate that they have aided or abetted, but I have used the words merely with regard to the slave trade, to the traffic that is carried on, and to the presence of the squadron with regard to that traffic.

6068. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You think that, unintentionally, the effect of the squadron is to aid and abet the slave trade?—Yes, to increase it.

6069. In amount, or in horror?—In horror.

6070. Not in amount?—Yes; I may say in amount too, because I have stated that enormous sums of money have been made, and that the trade is so sought after under its existing course, it is so lucrative, it gives such enormous returns, and premiums caused by coercion, that I think I may state in both.

6071. Mr. *Barkly*.] The squadron cannot increase the profit of the slave dealer in a greater proportion than it diminishes the profits of the planters who buy the slaves. If it raises the price of the slave and gives an additional profit to the slave dealer it diminishes the profit of the planter; the one must be equal to the other?—There is an answer to that, which is this; that they cannot go on at the rapid pace that they are trying to do in the Brazils in the cultivation of their land. They have great difficulty in going on with the clearance that they are trying at this moment to make.

6072. You have spoken of French and German settlers having recently established themselves in the Brazils; I suppose they have been attracted to that country by the prospect of making a large fortune?—I do not know as to the large fortune; they certainly, to my knowledge, within the time I was there, improved their estates, and were living in much greater comfort than when they came out.

6073. They settled there as sugar and coffee planters?—Yes, coffee generally; and they were sowing grain of different descriptions. The land and the climate are very fine, and it is not only adapted for sugar and coffee, but it is adapted to numerous other growths.

6074. But the possession of a sugar or coffee plantation in Brazil is exceedingly profitable at the present time?—Coffee is, I should say, decidedly; sugar not so much so, for they have not mills established to any very great extent in southern districts; they are rather at a loss for mills.

6075. Have you been in the Brazils since the recent alteration in the sugar duties of 1846?—I have not.

6076. Must not the demand for slaves in Brazil be regulated very much by the value of the article produced by the labour of those slaves?—I should say yes, decidedly.

6077. The desire of the planters to get slaves must depend upon the price of the articles which the slaves would raise for them?—Yes, I should say so.

6078. Therefore, if you raise the value of slave produce in the markets of Europe, you increase the demand for slaves in Brazil?—Yes.

6079. Mr. *Simeon*.] You have stated that you found it necessary to employ spies upon the coast, to inform you of the proceedings of the slavers; out of what funds did the money with which you paid those spies arise?—It came from an agreement entered into on many occasions with myself and the officers on board. There was an agreement drawn up between us, in case of captures being made; and in fact, it went through the ship's company generally. It is a course which has been carried on for many years there, I believe, ever since the trade has become illegal. This man has been employed for many years there.

6080. There

6080. There were no funds put at your disposal by the Government?—None, with regard to myself. He was paid by the Government to a certain extent; he was paid by the minister to a certain extent; to what extent I do not know, but I know that he was in the pay of the minister.

6081. The colonial minister?—No, the British minister there; he was an employé generally of the British minister there; his information was tendered, and it came very often through the British minister.

6082. What minister do you allude to?—Mr. Hamilton Hamilton; he was the minister plenipotentiary at the time.

6083. At Rio?—Yes.

6084. Mr. *Barkly*.] The sums which you paid to this man for information were to be deducted from the bounties upon the tonnage of the vessels captured?—Yes; it was a private arrangement entered into; in fact this man led generally to the captures that were made on the coast, not only by myself, but by other cruisers. He went to sea in one or two of the vessels, and he acted as a pilot on one or two occasions, and pointed out the different positions, which it would have been impossible for us to have found out on the coast, but which he was aware of from his knowledge of the properties belonging to slave traders.

6085. As a naval man now proposing to abolish the squadron for the coercive suppression of the slave trade, you are proposing that the naval service should give up what is a source of considerable profit to themselves?—Decidedly. It is possible that I might be a loser by it myself to a certain amount at a future time; I might be appointed again on the same service if the squadron were not removed.

6086. I suppose there is no more lucrative service than being employed on the coast of Africa?—It is the only certain lucrative service in the present day; the only one to which all our really best seamen go. I believe our best seamen rush to the coast of Africa, quite regardless of their loss of health and strength. In the course of three years, if they are out there, men of 20 and 25 come home looking like men of 50, and generally perfectly unfit for any other climate but that of the West Indies again.

6087. Then you would say that any naval officer who, before this Committee, recommended the withdrawal of the squadron, must be perfectly disinterested in the matter?—Decidedly.

6088. That it would be adverse to his own interest as likely to get a ship?—Decidedly.

6089. Admiral *Bowles*.] Do the officers rush with equal eagerness to the coast of Africa?—I should say that they did not.

6090. Mr. *Barkly*.] But do you think that if there were no encouragement in the way of bounties upon the slave trade on the coast of Africa it would be still more difficult to get officers to volunteer to that station?—I do; I think it would be still more difficult.

6091. Sir *E. Buxton*.] The question is whether, under present circumstances, the officers consider it a desirable station?—There are officers who have sought it, and there are officers in the service, I believe, who still seek the coast. I have heard officers speak their opinions, that they would just as soon go to the coast of Africa as to any other station.

6092. Is that the general opinion?—I should say no; but I have heard it asserted, and have known men seek it.

6093. *Chairman*.] Still the advantage of the service operates in the way of money?—No doubt of it.

6094. The service offers advantages to officers in a situation to obtain that promotion?—Decidedly; if they remain any length of time, and succeed in making numerous captures, and succeed in carrying out the service, it is decidedly beneficial to their interests.

6095. Mr. *Simeon*.] You mentioned a particular case of a vessel of 230 tons, with 569 slaves on board, and you said that nine slaves were found dead in that vessel?—Yes.

6096. Do you know whether those slaves appeared to have been dead for some time?—I think the surgeon's opinion was that they had been dead from 12 to 18 hours, something of that kind, which was about the time she must have first made the land. It was after a very heavy breeze; there were a great number of coasters, and a number of vessels round about her, and I have no doubt that she was intimidated, and fearful that some of them might be cruisers, as we were generally disguised. We generally went out in disguise; in fact the vessel which I

Commander
W. O'Brien Hoare,
R. N.

1 June 1848.

Commander
W. O' Bryen Hoare,
R. N.

1 June 1848.

commanded had very much the same rig as the coasting vessels on that coast, and we were enabled to go in amongst them, except our size of hull, and not to be discovered, which we did on this occasion; had we not done that, we should not have succeeded in making the capture. The slaves, in my belief, had been kept below for a great length of time, which I should infer from the great disease which was then ravaging amongst them, and that caused the deaths, no doubt, of those whom we found dead in the hold.

6097. Then there had been circumstances attending the chase which would lead you to believe that that was more than the average daily mortality amongst them; you suppose that they had been kept under the hatchways in consequence of apprehension?—Yes. She was 58 days coming over. They destroyed most of the papers, but from some small return which we got hold of, I think we calculated that she had lost about 40 on the passage.

6098. Mr. *Barkly*.] But that vessel could not have been so crowded as many vessels that come from the coast of Africa to Brazil; she had not much more than two men per ton when you captured her, and I believe the proportion is much greater than that?—She was a peculiar build of vessel. That was the return which we gave as to measurement ourselves; but I think, from the plank and the great quantity of casks which they had on board, and from the food, they must have been crowded. The greater portion of that vessel also was taken up as a female slave room, which caused the male population to be very much crowded; the male slaves which were on board were severely crowded, I should say.

6099. Do you know what proportion of females there were on board?—I think there were 60 or 70.

6099*. Do you recollect what the height between decks was?—They were stowed in bulk. She had an open hold, with the exception of the casks; there was a ground tier of casks. They were stowed more like a box of figs or raisins than anything else. She had a female slave room.

6100. But no slave deck?—No, she had no deck.

6101. *Chairman*.] Was the "Dolphin" a brig?—A brigantine.

6102. Mr. *Barkly*.] You have made a suggestion to the Committee as to getting the Brazilians to pass a Regulation Act for conducting the slave trade. Do you think that there would be any chance of their observing the provisions of such an Act as that more faithfully than they have done their treaties with this country?—Except under very severe measures, I do not think you would get the Brazilians to adhere to anything, for they are a most miserable race, without any control of power over them. I consider Brazil more a republic myself than anything else in its present state; the emperor is a mere nonentity there, to my mind. I should say that it would be impossible, except under very severe measures; the members of senate being generally slaveholders. For instance, in the case of that very vessel to which I have referred, going out of Rio Harbour, the senior officer and myself had threats held out that she would not be allowed to pass the forts, and a 28-gun ship then going out, and another brig, and myself were, I was going to say, obliged to go out with her; we were not obliged, because we did not think they would carry it out, but we did go out with her, we convoyed her past the forts.

6103. That was a vessel which you captured?—Yes. On one occasion, in the case of a very large barque with a very valuable cargo, they made every attempt to recapture her. I was obliged to run her into Rio Harbour, and examine her hold there previously to sending her to sea, and I had very great difficulty in keeping her. I was obliged to apply to the senior officer for a reinforcement of men, and to keep sentries with loaded ball all night; the boats made several attempts to recapture her in the harbour.

6104. You stated that one of the vessels which you had captured had been condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court of Demerara?—Yes.

6105. Did you capture her off the coast of Brazil?—Yes.

6106. How long is the run from the coast of Brazil to the colony of Demerara?—I think they were 60 days going out from Rio.

6107. Is the wind generally adverse?—Yes.

6108. A dead beat?—Yes, and she, according to instructions, took the land winds close in shore.

6109. Were the slaves sent in her?—A certain proportion of slaves were sent up in her as apprentices; she was chartered.

6110. Did any mortality occur?—Yes; I think they lost six or seven going up.

6111. Not more than that during the 60 days?—No, I think not.

6112. The

6112. Did the Brazilians manifest much indignation at the fact of those people being sent away from Brazil to work in the British colonies?—Whether it was because they were to work in the British colonies or not, I do not know; they certainly did on several occasions. At that time there were one or two slaves who escaped from the “Crescent;” they were taken out by different owners; they were very valuable slaves, from their either having a knowledge of work, or their having been servants on board the vessel coming over; there were two, I think, during the time that I was there, recaptured out of the “Crescent,” which was the receiving ship, the depôt ship. In fact there was no point that the Brazilians would not have risked to have got them all if they could, had they dared to do it, I believe.

6113. Were you on the coast when they did actually recapture any vessel with slaves on board that had been taken by one of Her Majesty’s ships?—Yes; they recaptured one of my vessels, the “Zulmera,” in the harbour of Dos Rios; she was taken by one of my boats, commanded at the time by a mate, and his report to me was, that he had a skirmish with them, in which he was beaten off, and they recaptured her. I happened to come up the next morning from the cruising ground where I had been, and he came on board and reported this to me. I immediately stood into the bay, and then warped in close to shore, and found her lying on shore on her beam ends, and my ensign, which had been flying on board of her, which the prize-master had left, had been hauled down and taken on shore. There was a very large facenda and a large chateau there belonging to a slaveowner, whose name at this moment I forget. I sent on shore to him, and demanded the ensign, which I got back after some threats. I moored my vessel, and I then took the necessary measures for heaving this vessel off, which I did; he sent down a very large body at one time in a number of canoes, with the idea that we should be intimidated from doing it. A brig some three years previous to this had been there, and exchanged several shots with a hidden fort in wood belonging to this facenda. I gave him notice that I should open fire on his house immediately if he interfered, and on his whole facenda, and upon that he retired. The whole of that night I was heaving (it was very heavy) and taking the necessary measures to buoy her up. I succeeded at daylight in heaving her off. I then tried to get her out of the bay; it was a difficult bay to get out of; and I got the “Dolphin,” after some time, to warp her out; they made another attempt then; they thought I had abandoned her. I then sent the boats in, and without any more trouble I got her out; but they would, no doubt, have attempted it again had I not held out very peremptory threats to them of what I should do if they did anything of the kind. The slaves escaped in the night. When my prize-master boarded her the slaves were on board, but he was overcome; a large body came down from the facenda, and he had merely a boat’s crew of 10 men.

6114. Sir *E. Buxton*.] I suppose the slaves were the most valuable part of the cargo?—Decidedly.

6115. Much more valuable than the ship?—Decidedly, so far as return went to the captors.

6116. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do you think that if the squadron were withdrawn from the coast of Africa and placed on the coast of Brazil, it would lead to many collisions of that kind with the inhabitants?—No, I do not think so; for this reason, that I think they fear us excessively. I do not think that it would ever lead to anything like a serious collision.

6117. You are of opinion that they would be afraid of the superior power?—Yes; I have also often thought that if the squadron as it now stands were dispersed; if it visited the coast of Brazil from the coast of Africa on certain occasions, so far as coercion goes, it would tend to create more captures than are made at this present moment. My idea is, that if a communication had been kept up between the coast of Africa and the Brazils, information could have been given as to the sailing of vessels which they do not get now. Vessels now leave the Brazilian station, and the slaves are ready to a day for them; within 24 or 48 hours they ship their cargoes and return, and very often run through the coast of Africa squadron.

6118. Is there no communication between the squadron on the coast of Brazil and the blockading squadron on the coast of Africa?—There was none whatever when I was out there.

Commander
W. O. Bryen Hoare,
R. N.

1 June 1848.

Martis, 6° die Junii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Hutt.
Mr. Simeon.
Colonel Thompson.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Viscount Brackley.
Lord Courtenay.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Earl of Lincoln.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Alexander Macgregor, Esq., called in; and Examined.

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

6119. *Chairman.*] YOU are, I believe, connected with the West Indies by property, and you are a member of the West India Committee?—Yes.

6120. You have consequently had every opportunity of knowing the various changes which have taken place in regard to West Indian affairs?—Yes, I have had considerable opportunities.

6121. Are you generally acquainted with the economical and social condition which the West Indies presented previously to emancipation and since emancipation?—I think I am.

6122. I believe there are in the West Indies about 17 colonies?—Yes, large and small.

6123. Will you describe to the Committee what is the nature of the Emancipation Act?—The nature of the Emancipation Act was to convert slaves first of all into apprentices, at least all above six years of age; those under six were at once made free. That apprenticeship was to continue till 1840, but it was suddenly terminated in 1838, to the great disadvantage of the colonies and the proprietors.

6124. What was the effect on the productive industry of the West Indies of the absolute emancipation of the slaves?—I think that may be best shown by referring to the Parliamentary return of the imports from those colonies. I may say generally that it had the effect of reducing immediately the production very nearly one-half in quantity, and also of aggravating the cost of that diminished production; in some cases it quintupled it; in others, in a smaller degree; but in all cases it was enormously aggravated.

6125. In what year did that enormous falling off first exhibit itself?—I think it exhibited itself in 1840 here; the crop that had been on the ground of course came home in 1839.

6126. Will you state what was the average amount of sugar for three or four years previous to emancipation, and the production of sugar from the West Indian colonies in the three years subsequent to Emancipation?—Beginning at 1835 the importation of sugar from those colonies into this country was 3,524,209 cwt.; in 1836 it was 3,601,791 cwt.; in 1837 it was 3,306,775 cwt.; and in 1838, 3,520,676 cwt. Then passing over 1839, which was what we call the intermediate year, because the crop that had been planted in 1838 was of course to be reaped in 1839, although absolute freedom had then taken place, I pass on to 1840, which was the crop that ought to have been fully planted in the autumn of 1838, showing the first effect of the measure, and the importation appears to have been 2,214,764; in the next year, 1841, it was 2,148,218; in 1842 it was 2,508,725.

6127. Will you be so kind as to take the three years which preceded the Act of Emancipation, namely, the years 1831, 1832, and 1833?—In 1831 the imports amounted to 4,103,800, in 1832, 3,773,456, and in 1833, 3,646,205; 1834 might be also added to that list, because in fact it is in the same category; in 1834 they were 3,843,976.

6128. Between the years 1832 and 1840, there was a falling off of nearly 50 per cent.?—Yes, very nearly 50 per cent.

6129. To what circumstance do you attribute that extraordinary falling off in

in the productive industry of the West Indian colonies?—To the withdrawal of labour from the plantations which had been previously attached to them by the system of slavery.

6130. Does this decrease of production apply exclusively to sugar?—Not at all; it is quite as extensive, with regard to coffee and other productions of a subordinate character.

6131. Did Great Britain provide any way for putting to rights the derangement in the framework of society which had been caused by the Act of 1833?—I am not aware of any measure that was taken for that purpose.

6132. Did the Government of this country thwart the attempt on the part of individual planters to place the economical circumstances of those colonies on a better footing?—Nothing was done until 1838, for the period of the apprenticeship secured a certain amount of labour to every plantation. The people were still attached to the same plantations to which they had been attached in a state of slavery. In 1838, simultaneously with the abolition of the apprenticeship, an Order in Council was passed prohibiting the proprietors from engaging any agricultural labourers except those that were on the spot, giving thereby a monopoly of the employment to these people.

6133. At that time what had been the conduct of the prædial slaves on acquiring their complete freedom?—It was very natural; they seemed determined to enjoy the new condition into which they had been brought; they very generally for a time abstained from labour, or at all events engaged very moderately in labour, and a very great number withdrew altogether from the plantations, as might, I think, have been expected in the transition from a state of bondage to a state of free society, filling up a great many gradations in the scale, from the proprietary body down to the peasant.

6134. Did some of them become shopkeepers?—A great many became hucksters; they took to various occupations; there seemed to be a great disposition to wander about, and go to the towns and follow any pursuit but steady daily agricultural labour. A certain number of the people applied themselves to agricultural labour only, and in consequence of their number being very much diminished, of course they could exact any terms they pleased for their services.

6135. Did the rate of wages in the West Indies rise considerably in consequence of that change in society?—Enormously; it is very difficult in fact to describe what the real cost of labour was; the money wages do not express the cost of labour even now. At that time they still less expressed the cost of labour, because the quantity and quality of the work performed for the money of course requires to be taken into account in estimating the cost of labour. I verily believe, that while the planters in some of the colonies (I can name Trinidad, where I happen to be interested myself,) were giving apparently half-a-dollar, with certain allowances, they were, for a good day's work, actually giving very nearly 10 s. at the first.

6136. Looking to the wages that were paid, and to the work which was performed for the wages, you have no hesitation in saying that there was an enormous increase in the actual rate of wages given for the labour of those who were willing to be employed?—Undoubtedly.

6137. Did you find that in consequence of the large amount of wages which those labourers received they were less inclined than formerly to continuous work?—Formerly they were obliged to engage in continuous work, so that it is impossible to compare the dispositions which they evinced during the two periods. They did exactly I think as most people would do, they worked as little as they could for as much as they could get.

6138. Did the planters derive any disadvantage from the want of continuous labour in the process of reaping the canes and the manufacture of the sugar?—Immense disadvantages. It is impossible to estimate the losses that were occasioned in that way. I presume the Committee are well aware that sugar cultivation requires a combination of labour in all its departments to render it effectual and profitable, so that if one department is not well supplied the whole is deranged, and consequently very serious loss incurred.

6139-40. Will you explain to the Committee what steps the planters took to remedy the inconveniences under which they were suffering from this want of labour in the colonies?—The first step they took was to endeavour to get the restriction which had been imposed upon them abrogated.

6141. What restriction?—The restriction by the Order in Council, dated in

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

September 1838, prohibiting any contracts from being made with labourers, except in the colony in which the labour was to be performed.

6142. Mr. *Barkly*.] Will you state how that Order in Council which applied to the Crown colonies was extended to the legislative colonies?—The Committee are aware that in the Crown colonies an Order in Council is absolute; in the chartered colonies, those which possess a representative government, the Crown is represented by the Secretary of State, whose assent to every law is necessary to render it valid. The way in which that Order in Council in particular was, and any Order in Council may be, imposed upon the representative colonies is this: a circular despatch was sent by the Secretary of State to the governors of those representative colonies, inclosing a copy of the Order in Council, and instructing them not to assent to any law that was not in conformity with that Order in Council; thereby indirectly imposing the terms of the Order in Council, and the prohibition which it contained, upon all the colonies.

6143. *Chairman*.] Then the colonies which had representative assemblies were placed as immediately under this Order in Council as if they had been Crown colonies?—Under the terms of it.

6144. What was the nature of the efforts of the planters to obtain labour from elsewhere; to what countries did they apply for labour?—Their first effort was to get immigration laws passed, laws permitting emigration from different parts, where they thought suitable labourers might be found; and to procure first of all the assent of the Government at home, to those immigration Acts. As contracts were not permitted, of course no individual proprietor could go to a foreign country for the purpose of conveying emigrants at his own expense, because if he did so he had no assurance whatever that those people would give him their labour. It was therefore found necessary to aim at emigration on the general account of each colony, to be paid out of the public funds of that colony, and that the labourers so conveyed should be at the disposal of all, open to the competition of the employers of all classes. That method was also thought a very good one in respect to the poorer proprietors who had not the means, even if they had been permitted, of going to any other country for labour; they were put on the same footing as the richer proprietors. Those Immigration Ordinances encountered great opposition here; as passed in the colonies they included our settlements on the coast of Africa; those were all excluded when they came here; they were expunged from the Ordinances, and, so mutilated, they were passed.

6145. To what countries were you permitted to apply yourselves, in order to restore the supply of labour?—They were very limited; it was restricted to the neighbouring colonies. I believe the first ordinance that passed was that in Trinidad, and it permitted premiums for the conveyance of emigrants from the neighbouring islands: a few dollars is all that is necessary for that purpose; of course it did no good to their neighbours, to draw away the labour from them. They were also, after a time, permitted to try emigration from the United States, but that permission was accompanied again by such restrictions, restrictions against making any kind of contract, as in fact rendered it nugatory. Then after a delay of two years, I think, when Lord John Russell was in the Colonial Office, he for the first time permitted an attempt to be made to procure emigrants from Sierra Leone.

6146. Did you find, practically, that this ordinance of the Government, requiring you to await the coming of the labourers into the West Indian colonies, before you could make your contracts, was an effectual bar to the supply of labour?—A complete denial. There was no possibility of getting a single labourer engaged under that law.

6147. And that is true, whether you refer to efforts made by individuals, or to the efforts made by the islands as communities?—No individual could make such an effort, because it required an outlay of money without the slightest prospect of advantage; no individual had any motive to expend money in bringing people to a colony where he could not be at all sure of their labour. As soon as they arrived there, the first thing they were told was, that if they had been entrapped into any contract, it was not valid. Every vessel that arrives at Trinidad, for example, is boarded by the Government immigration agent, and the first thing he explains to the people is, that no contract is binding; in fact he presents to their minds, even at this day, an impression that a contract is a bad thing.

6148. Did

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

6148. Did you, as a West Indian proprietor, consider that the sum of 20 millions of money which was sent there by this country as compensation for the loss of your slaves, was a compensation for the circumstances in which you were placed by the loss of the means of cultivating your property?—Of course not; it could not possibly be regarded in that light; it was a mere fraction of the value of the property. We have the evidence of the Commissioners appointed by the Crown to appraise the slaves. The money paid to the West Indian colonies was 16,600,000*l.* out of the 20,000,000*l.*, and the valuation of the slaves I think was upwards of 43,000,000*l.*; the valuation at a period of depression. You are aware that the valuation was taken upon the eight preceding years, which was a period when the value of property had been affected by the resolutions passed by Parliament in 1823.

6149. If, according to that valuation, instead of 20 millions, say 40 millions had been awarded, would you consider that a sufficient indemnity for preventing you from cultivating your estates?—Of course not; the valuation to which I have alluded as having been made by the Commissioners appointed by the Crown to appraise the slaves, was merely an appraisalment of the slaves. Now the value of land, and of the works and premises upon that land, entirely depends upon the labour which can be applied to its cultivation; consequently, when that labour was withdrawn, the whole of the property was affected as well as the slaves.

6150. It would be something like taking possession of the ploughs and agricultural implements of a settler in New Zealand, allowing him the value of his ploughs, and then telling him that he had a compensation for his loss?—Very similar; depriving him of the power of cultivating his land.

6151. Will you proceed with the statement into which you were going on the subject of the immigration of the Coolies. At what date was the Coolie immigration first entertained?—The Coolie immigration was not permitted till July 1844. An experiment had been made by individuals during the apprenticeship.

6152. Parties being placed in that situation which had never presented itself to the eyes of the Government, namely, an absolute want of labour upon the emancipation of the slaves, then endeavoured to provide themselves with the labour of Coolies from the East Indies?—A few individual proprietors did so.

6153. Was that permitted to be carried on by the British Government?—No, it was prohibited.

6154. Prohibited by what means?—It could not be permitted without an arrangement being made for the payment of the expense of conveying the Coolies. The way in which the prohibition operated was this: the Order in Council prohibiting any contract from being made with any individual beyond the limits of the colony in which the service was to be performed, prohibited any proprietor from attempting to make such a contract.

6155. Mr. Barkly.] Was not there also a regulation passed by the government of India which prevented Coolies from leaving that country?—It was so; but our Government at home were the primary cause, for they prohibited first of all contracts from being made, and any individual from being induced to undertake the risk and expense of conveying labourers; then they would not allow the public funds of the colony to be applied for the conveyance of Coolies on account of the colony at large, so that neither by private enterprise, nor by public arrangement, could any labourer be brought; in addition to that, no doubt the government of India also prohibited the emigration of the Coolies.

6156. Chairman.] The object of the British Government therefore seemed to be, to prevent the West Indian proprietors from cultivating their estates?—It certainly had that effect, whatever their motive was, as you see from the imports being reduced.

6157. The British Government interdicted the importation of labour suitable to the Tropics from any part of the world?—They did for a time.

6158. When was that policy in some degree mitigated?—In July 1844 permission was for the first time given to bring Coolies from India, and in 1845 accordingly a certain number were received into the West Indies. I may say that an attempt was made previously to that to procure Chinese labourers. The West India Committee here represented to the Government the possibility of getting Chinese labourers from the Straits settlements, having had a pro-

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

prietor out travelling in that country, who made a most favourable report. The Government, after a good deal of communication, granted permission, but under such regulations, as they were called, as rendered the permission of no avail whatever, and not a single Chinaman has ever been brought; it was impossible to bring them under the regulations prescribed.

6159. Did you find the Coolies of India persons well suited to act as labourers in connexion with the Africans who were already liberated in the colonies?—I should say that there is a great difference of opinion about the Coolies. In an immense country like India there is a great variety of people, there is accordingly a great variety in the Coolies that have been received in the West Indies; but they have on the whole not been so efficient as they ought to have been, chiefly because the Government here will not permit effective regulations for maintaining them in regular employment. I could refer the Committee to a very interesting despatch from Lord Harris, the Governor of Trinidad, dated in February, which very fully describes the condition of the labourers in that colony at the present time.

6160. The state of the labouring population generally?—The state of the labouring population generally, the effect of immigration, the different characters of the immigrants, and his Lordship's opinion upon what should be done.

6161. Is it a long document?—It is a very interesting document, and I believe well worthy of the attention of this Committee.

6162. Do you think that the West Indians would ever have attempted to import Coolies from India, if the coast of Africa had not been closed entirely against them by the British Government?—I may say, with the permission of the Committee, and because there is a good deal of prejudice I think about immigration, that, in the first place, no proprietor in the West Indies would go beyond his own parish for labour, if he could find it there; that he certainly would not go beyond his own colony for labour, if he could find it there; that his next place of resort would be the nearest point at which he could find suitable labour, and the proprietors never would have dreamed of going beyond the Cape of Good Hope if they could have been allowed to get labour on this side of it.

6163. It would have been much cheaper?—Much cheaper; and it is not only cheaper, but it is more desirable. The African is the predominant race in the West Indies. Of course the African will amalgamate with the existing population more readily than a Cooly will; and then they are much more likely to become regular settlers and part of the fixed population, which we consider very desirable of course.

6164. Was not there something objectionable in itself in bringing the two different races in such close contact?—I never could see any objection to that; I think that most countries have profited by a mixture of races; I do not see any force in that objection. There was great difficulty in getting a sufficient number of women to come with the Coolies.

6165. From the distance?—From the distance; women do not so readily emigrate as men.

6166. Was the coast of Africa effectually closed against the efforts of the planters?—Most effectually; no doubt of it.

6167. Will you describe by what means the prohibition was enforced?—I should be happy to put in perhaps a more regular statement than I can make conversationally, but I will state now what I have been alluding to first of all. The Order in Council in 1838 most effectually closed every part; even Europe was closed against us; it was not competent to a proprietor here to hire a ploughman to go to the West Indies; he was prohibited from entering into such a contract. In the course of two years after the enactment of that prohibition, it was so very absurd to prohibit the people of this country from engaging as tradesmen or ploughmen to go to the West Indies, that that portion of the Order in Council was abrogated by another Order in Council. At a subsequent period, which at this moment I do not recollect, I think in 1841, we represented that it would be possible to get free labourers from the United States; the free coloured people there being held in a state of great degradation, we thought it possible that they might be induced to emigrate. An attempt was permitted, and a certain number were prevailed upon to go to Trinidad, where they proved most superior labourers. However, it was found impossible to get them without contracts; they would not come unless they were

were assured of a definite employment when they arrived; and that emigration was stopped because we could not get permission to make those contracts.

6168. All such contracts were prohibited by the British Government?—They were. Afterwards, in 1843, we made an attempt, as I have described, to get Chinese, but the regulations dictated by the Colonial Department were such as to render the permission of no avail. Then in 1844, permission was for the first time granted to convey a certain number of Coolies; and that immigration has been going on from year to year since that time. The Coolies, in the aggregate, have proved highly advantageous to Guiana and Trinidad in particular, though their labour has not been half so effectual as it would have been under proper regulations, suggested by the Governors of the colonies, but disallowed in this country.

6169. Has there been any relaxation of the prohibition in regard to Africa?—In regard to Africa there has been a slight relaxation. In 1840, a certain number of Maroons, who had been banished from Jamaica to Sierra Leone, applied to be permitted to return to Jamaica; in consequence of that application, made through the Governor of Sierra Leone, Lord John Russell wrote to the Governors of the West Indian colonies, and on receipt of their replies, he permitted emigration from Sierra Leone, under a set of regulations which were very rigid; indeed so rigid, that none, in fact, were prevailed upon to go but the very people who fancied returning to the West Indies at all events.

6170. Scarcely amounting to any relaxation at all; in practice?—It was not very important. Those rules, against which we remonstrated at the time, have been gradually surrendered one after another, proving that what we stated at the time was quite true; that they were very improper rules, which merely imposed restrictions upon the people without doing any good. But in the meantime, a very strong local opposition has arisen to emigration from Sierra Leone; all parties in Sierra Leone are opposed to it, from the Governor downwards.

6171. Was there not something of a similar opposition raised against the immigration of the free blacks of the United States into the West Indies?—The opposition in that case was made through the Anti-Slavery Society; they have opposed emigration from all parts.

6172. From the United States as well as from Sierra Leone?—Yes; and India, and every quarter.

6173. In regard to Sierra Leone too, you find that you are met by the opposition of the local government?—Yes; it became quite evident that the vote for Sierra Leone would be diminished if the people were removed; it became also evident that the local trade would be diminished if the people were removed, and I regret to add that the two missionary societies who have been attempting to do good amongst them there, took a great prejudice against emigration, and I believe it exists to this time; so that the joint effect of that opposition amongst ignorant people is to retain them there.

6174. Were you permitted to obtain free Africans from any part of the coast, except from Sierra Leone?—No.

6175. Did you in effect obtain any Africans from Sierra Leone, except those who were generally called the liberated Africans, namely, Africans who had been rescued from slavery?—The greater part of the population are liberated Africans, but those who were obtained were the most recently liberated.

6176. Mr. *Barkly*.] In the first instance were not those recently liberated Africans prevented from going by the necessity imposed by the Government regulations, of a certain residence in the colony of Sierra Leone?—Yes.

6177. And also of notices of their intention to remove being given in writing?—They were.

6178. And the medical examination which they were called upon to undergo, before surgeons; as to their capability for emigration; and also the system of passports and fees demanded upon the granting of those passports?—Those were part of the regulations to which I have alluded, and which most effectually prevented the success of emigration.

6179. *Chairman*.] Are you acquainted with a Paper, entitled "How to save the West Indies, and abolish Negro Slavery;" which was published in the Colonial Gazette, on the 1st of January 1840?—I am.

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

6180. Do you approve of the policy which is set forth in that paper?—
I do.

6181. Will you be so kind as to describe it?—It is a long time since I read the paper; I may describe what I conceive is the policy that ought to be adopted, which is, that of perfectly free intercourse with all the world. I see no reason why the people of the West Indies should be prohibited from holding free intercourse with any country to which they may wish to resort.

6182. The leading feature of that paper was free immigration from all parts of the world to the West Indies?—Yes.

6183. Especially referring to emigration from the coast of Africa?—Quite so.

6184. Are you of opinion that if the policy there set forth had been honestly and faithfully adopted, it would have saved the West Indies from much of the disaster which they have since incurred?—I have no doubt of it.

6185. Were any estates in the West Indies abandoned by their proprietors in consequence of the policy of the British Government?—Yes, a great many have been.

6186. Where?—In all the larger colonies; in Jamaica very extensively, in Guiana and Trinidad also, not in Trinidad so much as elsewhere, but in Jamaica particularly. In Guiana I should say, almost all the coffee estates, for example, have been abandoned. The sugar cultivation being on the whole more valuable drew away the labour from the coffee to the sugar, and consequently rendered them unable to compete at the wages which they were attempting to give. I may perhaps here explain that one effect which is unavoidable for a time amongst sugar proprietors is this, that the great effort which they make first is to get their cultivation extended to its former limit when it was in proportion to the power of manufacture, in order to cheapen the rate of production. In order to effect that extension high wages will be given, in the hope that when it is effected the rate of production being reduced some remuneration may follow. For example, in the case of an estate having the power of manufacturing 500 hogsheads of sugar, it is very obvious that the fixed charges upon such an estate will fall more lightly upon 500 hogsheads than if they are to be distributed over only 250. The consequence is, that in order to get the cultivation up from the reduced standard which they were driven to by emancipation, the planter made great efforts, and went to a great expense to return to their former extent. That accounts for a great deal of unprofitable cultivation having been carried on, in Guiana and Trinidad especially.

6187. You have spoken of the conduct of the imported labourer in the West Indies as being, on the whole, satisfactory?—I have not said so. I have mentioned that the Coolies contributed very greatly to the success of Guiana and Trinidad. The conduct of the imported labourers for a time is satisfactory; but the despatch which Lord Harris has written very fully explains the whole course of it.

6188. Will you have the kindness to refer to that despatch?—Perhaps the Committee will allow me to read a paragraph of it. After stating fully the state of the colony, his Lordship says, "I have, moreover, great doubts whether the Cooly and the African are morally or mentally capable of being acted upon by the same motives in this island, on their first arrival, as labourers are in more civilized countries. That one which urges the mere support of animal existence, will not induce them to continuous and skilful labour when their wants can be supplied by the most parsimonious use of their muscles. The fear of the law, it is manifest, is not very readily brought to bear on them. Luxuries they do not generally know of, or require. The only independence which they would desire is idleness, according to their different tastes in the enjoyment of it. And then the higher motives which actuate the European labourer (and we must remember the vast difference there is even in Europe with respect to the industry of various races), which are above and beyond circumstances irrespective of mere self-interest, which he has received as his patrimony from previous generations, and which, I believe, even in this age, are still to be found prevailing amongst them, viz. that to be industrious is a duty and a virtue; that to be independent in circumstances, whatever his station, raises a man in the moral scale amongst his race, and that his ability to perform his duties as a citizen, and there we may add as a Christian, is increased by it.

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These, and such motives as these, are unknown to the fatalist worshippers of Mahomet and Bramah, and to the savages who go by the name of liberated Africans." The despatch goes on then to say, "A proof of this and a marked difference may be seen daily in the vicinity of Port of Spain. The Portuguese are chiefly settled in the town or its vicinity as gardeners, &c., their services are at a premium, their work is, on the whole, more valuable; they get higher wages than the African, the Cooly, or the Creole, so that their circumstances are, at least as good, in fact better, for they live more economically, yet at four o'clock, when their day's task is over, they are to be seen, not idling about the grog shops, or loitering about the streets, but employing the remaining hours of daylight in cutting up wood wherever they get leave to do so, and carrying logs or bundles of it into town for sale; but no such idea had ever entered the heads of the others; and now when times are altered, when provisions are scarce and dear, and money hardly to be got, they have not shown any symptoms of following the example, or of employing their extra time profitably."

6189. Do you entirely concur in the former part of those opinions?—I may say that I entirely concur in the whole tenor of this despatch

6190. You are led to the conclusion that the Negroes are not entirely disposed to toil?—I do not know that they are altogether indisposed to toil, but it is to a different extent from what we consider industry; there is no idea of toiling for the purpose of procuring more than satisfies their immediate fancy, whatever it is. If you will allow me to add two or three lines I think they will illustrate Lord Harris's meaning: "After having given my best consideration to the subject, it appears to me that in the first place the immigrants must pass through an initiatory process; they are not, neither Coolies nor Africans, fit to be placed in a position which the labourers of civilized countries may at once occupy; they must be treated like children, and wayward ones too: the former from their habits and their religion, the latter from the utterly savage state in which they arrive." These observations I presume apply to the recently liberated Africans.

6191. Lord Harris then appears to recommend that those liberated Africans should be placed in a state of apprenticeship?—Yes, a state of apprenticeship being the state in which the West India Committee have recommended to Government to place them, in accordance with an Act of Parliament which I do not recollect at this moment—5 Geo. 4, c. 113. Perhaps the Committee will allow me to put in my evidence the recommendations which we have made to the Government in regard to immigration.

SUGGESTIONS UPON EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO THE WEST INDIA COLONIES.

1. ALL captured slaves who may be liberated at Sierra Leone to be conveyed to and settled in the West India colonies, instead of being left in the miserable state described by Governor Ferguson* in his despatch dated 9th July 1844, in the following terms:—"Those persons who have refused to emigrate, and have been so readily picked up by the located liberated Africans, are employed by them altogether as unpaid servants; they are fed; scantily, if at all clothed; and have no pecuniary allowance whatever." Although the slave ships are carried to Sierra Leone for adjudication, in compliance with treaties, it appears by the Act 5 Geo. 4, c. 113, that the people who are liberated may be settled wherever Her Majesty's Government may, as their official guardians, determine. In the West Indies they could of course earn the means of comfortable subsistence by ordinary industry, and in doing so contribute indirectly to the suppression of the slave trade, of which they had been victims.

2. Three steamers to be employed as regular transports for the conveyance of emigrants from the west coast of Africa to the three colonies of Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica respectively; and of delegates from these colonies who may desire to revisit Africa. These steamers to be fitted and navigated as transports, and all the officers to be volunteers, who have no reluctance to the service. The instruction to the commanders ought to enjoin them not to interfere with the agents, but to afford them every possible facility and the most cordial co-operation in collecting and embarking emigrants; and also that the people shall be allowed during the voyage all the indulgence that may be consistent with good order, and not required to take any part in working the vessel.

The instructions to the surgeons ought to explain that a strict examination of intending emigrants is unnecessary, and that they are only required to be satisfied of their being fit
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* See the Evidence of Mr. Macauley, in Report of West African Committee, 1842.

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

for work according to their appearance. The Africans have a great prejudice against such an examination as recruits undergo, because it is adopted by the slave traders before embarking their slaves, and it seems to be quite superfluous in regard to emigrants for agricultural labour.

3. Licenses to be granted by the Secretary of State to all suitable vessels for which they may be required, authorizing them to proceed, properly fitted and prepared to receive passengers according to the Passengers' Act, to any of the British settlements, or the Kroo Country, on the west coast of Africa, and there embark emigrants for any of the British colonies in the West Indies. Every ship so licensed to have a surgeon on board, who shall be appointed to act as the Government agent.

4. A proclamation (which shall be prepared here) to be issued in the name of Her Majesty, and extensively distributed along the coast of Africa, where English is very generally understood, setting forth the great advantages which emigrants would enjoy in proceeding to Her Majesty's free colonies in the West Indies, and intimating that, for the good of the people of Africa, Her Majesty has determined that licenses shall be granted and arrangements made for providing suitable ships, in which all persons desiring to emigrate accordingly may take passage without any charge, and be under the protection of Her Majesty's Government. That in the British West Indies they will be assured of the most perfect freedom and good treatment, as well as regular employment at good wages. That they will there find thousands of Africans, and descendants of Africans, all enjoying perfect freedom, protection, religious instruction, beneficial employment, comfortable houses, excellent grounds for provisions, and plenty of live stock.

5. As soon as an understanding can be effected with the Governments of France, the United States, &c., to ensure exemption for licensed emigrant ships from the operation of the equipment clause, the whole west coast of Africa to be open to them, and proclamation made that all who desire to emigrate to the British colonies will be assured of freedom and protection from the moment they can come within a British settlement or embark under the British flag. Thus emigrant ships might afford opportunities for escape to refugees from oppression even in the very haunts of the slave trader, and directly interfere with his success; and, according to the opinion of the late Governor Maclean, it is probable that great numbers would flee to Cape Coast Castle.*

6192. If you please; do you think that placing those newly imported Africans in a state of apprenticeship would not only be desirable for the interests of the West Indies, but that it would be desirable for the interests of the Africans themselves, in order to accustom them to the habits of civilized life?—Unquestionably; it would be quite as much for their benefit as for the benefit of their employers.

6193. You have described to us the condition of the West Indies in some detail, as it was found after the Emancipation Act; what is the present condition of the West Indies?—The present condition of the West Indies cannot be well understood, I think, without referring to the effect of the different Acts which have recently been passed touching the sugar duties. In 1844, Parliament determined to draw a distinction between foreign slave and free-grown sugar; it was then determined to admit free-grown sugar, at least such as is so called, from countries where personal slavery does not exist, at a differential duty of 10 s. That Act was accompanied by very strong declarations on the part of the Government then existing that the distinction would be steadily maintained, that distinction also being in accordance with the former policy of this country regarding slavery. In 1845 another Sugar Act was passed, maintaining that distinction, and reducing the duty on British plantation sugar by 10 s. Those Acts, affording to parties interested in sugar cultivation the guarantee of Parliament that the distinction between slave and free-grown produce would be maintained steadily, gave a great impulse to production: the reduced rate of duty induced great efforts, a large investment of capital, and consequently an increased production of sugar in all our possessions, east and west. The sugar which was planted in the autumn of 1845, stimulated by those Acts of Parliament, arrived last year (1847). It then met in this market the slave-grown produce that had by the Act of 1846 been unexpectedly declared admissible; the immediate effect has been an immense depression in the price of British plantation sugar, while there has been a moderate rise in the price of foreign. That change has by some been partly attributed to the general depression throughout the country last year; but there is this remarkable difference, that while British plantation sugar has declined, foreign sugar has risen even
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* See Governor Maclean's despatch to Sir George Grey, 16th December 1837, in Appendix to Report of West African Committee, 1842, page 145.

in the midst of the panic. Now, as a panic does not discriminate, we think that it must be attributed to another cause. The consequence of that depression, and enormous loss inflicted upon the sugar growers in the British colonies, has been the utter destruction of all credit; money cannot be borrowed either by the colonies as communities, or by individuals; I do not believe that a single shilling could be raised upon West Indian property at this moment. We therefore contemplate a very great diminution of production immediately; I may say that even this year the estimated difference between this year and last year, from the West Indian colonies alone, is 30,000 or 40,000 tons. Of course all parties will endeavour to cut canes that are growing, but as to future cultivation it seems to be quite uncertain. The colonies have been waiting with the greatest anxiety for the result of the other Committee of Inquiry which has just closed its proceedings; and the future condition of the West Indies now depends entirely upon what Parliament may do.

6194. Does that want of confidence arise from the actually existing state of the duties, or from the alarm with respect to the future?—It arises from both causes. It is found that even at the existing rate of duties the colonies cannot contend against the countries which have slavery, and are carrying on the slave trade, and of course, if they cannot contend at the present rate, their apprehension is very great with regard to the gradual reduction of that duty.

6195. Will you state what is the present differential duty, and what is the process of the decline of that duty?—The Act of 1846 made several distinctions. The main distinction, I may state, was a difference of 7*s.* in the duty upon what is called brown sugar; upon the great mass of sugar there was a difference of 7*s.* per cwt. In July 1847 that duty fell 1*s.* From July 1847 till the 5th of next month, the duty is 6*s.* On the 5th July, unless Parliament interfere, the duty will fall to 4*s.* 6*d.*, and every year by 1*s.* 6*d.*, till it becomes equal in 1851.

6196. Do those nominal rates of duty represent the real differential duty on the two descriptions of sugar?—It is intended to be real, but in point of fact it is not.

6197. Will you explain how that happens to be the case?—Under the denomination "brown sugar" is comprised a great many shades of colour and quality. There is a standard sample at the Custom-house to regulate the collection of the duties. The standard sample being fixed at a certain degree of colour and quality, all under the value and appearance of that sample is considered to be brown Sugar. The sample has been so fixed as to admit under the name of brown, an immense quantity of foreign sugar, which, in fact, is of greatly more value than that which it professes to be. That comes into contact with the great mass of British plantation sugar which is really brown, and two things are called by the same name, which are, in fact, different; consequently, although the duty upon the valuable commodity is levied apparently at a difference of 6*s.*, it is now perfectly well understood that the real differential duty does not amount to 3*s.*

6198. There is a difference of 50 per cent.?—So we reckon, and so the brokers, who are neutral parties, reckon in the City. The only resolution, I believe, on which the Committee of Inquiry in the other room were unanimous, was that with respect to the quality.

6199. If the present law is allowed to proceed as it now stands, what do you expect will be its effect upon the West Indies?—I cannot look for any other effect than a very extensive abandonment of property from absolute necessity; in Jamaica, very considerable I should think; in Guiana and Trinidad, also very considerable; the fact being perfectly ascertained that it is impossible at present to raise sugar as cheaply as it is done in the slave countries.

6200. Suppose the British Government were induced to bear the expense of emigration from the coast of Africa into the West Indies, would that alone be sufficient to sustain the fortunes of the West Indian colonies?—I think not; because it would take some time to convey people, even if that expense were undertaken; emigration is not a natural proceeding on the part of the people of Africa; they have been accustomed to the forced emigration of the slave trade hitherto; some time is necessary to create confidence, even when all parties are acting cordially together to promote the object. Time is even required to convey any given number over, and to settle them comfortably, and render their labour effectual. I consider that an intermediate period of differential

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

differential duty, or actual protection (though it is not a fashionable word now) against the inequality of slave labour, is absolutely necessary in order to sustain the cultivation in our own colonies.

6201. You think that a differential duty is necessary, do you recommend it in the character of a protective duty, or in the character of a necessary means to carry the West Indies through that great social change which has been enforced upon them by the Imperial Government?—It is as a necessary means of carrying them through their great social change. It appears to me that the question of slavery cannot be got rid of in looking at our attempts to get equal duties upon sugar; we cannot overcome the peculiarity which presents itself in regard to sugar. If you could suppress the slave trade, and bring the slave-holding countries into that declining condition which would certainly follow the suppression of the slave trade, the British colonies would be very much sustained by the hope of gradual improvement in their relative position; but in the meantime it is quite obvious that you have not suppressed the slave trade; it is going on; labour is supplied to the slave-holding countries as it is wanted, and they can cultivate sugar at about one-half of what you can cultivate it for in the very best of your colonies; not because, as many suppose, your colonies are inferior to them in any respect except labour; I deny that there is the slightest inferiority in our colonies, as compared with either Cuba or Brazil, except in the one consideration of labour.

6202. Mr. M. Milnes.] Do you consider that in the present condition of the land of our West Indian colonies, with equal labour, and with equal capital, they would fully compete with either Cuba or Brazil?—I believe that they would not only fully compete in those circumstances which you describe, but that they would beat both of them.

6203. You do not think that the exhaustion of the soil of our colonies, compared with the large extent of fresh soil which can be brought into cultivation in Brazil, would be a sufficient difference to render competition impossible?—There appears to me to be a great delusion as to the extent of fresh soil in Brazil. We have in the one island of Trinidad a million acres of ungranted Crown land; almost every estate in Trinidad has virgin land which has not yet been turned up, as good soil as any in the world; but the mere possession of soil is of no advantage, it is of no value whatever without labour. It is the labour which confers value upon the soil, and in point of fact the comparison is reduced to the extent of cultivable land, and the power of cultivating that land. Now we possess as good land, as good machinery, as much enterprise, to say the very least, and as much advantage from capital, except when confidence is withdrawn as it is at present, and I do not see why a body of British people should not, in these circumstances, if they got equality of labour, beat any Portuguese or Spaniards that ever crossed the Atlantic. I have no hesitation at all about the matter; I am perfectly confident we should.

6204. Chairman.] These observations with respect to the fertility of soil, apply, I presume, chiefly to Trinidad and British Guiana?—They do not apply exclusively to those countries. I will refer for example to a very old colony, the colony of St. Christopher; and I may state to this Committee, that the exhaustion of the soil is rather a vulgar error, because in fact soil is only exhausted by bad farming. The island of St. Christopher last year has produced a great deal more than the island of Cuba per acre. Last year the production of St. Kitt's has been in many cases three tons an acre; the old island of St. Kitt's, which many people imagine is exhausted. It is so much better farmed than it was before, that last year it has produced on many estates three tons an acre. Now it may require a little more labour to do that, but when you compare countries you must take all the circumstances into view.

6205. Mr. Barkly.] Is there in fact any more reason why sugar cultivation should exhaust the soil of those older lands which have been under cultivation some 200 years, than that there should be an exhaustion of the soil of Kent or any other part of England which has been under cultivation perhaps since the world began?—None whatever.

6206. By the process of restoring to the soil certain properties in the way of manure, the soil may continue to produce just as much sugar as when it was originally put into cultivation?—Certainly.

6207. Chairman.] But in fact it is a question of expense?—I am aware of that. It comes to the question of labour, and you are putting free labour, which

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

which is in fact, as Lord Harris describes here, a few hours work per day for a certain rate of wages, into competition with the labour of the slave, who can be lashed up to his work so many hours a day.

6208. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] You are confounding two questions which we wish to keep totally distinct, the question of labour and the question of soil. We wish to understand distinctly whether it is your opinion, that with equal facilities of labour, our colonies are fully able to compete with Brazil?—I am most decidedly of that opinion. I think that they are not only able to compete with but to beat the foreign colonies.

6209. You think therefore that the additional energy and skill which would be brought to bear upon our English colonies would fully make up for any immediate superiority of the soil of Brazil?—I do not admit that there is any superiority in the soil of Brazil. In the colonies of Guiana and Trinidad, for example, and a great portion of Jamaica, there is as good soil as any in Brazil.

6210. But will you not admit that an importation of labourers into Guiana, or any of those adventitious means, must introduce into the cultivation of the soil the element of fresh expense, which must considerably touch the question of competition?—Of course; but I do not see that Guiana and Trinidad are at all inferior to Brazil. I have made very diligent inquiry upon the point.

6211. *Chairman.*] Not in their natural circumstances?—No, there is no inferiority in their natural circumstances.

6212. They no more require manure to give them productive power than the soil of Brazil or of Cuba?—No; and when I examined, as I had an opportunity of doing, the reports of some of the government functionaries in this volume to which I have referred, very recently made, they only went to confirm information which we possessed before; I find that the production per acre, which is, of course, an indication of the value of the soil, in Cuba is inferior to the production in Guiana and Trinidad per acre.

6213. Is that upon virgin soil?—No; the soil in Guiana and Trinidad that I am comparing with the average production of Cuba, is not virgin soil; it has been in cultivation.

6214. Are they both placed under the same circumstances, or is the one assisted by means of manure while the other is not?—They are under the same circumstances.

6215. *Mr. Barkly.*] Did you ever hear of manure being applied in the colony of British Guiana?—I never heard of it.

6216. *Chairman.*] Nor in Trinidad?—In Trinidad in some parts they are trying manure; not because the quantity which they would produce without it is inferior to the average quantity produced in Cuba, but in order to increase that quantity still more.

6217. *Mr. Barkly.*] It is a question I believe which the planters in British Guiana and Trinidad have not quite settled to their own satisfaction, whether it is more economical to manure land which has been already in cultivation, or to take in virgin soil, of which they all possess an unlimited quantity?—I should say that the question is almost decided in favour of continuing to cultivate the land nearest to the works. After setting up premises suitable for a large factory at a considerable expense, a loss in various ways occurred, from removing, as they used to do, to a greater distance to get virgin land; it became then a question whether they should remove the works altogether to new land, or whether it would be more advantageous to maintain a compact cultivation round the works.

6218. Is not the fact of the average fertility in the British colonies being quite equal to the average fertility of Cuba and Brazil, conclusively established by the fact that before emancipation sugar was produced in the British colonies at a lower cost than that at which it is now declared to be produced in Cuba and Brazil, by the evidence of the officers employed by Her Majesty's Government?—It appears to me to be quite conclusive.

6219. *Chairman.*] In their natural circumstances you would say that the two countries are equal?—I should say that in their natural circumstances the British colonies are in no respect inferior, and that if they had the same means of cultivation the British colonies would possess advantages from their connexion with the mother country which no Spanish or Portuguese settlement is likely to possess.

6220. Supposing that confidence were restored in the West Indies, and there

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

there were the means of obtaining capital, they would have an advantage?—I think the British colonies would have a great advantage.

6221. They would have an advantage also, I presume, in machinery?—I consider that the British colonies, whatever may be the opinion about absenteeism, actually possess a great advantage in their absentee proprietors being in a different atmosphere from that in which they would live in the colonies, being impelled by the spirit of improvement which is around them, and being generally very much more able than colonists are in foreign possessions to adopt improvements of every kind where they have confidence to expend their money for that purpose.

6222. Have they not some advantage also in the means of transport?—I think our insular colonies have great advantages in that respect, and Guiana of course has every possible advantage which water and railways can give it; there is no colony in the world that I have been able to learn anything about, which is to be compared, in my humble opinion, to Guiana for the possession of water carriage and machinery. I think it is very superior to Cuba, from all that I can learn.

6223. Mr. M. Milnes.] After all the study which you have given to these subjects, have you come to the conclusion that it will be possible by any introduction of labourers from Africa, such as the public opinion of the people of this country, on questions respecting slavery, will permit, to compete with the forced slavery of Brazil?—I think that we must moderate our expectations of emigration from Africa to a limited number for a time. If that limited number of people could be induced, by any laws which public opinion would sanction, to attach themselves in the way which I believe their best friends would think for their advantage, to the cultivation of the estates upon which they were settled, then I think that there is very great ground for hope, that at no distant period we could in the West Indies compete with slavery; but it appears to me to depend very much indeed upon the laws that are passed or maintained in operation for regulating the relations between the employer and the employed in the West Indies. I may say that from this despatch of Lord Harris, it appears that in the colony of Trinidad, after inquiries which have been instituted to ascertain the number of labourers steadily working upon the sugar estates there, he finds that out of the population which is now estimated at 80,000 altogether, there are only 10,338 labourers at work, consisting of 5,291 men, 2,798 women, and 2,249 children. Now we have had an introduction of immigrants into Trinidad, from various parts, of 22,015; it appears therefore, that putting aside the whole Creole population, and 12,000 of the immigrants, there are only 10,000 remaining at work upon the plantations. If that process is to go on, and the immigration to be so little effectual, I fear that we cannot define the period when we shall be in a condition to compete with Brazil.

6224. You think, therefore, that besides the question of immigration, some change must be made in the treatment of those labourers, when they arrive in the colony?—I am quite clear upon that point.

6225. Chairman.] What change would you suggest?—I think in regard to the Creole population even, that this country in granting them freedom, certainly did not contemplate encouraging an abstinence from industry. That we cannot, perhaps, alter now, but I think that in regard to all immigrants introduced into these colonies at the public expense, and for their own benefit, for they do not go except to improve their condition, they ought to be subjected to an apprenticeship; that is, in so far as that they shall be bound to labour upon the estates to which the government of the colony attach them.

6226. Viscount Brackley.] Can you give the Committee any information with respect to the increase of the coloured population in the West Indian colonies, with a view to ascertain whether there may be a reduction in the wages of labour; has there been any material increase?—By the coloured population, I suppose it is intended to include all shades of colour; the coloured population generally, refers to the intermediate class. Our information is, that the increase of population is going on very rapidly every year, and looking to what has taken place under favourable circumstances, I reckon that the increase must be between two and three per cent. per annum.

6227. That will not materially reduce the wages of labour?—We may estimate of course that as that increase goes on it will contribute very considerably to the reduction of wages, particularly if education is also carried on simultaneously.

6228. Chairman.]

6228. *Chairman.*] Do you find that you suffer at all from the want of suitable laws to restrain vagrancy?—Very much. There is no law in effect, there is no law carried into effect; there is a great want of administration.

6229. Do you apply that generally, or to that particular subject?—I apply it, in regard to labour, to the labouring population. Lord Harris here describes how difficult it is to carry the law into effect in a country where a man can go into the woods and escape. For instance, Lord Grey's regulations about the Coolies were that if they did not labour upon the estates, or enter into a regular engagement, and of course fulfil it, they were to be subjected to a monthly tax. After entering into an engagement the Coolies walk off some morning; the planter is left without his Coolies, and he has to go in quest of them; where is he to find them? There is no efficiency in that law; the consequence is, that half the Coolies are going about wandering in the colony doing nothing.

6230. Do you consider that the administration of laws to prevent vagrancy is altogether impracticable?—No, I do not think so.

6231. *Mr. Barkly.*] Is it not the fact, that upon the first arrival of Coolies in Trinidad they were placed under certain control, and that certain regulations were adopted?—They were. The West India Committee, or rather the gentlemen connected with Trinidad, recommended the Government to send out some gentleman acquainted with our Indian dialects, particularly Hindoostanee; those people were I think from Bengal; and at our instance Major Fagan, an Indian officer who had retired I believe, was appointed to be a magistrate to superintend their particular interests; our object was also, that he should prevent the oppression which we understood the sirdars were apt to exercise over the people. Major Fagan has very zealously applied himself to his duty there, and he and Lord Harris agreed upon certain regulations to be applied to the Coolies for their benefit. Those regulations were disallowed at home; and Lord Harris reminds Lord Grey, in his despatch, that while those regulations were in operation the condition of the Coolies was altogether satisfactory.

6232. *Chairman.*] Will you read the passage?—Lord Harris writes: "Doubtless there were numerous faults in those rules; from the circumstances of the case they had been drawn up at very short notice, but all will allow, who had the opportunity of judging, that during their operation the Coolies were healthy, well clothed, generally contented, and improving daily in habits of industry. On the withdrawal of those rules they gradually returned to the habits which are natural to them; they left the estates, and were to be seen wandering about the country in bands; and by the time that the Immigration Ordinance came into force, but few were remaining on the properties on which they had been originally located." That is the ordinance suggested from this side, instead of the rules adopted there.

6233. Is the prohibition against those regulations still in force?—Yes, they were thrown aside altogether. The consequence is, that the Coolies are in a very miserable state.

6234. Are those observations which you have applied to the Coolies applicable to all other descriptions of labourers?—The observations I apply to all other descriptions of labourers, but the rules to which I have alluded referred especially to the Coolies. They were prepared by Major Fagan, an Indian officer, who was thoroughly acquainted with the habits of the people, and who seems to have been very zealous indeed for their benefit. He used to go throughout the country, and examine the payment of their wages, just as he would superintend the pay list of a regiment; and, in fact, if they had been left under Major Fagan, their labour would have been effectual, and their condition would have been happy; instead of which, by fancying that we can apply the same rules to all men, we have rendered that immigration comparatively of very little value.

6235. Have you suffered at all from the disposition of those introduced labourers to squat on the unoccupied lands?—No doubt of it; that is a subject of the greatest anxiety in Trinidad; there has been a series of remonstrances since the year 1836, I may say, or since 1838, on the subject of squatting. Instructions have been sent out from the Colonial Department, I believe, repeatedly, to endeavour to render the laws more effectual, but there is a total want of efficiency in the administration of them in that respect.

6236. Does the squatting take place in regard to the properties of private individuals, or is it upon the land of the Crown?—Chiefly upon the land of the Crown. On land belonging to individuals, which is not cultivated, there is also squatting.

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

6237. Over such squatting, the Crown can exercise little authority?—No, but we think that they ought to exercise authority; if a proprietor does not attend to the interests of the community, we think that the Crown might very properly step in and prevent vagabondage upon any land whatever. Those people, of course, when they squat in the neighbourhood of plantations, live upon the sugar of those plantations; they steal of course; a man must either work or steal; he cannot live upon nothing.

6238. In regard to the property of the Crown, what measures have been taken to prevent squatting upon those lands?—In Trinidad at this moment they are endeavouring to take more effectual measures, but there has been very little done. One course that has been followed lately, has been to define what parties shall be considered entitled to possess land which they have cleared; and Lord Grey has settled, that up to a certain time, parties who were in possession, and who had cleared land, should be invested with a title to it, and that from that time forward every one found trespassing should be dealt with in a summary manner: it is not yet done however.

6239. Effectual laws against squatting, and effectual laws against vagrancy, you consider to be essential parts of the machinery for supplying the West Indian colonies with imported labour?—Very essential.

6240. Mr. Barkly.] And 12 years having expired since the date of complete emancipation, those subjects are now beginning to attract attention?—They are attracting more attention, certainly.

6241. Chairman.] You said that a great deal had been done in the way of talk?—Yes.

6242. Has anything been done other than talk?—Nothing effectual has been done.

6243. Has the West India Committee, for instance, made any representation of the evils which have resulted from inattention to these important subjects?—The West India Committee have been very importunate upon almost every point referring to the condition of the West Indian colonies; the colonies themselves have also remonstrated constantly upon the necessity of stringent laws in regard both to vagrancy and to squatting.

6244. What has been the result?—The subject, I may say, is under consideration. It appears to me that one leading mistake which is made, is to regard uncivilized men as if they were civilized; Lord Harris alludes to that view, in the despatch to which I have already referred.

6245. Is the process of emigration from the coast of Africa now going on, notwithstanding the disastrous condition of the West Indian colonies?—There is no emigration going on just now, except the removal of liberated Africans; that is to say, the people who are captured from time to time, and taken into Sierra Leone and St. Helena, are conveyed across to the West Indies now; that is a recent determination. The West India Committee long ago earnestly recommended that all captured people should be settled in the West Indies, because those are the only colonies where they can comfortably subsist upon the produce of their labour; there is no means of comfortable subsistence at Sierra Leone.

6246. Then I understand you that notwithstanding the disastrous condition of the colonies, and notwithstanding the want of confidence which is generally felt there, this process of promoting emigration is still going on?—It is going on at the public expense. Lord Grey announced in February that the Government had determined to convey the liberated Africans at the expense of the Treasury of this country. The colonies can no longer pay for immigration; they have no means of paying for it; they are exhausted.

6247. Is the process of immigration not being conducted by any private individuals?—No, there is no immigration whatever going on by private individuals; private individuals, in fact, are not permitted yet to go to Africa.

6248. They are permitted to send ships, are they not?—They are permitted to send ships, but they are not permitted to enter into any contract with the men; a shipowner may venture to send his ship to convey people from Africa, but a proprietor cannot go to Sierra Leone and propose to men there to come and work on his estate in the West Indies; that is not permitted.

6249. Are emigrants permitted to be embarked from any other part of the coast of Africa than Sierra Leone?—I see by a printed document communicated by the Colonial Office, that ships which are sent out now by the Emigration Commissioners are, in case of disappointment in getting a complement of emigrants

6 June 1848.

grants at Sierra Leone, to go on to the other British settlements, and also to the Kroo Coast, but I have not heard of any having gone to any other of our settlements.

6250. *Mr. Barkly.*] Or to the Kroo Coast?—There is one called the “Bangalore,” which went out some two or three months ago, which has gone from Sierra Leone to the Kroo Coast, but we have not heard of the result.

6251. *Chairman.*] I understand you to say, that in your opinion the importation of free emigrants from the coast of Africa is one of the essential conditions of raising the West Indian colonies from their present disastrous circumstances?—I think so, and the proper regulation of the condition of the immigrants after they are introduced into the colonies; the two must go together.

6252. Do not you think that it would be advantageous to the Africans themselves that they should receive those means of instruction in the arts of industry?—I think it would be highly advantageous to them.

6253. Have you ever considered what might be the effect of portions of those bodies of emigrants afterwards returning to their native country in Africa; the effect which they might produce upon the civilization of Africa?—It could not fail to be highly beneficial, I think. Although I do not believe that sugar cultivation will be established in Africa, other cultivation might be established.

6254. You have understood that this country has taken a great deal of pains to promote the civilization of Africa?—Yes.

6255. And that, generally speaking, the British public has felt a deep interest in the promotion of the improvement of that continent?—No doubt.

6256. Do you conceive any means more likely to promote civilization and improvement than those to which we are now referring?—I think that, along with instruction, there can be no better means; I may observe, that all immigrants coming from Africa have much better means of instruction in the West Indian colonies now, than they can possess in Africa, as well as a stimulus to industrious habits which they do not seem to exercise at home.

6257. *Mr. Barkly.*] What is done with the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone in the event of their not proceeding to the West Indies as emigrants?—They are put under an apprenticeship to the Africans who have been previously liberated, and in fact they are reduced to a state of bondage; I may be permitted to refer to an extract from a despatch.

6258. *Chairman.*] You have no personal acquaintance with the colony of Sierra Leone?—I have no personal acquaintance, but I refer to official documents.

6259. *Mr. Barkly.*] You have paid great attention to the subject of African emigration for many years past?—I have endeavoured to get at the truth with regard to Sierra Leone and other places. If you will allow me I will refer to an abstract of a despatch from the Governor of Sierra Leone, describing the condition of these people; it is from Governor Ferguson, the predecessor of the present Governor of Sierra Leone. Governor Ferguson says that the people, when distributed amongst their countrymen, are employed by them altogether as unpaid servants: they are fed; scantily, if at all, clothed; and have no pecuniary allowance whatever. That is the state to which they are reduced, if they remain in Sierra Leone.

6260. *Chairman.*] They have no money wages?—No money wages whatever. I believe I am quoting exactly the words, when I say that they are fed; scantily, if at all, clothed; and receive no pecuniary wages whatever.

6261. *Mr. Barkly.*] Is not that account confirmed by the evidence of gentlemen who have proceeded to Sierra Leone for the purpose of encouraging emigration?—Certainly, it is fully confirmed.

6262. Have you seen the report of a gentleman of the name of Butt, who went from Demerara to Sierra Leone, that that account is even understated?—Yes, no doubt it is.

6263. Are you aware that another gentleman of the name of Bagot, who went there, stated, from his knowledge of the foreign West Indies, that the condition of those people was worse than that of the slaves in the West Indies?—I think he did.

6264. *Chairman.*] Under what circumstances do you consider that Demerara and Trinidad could successfully compete with Brazil and Cuba?—Does the question assume that the slave trade is to continue as it is at present?

6265. I will suppose that the slave trade were stopped, and that Brazil and
Cuba

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

Cuba had only labour on the same terms and in the same way as Trinidad and British Guiana?—If the slave trade were stopped, I should then consider that the cost of labour in Cuba and Brazil would be greatly increased. There seems to me to be three conditions of slavery: the one is that in which the slaves sustain their own numbers without any importation, where the sexes are in due proportion; that seems to be the cheapest of all labour. The next state is that in which Cuba and Brazil at present are, having slavery, and also the slave trade; and the dearest kind of slavery is that which you are assuming to take place, that they shall discontinue the slave trade, and have slavery with declining numbers. That is the state to which they would be reduced. If you will allow me to assume that, then I will answer the question.

6266. You can answer the question assuming that to be the meaning; that was not my intention in putting the question. Supposing the slave trade to be stopped, and that Brazil and Cuba could only obtain labour by means of free emigration from the coast of Africa, would the West Indian colonies, having also the same facility, be enabled to compete with those countries?—Yes, I think they would; but I cannot conceive free emigration to be consistent with the continuance of slavery in those countries, because the free emigrant can have no assurance of being retained in a state of freedom.

6267. Do you think that there is any good ground for an apprehension which has been expressed, that the promotion of free emigration from the coast of Africa to the West Indies would be carrying on the slave trade under a different name?—I think it is perfectly impossible.

6268. You think that such an objection is wholly vain and illusory?—I think wholly groundless.

6269. Mr. M. Milnes.] Do you think that it would be possible so to present that question to the people of this country, that they would see it in its true light, and not confound what you would consider as an object humane and in the interest of the negroes themselves, with the conditions of the old slave trade?—I am afraid I cannot undertake to say what the people of this country will think of any proposition of that kind; they appear to me to have been very inconsistent about slavery.

6270. Chairman.] The same pains do not appear to have been taken to give them correct notions upon that subject as have been taken to mislead them upon it?—I do not know that we can estimate exactly the influences which have been in operation.

6271. Suppose that Great Britain were to undertake the whole expense of conveying free Africans to the West Indies, would not the British colonies, under those circumstances, be able to compete in the markets of the world with Cuba and Brazil?—It would depend upon the extent to which the emigration could be carried, and also upon the efficiency of the immigrants as labourers after they were introduced.

6272. Suppose the conditions were fulfilled to which you have adverted; namely, that there should be efficient laws against squatting, efficient laws against vagrancy, and laws enabling the planters to retain those labourers in a state of apprenticeship for a period of years, and that the labourers were imported into the West Indian colonies at the expense of the British Government; do you think that under those circumstances the British colonies would be able to compete with Cuba and Brazil?—If the immigration were carried to a sufficient extent, I have no doubt of it.

6273. It would be a question of the amount of the supply?—The sufficiency of the supply, and the manner of rendering it available.

6274. Sir E. Buxton.] What would you call a sufficient supply?—It is very difficult to estimate exactly what would be sufficient, but there are two or three data to which we may refer for the purpose of approximating to an estimate. We have, for example, the number of prædial apprentices that were attached to the sugar estates at the time of emancipation; we know what they produced by very moderate labour, which it certainly was at that time; we know therefore that if the same number of labourers could be again steadily employed upon those same plantations, at least that quantity of sugar would be produced; that in fact the production of those same estates would be entirely restored, and then the question would come to be, at what rate of wages it was to be done. I consider that the number of labourers required for that purpose is much more moderate than

than is generally supposed, only it must be in connexion with steady application to labour.

6275. *Mr. Barkly.*] Taking the colonies of Trinidad and British Guiana, is it your opinion that the average importation annually of 4,000 or 5,000 labourers for a series of years would be sufficient to restore the cultivation in those colonies to a state in which it could be profitably carried on in competition with that of Brazil and Cuba?—I think, in connexion with good laws, that it would be entirely sufficient: that even a smaller number might operate to that effect.

6276. Is it your opinion, from the inquiries which you have made into the subject of African emigration, that such an emigration as that, to the extent of 4,000 or 5,000 free labourers per annum, could be obtained from the coast of Africa?—I do not know that it could, for a time. I think, as I said before, that we must moderate our expectations in regard to the number of free labourers that may be obtained from Africa, for a time. It requires cordial co-operation in order to commence it in a satisfactory manner, for it really has not been commenced. We cannot trust to the liberated Africans, because that is an uncertain source, depending on the captures made by the cruizers; but I should hope from all the information which I have been able to collect, that an emigration to that extent might in the course of a year or two be effected.

6277. *Chairman.*] Can you suggest any measure which might be adopted for rendering labour more effective, and thereby cheapening production in the West Indies?—I think that the laws to which Lord Harris's despatch points, are very worthy of serious consideration. I do not think that the same kind of vagrant law which is suitable for the civilized people of England, is suitable for the liberated African and the Cooly.

6278. *Mr. Barkly.*] Have you ever learned in the West Indies that the same kind of laws applied to the labourers of that country, have been in existence for very many years, as are applied to the labourers of our country?—No, they have not been exactly the same; but even the laws which have existed have not been carried into effect.

6279. Was it not stated after emancipation, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that those laws which were suitable for the regulation of labourers in this country were more severe than, under the circumstances of the case, ought to be administered?—I think it was.

6280. *Chairman.*] Is the population of the West Indies on the increase?—Yes, it is; all the information which we have concurs to that effect, that it has considerably increased.

6281. At the time of emancipation had the two sexes approached to a parity in the West Indies?—In many of the colonies they had; in others they were very close upon it. I should say that during the apprenticeship they had come to an equality, and there was even a preponderance of females, I think.

6282. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Can you state the total amount of males, and the total amount of females, among the apprentices or the slaves, at the time of the close of apprenticeship, or the time of the close of slavery?—I cannot give that; I do not think I have it at hand.

6283. Is it not the fact that the females exceeded the males, taking the aggregate of the colonies, at the time of emancipation?—I believe that, taking the aggregate of the colonies, it was so; but that was not the case in Demerara and Trinidad.

6284. *Mr. Barkly.*] Must you not also take into consideration the age of the female population?—No doubt. I should observe, that in regard to those tables from the West Indies, we require to remember this fact, that all the ages above a certain line, all the elderly people, were the class in which the greatest disproportion existed. There were five old men for one old woman, for example, in many cases; and below that line, the population of course was naturally coming to a steady adjustment. I think we require to keep that fact in view in considering West India tables.

6285. *Sir E. Buxton.*] The slave trade had been abolished 27 years when slavery was abolished?—Yes.

6286. Have you any paper to state what were the proportions of the sexes at the time of the abolition of the slave trade?—I do not think I have.

6287. Have you any for the year 1814, at the time of the registration being adopted?—I dare say we should find it in the Registration Book, which was published, I think, in 1816.

A. McGregor.
Esq.

6 June 1848.

6288. Can you put it in?—I think I can.

6289. Are you not aware that the sexes were at that time very equal?—I am not aware of that fact; I am quite sure that in Guiana and Trinidad they were very unequal at that time.

6290. Mr. *Barkly*.] It is not exactly fair, is it, to put all the colonies together?—No. I should also observe, in reference to that question, that after the year 1825, when Dr. Lushington's Non-Intercourse Act passed, preventing slaves from being removed from one colony to another, it was not possible to get wives down from Barbadoes for the men in Trinidad and Guiana; the number of women in Barbadoes therefore was of no consequence to the people in Trinidad and Guiana.

6291. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Do you remember that it was urged as an argument against slavery by Mr. Canning, that it was in consequence of the state of slavery that the population decreased?—No doubt there were a great many arguments at that time urged; I have heard arguments urged against sugar cultivation, as a cause of decrease. I never could see the force of those arguments; there was a fallacy very apparent in consequence of circumstances which were not adverted to; for instance, the produce of different colonies in sugar per capita was taken. It was found in Guiana and Trinidad, where rich lands existed, that the quantity of sugar per negro was much greater than in the old colonies, and it was inferred immediately that the mortality in Guiana and Trinidad, which was greater than the mortality in those older colonies, was occasioned by the slaves being forced to give more labour; whereas the real fact was the inequality of the sexes, arising from the later period to which the slave trade was carried on to those newer colonies.

6292. Still, even in those newest colonies, the slave trade had ceased 27 years when slavery ceased?—Certainly; and I should say that in those newest colonies the equalization of the sexes was very nearly accomplished.

6293. But is it not the fact that the population did decrease till slavery was abolished, and that during the apprenticeship, or soon after, it began to increase?—It is the fact; and I attribute the fact to the gradual operation of natural causes; it seemed to take nearly 30 years to adjust the proportion of the sexes; the importations into our own colonies had been like the importations into Cuba, chiefly men available for labour, and the consequence was that it required a long period to bring the sexes into a state of equality; I attribute the change entirely to that. Our colonies had at the time when emancipation was determined upon, arrived very nearly at that condition when increase begins to take place.

6294. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is so?—The fact is so.

6295. I understood you to say that you wished such an immigration to take place as that you might produce the same quantity of sugar as you did during slavery; that in your idea that would be sufficient?—That would be sufficient to restore the estates which exist.

6296. Is your object to increase the amount, or to decrease the cost; for the benefit of the West Indies, which is the thing to aim at?—Contemplating the necessity, which I apprehend we must look forward to, of endeavouring to bring our colonies into such a condition as will enable them to compete with all countries of the world, I see no other way of doing that except by supplying a sufficiency of labour, and having good government, and restoring credit, inducing the application of capital, and all the improvements that can be suggested from time to time; I see no other means of bringing those colonies into a fit condition to compete with other countries.

6297. For the real prosperity of the West Indies, is the object to be aimed at the increase of production, or the decrease of cost; is it to produce 200 tons at any price that you can, or is it not rather to produce the 100 tons that you can produce, at a very low rate?—I think that every proprietor naturally desires to bring his cultivation into proportion with his power of manufacture. I do not believe that any measure which will be adopted or can be adopted in this country will induce the establishment of new plantations. Looking therefore to those which already exist, I conceive that the natural desire of every proprietor will be to bring his cultivation into correspondence with his power of manufacture. By doing so, he will cheapen the cost of production. Therefore I would reply to the question, that both objects must be kept in view. You require to increase your quantity up to that point, and by that means, and also by moderate wages for reasonable work, to get the cost of production brought to the proper level.

6298. Looking

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

6298. Looking to the condition of the Mauritius, where the production has been doubled since slavery was abolished, do you think that a large production in the West Indies necessarily implies prosperity in the colonies?—I think that we must draw a very decided distinction between the Mauritius and the West Indian colonies. The Mauritius has established new plantations since emancipation. In the West Indies nothing of the kind has been ever attempted; the proprietors have been struggling to maintain the estates which previously existed. In the West Indies I know nobody that aims at anything more than the restoration of his former condition. In the Mauritius they seem to have aimed at, in fact, supplanting the West Indies, because they have the advantage of labour.

6299. But is not the object that you have in view to decrease the price of produce rather than to increase the quantity produced?—The object which I have in view, seeing the necessity of competing with foreigners who have cheap and abundant labour, is to reduce the cost of labour, not the mere money wages, but the cost of labour. I would much rather induce a man, instead of working four or five hours a day, to work nine hours a day for the same money, than offer him half the money for his four or five hours.

6300. You wish to make the supply of labour greater than the demand, in fact?—I wish to bring the supply of labour certainly to that point at which labourers will come and ask for employment, instead of the master having to go and ask for the labourer; that would be the turn which I should like to give to the state of things; but if we approximated to that, probably a mutually good understanding might exist. I may be allowed to add to that answer, that in the West Indies there is always a guarantee that the labourer will not be unduly depressed, because he has the means of escape, which he has not in a European country. He is not reduced to the necessity of taking whatever is offered to him.

6301. Is not that very fact one of the great difficulties which you will always have to contend with in competing with Cuba, that if you reduce wages below a certain point, the old negroes on the estates can do better than by remaining on the estates?—No doubt it is a disadvantage and a danger to which we are exposed.

6302. And is it not one almost necessary consequence of a large immigration?—I do not know that it is more a necessary consequence from a large immigration than from the present condition of the population; on the contrary, I should say the larger the immigration the better chance there was of retaining a certain number of people on the plantations at reasonable wages.

6303. From what parts of Africa would you wish to draw the supplies of immigrants; are you acquainted with that point?—I have made diligent inquiries, that is all I can say; I have not been in Africa; I should aim in the first place at making a real attempt at each of the British settlements, and I think also the Kroo country.

6304. You would be inclined, I suppose, to import a large proportion of both sexes?—I would aim at perfect equality, if I could, because I look not merely to the present effect of introducing labourers into the West Indies, but to their permanent settlement there, and to their contributing in every way to the increase of the efficient population.

6305. Is there not a great practical difficulty, particularly on the Kroo Coast, in obtaining women?—No doubt; we are informed that the Kroo women do not go, but when we consider the subject a little, I think we must conclude that they have never had an opportunity of going anywhere. The first employment of the Kroo people has been at Sierra Leone, where a certain number go and engage in very hard labour to get wages; they naturally do not take their women up there; they only go for a time. Then the other kind of emigration to which they have been accustomed, has been employment on board ships of war and merchant ships; of course they would not take women with them there. Now the last proposition made to them is to go to the West Indies. We can hardly expect that at the first the women will go to the West Indies, but I think that, looking at the emigration which has taken place in other parts, we may hope that the women might be persuaded also to go if the men very much approved. I should mention to the Committee, in illustration of that opinion, that the emigration, even from the neighbouring islands in the West Indies into Trinidad, was at first chiefly men; then more women followed, till the women preponderated. I can present a table showing that fact. I would also mention that

A. Macgregor,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

the emigration which has taken place from Madras to the settlements which we acquired after the Burmese war, to Moulmein and other places, consisted entirely of men at first, but that now there is a full proportion of women. The men and women are in full proportion in these countries, although the immigration for some years consisted entirely of men. Therefore I venture to hope, though it is impossible to feel confident, that Kroo women might be induced to go.

RETURN of the Number of IMMIGRANTS into *Trinidad*, from the other *West India* Islands and the United States of *America*, during the first Three Years following the permission to import Labourers.

YEARS.	14 Years of Age and upwards.		Between 7 and 14 Years of Age.		Under 7 Years of Age.		TOTAL.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1839	663	218	40	22	26	37	729	277
1840	917	668	72	101	113	144	1,102	913
1841	832	821	46	60	69	124	*947	*1,005

* Of this number, 85 males and 85 females were from Sierra Leone.—*Vide* Parliamentary Paper, No. [530] of 1844, p. 102.

6306. You have alluded to some laws respecting vagrancy and squatting which exist in this country, which you would wish to have established in the West Indies; to what laws do you refer?—I hardly wish to say that I would precisely imitate the law of this country; for, on the contrary, I think that uncivilized men ought not to be dealt with as civilized men are. I think it is a mistake, and I see Lord Harris is of that opinion. I consider that a much more stringent vagrant law is necessary in such a place, for example, as Trinidad, than it is in this country, where we are crowded together, and necessity imposes industry upon us.

6307. Then you would not adopt the law of this country?—I would adopt a law at least as stringent, but I think more applicable to local circumstances.

6308. Is there not great practical difficulty in enforcing those laws where they exist?—There is undoubtedly; but I think that the magisterial arrangements might be very much improved; a more efficient magistracy might be created.

6309. Colonel *Thompson*.] Have you formed any idea of how natives of Africa are likely to be induced to come to the West Indian islands under the circumstances which you propose?—I know no other means except endeavouring to make them acquainted with the advantages which they would derive in the West Indies. We have made inquiry at all the British settlements; at Sierra Leone, for example, we were at one time encouraged to expect that the men would appreciate very highly the advantages which they would derive by removing to the West Indies; but there has been there a very great practical opposition to emigration; all parties seem to oppose it. In regard to Cape Coast Castle, I have observed that the fugitives who took refuge there were delivered back to the native chiefs. I came into communication with the late Governor Maclean on the subject, and he told me that he had represented to the Colonial Department that emigration from Cape Coast Castle was quite practicable; that he could have induced several hundreds to go to the West Indies as an experimental expedition; and that if some of these people returned, and gave a satisfactory account of the West Indies, vast numbers would follow, there being a very general desire to escape from oppression, and to acquire the comforts of life.

6310. Is not there a sort of contradiction in terms when you propose that they are not to go to the West Indies in the character of what is ordinarily meant as freemen?—I understand that they would be perfectly free, all who came from any of those settlements. In fact, their being in a British settlement makes them free. I apprehend there is no doubt about a man's freedom if he gets to a British settlement anywhere else; and I do not see why it should not be so on the coast of Africa.

6311. Do you think that apprentices, under the meaning of that term in the West Indies, would be really free men?—I think they would be perfectly free.

6312. Is it not in the nature of a restriction upon the perfectness of their freedom?—No doubt, perfect freedom supposes that a man may do whatever he pleases

pleases that is right; but the apprenticeship is in the nature of a contract. It is dealing with a full-grown man as you would do with a man under age in this country. We are quite accustomed to apprenticeship here; we do not consider that an apprenticeship to a trade here is any infringement of the liberty of that individual. It is a training to the perfect knowledge of the business which he desires to become acquainted with. I see no practical difference between apprenticeship here and apprenticeship in the West Indies.

A. Macgregor, Esq.

6 June 1848.

6313. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Do you think that it would be necessary to enforce those regulations by giving the master the power of corporal punishment over the apprentices?—No, nothing of the kind.

6314. Do you think that the purpose could be accomplished without any more forcible regulations than the power which in England is given to the master over the apprentice?—I do not believe that so much power would be necessary, because I believe that in England the master has very considerable power over his apprentice; but I should imagine that the apprenticeship could be rendered quite effectual if penalties were rendered effectual also. A man would get wages as an apprentice; I contemplate his getting full wages for his labour.

6315. *Colonel Thompson.*] Do you think it likely that men acting voluntarily would enter into a contract of that sort?—I think they would, because it would be to their advantage. The conditions of the apprenticeship would be, that the party shall not wander about; that he shall attach himself to a particular part of the country, and labour at reasonable hours from day to day for good wages and comfortable accommodation. I do not see any hardship in these conditions; it is a very superior one to that which he occupies in Africa, and if he could only understand it, I have no doubt vast numbers would go to occupy that superior condition.

6316. *Sir E. Buxton.*] How many years would you make those apprenticeships?—I am not favourable to very long apprenticeships; it strikes me that three years would be a period sufficient to attach a man.

6317. Do you think that, supposing it were clearly and honestly explained to the natives of Africa, particularly in British settlements, that they would be bound to one estate for three years, they would be likely to go?—I think they would, if there were no interference with their free-will; I believe that there is a very great interference in Sierra Leone; the prejudice of all parties is against it; they are quite accustomed to subordination; they are in most parts under very despotic authority in Africa. Governor Maclean told me that he thought there would be no difficulty at all, but he at the same rested his confidence of course, as I would do, upon the return of people who had actually gone and seen what was to be done, and had come back and reported in their own way to their own countrymen; that is the only way in which I think satisfactorily emigration can be promoted in Africa.

6318. And you would propose that they should work the same number of hours and receive the same wages as other labourers in the colony?—Certainly. The only object I should have in view with regard to apprenticeship is, that they should be required to engage in labour steadily, and I am sure that must be regarded as for their own benefit.

6319. Do you think that if they were left to themselves when they arrived in the West Indies, they would be inclined to do so?—I do not think so; I am quite convinced they would not; I see from all the information which we have, that our emigration hitherto has been quite inefficient, in consequence of the absence of some arrangement of that kind.

6320. And provided that emigration can be carried on, do you think that it is a necessary part of the emigration that the expense of it should be paid by this country?—I think it is; in fact I do not see how it is to be paid without; the colonies are quite exhausted; we have been representing that for a long time, and the thing has actually come.

6321. What expense do you think it would be necessary for this country to go to?—I consider that the expense might be very much reduced if there were a certainty of freights, a complement of passengers.

6322. How much per head would you put it at?—I suppose 5*l.* per head would pay it; it is a very short passage across.

6323. And in order really to produce a great effect upon the West Indian islands, how many emigrants per annum do you suppose would be necessary?—I made an attempt to form a rude estimate of that in this way: we know the

A. Macgregor, Esq.

6 June 1848.

number of sugar estates in each colony) I speak of the three principal colonies requiring labour); of course you are aware that some of them do not require any. I take the number of estates in Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica; looking at Guiana for example, I think there are 220 large sugar estates; I believe that if 100 emigrants could be gradually attached to each of them, you would place Guiana in a highly prosperous condition, and that any country in the world would require to exert itself to compete with Guiana. In Trinidad there are about 180 estates; they are not quite on so large a scale as in Guiana; I believe that if we could attach or could secure to each of those estates 50 people, which is no very great number, we should produce such an influence upon the rest of the population, and have such a command of labour, as would render those estates highly prosperous. Then when we go to Jamaica, which is on a larger scale, we find that a considerable part of Jamaica is not in the same want of labour that other parts are; some parts of Jamaica are very well supplied with labour; I suppose that two-thirds of Jamaica are lamentably deficient; and taking the 600 sugar estates, I should venture to say, that by attaching 50 labourers to 400 of those estates, which would be 20,000 people, you would restore the prosperity of Jamaica. Now taking all these together, you find that an immigration of perhaps 40,000 labourers to those three colonies would be sufficient; it would require more persons, because of course you could not carry on a great immigration of men alone; that could go on for a year or two, but there must be women likewise introduced.

6324. Then you would require 40,000 efficient labourers?—Forty thousand daily labourers; it is a very rude estimate which I am forming.

6325. In how many years do you propose to introduce them?—I think the sooner they can be introduced the better, but of course we cannot contemplate it in a very short period.

6326. Are you aware how many immigrants of different sorts have been introduced into the West Indies since the abolition of slavery?—I am; there is a Parliamentary Return on that subject.

6327. Can you state the number in Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad?—It is very considerable, and illustrates the necessity of what I have been mentioning, viz., something else besides merely introducing people.

6328. The number is about 80,000?—Yes; taking the colonies separately, those into Jamaica are not added up in this Return, but into Guiana, for instance, there are upwards of 40,000.

6329. Can you state the exact number; is it 47,741?—I believe that that is correct.

6330. That is into British Guiana alone?—Yes. That presents a very discouraging view of immigration of course, because its effect has not been such as we would have anticipated from the introduction of so large a number.

6331. *Chairman.*] Does that include women?—Every person, old and young.

6332. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Do you know whether there is any return of the number of women?—I do not know that it is before Parliament in any form; we have the number of women introduced into Trinidad. I was alluding to that a little time ago, that the women followed the men.

6333. That was an internal migration?—So it was, but it showed the disposition of the females not to go at first; then after two or three years the children were very numerous as well as the women, which shows that there was a regular contemplation of settlement.

6334. *Chairman.*] Those parties were introduced into the colony without any stipulations being made?—Without any.

6335. The consequence was, that they wandered a good deal?—They are all described here by Lord Harris as only 10,000 of them remaining on the plantations, creoles and immigrants.

6336. Was not one of the incidents to that wandering life which they led, that they were decimated by disease?—I do not think the Africans suffer from disease; the Coolies evidently have suffered very much from that inattention.

6337. From the circumstance which I have described?—Evidently.

6338. That does not apply to the Africans?—No, I think not. In regard to the amount of work done in Trinidad, I see I have a note, taken from Lord Harris's despatch, dated 21st February; he says, "Wages in Trinidad are 30 cents = 1 s. 3 d. per task, which takes from four to five hours' work. It is very

very rare to hear of two tasks being done in a day by the same man." That is his statement. *A. Macgregor, Esq.*

6 June 1848.

6339. Will you allow me to go over the list of our West India possessions with a view to the question of immigration; I presume that neither Antigua nor Barbadoes requires immigrants?—No.

6340. Dominica?—It does not seem to require them very much.

6341. What are the economical circumstances of Dominica; is Dominica doing pretty well?—Pretty well comparatively; there are none of them doing well with the low prices. As far as labour goes, I believe it is doing pretty well.

6342. Grenada?—Grenada has suffered very much indeed, chiefly from its proximity to Trinidad.

6343. Trinidad has withdrawn its labour?—Yes, and the labourers constantly threaten to go to Trinidad, so that you have no control over them in any way.

6344. Is Grenada a very fertile island?—It is a very fine island.

6345. Equal to any which we have named, excluding Trinidad?—Yes.

6346. Montserrat?—Montserrat is a very small place.

6347. Nevis is also a small island?—Yes.

6348. St. Christopher?—St. Christopher is in a very high state of advancement; it has sufficient labour, and great improvement has been adopted in St. Christopher.

6349. St. Lucia?—St. Lucia is an island capable of taking a great many labourers, and they rather hope to get some French negroes over from Martinique.

6350. It is thinly populated?—Yes.

6351. Is there any large extent of uncultivated land?—Yes, a great deal of forest land.

6352. What is the general character of the soil in St. Lucia?—Very fine; the valleys are very fine.

6353. St. Vincent?—St. Vincent has been doing in regard to labour comparatively well; the people seem very much attached to the island; it is a very fine island.

6354. Are there not large tracts of uncultivated land there?—Not large tracts; there is a good deal of mountain land, but the valleys are generally cultivated.

6355. Tobago?—In Tobago there is a great deal of good land; but Tobago is very much out of view; it has a very small production now, and it is not regarded as of much consequence, though to the proprietors of Tobago it is.

6356. How does Tobago stand in the proportion of labour to land?—They have not lost any of their labourers; it stands in such a position that they cannot get to it from Trinidad; it is to the windward of Trinidad.

6357. Then we come to Tortola?—That I may say is abandoned.

6358. The Bahamas of course we need not say anything about?—The Bahamas are covered with a very fine race of negroes, doing very little; it is a very poor soil.

6359. Is there a great deal of sugar?—None.

6360. Mr. M. Milnes.] Has there been any emigration from the Bahamas to the West Indies?—It has been prohibited hitherto.

6361. Entirely prohibited?—Entirely.

6362. Chairman.] Bermuda?—Bermuda is a mere garrison.

6363. Sir E. Burton.] Is not the population of the Bahamas very small?—It is very considerable compared to the surface.

6364. You could not derive a very great supply from there?—I do not know; I think that there might be a couple of thousand people drawn from the Bahamas. They are a very fine race of negroes, and there is very little profitable occupation for them. I should think that they are in rather an advanced state also.

6365-6. I suppose that it is the proprietors in the Bahamas who object to their being withdrawn?—No.

6367. Do you suppose that if the West Indian colonies had to bear the expense of their own immigration, they could compete with the slave colonies without protection?—I think that they could not for a time; I think that intermediate protection is absolutely necessary to maintain the West Indies.

6368. Do you suppose that for some years to come they could compete with the slave colonies without protection, even if this country provided them with

A. Macgregor, Esq.
 6 June 1848.

immigration?—I think not. It requires a long time to render immigration available: in the first place, it takes some time to conduct any immigration of the least importance; then after the people are there, they are many months, six months, before they are of any real value as labourers; you cannot set them to work immediately at what they do not understand; and supposing they are set to plant, they cannot reap the crop that they plant for 18 months. It therefore is quite easy to see that several years must elapse before even the first part of that immigration comes to be decidedly available, and in the meantime competition is quite destructive.

Mathew James Higgins, Esq., called in; and Examined.

M. J. Higgins, Esq.

6369. *Chairman.*] YOU are, I believe, connected with the West Indies by property?—I have property in Demerara, and a share in an estate in Grenada.

6370. Have you ever been in the West Indies yourself?—I was out there on my estate for about six months immediately after the termination of the apprenticeship, in 1838 and 1839; and I was out there in the winter of 1846–47.

6371. How long is it since your return?—It is rather more than a year.

6372. What did you find to be the effect of emancipation in the West Indies, upon the proprietors in the first instance?—I found when I first went out there (and I arrived there about two months after the apprenticeship had concluded) the colony of Demerara in a total state of disorganization; the negroes were good-humoured and well-behaved, but they were very averse to work, as might naturally have been expected; there were no sufficient laws to coerce them, and the instructions received by the stipendiary magistrates, I was privately informed by several of them, were that they were rather to lean towards the negroes for a time; not to enforce the laws which they coulden force effectually, but to be very indulgent towards them. For these reasons, there was an immense loss of property; we could not take off the canes which were in the ground, and could not manufacture our sugar with any degree of regularity.

6373. The organization of society was a good deal deranged?—It was.

6374. Was the consequence a considerable reduction in the quantity of colonial produce?—No doubt of it.

6375. Did the reduction apply exclusively to sugar?—At that time in Demerara there was hardly any other produce sent home, very little indeed; there was some coffee, chiefly from Berbice, which is a part of the colony with which I am not so well acquainted, and there were one or two cotton estates, which have since gone out of cultivation.

6376. To what pursuits did the negroes betake themselves?—A good many of them flocked to the towns, and others fell back upon the provision grounds which they had upon most of the estates, and lived in a state of idleness generally.

6377. What efforts were made by the planters to rescue themselves from those disastrous circumstances?—They endeavoured to tempt the negroes to work by offering them higher wages than the prices of sugar at that time justified them in doing, but they were anxious to get some work performed in order to keep up the drainage of the estates, without which they would have lapsed into swamp immediately, and also to preserve the machinery, and to take off the canes then in the ground; therefore the prices which they paid for labour were certainly such as they would not have been justified in doing had they supposed that that state of things would have continued. Having once admitted a high rate of rate of wages, it was difficult to reduce it without heavy loss to themselves from a strike, except by immigration.

6378. As a proprietor, did you find the holding of an estate in that year a source of great profit?—No, I lost considerably that year.

6379. Did you in the subsequent year?—I think for about two or three years after that I lost every year.

6380. Were any efforts made by the proprietors to redeem their circumstances by immigration of labour?—I think probably that any information you may desire upon that subject Mr. Macgregor has given more accurately than I could do, but I may say generally that they were very anxious to procure immigration, but the regulations from home prevented it. There were some Coolies imported into the colony; I think they were maltreated by certain parties, and in consequence of that, Coolie immigration was stopped altogether.

6381. Should

6 June 1848.

6381. Should you say that the immigration of labourers had been, on the whole, effectual?—I think not; there is no doubt that some good has been done, but I think that the cost to the colonies at which they have been imported has been quite incommensurate with the advantage derived from them.

6382. To what circumstance do you attribute the failure?—I think to the want of efficient laws; and of efficient application of the laws which actually exist for preventing vagrancy and squatting, and the enforcement of contracts.

6383. You have heard the evidence which has been given to us by Mr. Macgregor on these subjects; do you agree with him in his observations?—I do generally.

6384. What is the present condition of the colonies?—I think that the latest despatches from all the Governors to whose despatches we have had access describe the general state as one of bankruptcy, and describe the labour which is obtained as excessively unsatisfactory and partial on the part of the creole negroes, and the credit of the colonies themselves as entirely gone. In the last six months eighteen West Indian houses have been declared bankrupt in this country; I think it is almost impossible to describe a lower state of depression than that to which the West Indies are reduced at the present moment.

6385. Is that state of depression going on?—I think it is likely to continue.

6386. You do not think that it has reached a point from which it is likely to recede?—Certainly not; our own private information leads us to the opposite conclusion, and the despatches of the Governors, to which we should wish to have access, have not been very freely communicated to us.

6387. You are apprehensive of the disclosures which might be obtained from those despatches?—I am not apprehensive that they will differ from our private letters. I should like to get them very much. I have been told that there are very important despatches, and that they will be immediately published; but from day to day they are put off, and we do not get them; and from what happened just before the last debate, I have very good reason to suppose that Government are not anxious to give us facilities for access to that evidence, which would corroborate our own statements if we could get it.

6388. Your private information leads you to believe that the state of those colonies still continues in a process of depression?—I think every packet confirms the preceding information which we have upon that subject, and states that their condition is going from bad to worse.

6389. Do you hear of estates being abandoned?—On most of the estates within my knowledge they are taking canes off; I think that they have not been abandoned, because they have been waiting to hear the Report of Lord George Bentinck's Committee, and whether anything would be done upon it; but I do not think that the operations have gone further than taking off the canes which have already grown.

6390. Do you think that if the law were permitted to remain exactly in its present state, with a differential duty of 6*s.* upon the importation of sugar into this country, and a gradually declining scale of differential duty, the circumstances of the West Indian colonies would become more and more disastrous?—I think the production of sugar would fall off very greatly indeed.

6391. Such being the case, will you have the kindness to state whether you think, that under any circumstances whatever, the finer portion of our possessions in the West Indies could compete with Cuba and Brazil?—I think that it depends entirely upon the slave trade. If the Brazilians, as they at present can, import as many slaves as they wish, I do not think that under any circumstances we could compete with them.

6392. Are you led to believe that at present the people of Brazil can import as many slaves as they wish?—I see by Mr. Bandinel's evidence that the price of a slave in Brazil 60 years ago was from 45*l.* to 50*l.*, and we were then carrying them thither ourselves. I see that now, when we are doing everything we can to prevent their being carried thither, the price is from 45*l.* to 50*l.*; and taking into consideration the different value of money in 1788 and in 1848, slaves are cheaper now in Brazil than they were 60 years ago; therefore I cannot conclude that the presence of the squadron on the coast makes a very great deal of difference in the supply.

6393. You observe from the evidence which has been laid before Parliament, that the price of slaves in Brazil during the last few years has been in a process of gradual decline?—I think from 60*l.* to 45*l.*

M. J. Higgins, Esq.

6 June 1848.

6394. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Do you think that the circumstances of some of the West Indian islands are so different from those of others, that in any case, even without legislative protection, or without any change in the present system with regard to immigration, they could nevertheless compete with Brazil and Cuba; I mean such portions of our West Indies as, for instance, Barbadoes and Antigua?—I think that Barbadoes could; I do not know anything about Antigua; I have never been there.

6395. *Chairman.*] Then I understand you to say, that you consider the attempts now made to stop the importation of slaves into Brazil as altogether hopeless?—I merely draw my inferences from the evidence which has been given, by persons practically acquainted with the subject, before this Committee, and that on Sugar and Coffee Planting.

6396. And you think that so long as Brazil is supplied with slave labour, it will be impossible even for the most fertile of the British colonies to compete with that country?—I think it will. There is one point which has hitherto been overlooked: we have been urged very much to get better machinery, in order to extract more saccharine matter from the cane, and so make our sugar cheaper. Now in our own colonies there is not a sufficiency of workmen to work that machinery day and night, and therefore the same quantity of machinery which would cost 5,000 *l.* in Brazil would take off double the crop which 5,000 *l.* of machinery would take off in the British colonies, where it can only work half the time. They work the machinery night and day in Cuba also, and that is a very important consideration in making further investments with a view to probable profit.

6397. Supposing that Cuba and Brazil could only obtain their labour under the same circumstances as our own colonies, do you think that the natural circumstances of our colonies would enable them to meet the productions of Cuba and Brazil in the markets of the world?—I have not the slightest doubt of it.

6398. Do you consider that Demerara and Trinidad are as naturally favoured as Cuba in regard to the fertility of their soil?—I have no doubt whatever of it.

6399. With respect to climate, is there any superiority which Brazil enjoys?—To tell the truth, I am quite unacquainted with the climate of Brazil, and cannot answer upon that subject.

6400. Does your information extend to the machinery employed in Brazil?—I can speak of the machinery in Cuba. Up to two years ago, I perfectly concur with Mr. Macgregor in what he said, that the machinery of British Guiana was superior to that of any other sugar-producing colony. But in the last two years a great deal of machinery has been sent from this country and from the United States to Cuba, and from this country to Brazil.

6401. Looking to the circumstances of the two countries, is there anything which the British colonies want except to be placed on terms of perfect equality with regard to the means of cultivation?—I think nothing whatever.

6402. Can you suggest any means by which the supply of labour in the two countries should be placed upon terms of equality?—I think not; the question is a very difficult one, because the obvious mode would be to employ the same engines of labour in both, viz. slaves, as we used to do; and as that of course cannot be contemplated, I think it is very difficult to say how you can make a man, as a free man, do the same quantity of work that you can extract from him as a slave.

6403. You are of opinion that so long as slavery and the slave trade are in existence, with regard to Cuba and Brazil, the hope of competing is not a very good one?—I think not; a great distinction must however be drawn between the existence of the slave trade and the existence of slavery; slavery without the slave trade of course is not so formidable to compete with as slavery with the slave trade.

6404. Are you acquainted with the circumstances under which slavery exists in North America?—I am not.

6405. Supposing that Brazil and Cuba were dependent for their supply of labour upon free emigration from Africa, and subject exactly to the same laws that our own colonies are subject to, should you then fear for the British colonies?—Not in the least; but I do not think they would ever attempt that, because they would fear insurrections of the slaves, which they have already experienced; there is a very great distrust of the free negroes in Cuba as it is, and I do not think they would wish at all to add to their number; and
moreover,

moreover, I think that the treatment which the emancipados have received in Cuba ought to lead the authorities in this country to doubt the sincerity of the Spaniards in importing free labourers from the coast of Africa.

6406. Would there be any more ground for apprehending an insurrection in Cuba if the supply of labour were a free supply, than in the present state of the supply of slaves?—No doubt there would, because they could not use the same means towards free immigrants that they do towards slaves, to isolate and coerce them. One of the great holds on the large slave population is, that they keep them isolated; they keep them separate one gang from the other.

6407. Would not a free population have an interest in the cause of order?—You must consider what sort of a free population it would be; the introduction of free negroes from Africa would not promote the cause of order in a slave colony much.

6408. Will not that observation apply as much to British colonies as to Spanish?—No; in the British colonies every man's object would be to assist in the task of civilizing them, whereas in Cuba the slaves of course would look to the new comers for aid and sympathy. There are quantities of new negroes there; they would find old acquaintances and relations amongst the immigrants, and would look to them to assist them in striking off their bondage.

6409. I am afraid you have misunderstood the question; I am supposing that the state of slavery is abolished in both countries?—I beg your pardon; I entirely misunderstood the question.

6410. Supposing that the state of slavery is abolished in the island of Cuba, and the slave trade also discontinued, and the supply of labour maintained by free immigration; should you then see any ground for apprehending an insurrection of the immigrants?—I think there would be every ground for apprehending the most grievous social evils in Cuba, if such a thing occurred as sudden emancipation at present. I should not fear the competition of Cuba under such circumstances in the least; I think there is no doubt that very great social evils would instantly occur there, from the uncivilized and demoralized state of the negroes actually there. I cannot contemplate an immediate emancipation in Cuba without anticipating the worst horrors.

6411. An immediate emancipation, I apprehend, is not likely to be undertaken by any country after the experience of our own colonies?—Certainly not.

6412. Were the circumstances of Barbadoes exactly the same as those of Trinidad and Guiana?—I cannot conceive the circumstances of two countries differing more entirely. Barbadoes was an old settled island, very densely populated, with no spare land; it was entirely cultivated, and with very few provision grounds; the negroes were therefore entirely dependent upon the labour of their hands for their support: whereas entirely the converse of every one of those assertions may be stated of Guiana.

6413. Probably, if Barbadoes were in the hands of the people of Cuba, they would not import slaves?—Certainly not. It contains sufficient labour for the cultivation of the whole island.

6414. Did you find during the time of your visit to your property in the West Indies, that the labour market was much deranged by vagrancy?—I do not know that you can call them vagrants, but I found that out of about 200 labouring people on my estate, an average of about 87 worked in the field every day; that is to say, that each person worked 10 days a month; they behaved with great good humour, but they did not work continuously, or perform honest work; they used to come and do a day's work, and then come two or three days afterwards, and do another.

6415. Is it possible by means of reliefs to maintain that continuous labour which is necessary for the production of sugar?—We could only get about 87 people a day out of the 200; we could not obtain sufficient regularity of labour to arrange reliefs.

6416. You stated that there was a very considerable falling off in the production of sugar after the Act of Emancipation came into force?—There was.

6417. Was there any falling off in the quality of the sugar?—Undoubtedly.

6418. Do you consider that the falling off in the quality was almost as great as the falling off in the quantity?—No; I do not think it was so great as that, but there was a very great falling off in quality. The falling off in quality arose from the difficulty of getting continuous labour at the mill; the canes often soured from delay; you constantly had some which were not carefully stripped of

M. J. Higgins, Esq.

6 June 1848.

of the leaves; there was a quantity of improper matter which got into the cane juice, and you could not get the people to manufacture it with the same attention; the falling off in quantity per acre arose from the crops not being as carefully weeded and cultivated as before.

6419. Has that depreciation in the quality continued up to this time?—We have done the best we could to obviate it, and we have better machinery.

6420. Is the quality of British plantation sugar as good now as it was in the year 1832?—Not as good; but I think it is better than it was several years after emancipation.

6421. Is the British plantation sugar, the sugar of Guiana, equal to the sugar imported from Cuba?—It is a different sort of sugar; almost all the sugar from Cuba is clayed. Barbadoes and Jamaica muscovados are as good as Cuban muscovados. Some of the sugar imported from Guiana, the Berbice sugar, is very bad indeed. The Demerara sugar is a good deal of it vacuum-pan sugar; it is a sort of crystallized sugar, but it is not as high a quality of sugar as the clayed sugar.

6422. And not so valuable for purposes of refining?—No.

6423. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] Have you had any immigrated labourers working upon your estates?—I have for the last six months; I was not aware of it till about two months ago. The Governor sent some Coolies down.

6424. How do you find them practically work?—I find that they are the only people who are working on the estate at all, at present.

6425. At what wages?—They have the same wages as the other labourers, about 1s. 4d. or 1s. 8d. a task.

6426. Do you find them work regularly?—My agent writes home to me to say, “The state of the cultivation of your estate is entirely owing to the Coolies who have been sent by the Governor.” The creoles there will not work at all.

6427. You are, therefore, so far as your own experience goes, satisfied with the immigrants?—I think it depends entirely upon the class of people you get; some who have been agriculturists in their own country have done very well; there have been a great mass of vagabonds connected with the towns, sent over, who have done very badly for themselves and for the colony.

6428. *Chairman.*] Have you any experience of the result of the import of Africans in the West Indies?—No.

6429. Do you know whether they offer themselves for hire, or whether they attach themselves to different plantations when they arrive?—They are generally sent down to the different plantations. Such plantations as require labourers give in their names; they are all obliged to provide for them an efficient hospital on each estate, and also houses fit to receive the labourers. The Governor has a list of plantations which are thus prepared, and as the different ships arrive he allots the immigrants to the different plantations.

6430. He allots them to no parties but those so prepared to receive them?—No.

6431. Are the planters who receive those labourers also obliged to supply medical attendance?—Yes.

6432. Is the regulation as to medical attendance enforced with great care and under circumstances of great rigidity?—Yes, I think so; there is an ordinance to that effect, which enacts that they shall be visited by a medical man once in every 48 hours, whether they are ill or not. I presume that that is not acted up to, but that is the ordinance.

6433. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Is there not a great mortality when they first arrive?—Very often.

6434. And it is on that account that this strict medical attendance is enforced?—I presume it is so.

6435. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Do you regard the consumption of sugar to be almost a necessary of life in Europe?—I believe there are countries in which very little is consumed; in Ireland I fancy the consumption is very small. It has almost become a necessary of life, I think.

6436. Limiting the question to the case of England, do you regard the consumption of sugar to be almost a necessary of life in England?—I do.

6437. Can sugar be produced as an article of general merchandize, except within the tropics, or in degrees immediately adjoining the tropics?—I think not.

6438. Can sugar be produced in any such tropical region, except by intense labour?—

labour?—I do not think the labour necessary for the production of sugar is more intense than that exacted from the labourers in this country for the production of many other articles of life.

6439. Is there not a period in the production of sugar in which continuous labour is required from the party manufacturing it, longer in time and greater in degree than in any manufacture in England of any other character?—Certainly not.

6440. Have you taken into your consideration the tropical heat in which at crop time such labour is performed?—There is an erroneous impression with regard to the effect which tropical heat has on the inhabitants of the tropics; I am quite sure that the labour which I have seen exacted from the slaves in Cuba would have been fatal to Europeans, if that amount of labour had been exacted from them in this climate; I do not think that 12 hours of fair labour exhausts a negro in the tropics more than 12 hours of similar labour would exhaust a white man in this country.

6441. Whatever may be the relative endurance of the white and of the black men in other countries, is it practically the case that sugar has not been produced by the labour of white men in any tropical region?—Certainly white men would be quite incapable of performing that labour in that climate.

6442. If there should be, as you state there has been, and is, a failure of the supply of free black labour in the British West Indies, is there any prospect of an adequate supply of sugar from the British West Indies, either for England itself, or, as was formerly the case, for exportation from England?—Certainly not, without an ampler supply of labour in the market, and more effectual regulations for ensuring the regularity of that labour.

6443. If then the supply of sugar shall fail from the produce of free labour in the British West Indies, if the consumption of sugar be almost a necessary of life in England, and if a supply be produced from Cuba or Brazil, does it not follow that the supply must be left to the produce of slave labour?—I have not the least doubt of it.

6444. Does not then the purchase of every pound of sugar produced by slave labour, from whatever island or colony it may come, encourage, directly and indirectly, the slave trade as well as slavery?—All the authentic documents which we can refer to for the last two years concerning the slave trade prove that beyond a doubt.

6445. You would consider then that any encouragement to the production of sugar from dependencies on nations other than those of England is *pro tanto* an encouragement to slavery and the slave trade?—I think it is.

6446. Has your attention been turned to the means adopted by England for the suppression of the slave trade as carried on between Africa and Brazil, and Cuba?—I have read most of the evidence which has been given on that subject, and documents relating to it.

6447. Have you formed an opinion as to the expediency of continuing the squadron in the Atlantic for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade, it being assumed to be the object of Great Britain to contend by those means for the suppression of the slave trade?—I think it totally useless to retain the squadron on the coast, if, on the other hand, we admit slave sugar on favourable terms into this country; by the exclusion of slave sugar and the continuance of the squadron, there is no doubt that the slave trade has until the last two years been very much diminished; the records of the Foreign Office state that two years ago the number of Africans annually exported from Africa to be converted into slaves was about 30,000, and the same sources of information tell us now that it is between 60,000 and 70,000.

6448. Did the importation of slaves into Brazil double from the period when an increased stimulus was given to the production of slave-grown sugar in the Brazils?—The information supplied within the last two months by the Foreign Office gives that result; in round numbers, I think it was 33,000 in one case, and between 60,000 and 70,000 in the other.

6449. Is it, or is it not, a legitimate conclusion from the encouragement afforded to the production of a given article that the supply will increase in proportion?—Undoubtedly.

6450. If the supply can be rendered by no other means than by slave labour, is not the encouragement of the supply the encouragement of the means by which that supply is furnished?—No doubt that is the case; I saw to-day in

M. J. Higgins, Esq.

6 June 1848.

the Anti-Slavery Reporter extracts from two letters which were written by the chief mercantile house in the Havannah in 1844 and in 1848, describing the prospects and condition of the commerce of Cuba in 1844, and now in 1848; they were referred to by Mr. Gurney, at a meeting in the City, and I see they are reported here; they are very striking. The Messrs. Drake belong to an American family, naturalized in Cuba, and occupy a leading position among the merchants in the Havannah. The extracts are very short, and if the Committee will allow me, I will read them.

6451. Will you be pleased to state whether you know the writers of the letters which you are prepared to put in, and can say from your own knowledge and observation that they are persons on whose authority this Committee may rely?—I have stated of my own knowledge that they are the leading merchants in the Havannah, and are proprietors of large slave-wrought sugar ingenios. The statements which I am going to read were sent home by Her Majesty's Slave Commissioners to the Foreign Office, and, therefore, there can be no doubt as to their opinion, as well as mine, of the credit due to the statements of Messrs. Drake. It appears that on the 1st of January 1844, the highly respectable and wealthy house of Drake, Brothers, & Co. published a circular setting forth "that they had no expectation of the price of sugar being improved, except by having the English market opened to the produce of the island, where if this could be effected at a rate even of 50 per cent. above the duty on English colonial sugar, still they should obtain for their produce double the amount they could then obtain." After the alterations of the law with regard to the admission of slave grown produce into our markets, the trade circular of Messrs. Drake, Brothers, & Co., of the Havannah, of the 8th of January last, thus states: "The production of 1847 has far exceeded that of any previous year, and the prices obtained by planters have been so good and remunerative that they are enabled to adopt every means for the further extension of their crops. During the past year the prices of sugar in our markets were supported at high rates with but slight and temporary fluctuations, notwithstanding the large crop. This was mainly owing to the unprecedentedly heavy shipments to the United States and Great Britain, aided by a well-sustained inquiry for Spain, with a fair demand for other parts. The shipments for British ports comprised about 167,000 boxes from hence and Matanzas, with an addition of some importance from other parts of the island. The bulk of the exports went first in the early part of the seasons, when there was not only a stimulus created by the admission of our sugar for English consumption, but also a general expectation that a large quantity would be required for the use of breweries and distilleries." That is a Cuban picture of the state of Cuban commerce in 1844, when their produce was excluded from our markets, and in 1848, when it was admitted into England, not on equal terms with free-labour sugar, but on easier terms than before.

6452. Do you regard that this comparison of the produce corresponds pretty accurately with the increase of the means by which that produce has been furnished to the market, namely, by doubling, or more than doubling the importation of slaves into the colony in question?—There have been very few slaves imported into Cuba as yet; the coffee cultivation has been almost entirely broken up, and it has been computed that about 100,000 slaves have been removed from the cultivation of coffee to that of the cane. According to the last reports from the English Slave Commissioners (and our private accounts tell us the same), arrangements are being made for the importation of slaves from the coast of Africa to Cuba, yet up to the latest dates no great quantity was known to have been imported; the increase in quantity has hitherto been almost entirely confined to Brazil.

6453. In either case the produce of sugar in Cuba has been effected by slave labour?—No doubt of it.

6454. And preparations are made for an increase of such exportation of slave labour from Africa?—That has been stated by Captain Matson, who was examined before this Committee, and by various other witnesses. I think there has been no great increase in the amount of importation of slaves into Cuba in the last two years.

6455. You do not wish the Committee to understand that there has been a discontinuance of the supply of slaves imported into Cuba?—Certainly not.

6456. But merely that there has been a large transference of slave labour from

from one species of cultivation to another; the average supply of slaves imported remaining nearly the same?—In stating that, I wished to explain to the Committee the mode in which I account for the fact of there not having been an immediate increase in the importation of slaves subsequently to the Act of 1846.

6457. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Have you any information which you can give to the Committee to show that there are at present symptoms that the trade with the coast of Africa is reviving?—I have no evidence to give to the Committee which is not contained in the Appendix to the first volume of their Report from our Slave Commissioners, and in the evidence of Captains Matson and Birch.

6458. *Chairman*.] Would not the most effectual means of putting down the slave trade be to undersell the productions of slave labour?—No doubt of it.

6459. Would not that be a more effectual means of putting down the slave trade than any squadron of cruisers, or any other machinery which this country could adopt for the purpose of forcible suppression?—I conceive that to be the only means of putting it down.

6460. You have stated, in answer to a former question, that you thought, if the slave-grown sugar were excluded from this country, and the fleet maintained on the coast of Africa, the slave trade might be put down; do you consider that such means would really extinguish the slave trade?—I did not say that I thought it would be extinguished altogether; I said that I considered that it might be reduced.

6461. But so long as a demand for slaves exists in Cuba and Brazil, do you consider that the fleet will ever be the means of extinguishing the slave trade?—I think our experience ought to have convinced everybody who has examined the subject carefully that it will not.

6462. Has your attention ever been turned to the subject of African immigration into the West Indian colonies, with respect to its beneficial operation upon our colonies?—If African emigration were introduced, and no more stringent laws enacted for its conduct when the negroes arrived in our colonies, I do not think that it would be very beneficial.

6463. Is it necessary that African emigration should be conducted for the future under the same circumstances under which it has been conducted heretofore?—Certainly not, I think.

6464. Would it not be necessary to have laws to restrain vagrancy and squatting, and also to place the immigrants in the position of apprentices?—My opinion is that it would be fair and just, both to the planters and to the immigrants, that such measures should be adopted.

6465. Supposing that African emigration could be conducted under those circumstances, do you think that the operation would be very beneficial to the West Indian colonies?—There is no doubt of it. The only disadvantage under which we labour now is deficiency of labour. If a tide of immigration could be turned into the colonies at present, it would have a very beneficial effect. I may instance, that if a well-directed scheme of immigration had been operating in Guiana during the last six months, we should not have been exposed to the strike which has very nearly ruined everybody connected with that colony.

6466. Are you informed that a strike has taken place in British Guiana recently?—From before Christmas up to the present day the Creole labourers have scarcely done a stroke of work.

6467. Did they strike for higher wages?—Not for higher wages, but to oppose a reduction of the wages which ruled before.

6468. Do you know what the rate of wages is?—I think from 2 s. to 1 s. 4 d. a day's task.

6469. What rate of wages has been offered to the labourers?—Three-fourths; the reduction proposed was 25 per cent.

6470. Sir *E. Buxton*.] That is the 4 d.?—Yes; but that has not been acceded to.

6471. *Chairman*.] Do you think, if, from the period of the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, a well-regulated plan of emigration from Africa had been conducted by this country, the present state of the West Indies, even under the operation of the Sugar Bill of 1846, would have been as disastrous as it now is?—It certainly would not have been as disastrous as it now is.

6472. Do you think it probable, that had those steps been adopted at that early period, the British colonies would have been enabled to meet the com-

petition

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

petition of Cuba and Brazil?—No; I do not think that we could have met the competition which Brazil must offer, with the enormous quantities of slaves which are imported there.

6473. You think that under no circumstances the British West Indian colonies could compete with Cuba and Brazil, so long as slavery is one of the institutions of the country?—I do not think that the British West Indian colonies can ever compete with slave-importing countries.

6474. *Sir E. Buxton.*] That is, with slavery and the slave trade?—With slavery and the slave trade. Allow me to explain what I mean: we know that in the last two years there have been more slaves imported into Brazil than there have been free immigrants into the whole of the West Indian islands since emancipation, a period of 15 years, and when those slaves are imported, their whole energies are at once concentrated in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar and in mining operations. Now we know from the evidence given by Mr. Macgregor, that although there have been about 70,000 immigrants imported into the West Indies since emancipation, a very small number indeed is actually employed in making sugar at present; they do what they please; they wander about or addict themselves to other pursuits. Therefore the number of immigrants coming into the West Indies, and of slaves going to a slave country, does not express the proportionate addition to the agricultural labour of the two countries.

6475. Almost all the slaves imported into Brazil have been effective labourers?—They have been effective labourers, and have been constantly employed.

6476. Whereas a large proportion of the individuals imported into the British West Indian colonies have been persons who have set up for themselves, I apprehend?—Exactly.

6477. You have read the evidence of Mr. Bandinel, reported to the House of Commons?—I have.

6478. Do you observe that he describes a project which had been suggested by the government of Brazil to the British Government, of a system of gradual emancipation of the slaves in Brazil, and supplying the labour market of Brazil by means of free emigration from Africa?—I do.

6479. Do you think that if that system could be honestly carried out, and if the West Indies were placed under the regulations recently adverted to with respect to squatting, vagrancy, and apprenticeship, and the labour market of the West Indies were supplied for a period of years by means of assistance from the British Government, that under such circumstances as those the British West Indian Islands could recover from their present disastrous condition?—I do not think that it is possible to contemplate such a plan being honestly carried out by Brazil. I do not think you would get capitalists in this country to furnish capital to be adventured on such a frail tenure as the good faith of the Brazilian government in carrying out a project of emancipation.

6480. The question does not suppose any capital being invested by persons in this country?—I am well acquainted with the fact, that the West Indians have neither capital or credit at this present moment. We certainly cannot go on with our cultivation if the Bill of 1846 remains in force. We are all of us incapacitated from carrying on our cultivation by want of money, occasioned by selling our sugar under cost price, and I think that the plan which you propose assumes that we can carry on our plantations until a system of immigration, which I know very well would take some time to mature, could be carried out.

6481. You think that the deficiency of capital in the West Indies would be a sufficient objection to enabling the West Indies to meet such a competition?—I think it would.

6482. The want of capital arises, I apprehend, chiefly from the want of confidence?—No doubt of it.

6483. Supposing confidence could be restored to the West Indies, should you then fear a competition under the circumstances which I have mentioned?—I think not; but I understand you to mean that confidence was to be restored by such a plan as that which you have mentioned. All the experience we have assures us that the Brazilians, and Spaniards also, have acted with the greatest want of good faith in all their international arrangements respecting slavery, and therefore I do not think that any arrangement of that sort would restore confidence in this country.

6484. The question supposes that the arrangement should be honestly carried out. Mr. Bandinel, you observe, proposes pledges for the Brazilian government carrying

carrying out the engagements with fidelity. Can you suggest any measures by which labour could be rendered more effective and the cost of producing sugar cheaper in the West Indies by other means than those to which we have adverted?—I have listened to the evidence of Mr. Macgregor, and I coincide very fully in his observations upon that point.

6485. Do you concur generally in what Mr. Macgregor stated to the Committee?—I do.

6486. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] What do you anticipate will be, so far as we can see, the destiny of our West India colonies, supposing matters are allowed to go on as they are?—Most of them will cease to be sugar-producing colonies, and I think that all the proprietors connected with them will be ruined; indeed most of them are already, but I think that the few who are not must ultimately succumb.

6487. Do you suppose that any large portion of the colonies will be entirely thrown out of cultivation?—There is no doubt of it.

6488. You think that if the land could not be engaged in sugar cultivation it would not be transferred to some other object?—It probably would be transferred to the growing of yams, and plantains, and sweet potatoes, which the negroes would eat themselves; I do not think that it would be applied to any higher use than that.

6489. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Are any of the estates calculated for coffee cultivation?—They are all, I think, calculated for the cultivation of coffee, but there are other countries where labour can be obtained more cheaply, and therefore the coffee cultivation of the West Indies has almost entirely migrated to those countries in the east.

6490. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Have you known any instances of the cultivation of coffee being substituted for that of sugar advantageously?—No, I have not; I am not intimately acquainted with any of the colonies which grew coffee to any extent since emancipation.

6491. I suppose that a proprietor takes some time before he comes to the resolution of absolutely abandoning the property?—We have a good deal of very valuable machinery on our plantations, many houses, and a large capital invested in drainage, and therefore as long as there is a hope of better times, however slight, we do not like to give up, and I think that that accounts very much for the sums which have been lost by proprietors clinging on to unremunerative estates. For a long time we clung on to the hope that immigration would be freely conceded to us, and we certainly never anticipated that we should be called upon to compete on even terms with slave-grown produce.

6492. But that state of things cannot last much longer?—I think not. If you will allow me, I will cite to you a case, which I think contrasts our condition with that of the Cuban planter more strongly than anything else which I can state. Lord Harris, in a despatch, dated 21 February 1848, mentions that the average work of a labourer in Trinidad is from four to five hours per day; he says that the same man very rarely performs two of those tasks, and the books of the estates show that the average number of days that a labourer works is about 10 a month; that would give, at about four or five hours a day, 45 hours in a month. Consul-general Crawford, in a despatch, dated 21 February 1848, sent home in answer to certain queries propounded by the Foreign Office, states that the negroes in Cuba work 18 hours a day, which would give about ten times the number of hours' work that the labourer performs in Trinidad. Then the work which they get in Trinidad is not like the work which would be elicited from a free labourer of this country of a superior description, but it is rather worse than the labour of the slave, because ever since emancipation the creole negroes have been shielded from competition, and therefore they have performed their work just as they pleased. I do not think that any ingenuity, or any enterprize, or any machinery would enable a man who can only get 45 hours of irregular labour in a month from a free negro to compete with a man who can get about 450 from each slave, and can apply it with the utmost regularity.

6493. Do you imagine that the principle of competition introduced into those colonies, by means of the immigration of any amount of labourers, would of itself suffice to produce a sufficient quantity of work, without some strict regulations to enforce work from the labourers?—I think we should require regulations to enforce continuous work; that is to say, that they should not have it in their power to grind our canes and refuse to boil them off, or to cut them and refuse to grind them. I think we require protection in the same way as the captain of a ship in

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

this country is protected; if his vessel is loaded and the crew refuse to take her out of port, he can enforce the contract which they have made with him to do so.

6494. Viscount *Brackley*.] In fact they ought to be made to sign articles, or that sort of system ought to be adopted?—Exactly.

6495. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] The minimum of subsistence is so very easily procured, that it would be almost impossible to force the negroes to labour for the necessaries of life without some other impulse than that of necessity?—I think it would in most of our colonies.

6496. Does the principle of competition act sufficiently for this purpose in Barbadoes?—It does.

6497. Viscount *Brackley*.] Do you think that the restrictions which have been imposed upon free immigration have materially impeded the utility of such immigration?—I think they have.

6498. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Have you, after having paid the attention which you have to all the possibilities of free immigration into the West Indies, come to the conclusion that by one means or another a sufficient supply of labour might be introduced into those colonies to effect these purposes?—I really cannot answer that question; the evidence from the coast of Africa is so very conflicting as to the amount of labour that might be supplied therefrom. You have had witnesses before you who can give you a much better answer upon that subject than I can, officers who have been employed on the coast.

6499. Viscount *Brackley*.] Do you think that any bad consequences would arise from the removal of the present restrictions upon immigration?—I do not think that those consequences would arise which I believe are anticipated by some parties, that the West Indian planters and the English proprietors interested in the West Indies would generally wish to avail themselves of improper means. I think they would generally, on the contrary, do all they could to prevent abuses; but it is possible, that unless a vigilant watch were kept, there might be instances of individual misconduct.

6500. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] You heard Mr. Macgregor state that he considered that the West Indian proprietors were at present absolutely incapable themselves of conducting this great scheme of immigration; do you agree with him?—That is not an opinion, it is a fact; they have endeavoured to raise loans for immigration, and there has been no tender upon the credit of the colonies, therefore the bankruptcy of the colonies is an established fact.

6501. Then are we to understand that whatever facilities may be given to immigration, however immigration may be rendered more easy by taking off those restrictions which exist, nevertheless such is the state of the West India proprietors, that they would be unable to avail themselves of those advantages?—I think there is no doubt that they would be unable to avail themselves of it if they were exposed to the present prospect of competition on even terms at no very distant period with the sugar of slave-importing countries. I am not a bankrupt myself, but I certainly should not wish to expend capital with such a prospect as that; I would sooner abandon what capital I have invested in the colonies, than invest any more.

6502. So that if something like the purchase of slaves on the coast of Africa, for the purposes of West Indian labour, were permitted, even that would not be of any advantage?—I can only say for myself, that I would not engage in any transaction of the sort.

6503. *Chairman*.] You would not purchase slaves on the coast of Africa, if the permission were given to you?—No.

6504. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] You do not think it would pay?—I have probably other considerations than those of profit and loss, but I will only repeat that I would not purchase slaves on the coast of Africa. I would rather endeavour to make money by other means.

6505. *Chairman*.] Have you ever considered what amount of protective duty would be sufficient to enable the West Indies to withstand the competition under present circumstances?—I think that is a subject to which we have all given our attention, as diligently as we could, and I think that we have come to the conclusion, that the amount mentioned by the Committee, 10 s., would be the minimum. The effects of the last six months have been so disastrous to us, that I do not think the 10 s. now would be so great a boon to us as 8 s. would have been six months ago. I have already mentioned that in those six months, 18 West Indian houses have failed, and our estates have fallen back very much.

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6506. The estates have deteriorated?—The estates have deteriorated; the yield this year will not be so great as it would have been because our cane cultivation has been neglected and is overgrown with weeds. I am speaking of the colony with which I am connected. We are still suffering from the strike; the cultivation is so disorganized that we shall not get the crop which we should have got; even supposing that 10 s. protection is conceded to us, we shall not reap the benefits which we should have done if it had been given earlier.

6507. When you agreed upon 10 s. as the minimum duty under which you think you can carry on the cultivation of sugar in the West Indies, you did not, I presume, consider such a boon as we have spoken of, viz. the conveyance of Africans to the West Indies by the State?—No, excepting as regards the captured Africans; we contemplated that they would be landed in the West India colonies at the expense of England; we did not anticipate that a great scheme of emigration would be conducted entirely at the expense of this country, but we expected that every facility would be afforded to us both in the way of immigration, retrenchment, and the removal of all vexatious restrictions of every kind.

6508. No very large assistance in the way of labourers would be obtained from that source?—Latterly there have been a good many landed at Sierra Leone, and apprenticed to other negroes in that colony.

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

6 June 1848.

Jovis, 8^o die Junii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Barkly.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Mr. Gladstone.
Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Lord Courtenay.
Earl of Lincoln.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

Matthew James Higgins, Esq., called in; and further Examined.

6509. *Chairman.*] ON a former occasion when you were examined, you stated that parties connected with West Indian property had been of opinion that 10 s. would be a proper amount of differential duty for this country to establish on the introduction of slave and free-grown sugar?—I have had many conversations with the parties who I thought were best able to form an accurate judgment on that point, and I think that was the resolution to which they came, and in which I coincide.

6510. Did those gentlemen contemplate this differential duty in its relation to the West Indies only, or in its relation to all the countries from which free grown sugar could be imported?—The only information which I can give you on that point is in connexion with the West Indies.

6511. As a West Indian proprietor, are you afraid to meet the competition of the East Indies under equal circumstances?—Not if immigration is freely conceded to us. I think that we are quite able to meet the competition of British India, and I imagine that the cultivation of the Mauritius cannot be extended much more than has already been done.

6512. You think that if you were equally favourably placed as the East Indies in regard to labour, you would be able to continue the cultivation of sugar in the West Indies with probable advantage?—I think there is no doubt that the soil and climate of the West Indies are more favourable to the cultivation of cane than those of British India, judging from the evidence which has been given before the Sugar and Coffee-planting Committee on the subject.

6513. You would also have some advantage in the proximity of the West Indies?—Yes, for sending home the sugar, and also for sending out supplies and machinery. The expense which some of the East Indian sugar growing countries are obliged to incur in the inland transport, that is to say the river transport, is enormous.

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

8 June 1848.

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

8 June 1848.

6514. In contemplating the immigration of labour from the coast of Africa, do you think that such immigration can be fairly and candidly represented as a continuance of the slave trade under any form or guise whatever?—I do not think that any honest man of average intellect, who has a practical acquaintance with the circumstances of the case, would for one moment maintain such a supposition.

6515. What do you consider to be the evidences of slavery; is not a slave the chattel of his master, a saleable commodity, disposable at his will?—He is.

6516. Would that apply to the condition of a labourer under the contract system?—I cannot conceive that there would be the most remote chance of any permanent abuses taking place in our West Indian colonies on that score. In the present day the communication with England is so rapid, and the class of men who fill the offices of governors in the various colonies is so good, that I cannot imagine such an abuse existing for the most conceivably short space of time in any of our colonies, without its being exposed and punished.

6517. Do you think that it would be a fair description of an African labourer introduced into the West Indies under the contract system that he was a slave?—Most certainly not, I imagine that the abuses which are chiefly feared are those which might occur on the African coast.

6518. You would feel no hesitation at all in saying that such a description, which many very well meaning men have given of such a system of labour supplied from Africa, is altogether a groundless one?—I think that any one who is acquainted, for instance, with Lord Harris, the Governor of Trinidad, and reads his despatches, must be quite convinced that nothing approaching slavery could exist in any country of which he was the governor.

6519. No man toils very hard from the love of toil?—In no country that I am acquainted with.

6520. He must have some stimulus?—Certainly; no man in any class of life that I know works by the labour of his hands, unless he has either the stimulus of natural or acquired wants, or the stimulus of the lash.

6521. If the labourer of the West Indies were to toil as hard as the agricultural labourer in England, would it be sufficient for the purposes of the cultivation of sugar?—Quite sufficient.

6522. Mr. *Barkly*.] Is it not the fact that the natives of Africa suffer considerably from cold, even in Demerara?—On days when we are suffering from the heat, particularly in wet weather, they seem to suffer from the cold. You see them muffled up in watchmen's coats, which no white man would think of wearing.

6523. Is it not the fact that they scarcely ever sleep without having a fire in their room?—I cannot speak to that. I have scarcely ever seen their houses at night.

6524. *Chairman*.] What would the heat be when those Africans used the covering of a coat?—When I was in the colony I kept a register of the temperature, and at night it sometimes went down as low as 76, but I think not lower.

6525. Mr. *Barkly*.] Have you ever seen any of the newly imported immigrants at work in the fields when a shower of rain has come on?—No.

6526. You cannot speak as to the effect which the rain has in making them shiver and suffer from cold?—No, I have never seen any of them at work.

6527. *Chairman*.] I believe the proprietors in Demerara and Guiana generally have suffered from conflagration?—The despatches of Governor Light give very ample details on that subject. Up to the 14th of February there have been six fires, which he pronounces, in a private despatch to Lord Grey, which has since been published, to have been decidedly the acts of incendiaries, and not accidental.

6528. What parties are supposed to have been the authors of them?—My impression is that they have been the acts of parties who have been dissatisfied with the reduced wages offered to them. When those fires have taken place they have probably been the acts of one or two persons. I should wish it to be recorded that I am by no means anxious to impress the Committee with the idea that the negroes are an ill-disposed people, for I do not think they are; I think that, under the circumstances in which they have been placed throughout, they have behaved as well as any population could have been expected to behave.

6529. They

6529. They are not worse, probably, than the labouring population of England?—Certainly not; the same thing occurred during the Swing riots. Some few evil-disposed persons set farms on fire, and many well-disposed persons assisted in putting them out.

6530. Of the same class?—Yes.

6531. Should you apprehend any renewal of those acts of incendiarism from the introduction of free labourers from Africa?—I think not. I do not think the Creoles have ever shown any disposition to resent the introduction of immigrants on the estates.

6532. Would the enactment of such laws as we were speaking of on Tuesday last, laws for the prevention of squatting and vagrancy, have any tendency, in your opinion, to promote such acts of outrage?—I think so. I think they would be resisted at first.

6533. Resisted in that form?—That is the most obvious mode of revenge in tropical countries, because everything is so combustible and dry that there is the less chance of being found out, in retaliating upon anybody who has offended you by acts of incendiarism, than by any other mode of revenge.

6534. Still, contemplating such an evil, it does not deter you from recommending the system of African emigration?—In one case there is indeed a chance that our property may be destroyed, but in the other case I consider it is a certainty; therefore I prefer taking the chance.

6535. Mr. *Barkly*.] Did you ever know any case in which punishment or detection followed those incendiary fires?—When I was in the colony in 1838 I recollect the case of a woman being detected in setting fire to some fields of cane, by which she did considerable damage. I attended her trial before the stipendiary magistrate; she was convicted and fined 10 dollars, but there appeared to be no means of levying the 10 dollars. The stipendiary magistrate told the clerk of the estate upon which the crime was committed, to deduct them from her wages; the woman had no wages owing to her, and would not work any more, therefore up to the present day that offence remains unpunished. But when I came home to England I saw in a Blue Book a return of the punishments inflicted upon negroes in Guiana, and I saw this very woman's case, that she had been fined 10 dollars for setting fire to a cane piece, but there was no memorandum that that punishment had never been inflicted.

6536. Do you consider the inflicting of a fine of 10 dollars a commensurate punishment for such an offence?—It certainly is very different from what would be the result in England upon persons committing a similar crime.

6537. The effect of setting fire to a piece of cane in so hot and dry a climate as that of British Guiana might be to destroy property worth many thousand pounds?—Most certainly.

6538. Do not you suppose that if the laws were administered in British Guiana with ordinary stringency such offences as incendiarism might very easily be repressed among a population who are generally very well disposed?—I think they might.

6539. Mr. *Simeon*.] Is there anything in the circumstances of the West Indian colonies which would render it difficult or inexpedient to assimilate the law there to that in England, which would provide a period of imprisonment in a case such as you have mentioned for non-payment of the fine?—I think not. At the time the negroes were emancipated there was a morbidly sensitive feeling on their behalf in this country. I have been told privately by many magistrates that they had instructions from the Governor to lean towards the negroes at first, and having done that once it is very difficult to regain the ground which they have lost. I think that if the negroes had not been a remarkably well disposed class of people there would have been ground to anticipate more grievous results than have occurred.

6540. Mr. *Barkly*.] With respect to the condition of free immigrants working under contract in the British West Indies, it would not be possible, I suppose, for the planters to pass any laws which could in any way trench upon their liberty further than the engagements under which they had voluntarily come to work permitted them?—It certainly could not be done without its being known in this country that it was done.

6541. Those laws must receive the consent of the Queen before they would in fact become such laws as the magistrates could be called upon to put in execution?—Most undoubtedly.

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6542. And

M. J. Higgins,
Esq

8 June 1848.

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

8 June 1848.

6542. And with regard to any illegal attempts that might be made by the planters to coerce the labourers and treat them as if they were in point of fact slaves, the white inhabitants of those colonies being a very small minority indeed of the population, do you consider that it would be safe for them to attempt to exert any such illegal authority over their labourers?—I think not; and I think moreover, as I have said before, that such vigilant and upright men as the governors of our islands now are would prevent such an attempt almost from being made.

6543. Is it not the fact that the employers of labour are much more at the mercy of their labourers in the West Indies at the present moment than the labourers at the mercy of their employers?—I think that the despatches which have arrived from Governor Light show that to be the case.

6544. *Chairman.*] Has the information brought lately from the West Indies thrown any more light upon that subject?—We have not got the official information from the Colonial Office; the private information merely tells us what we fully anticipated, that matters are getting worse every day.

6545. Worse, in what respect?—That property is getting into a worse condition; that the negroes, according to Governor Light, are not working. Governor Light mentions indeed, in his address to the Court, that he believes some few have partially resumed work, but that is very indignantly denied by all the members of the Court, who state that such is not the case, and they give the details; they actually state the number of those at work and those not.

6546. The strike does not extend to the Coolies, or to the Portuguese labourers?—No; nor I believe to the recently imported Africans. It is entirely with the Creole negroes, except in some cases where they have done their best to intimidate the better disposed new comers.

6547. *Mr. Gladstone.*] In some colonies has not there been a reduction in wages?—In Antigua and Barbadoes there has been undoubtedly a considerable reduction in the wages. Lord Harris, in one of his despatches, says that they are partially reduced in Trinidad, but I cannot fully realize that.

6548. *Mr. Barkly.*] In fully-peopled colonies there has been little difficulty in lowering the wages in proportion to the fall in the price of produce?—Just so; I am informed that that is the case in St. Kitt's.

6549. *Chairman.*] Is there anything like an uniform rate of wages in those colonies?—I think so. There is great difficulty in ascertaining that, because one man will pay a little more wages, but then he will not give the labourers their houses free.

6550. Nor their provision grounds?—Nor their provision grounds. Another man will probably give them some food when they are employed about the works, which will make a difference; therefore you cannot estimate it exactly.

6551. You cannot estimate it in money wages?—No.

6552. Have you any acquaintance with the island of Jamaica?—Very little.

6553. Do you know whether the recently imported Africans in that island have conducted themselves pretty satisfactorily?—I have generally heard that they have.

6554. *Mr. Barkly.*] With regard to the mortality of immigrants upon their passage to the West Indies, it has been stated that that mortality has been very great, especially in the case of the first voyage of the "Growler;" do you think that it is quite fair to put all that mortality to the account of the simple transport of the people from Africa, taking into consideration that those people had a few days before been taken out of the hold of a slaver, where they had undergone very great sufferings, and that many of them were not in a state of good health at the time of their embarkation?—I think the probability is that the mortality would have been nearly as great if they had remained in the slave yard at Sierra Leone.

6555. Have not you frequently heard it stated that the mortality among people who have been captured and landed at Sierra Leone or at other places where there have been commission courts has been quite as great as among those who embarked on board the "Growler"?—I think nearly all the evidence which has been taken by this Committee, and likewise by the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting, speaks on that point, that the mortality is very great after the slavers are captured by our cruisers; and Mr. Cliffe, a gentleman who gave evidence before the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting, states that

that he has seen numbers die in Brazil merely from having access to as much water as they could drink after landing.

6556. Then it is not a fair test to take the mortality which has occurred among those captured Africans?—I do not think it is; and I have also reason to believe that the "Growler" was not properly fitted up, and that the immigrants were killed by the well meaning ignorance of those who arranged the details of the experiment in England; each negro had a separate berth, which deprived them of fresh air to such an extent that they suffered excessively from it.

6557. Mr. *E. Denison*.] You have expressed the opinion that the fleet upon the coast of Africa, as at present conducted, is of very little use?—I think that as long as the profit of sugar cultivation in Cuba and Brazil affords a greater chance of gain to speculators than there is chance of loss to the importers of negroes from our squadron, of course our fleet is of very little use, because the certainty of gain from sugar cultivation is so much greater than the chance of loss from capture.

6558. If a differential duty in favour of the West Indies were to be granted, should you be of opinion, speaking as a West Indian proprietor, that it would be of little importance during the time that such differential duty was granted, if it should be for a time, that the fleet on the coast of Africa should be removed, or do you think that it would be of importance to the West Indians that a fleet on the coast should be continued during the time that the differential duty in favour of the West Indies was allowed?—I think it would be necessary to maintain the fleet on the coast of Africa until sufficient arrangements had been made for supplying our West Indian Colonies with regular immigration. If we had a fair stream of immigration setting in to our colonies, I then think that the fleet might be removed from the coast of Africa; but with the demand for labour which we have, if the fleet were removed and we were merely promised, as in 1846, immigration without any plans being matured for setting the tide of immigration going, I do not think then that we could compete with Cuba and Brazil; the slave-importing countries would get their slaves cheaper in consequence of the absence of our cruisers.

6559. Then you think that the fleet upon the coast, to a certain extent, raises the price of the slave at present?—There is no doubt that it enhances the price of the slave; I think that is the only operation which it has; therefore when the price of the slave was high and the price of sugar low in Brazil, as it was before the Act of 1846, of course the slave trade diminished, and sugar cultivation languished; since then, the price of sugar having nearly doubled there, the slave trade has doubled.

6560. What sort of system do you speak of as likely to furnish the stream of free immigration which you mention?—To tell the truth I cannot give any evidence upon that point, which is worth having, but I merely object to our being promised immigration without any conclusive information having been acquired whether we can get it or not, or where we are to get it from; it is very clear that that information was not in the possession of the Colonial Office in 1846, because one or two schemes have been tried which have proved abortive; the "Growler" case is the most prominent example I can think of.

6561. Supposing that any system of obtaining free emigrants on the coast of Africa were to be put into operation, and that it should turn out not to be successful up to the point which was expected, you think then that it would be necessary or desirable at least to keep the fleet on the coast of Africa until some means of supplying free labourers in sufficient numbers was obtained?—I think so. In the circumstances under which we are at present placed, if the Act of 1846 is to stand, the best thing to do would be to withdraw the fleet altogether, for we are actually ruined. As many slaves as the Brazilians require go to Brazil; therefore the fleet effects no good object at all at the present moment.

6562. Then I collect it to be your opinion that if the law remains as it is, the case of the West Indian proprietors you consider desperate, and therefore you would object to an expenditure upon the coast of Africa which, in your opinion, is useless?—That is my opinion.

6563. But if a system of obtaining free labour were put in operation, then you would think that some fleet to suppress the slave trade would be desirable, in conjunction with that effort of free labour?—For a time I think so, until it had

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

8 June 1848.

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

8 June 1848.

had been ascertained whether the scheme of immigration was practicable or not.

6564. Mr. Gladstone.] Are you aware that the price of slaves has diminished very materially of late years in Brazil?—I understand that it has diminished from 60*l.* to 45*l.*

6565. In what period?—In the last two years.

6566. Assuming that to be the case, would you still hold the opinion that the price of the slave is materially enhanced in Brazil by the efforts of our squadron?—I should imagine that there could be no doubt of it from the losses which the slave importers sustain. I presume that if they were not interfered with, and there were no chance of capture, they could import the article more cheaply than if they were hunted about the coast as they are by our cruisers.

6567. Do you not conceive that in some respects the existence of the squadron has driven the slave traders to adopt more economical modes of transport?—I think it has driven them to adopt more desperate modes; but I doubt very much whether those are really more economical. They employ worse vessels; they pack the slaves very tightly; if they have a good voyage and escape the cruisers they make a good deal of money; if they have foul winds or are hunted by the cruisers it is otherwise: so that I should doubt its being actually more economical.

6568. I did not mean to ask you for a positive conclusion to that effect, but whether it does not appear to you, that, upon the whole, it may leave it rather doubtful whether the mode of transit is really rendered more expensive by the existence of the squadron?—I confess myself I have no doubt that it is rendered more expensive.

6569. Adverting to the per-centage of captures, are you aware what that per-centage is stated to be?—I have heard it variously stated; I have heard it stated from eight to 20 per cent.

6570. Assuming, as in point of fact has appeared to us, that the rate of capture is under four per cent., you would not look at it as adding very materially to the price of slaves in Brazil?—No, certainly not. But you must recollect that the insurance of slaves must be far more than four per cent. We capture many empty slavers for one full one; many are driven ashore and destroyed. The wages paid to seamen in that desperate service are very high, and speculators at Rio and the Havannah suffer greatly from the disreputable characters to whom they entrust their slave-dealing adventures. The vessels alone are insured; not the negroes. Then the slaves are often landed in a dying state; many do die; and the others are either sold at a low price, or are nursed into good condition by the slave dealers at a great expense. £.45 is the price of a young, sound, docile male negro, in high condition. All these various causes may explain how it comes to pass that a slave costing 5*l.* on the African coast will fetch 45*l.* in Brazil, and 80*l.* in Cuba.

6571. You would, perhaps, think that at all events it is possible that, in certain instances, the mode of transit may be more economical in consequence of the forcible means of suppression?—I should think that the mode in which it added to the cost of slaves would be by the numbers which died on the passage, from the manner in which they pack them, and the insufficient way in which they provide for them.

6572. And also in some cases from the length of the voyage?—I think if you were to import cattle from Hamburgh under the same circumstances you would not find that they came over to this country more economically, in consequence of their being hunted up and down the channel and stowed so that half of them died when they arrived in England.

6573. Supposing that such a policy were adopted, may it not be assumed that you could apply rather more effective measures against the importation of cattle from Hamburgh than of slaves across the Atlantic?—Decidedly; but I do not think that it would cheapen the cost in this country.

6574. But do not you think we should get more than four per cent.?—Yes.

6575. Have you made up your mind to this, that the price of the slave is so materially enhanced by the action of the squadron as that that great enhancement of price becomes a considerable element in the production of Brazilian sugar?—I do not think it does.

6576. Do

6576. Do you think that it is an appreciable element in the production of sugar?—I do not think it is.

6577. Mr. *E. Denison*.] Do you doubt that, if the trade in slaves were left perfectly free, and subject to no interruptions, slaves would be taken more cheaply to the Brazils than they are taken now?—I believe they would be taken more cheaply than they now are, but I do not believe they would be a great deal cheaper; I do not believe that it would make such a difference as probably may have been anticipated.

6578. What do you conceive to be the price of a slave upon the coast of Africa?—I really cannot say; I see it variously stated in various persons' evidence; some say it is 10*s.*, some 4*l.* or 5*l.*; it must depend upon circumstances.

6579. Do you imagine the price to vary from 10*s.* to 5*l.*?—So I read in the evidence. Indeed it is stated that when, by the presence of our cruisers, the dealers have been prevented from shipping them, having no food on shore, they have knocked out the brains of hundreds on the beach.

6580. There would only have to be added to the price on the coast the cost of the transport?—And the other items I have enumerated in my answer 6569.

6581. Could that make up a total sum of anything like 45*l.*, in your opinion?—I think it might, considering the nature of the speculation.

6582. Then under a perfectly free and uninterrupted trade, if the price of a slave were 5*l.* on the coast of Africa, what do you imagine that he could be landed for on the coast of Brazil?—I really am quite unacquainted with the details of that trade; I would rather not give any evidence upon it. I think the difference between the price of slaves in Africa and in Brazil is explained by the mortality to which they are subjected on board the slavers, by being hunted about the coast by our cruisers, and by the other facts I have stated. They must enhance the value very much; I do not think you can judge of the enhancement of the value by the mere fact of capture, but I think that you must judge of it by the mortality occasioned by the presence of our squadron.

6583. In the case which I have put, that hunting about the coast would no longer be an element in the charge?—No, certainly not.

6584. Mr. *Gladstone*.] But do you think that they would pack 500 slaves in a vessel of 120 tons?—I do not think they would, and therefore the mortality would be much less; they would not buy the 500 slaves. They always buy now, not only the number which they want to import, but a certain number to throw overboard during the passage.

6585. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You hardly mean that they buy slaves for the purpose of throwing them overboard?—For the purpose of replacing those who die and are thrown overboard; they calculate on a certain number of deaths during the passage, and they buy more than they know they shall land in Brazil to promote to death vacancies.

6586. Mr. *Gladstone*.] But still, the form and character of the vessel being determined mainly by a reference to the character of the voyage to be performed and to escaping the cruisers, do not you think, with respect to the number stowed on board, that they stow that number out of which, even after allowing for the mortality, they shall get the greatest profit, and therefore that the extreme crowding is, upon the whole, profitable, even after deduction for the mortality, as compared with what another system of stowage would be which should allow the slaves sufficient air, and light, and motion?—I cannot conceive it myself.

6587. *Chairman*.] Under the present system, disturbed as it is by the operation of the suppressing squadron, that system is conducted with a view to the greatest amount of profit on the part of those who engage in it?—No doubt of it.

6588. Mr. *E. Denison*.] If that were the system, and the motive for the system, would not it assume that the article on the coast was a very cheap and almost worthless article?—It would, no doubt.

6589. Mr. *Simeon*.] Are you aware of any combinations for the purpose of insurance, having taken place among the slave importers in Brazil?—I see in one of the latest despatches, which is published in the First Report of this Committee, that one of our consuls in the Brazils states, that the insurance companies have arranged that people shall invest very small sums of money in those companies,

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

8 June 1848.

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

8 June 1848.

companies, so as to allow the lower classes to take an interest in the importation of slaves.

6590. Therefore, increasing the number of sources from which the capital embarked in the trade flows, the effect would be the same as a more economical mode of conveyance, would it not, practically?—No, I do not see that; it would be like making the tickets in a lottery smaller; it would give to the poorer classes an opportunity of investing their capital in that trade which they would not otherwise have had.

6591. It would spread the loss as it were more thinly over a larger section of the community?—It would.

6592. And thus lessen the individual loss to the persons who would be otherwise solely embarked in it?—I fancy that both in Cuba and Brazil, slavers have always been held in shares; that few people have been possessed of one entire slaver, but that they may have been possessed of eight eighths of various slavers.

6593. That system has now reached a greater amount of development?—So it is stated by Lord Howden in a letter to Viscount Palmerston, dated 9 February 1848.

6594. *Chairman.*] I think you recommended that the suppressive squadron should be maintained for a short time on the coast of Africa with a view to facilitating the immigration of labourers into the West Indies?—I did.

6595. Do not you think that the preventive operations of the squadron cause considerable cruelties to the imported Africans?—There is no doubt of that.

6596. And such cruelties I presume must exist, to some extent, so long as the preventive squadron is stationed on the coast of Africa?—They must.

6597. Would not you then feel some difficulty in recommending that a system which involves such shocking cruelties should be maintained to facilitate the importation of labour into the West Indies?—In my evidence upon this subject I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to divest myself of all considerations of humanity, because I know that it is not generally allowed that West Indians can be actuated by the motives which more or less influence the rest of the human race.

6598. *Colonel Thompson.*] If the price of a slave in Brazil or Cuba is 80*l.*, his cost on the coast of Africa 4*l.*, and his keep during the voyage 6*l.*, which makes 10*l.* expended on him, is it not the interest of the slave captain to put eight more slaves on board, so long as he can calculate upon two out of the eight coming to the end of the voyage?—Of course it is a matter of figures; it is a rule of three sum.

6599. It is his interest?—I presume it is; it comes to a mere matter of figures.

6600. As a matter of figures is it so or not, that, under those circumstances, it is his interest to continue adding eight more to the number which he takes from the coast of Africa, so long as he can calculate upon only six of them dying?—That is perfectly clear.

6601. *Chairman.*] It has been stated occasionally that one cause of the present depression under which the West Indian interest is suffering is found in their ignorantly antiquated modes of cultivating their estates and producing sugar?—I think that agriculture in the West Indies, and I believe in most of our colonies, has not attained generally the advanced state that it has in many parts of this country, but we have made very great progress within the last few years; I think the only obstacle to that progress has been the want of labour and the want of capital. So far as my experience goes I think we are in quite as advanced a state as Cuba; I paid particular attention to that subject when I was in Cuba, and I cannot see that either in their modes of manufacture or cultivation they have the advantage of us in any respect. The report from Consul Lindigren, which has been sent over at the request of the Colonial Office, respecting the cultivation and manufacture in Porto Rico, states that they are by no means so forward as they now are in the British colonies; which we may infer from the fact that they are only now adopting steam power, which has been in use in our colonies for the last 25 years.

6602. Has not some difficulty been thrown in the way of the manufacture of sugar in the West Indies by the sugar laws of this country?—On account of the arrangement of the duties it has been our interest to import brown sugar, not to clay it; the duty on clayed sugar is the high duty.

6603. *Mr. Gladstone.*] Latterly do you consider that that has been your interest,

interest, since the classification was introduced?—Up to the last two years I think it has been so.

6604. The classification was introduced in 1845?—Exactly; I think that prior to 1845 it was so.

6605. *Chairman.*] Have you any further observation to make to the Committee with the view of giving them information upon this subject?—I have not.

M. J. Higgins,
Esq.

8 June 1848.

Martis, 20^o die Junii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Barkly.
Admiral Bowles.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord Courtenay.
Mr. Gladstone.

Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Henry Barkly, Esq. a Member of the Committee; Examined.

6606. *Chairman.*] YOU are, I believe, connected by property with the West Indies?—I am the proprietor of two sugar estates in the county of Berbice, in British Guiana.

6607. Have you ever visited the West Indies yourself?—I have on two occasions visited the West Indies. Immediately after the abrogation of the apprenticeship in 1838, I thought that it was expedient for me to visit the West Indies, with which I was much more largely connected at that time, being then a West Indian merchant, and possessing property in five or six islands besides British Guiana. I went out in September 1838, and I did not return to this country till June 1840. I was upwards of a year and a half resident in the West Indies; in Jamaica I think nearly half the time, and in Demerara, Trinidad, St. Vincent, Grenada, and Barbadoes, for various periods at different times during my absence from this country. I returned home by Cuba and the United States. I have also recently visited the colony of British Guiana. I went out in November last, and returned in the month of February.

6608. To what part of the West Indies did you go on the last occasion?—On that occasion I was only in Berbice and Demerara. Although I passed by the islands, and stopped a few hours at some of them, still I had no opportunity of seeing much of the state of things in any of the other colonies except British Guiana.

6609. In what condition did you find British Guiana in respect to cultivation at the time of your last visit?—As far as cultivation was concerned, it was in a more flourishing condition than it had been when I was there before; the cultivation was in first-rate order, and the crop that had just been taken off the ground was the largest made since emancipation.

6610. The high state of cultivation which you describe would seem to lead to the inference that there had been no deficiency in labour in British Guiana?—I say that there was a higher state of cultivation than the colony was in when I was there in 1838 and 1839, but I think that there was room for a great extension of cultivation if more labour had been afforded to the planters. They had, however, improved their cultivation a good deal, partly owing to the dry season in the previous year, which would give them time to attend to their canes, and partly also owing to the importation of a considerable number of immigrants.

6611. The labour market, then, of Guiana had improved considerably as compared with the year 1840?—It was more easy, certainly, to get labour, although the nominal rate of wages I believe was the same at both periods.

6712. There was a greater facility in obtaining the labour which was necessary

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

H. Barkly, Esq.

M. P.

20 June 1848.

sary for the cultivation of West Indian property?—It was so. At the same time I ought to mention, in explanation of that fact, that in Berbice in 1838 and 1839 a great part of the cultivation consisted of coffee cultivation: when I was out there at the end of last year I found that every coffee estate in Berbice, without one single exception, had been abandoned; 43 coffee estates had been abandoned since I was there before, and the labourers on those estates had been likewise taken to work on the sugar estates.

6613. Does not the cultivation of an equal area of ground for sugar require a greater amount of labour than for coffee?—I think it would require a greater amount of continuous labour, although during slavery I think the coffee estates had in proportion to their area quite as large a gang of people as the sugar estates.

6614. Still you are of opinion that the amount of labour supplied in British Guiana was not sufficient for the demands of the proprietors?—The supply was still very uncertain, and the price at which labour could be obtained was certainly much higher than the reduced value of produce made it advisable for the planters to give.

6615. To what circumstance did you attribute the uncertainty of which you speak?—Generally speaking, I think to the independent condition in which the labourers were placed: many of them having acquired land for themselves, and living in their own houses, at a distance from the estates, they worked or not, as it suited them; if they had any object in view, anything that they wished to purchase, or anything of that kind, they would work for a week at a time, and then cease, having received their wages.

6616. Had any considerable number of Africans been introduced into the colony between the periods of 1840 and 1847?—I think, considering the length of that period and the wants of the planters, that the number introduced can hardly be called considerable; the exact amount has been laid before Parliament; I think as many as 2,000 or 3,000 African labourers have been introduced into Berbice during that period.

6617. Do you know from what part of Africa they have been principally derived?—They have been derived in various ways; in the first place some of them were emigrants from Sierra Leone, some consisting of liberated Africans from the yard there, others of those who had been settled some time in the colony; then again, there were some who were brought direct from Rio, having been liberated on the coast of Brazil by the Mixed Commission at Rio, and sent direct to British Guiana; others came from St. Helena, where they had been liberated in the same manner, and a small proportion, to the amount of 200 or 300 I think, came from the Kroo Coast.

6618. Direct from the Kroo Coast?—Some of them through Sierra Leone, but in one instance, direct from the Kroo Coast.

6619. Had any number arrived direct from the Kroo Coast?—Last year, in the month of June, I think 108 Kroomen arrived from the Kroo Coast direct, in a ship called the “Prince Regent;” but that was a transaction which took place without the permission of the Home Government, and therefore could not be repeated. The particulars are contained in a letter which was sent to Lord Grey, and I have his Lordship’s answer acknowledging the receipt of that communication, and hoping that a recurrence of such a measure would not be again resorted to.

6620. On what grounds did Lord Grey object to the repetition of such a measure?—I think he considered that all emigration from the Kroo Coast, in the present state of our relations with foreign powers as to the slave trade, ought to be conducted under the supervision of Government, and the West Indian body have always been quite willing that it should be so. The circumstances connected with this attempt of the “Prince Regent” were, that the captain had been to St. Helena to get emigrants, had been disappointed in getting any there, and he made a short trip to the Kroo Coast, where he found that they were quite ready to embark. He was overhauled and examined by one of Her Majesty’s vessels on the station, and they found that the people were going of their own accord, and therefore did not stop them. He went to Berbice and landed these people; some of them got placed upon an estate belonging to me.

6621. Then the objection of the British Government was rather on account of the jealousy which such a transaction might inspire among foreign nations, than an objection taken on the ground that this was carrying on the slave trade under

under another name?—I think that that could have been the only objection, because there was no doubt that the people went of their free accord, and that they had been inspected by one of the cruisers on the coast.

6622. Can you give the Committee any information with respect to the actual condition and feeling of the immigrants when they arrived in the West Indies; the condition and feeling of those Africans of whom we have spoken?—I think their feeling, as far as I could ascertain it (and I was very anxious to ascertain what it was), was that of extreme satisfaction with the change of their condition.

6623. Do you give that answer in relation to the liberated Africans or to the Kroomen, or do you apply it to both parties?—I apply it to both parties; I had ample opportunities of ascertaining the feelings of both parties, as immigrants had been on my estate for some time before my arrival.

6624. Did you take any pains to acquire satisfactory information with respect to their feelings?—I took all the pains that I could, and I conversed with them as far as the imperfect knowledge which they had of the English language would permit me. With the Kroomen I had a good deal of intercourse, because I found that some of them could speak English perfectly.

6625. Did you find that there was a general expression of satisfaction at their change of condition?—They never seemed to consider that there could be any question as to the great benefits which they were enjoying from the change; all their anxiety was that their countrymen should be enabled to participate in those benefits.

6626. Did you find that feeling general amongst those people?—I think it was, decidedly; and I had an opportunity of seeing that feeling evinced under very unfavourable circumstances for its display; it was at the time when I attempted to reduce the wages on my estate, and especially to reduce the wages of those immigrants; that was a time when, if at any time, they would have expressed dissatisfaction and a wish to be taken back to Africa. So far from that being the case, when some of the African youths, who seemed rather hot headed, threatened that they would sit down and do no work if the rate of wages was to be lowered, I said, "Very well, then I shall apply to the governor for permission to send you back to Africa;" that threat had the immediate effect of making them turn out to work at the reduced rate of wages; and they and the Kroomen have been the only people almost who have performed the work of the estate during the last four or five months.

6627. What reduction did you propose to make in the rate of their wages?—I proposed to reduce the rate per task, which during the apprenticeship was performed in 7½ hours, from 1 s. 4 d., which is a Dutch guilder, to 1 s.; it was a reduction of about 20 per cent.

6628. And they universally submitted to that reduction of wages rather than encounter the alternative of being sent back to Africa?—That threat had certainly some effect in making them take it, but I do not think that there would have been any difficulty in their coming into it without, although great influence was used by the Creole population to prevent their accepting the lower rate of wages.

6629. You had no doubt at all that the prevailing feeling amongst those African immigrants was that they had received a great boon by being placed in the West Indies?—None; I had the most distinct declarations on that subject from the most intelligent of them. The head man of the Kroomen, whose name was Tom Freeman as I think he called himself, assured me that if ships were allowed to pass freely backwards and forwards between the West Indies and the Kroo Coast, as many people would come from the Kroo Coast as would cut all the canes in the colony.

6630. Sir R. H. Inglis.] Will you have the goodness to state to the Committee whether you formed, or whether you know that others formed, any calculation as to the number of persons so required for such duty?—It would be rather difficult to form a correct estimate, but it certainly would amount to a good many thousands; I should say 15,000 or 20,000 people.

6631. Chairman.] But I presume that the Krooman himself not being a very good judge of numbers generally, or of the exigencies of the colony, would scarcely be able to come to a correct judgment upon such a subject?—That was the information furnished to me by the most intelligent among the Kroomen that I could meet with, and it was perhaps the way in which he could better judge of numbers than any other which I could put to him; he knew the numbers

H. Barkly, Esq.

M. P.

20 June 1848.

bers that had cut the crops on my own estate, and he had an idea of the extent of the colony, for he had been in various parts of it; therefore, judging by the number required for one estate I suppose he could form a pretty correct notion of the total number that would be required to cut the canes.

6632. Did you find that those Africans were labouring cheerfully and steadily on the estates in Guiana?—The Africans I think everywhere were labouring very steadily and very cheerfully; whether they would continue to do so after a certain period, and after they had acquired a certain amount of money, it is difficult to say, but their first object was to amass a sufficient amount of wealth, either to return to their own country with it or to buy land and establish themselves as the Creoles had done.

6633. Were they under any bond or indenture?—No; they were imported without any contract of any kind, but by a law recently passed in the colony, which came into effect last year, an implied hiring for six months in the case of immigrants is supposed to exist, and notice is required to terminate that hiring at the end of the six months, if the immigrants wish to leave.

6634. Some of the Africans whom you saw in Guiana must have been there some time?—I have had some on my estates for as much as five or six years.

6635. Had they uniformly conducted themselves well?—Yes, I think they had; they very much improve in their behaviour as they become more civilized. When they are first landed, those who are merely captured slaves are in a state of extreme barbarism; it is almost wonderful how the planters there venture their lives among a large gang of them at first, they have so little idea of conducting themselves with anything like decency or forbearance to one another.

6636. Were those men who had been engaged on your property for four or five years, continuing to give their labour steadily and cheerfully?—Yes, they were. All the Africans imported continue to labour much more steadily than any other part of the population; they occasionally will be idle for a week or two, but they generally, if they are idle themselves, will send their wives to work: they seem to think that one part of the family ought to be at work always.

6637. Sir E. Buxton.] Did the Kroomen send their wives?—The Kroomen, as the Honourable Member is probably aware, have not got any wives, unless they have married from the Creole negroes or African women, which several of them have done.

6638. Mr. Gladstone.] Did the African labourers work steadily from their first introduction into the colony?—Yes, from the day of their introduction; they were quite fit to begin working at once, and they certainly have worked much more steadily than any other class of labourers. At the same time, no labourer there works steadily, or can be expected to work steadily, from the high wages which they have been in the habit of receiving: I dare say the Africans may have worked one half the time that they might have done.

6639. You do not think that there is any greater necessity for lengthened contracts with respect to Africans than there is with respect to other classes of labourers, nor even so great?—I think it would be of advantage, even to Africans themselves, to have a lengthened contract. I think in the first instance, before they know much of the colony, and before they know much of the rate of wages that is current in the colony, they have a great inducement to go wandering about from estate to estate, and conversing and keeping company with those of their countrymen whom they may find upon the estates; I think that unsettles them in their habits very much, and that they often acquire diseases in wandering about in that manner.

6640. I understood you to say, that from the time of their introduction into the colony, they worked upon the whole steadily as compared with other classes of labourers?—Most certainly they do so. I think contracts would be for the advantage of other classes of labourers.

6641. Chairman.] You think it would be a means of giving them that steady training in the arts of husbandry which would be desirable for themselves?—Yes, I think it would be of advantage to themselves, and no doubt it would be of the very greatest service to the planters, because what they want is the certainty of being able to find labourers to conduct the work that they wish to set about. Now my estate is as favourably situated with regard to labour, I think, as any in the colony. It is on the side of a river where all those coffee estates

have

have been abandoned, and therefore a great deal of labour has been thrown into the market in its immediate vicinity; and immediately beyond it is situated a tract of Crown lands which the governor has unwisely, as I think, sold in small lots to the labourers, and there is a very large population, several thousands, settled in that district. In that way my estate, perhaps, is better supplied with labour than any other, and yet my manager very often told me, "I am going to begin to make sugar next week; I have very little doubt that I shall get people enough to do it, but at the present moment I have not the slightest idea where they will come from, or who they will be. I have sent up one of our men to these settlers on the Crown lands above the river, and I hope that he will engage a sufficient number to come down; but if not, I must send to the people squatting on the coffee estates, and I hope we shall get a sufficient number from them." Sometimes, perhaps, he would be disappointed in getting labour from either of those sources, and would have to send somewhere else to induce labourers to come; but in one way or another, the supply of labour was such, that he generally had sufficient labour to carry on the work of the estate.

6642. Have the Creoles squatted in any large numbers?—Perhaps it is hardly fair to term it squatting. In the case of the coffee estates, I believe they have been allowed by the former proprietors of those estates to retain possession of their houses and gardens, and remain there. In the case of the settlers on those Crown lands, they cannot be called squatters, because they bought the land at 1*l.* per acre, which is the upset price in the colony.

6643. It was sold at 1*l.* an acre by the governor?—It was sold at 1*l.* an acre, which is the price of the Crown lands in the colony.

6644. Would an acre of land be sufficient to subsist a man without anything more?—It would subsist a good many men, I think, in humble circumstances; I think Humboldt states that an acre of land in the Tropics will sustain 16 men; at any rate it will sustain a large family.

6645. Did any of the Creoles set up for themselves in an independent position when they were placed in possession of this land?—I think none of them are entirely independent of field labour; they have their own land, and they raise sufficient provisions upon it to provide them with food, but there are many articles of dress and many luxuries which they can only obtain with money, and for that purpose they will generally work for a certain period during the year, when they wish to obtain this money, and having accomplished that object they will then return to their freeholds and live in idleness for some time afterwards, or occupy themselves in cultivating their gardens.

6646. Have the recently introduced Africans adopted those habits?—Hardly any of them have, I think, yet bought land, but I think it is most probable that some of them will do so; those who are most industrious and have saved most money I think will most likely invest a part of it in buying land, and will live in the same way that they see the Creoles live.

6647. You stated that you thought the Governor had acted injudiciously in alienating the Crown lands at the rate of 1*l.* an acre to those Creoles?—That certainly was my opinion at the time, and I have been confirmed in it since by seeing the situation of the people who have purchased that land. I carried on a correspondence for some time with the Colonial Office; first of all with Lord Stanley, and afterwards, I think, with the Right Honourable Gentleman who is present, on the subject of that sale of land at the very low upset price which, according to the regulations, the governor considered that he was bound to put it up at.

6648. Then your objection was not to the alienation of the land, but to the putting it up at so low a price?—I think that in the present state of society in the colonies it is certainly very inexpedient that land should be so easily obtained by the labourers.

6649. You do not object to the sale of land, but you object to its being offered for sale at so low an upset price?—I think so. The governor's justification was, that if he had not sold the land to the people, there were proprietors of abandoned land in the colony who would have sold it to them; but still those abandoned lands had before that period been sold at very high prices, very often at as high a price as 40*l.* or 50*l.* an acre. The governor's motive I dare say was one of humanity, but I do not think it was a very wise one; he thought it would be better for those people if they could get their land at 1*l.* an acre; and

H. Barkly, Esq.

M P.

20 June 1848.

H. Barkly, Esq.

M. P.

20 June 1848.

and therefore the Crown possessing as it does millions of acres of virgin soil in that colony was in the habit, whenever an application was made for as much as 100 acres, of putting it up at the upset price of 1 *l.* an acre; the negroes who bought it immediately subdivided it among several hundreds of their number.

6650. That is Governor Light?—That is Governor Light, and the settlement which I speak of is called Light's Town.

6651. Then you think that 1 *l.* per acre was not what has been called, in reference to colonization, the sufficient price?—No, I think it was not a sufficient price in the circumstances of the colony. I think there was also another great objection to selling the Crown lands, that those lands were more remote from cultivation, and that the people settled upon them were further away from the superintendence of white people, upon which their civilization and advancement a great deal depend, than if they had bought land in the immediate vicinity of where the estates were cultivated.

6652. Are you aware whether this system of occupying a small patch of land and setting up for themselves, deteriorated the habits of the Creoles?—I was very sorry to find that in the case of those who had settled on those remoter Crown lands there could be no doubt about the matter; indeed, I have the governor's own authority for the statement; he visited those settlements, and wrote a despatch, which has been published in one of the blue books, in which he admitted that the condition of those people was much less favourable than that of those who had bought land upon the sea coast, in the midst of the cultivated districts; but he stated at the same time that he thought that they were exceedingly well off, and very comfortable so far as their food was concerned, and that he did not know that anything else could be done.

6653. Is cultivation now successfully carried on by the proprietors of estates in British Guiana?—It is certainly not carried on profitably, and it is in process of being altogether abandoned; most estates in that colony, I think, are taking off the canes now on the ground, and expending no money or very little money at all in cultivating the stumps which are left, and which would produce sprouts for the next crop of sugar.

6654. To what circumstances do you attribute that disastrous state of things?—I think to the very sudden reduction in the price of sugar in this country, and to the difficulty of reducing the wages of the labourers in proportion to the reduced value of the produce.

6655. Do you find any explanation of the circumstance in the difficulty of obtaining labour?—I think at present it is not so much the difficulty of obtaining labour on any terms, as the difficulty of getting it cheap enough to grow sugar at a price which will remunerate the producer for his expenditure.

6656. It is a question of the rate of wages?—It is a question of the rate of wages at present. A few years ago it was a question of getting labour at all: then canes were left on the ground because labour could not be procured to take them off; I think that has ceased from the immigration which has already taken place, but the difficulty now is to reduce the rate of wages; it has been attempted and it has, I must say, signally failed in British Guiana.

6657. Have you ever considered the means by which the West Indian property might be raised from these circumstances of depression?—I think that the means are only to be found in giving the planters support in some shape or another until such time as you can supply them with labour.

6658. You think it desirable to enable them to meet the difficulties which they encounter in consequence of the great social change forced on them by the Imperial Legislature?—I think it is for the interest of this country, in every point of view, that they should be so supported and encouraged; I think, even with reference to the interest of the consumer, which is what is generally considered of the greatest importance, that it is very desirable that the cultivation of the West Indies should be sustained.

6659. Do you think it very desirable, for sustaining the cultivation of the West Indies, that there should be a free emigration of labourers from the coast of Africa?—I think that will depend very much upon the steps which are taken at the same time to sustain the existing cultivation; I do not think, that if a great part of the estates are to be abandoned, and if the expense of keeping up the institutions of the country is to fall upon the few estates that remain in cultivation,

cultivation, it would be at all prudent to import a large number of African labourers suddenly into those colonies.

6660. Do you think that this country should afford the colonies a protecting duty?—I hardly like to enter into that question; there are many objections to what is called a protecting duty, and I myself share in several of those objections; but I think that, in some way or another, the mother country must contribute towards keeping the planters' estates in cultivation for the next few years, until labour can be procured.

6661. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Do the influences which result from the want of a sufficiency of labour with regard to sugar cultivation act equally with regard to coffee?—I do not know that continuous labour is so necessary for coffee cultivation; but it was impossible for the coffee cultivation of the British colonies to withstand the competition, to which it was exposed sooner than the sugar cultivation; the protecting duty on coffee was lowered much more rapidly than the protecting duty on sugar, and therefore the coffee planters went to the wall before the sugar planters; the sugar planters have remained the longest, and have got the advantage of the labour which was previously on the coffee estates.

6662. Mr. *Gladstone.*] Is the protective duty on coffee now higher in its practical operation?—The difference in duty in reality makes nearly the same per centage if you compare the two rates of duty; but if you put it upon the price of the article, I do not think that the protection is so great.

6663. Do not you think that if you put the difference of duty, which is 18 s. 8d. per cwt., upon the average price of the foreign article, in point of fact it is a greater duty?—It may be so; I only mean to point out that you must consider the price of the article itself, and not the amount of the difference in duty solely.

6664. But must not you consider mainly the incidence of the differential duty upon the foreign article instead of the protected article?—Yes, I admit that.

6665. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Have you known any instances of land being transferred from sugar cultivation to coffee cultivation?—No, never from sugar cultivation to coffee cultivation; from coffee to sugar in many instances.

6666. Why not from sugar to coffee?—For some reason or another it has been found more difficult for the coffee planters to sustain the competition to which they have been exposed; the competition has been found so great, not only with foreign coffee, but with the coffee of other British possessions, Ceylon for example.

6667. Mr. *Gladstone.*] That is the whole case almost?—That, I think, is the case.

6668. Sir *E. Buxton.*] It is a domestic competition?—Yes, I think it is.

6669. It is not foreign?—In a great degree I think not.

6670. Mr. *M. Milnes.*] Then in your opinion no advantage could result to the West Indian proprietors from the substitution of coffee for sugar?—I think if any advantage could be proved to result from it, the West Indians themselves would very speedily change their cultivation from sugar to coffee; they would very gladly avail themselves of any other cultivation which would afford them a larger profit.

6671. Is there any peculiar difficulty in substituting one cultivation for another?—There is very little difficulty in changing from coffee to sugar in British Guiana. In Jamaica and other countries coffee is cultivated on a totally different soil and in a totally different situation from sugar; but in British Guiana coffee estates and sugar estates run in parallel lines together; the soil and the mode of drainage, and everything else, are precisely similar, therefore the conversion of a coffee estate into a sugar estate requires no further outlay than the erection of the works.

6672. Have you turned your mind to the question how emigration is affected by the presence of the squadron?—I think it is so far unfavourably affected by the presence of the squadron that the consequent treaties with foreign powers seem to put difficulties in the way of our Government here, allowing the West Indies all the advantages which they wish to have with respect to immigration.

6673. Do you imagine that if that squadron were withdrawn, and emigration were taken altogether out of Government superintendence, so far as regards the coast of Africa itself, the increase of emigration would be great, and considerable relief would be given to the West Indian proprietors?—I confess I should

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

be rather unwilling to take the step of recommending the withdrawal of all Government superintendence from the coast of Africa. I think it might be dangerous to withdraw emigration on the coast of Africa altogether from Government superintendence.

6674. Do you think that by the presence of Government agents in the African ports who should determine whether the emigration were voluntary or not, and abandoning all other superintendence or check upon emigration, the number of emigrants would be considerably increased, and so considerably as to make a difference in your present prospects?—From all inquiries which I have made respecting the state of emigration on the coast of Africa, I think that if the only restriction were, that a Government agent should certify that the people went of their own accord, that they were willing emigrants, there would not be much difficulty in getting a very large emigration, which would meet the necessities of the West Indies, provided cultivation in the West Indies is to be maintained. I think that is the question at issue.

6675. You do not think that any amount of immigration alone without other means would preserve the West Indian estates in cultivation?—I think not in the present state of things. I think that a few years ago immigration to a considerable extent would have been all that was required to save the West Indies, but I think that in their present prostrate condition they would neither have the funds themselves to take advantage of the permission to obtain immigrants, nor would they have the funds to carry on the cultivation of their estates, and give the immigrants employment when imported.

6676. Mr. Gladstone.] Can you state the date of the first movement of the West Indian colonies, or of West Indian proprietors individually, in bringing immigrants to the West Indies since emancipation?—I think my father and others were concerned in the first attempt to import immigrants into the West Indies; that was during the apprenticeship. They had heard that coolies had gone to the Mauritius and had worked successfully there; and therefore, with the permission of Lord Glenelg, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, they did import a certain number of coolies from Calcutta into Berbice.

6677. Does the great distinction which you draw between the importance of immigration then and its importance now, rest upon the greater moral effect which you think it produced then?—Not at all; it rests upon the position of the proprietors; upon the means that they have of continuing their cultivation after the very severe losses which they have continually sustained since that time.

6678. That then they had capital to sustain the expenses of the system of immigration, and now they have not?—Then they had capital and they had some inducement to do so, because they knew that they had a market, and a very good market, in this country for their produce. Now they know that the immigration, which they are to undertake at a considerable expense, is only an immigration by which they will have to contend with the produce of slave labour at no very remote period.

6679. Mr. M. Milnes.] Do you think that the restrictions which have been placed upon immigration have been sufficient to make the difference of an effective or a non-effective supply?—The restrictions have not only made that difference, they have almost prohibited any supply at all in the case of British Guiana; the supply has been so very small indeed, considering the number of years in which the planters have been making efforts to obtain labourers, that it can hardly be said that the restrictions have only interfered with, they have altogether prevented African emigration.

6680. Would you go to the length of saying that if the Colonial Office had not issued a single order or regulation respecting immigration, by this time the wants of the West Indies would have been generally supplied?—I think if the Colonial Office had not had to contend with the great mass of prejudice which existed in this country on the subject of immigration into the West Indian colonies, if they had been perfectly unfettered by that, and had only looked to what was necessary to prevent the immigration really degenerating into anything like the slave trade, the West Indian colonies would have been in a position now to compete with the slave labour of any country in the world.

6681. Have you suffered considerably from what you consider an exaggerated feeling in this country on the subject of the slave trade?—I certainly do think so.

6682. Sir R. H. Inglis.] In reference to immigration, you have stated in the last

last answer but one, that the Government had to contend against a prejudice in respect to the removal of Africans from their own country to be labourers in the West Indies. Will you state to this Committee whether there were not a *prima facie* case which would have justified such prejudice on the part of the people of this country; namely, whether the parties to be removed did not come from the same regions which not only furnished slaves to England formerly, but were at the moment furnishing slaves to Brazil and to Cuba?—I spoke of the prejudice as existing not only with regard to African emigration but to all emigration, and therefore I do not think that the objection of the slave trade still going on from Africa, could have been the sole cause of that prejudice which I think did exist in the minds of the people then against emigration generally.

6683. Was there not a general understanding that no black man could be removed from Africa, a Krooman always excepted, even if the Krooman be an exception, for whom the person importing him into the western world had not to pay a head-money to some chief or king?—There may have been an impression of that kind, but I think that it was an impression adopted without due inquiry upon the subject, and I do not think that it is consistent with the real state of the case, so far as I am informed.

6684. With respect to the Coolies, are you not aware that they also were supposed by numbers in this country to be scarcely free agents, in the sense in which those of our own countrymen who might go to Australia, or to Canada, as emigrants would be described to be?—That is exactly the prejudice on the subject which I allude to, and I think I cannot give a better elucidation of it than by reading an extract from a speech delivered by a missionary who was in Berbice during the time of the Coolie immigration, and who, I believe, has on all occasions been one of the opponents of immigration. That speech was delivered on the 22d of May, in the present year, at a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in London; it was by the Rev. J. Waddington, late of Berbice. He was describing the different experiments that had been made in immigration; and he was showing how, according to his own idea, they had all failed. He states, with regard to Coolies, “In Berbice the Coolies first imported were treated with kindness; indeed they had many indulgences, for it was hoped that they would be induced by this treatment to make most favourable representations of Guiana to their countrymen on their return to India, and that thus multitudes of Coolies would be induced to flock to the West Indies. I have often heard the planters say that they never could afford to pay their labourers generally as they paid these Coolies.” Now I think it will be in the recollection of every Member of the Committee that statements the very opposite of these were made as to the nature of that Coolie immigration, and that it was stopped by the clamour which was raised against it in this country, upon the grounds that the Coolies were ill-treated, and that they received very insufficient wages.

6685. In reference to labour, the Committee understand that you have stated that a labourer could purchase for 1 £, in the colony of Guiana, land which was capable of supplying himself and his family with all needful food for one year. If such be the case, does not such fact prove most conclusively that it would be hopeless to expect free labour for sugar cultivation in a tropical climate, where free labour employed by the party himself can supply all his wants for such an outlay?—I think that I stated that that was the case under the existing Government regulations with regard to the Crown lands, but I complained of those regulations; and I think that they are susceptible of very great improvement. I think also that the low price of land, and the facility with which the labourer can obtain the means of purchasing land, depend very much upon the amount of population in the country. If you had a larger population, those evils would not exist in the same degree.

6686. Under any circumstances, where an individual can raise the supply of his physical wants and those of his family from one acre, and the price of that acre is no more than 1 £, is it possible to hope that he will be induced to engage in any labour for any price which ordinarily returns a profit to the planter?—If he is a mere savage, and cares about nothing but supplying himself with food, he certainly will have no inducement to labour; but I think, if you give him a higher incentive, and if he has other wants beyond the mere wants of the body, you may rely upon his engaging in labour for higher wages.

6687. Could those Coolies who were imported, in any large proportion, if in any

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

any proportion at all, either read or write?—Some of them could read and write in their own languages, but not any large proportion of them, I believe.

6688. Generally speaking, then, they were persons who looked to the mere physical comfort of their existence, without reference to any higher objects?—The Coolies certainly had no ideas, I think, of any higher civilization than that of mere food and clothing.

6689. In such a state of things it would be in vain to expect that the planters in Her Majesty's possessions could compete successfully against the products of slave labour in other colonies?—Unless pains were taken to give the Coolies higher motives than those of merely supplying themselves with food. I think if they were placed under proper regulations on their first arrival, and they were to a certain extent civilized, they would have those higher motives; they would acquire a taste for certain of the luxuries of life, which the negro population have certainly done.

6690. Did you refer to the negro population as those who purchased land from the Government at 1 *l.* an acre, or to the Coolies, or to both?—To the negro population solely; except in one or two instances of the first Coolies who came to my estate in Berbice, I think there have been no instances of Coolies purchasing land. Those Coolies, however, that either married Creole women or formed some ties which kept them in the country, one or two of them came to see me during my recent visit, and wished me to come and look at their houses and their land.

6691. You would wish the Committee however, generally speaking, to understand that, unless the system of administration is changed in the colony, the power of possessing, independently, land capable of sustaining a labourer and his family, if not, as in a former answer, you stated 16 persons, would itself be such a drawback to the planter procuring free labour for sugar cultivation, that such planter could not compete successfully against slave labour employed in such cultivation?—I do not see that it would signify to the planter how many people there were residing on their own land; the only question he has to look to is, whether he can get the labour of a sufficient number of those people cheap enough to grow his sugar; it would certainly be an advantage to him the more people there were in that way, provided they would only give him a portion of their labour.

6692. Do you find that people in tropical countries are willing to undertake hard labour when for slight labour they can procure the physical necessities of life?—I think it all depends very much upon the position in which they happen to be placed, and upon the degree of education which they possess. I have seen even Europeans perform very hard labour in the tropics, and perform it very cheerfully; I have also seen the Madeira people do so; the only objection with them is, that they work themselves to death in a climate which is not well suited for them.

6693. By "Madeira people," you mean those subjects of the Crown of Portugal who have emigrated to the West Indies?—I do.

6694. And who are described as Portuguese in the evidence before the Sugar and Coffee Planting Committee?—Yes.

6695. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Can you tell us how many immigrants have been imported into British Guiana altogether?—I have not the exact statement with me; but I think altogether about 40,000 have been imported since 1838. An exact Return has been laid before the House of Commons, but I have not it with me.

6696. The African immigrants form a very small proportion of the number?—A very small proportion.

6697. By far the greatest number have been Coolies?—The largest number, I think, have been Coolies; I think 13,000 or 14,000 Coolies; and then the Madeiranese or Portuguese; a great many have been also negroes from other colonies; it is a circulation of labour backwards and forwards.

6698. Are not the 40,000 independent of that?—No.

6699. I imagine that at present that is the most valuable immigration which you have?—Yes; I think decidedly the Barbadians are the most valuable class of immigrants, but considerable obstacles are still placed in the way of their leaving Barbadoes.

6700. *Chairman*.] By the local government?—By the local government there, and therefore no great number of them come at present. When it was wished

wished to construct a railroad in Demerara, the most skilled labourers which they could get were the Barbadians.

6701. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Still many thousands of Coolies have been imported?—Yes; I think about 10,000 Coolies altogether have actually arrived.

6702. What is your opinion of this Coolie immigration; has it answered?—I think it is much too expensive for the prospects of the West Indians at the present time; I think that the expense of importing labourers from India is far greater than they can afford to bear with the prices which they are likely to get for their produce.

6703. Of the number imported a large proportion do not practically work on the estates?—A large proportion of them do very little work; are very inefficient labourers.

6704. Have not the governors of the various colonies in the West Indies, in consequence, recommended that no more should be imported?—I think it was hardly the governors who recommended it; the colonists ceased to have any desire to import Coolies under the awful state of their affairs, because the importation of those Coolies was also coupled with the condition that they should be at the expense of sending them back again some years hence, and they felt that they were unable to afford it.

6705. Is it not a fact that some years ago Coolie immigration was most ardently desired by the West Indians?—They were very anxious, as long as they had no chance at all of getting labour from Africa, to get it from any other quarter that they could, and they certainly were desirous at that time of getting labourers from India; but it was at a time when prices were very much higher, and they made the calculation that if they brought a man from India for five years, at an expense, we will say, of 20 *l.*, that was 4 *l.* a year added to the cost of his labour, and that the result of his labour at the then prices of produce would repay them for that expenditure. All that is totally changed now from the great fall in the price of sugar.

6706. Do you employ any Coolies on your estates?—I have a few on one of my estates, but I have never been anxious to employ them from the experience which I had at first; because I found that though their labour was at a low price, at the same time it was exceedingly inefficient.

6707. You paid a lower price for their labour than for the labour of the Creoles?—All labourers are paid in British Guiana by the quantity of the work that they perform; but the Coolie was not able to perform the same extent of work; and if he did perform it, which they very often were very glad to do, and exerted themselves, some of them, to do, the labour was not well performed.

6708. What wages do they earn?—They earn the current rate of wages, whatever that would be in the colony; it is the same now, I think, as it was last year; the attempt to reduce wages has failed; it is 1 *s.* 4 *d.* for the task. Sometimes the Coolie will not perform a full task in the time that he chooses to work during the day.

6709. A task is 100 cane-holes, is it not?—Where they do dig cane-holes it is; there are very few cane-holes dug in British Guiana.

6710. That is the standard of wages; we cannot test it by anything else, can we?—I have in my possession a statement of the task in every description of work, which I will put in evidence; I will show the task which was obliged to be performed during the apprenticeship, and the amount of labour which is now considered to represent that task, which is very much reduced.

6711. Do the Kroomen work for longer hours than the Coolies?—They can do much more work in the same time than the Coolies; I do not know that they work longer hours; the Kroomen, I think, generally finish their work about 12 or one o'clock in the day.

6712. Beginning at what time?—The nominal time for beginning work is six o'clock, but it is not very punctually observed, as the labourers, of course, consult their own convenience.

6713. Of course, being piece work, they come when they like, and go when they like?—That is very disadvantageous to the employer of labour, because he probably has his steam-engine at work, and his mill ready to grind the canes, and it does not exactly suit him if one labourer comes in the morning, and another in the afternoon to do the work; he has to keep his machinery going much longer.

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

6714. Can you tell us what proportion of the population possesses land?—I made an exact statement on that subject before the other Committee. It is stated in a return from the stipendiary magistrates, in one of the Blue Books; I do not recollect it at this moment.

6715. It is a large proportion, is it not?—Certainly, a very large proportion; I think there are as many as 13,000 or 14,000 freeholders.

6716. Who, so far as food goes, are able to support themselves on their own land?—Entirely.

6717. If a very large immigration were to take place, and wages were to fall very much, is it not probable that a large portion of those freeholders would give up working on estates altogether?—Not unless they were to retrograde decidedly in civilization. Their present motive for working is to obtain a certain amount of luxuries, which they cannot obtain from the produce of their own land. If the rate of wages which they obtain were reduced, we will say one-half, they would, I think, in all probability work just twice as long as they now do, in order to obtain the same amount of luxuries.

6718. They are very anxious for luxuries then?—At the emancipation, the negroes in the British Colonies were in a certain state of civilization, a state which promised a considerable advance; the question is now whether they are in precisely as advanced a state of civilization as they were then. I am afraid, myself, that they have rather receded in civilization, and that therefore they have not the same stimulus to exertion which they had at first; but as long as they have any artificial wants at all they certainly will continue to do some labour on the estates, and they will do the more labour the lower the wages are. There is no doubt that the rising generation of the negroes are more educated than their fathers were; that is the result of education which has been going on for many years past; and at the present moment a great deal is done in the way of education.

6719. *Chairman.*] You have spoken of luxuries; do you consider clothes luxuries?—I think that the kind of clothes which the negroes generally acquire must be looked on certainly as luxuries. In that climate clothing is not an article of first necessity; it is hardly necessary.

6720. Does not the negro still require covering in the West Indies, as a protection against cold?—He requires certain clothing; probably, during the time that he is working, and he uses very much the same kind of clothing that used to be furnished to him as a slave, which is warm clothing; but on other occasions, when he is at liberty, especially on Sundays and holidays, he wears a very superior description of clothing to that used by the peasantry of any other country.

6721. *Mr. Gladstone.*] What is the lowest state of the thermometer in British Guiana?—It is generally about 80°, I think; in British Guiana the range of the thermometer is very equable indeed; I suppose it seldom varies 10°; but the constitution of the negro, I think, can stand a much greater heat than that.

6722. *Chairman.*] Will you give some definite notion of what is meant by "luxuries"?—I think the best description which can be given of luxuries, in the way of dress, will be gathered from considering the way in which a negro congregation at church appears. I think you will find that a great number of the women who are field labourers appear at church in blue silk or pink silk bonnets, parasols, and muslin dresses with frills upon them; that the men, most of them, appear in broadcloth coats, with brass buttons or something smart, and all kinds of fancy waistcoats (which are sent out in large quantities from this country), boots, and everything of that kind.

6723. Then do you consider that there is a greater desire amongst the negroes to obtain those gaudy dresses than amongst the European peasantry?—Yes; I think that they have in the first instance formed a taste for those luxuries, and that they would be more unwilling to do without them than any European peasantry.

6724. Can they obtain those ornamental dresses, or dresses of any kind, by working upon the little patches of ground of which you have spoken?—No; I do not think they can, because the demand for the provisions which they grow upon those grounds is limited; they mostly raise produce enough for themselves, and the demand, therefore, only exists among the white population, which is very small, consequently they get very little money by the cultivation of their own grounds

grounds in the way of selling the provisions which they raise, and therefore, if they wish to obtain money to purchase those luxuries, they are obliged to perform a certain portion of labour on an estate. My own idea was that there was scarce any labourer in the colony who did not consider it necessary to earn 8*l.* or 10*l.* sterling a year, for the purpose of furnishing himself with those luxuries.

6725. There is a sort of public opinion amongst them in favour of that kind of dress?—I think that they have every disposition to imitate their superiors in point of dress, and it is very remarkably shown in the case of the imported Africans; they immediately imitate the Creole population in their dress, and in a short time, two or three years, when the African has been in the country, you can hardly distinguish him from the Creole; he will dress himself as well, and walk with just the same air that the Creole negro does; perhaps you may be only able to distinguish him by the marks that he has; the tattoo which has been put upon him in Africa.

6726. Viscount *Brackley*.] Do they make any of the dress themselves?—Not at all; the whole of their dress is imported from this country or from the United States.

6727. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Then, in fact, of the wages which they earn a much smaller proportion goes for food than goes for the food of the labourer in this country?—Certainly, especially in the case of those resident upon their own lands, who get their ground provisions almost for nothing.

6728. I suppose almost the whole of their food is grown on their own lands?—No; they consume the more expensive kind of food, generally speaking, when they can get it; they eat wheaten bread, and things of that kind.

6729. Which is imported from America?—The flour is imported from America.

6730. But in spite of that expensive food which they import, the proportion of their wages that is spent in food is very small?—Very small.

6731. And the amount that they have to spend in dress, or in any other way that they like, even if they earn the same wages as the labourer in England, is much greater?—Yes; they would have a much larger amount to devote to mere luxuries.

6732. Do you think that the desire of working for dress can be so great as to induce your population ever, under any circumstances, to work so hard that they can compete with the slave-growing colonies of Cuba and Brazil?—I instanced dress, because that is perhaps one of the easiest things to take notice of, but they have a desire for other things beyond dress; they have a desire for good furniture in their houses; many of them are anxious to have two-story houses instead of small huts, and they have a desire for various things of that kind, which can only be acquired by an increase of money.

6733. Can any desire for luxuries, or the physical necessities of life, induce men to work in a tropical climate to that degree that they can compete with colonies where slavery and the slave trade exist?—I should think so; we find in this country that men readily work when they have all the wants of nature supplied without work; we find them working for higher objects, and I do not think that the difference of the locality makes any difference in the motive which would influence them.

6734. How many Kroomen have you on your estate?—I think the number originally placed there was only 16, out of that number of 108, who were brought in the "Prince Regent."

6735. In what year were they brought there?—Last year.

6736. None of them have returned to the Kroo coast?—No, I think none of them went back to the Kroo coast; there was an opportunity of returning in the "Growler" steamer, but I do not think that any of them embraced it. Some there were who had come on previous occasions, in 1844, I think, and 1845, that did go back in the "Growler;" those were Kroomen who were introduced by Mr. Butts during the visit which he paid to the Kroo coast in 1844 and 1845.

6737. Are you aware whether those Kroomen were obtained by arrangements with the chiefs, or by voluntary agreements between the master of the vessel and themselves?—There was no arrangement whatever necessary; the captain of the vessel, as I understood the transaction, lauded and inquired for people who were willing to go to the West Indies, and he found that those people offered themselves as passengers. It is stated in this letter, which describes the transaction, that there was some kind of superintendence on the part of the headmen; at

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

H. Barkly, Esq.

M. P.

20 June 1848.

least the headmen are alluded to in the letter :—“ We have also communications from the headmen, or kings of several of the settlements, all expressing a strong desire that the barque may be returned with some of the people who have been here some time, and who may have made money, in order that the people on the coast may be quite convinced of their perfect freedom to go and come, when they promise to furnish supplies of any number, always provided they are insured passages back after three or five years' service. Two headmen have come to look after the people who came here by the 'Margaret,' (that is a previous vessel) and to see that they are getting on well. They seem well pleased at what they see, and we have no doubt will, if we are permitted to avail ourselves of the present feeling in our favour, be very useful in procuring an abundant supply of labourers.” That certainly alludes to the headmen, but it does not state that they entered into any agreement upon the subject with the people, or that they did more than exercise a kind of paternal superintendence over the interests of the rest of the people.

6738. Do you suppose that it will be worth the while of Trinidad or British Guiana to take advantage of any loans that may be guaranteed by this country unless they have a greater protection than the Act of 1846 allows them?—I think most certainly not.

6739. In that case, your only hope of cultivating at all would be of many estates going out of cultivation, and an increased supply of labour being thereby reserved for others?—I think that can hardly be called a hope. Estates in British Guiana are so very equal in their capabilities, that if it does not pay for one estate to be conducted it will hardly pay for another estate to be conducted. And with regard to the transfer of labour from abandoned estates, it has been found by experience, especially from the experience of the coffee estates, that only a small portion of the labour which was previously employed on the estates abandoned is turned over to the estates which continue to be cultivated.

6740. The labourers remain on the estate?—A great number of the labourers remain on the estate.

6741. And if they are driven off the estate they retreat into the millions of acres belonging to the Government?—No; I do not think they could do that, because those lands, generally speaking, are not drained, and not proper for the habitation of man in any way; they would require the expenditure of a large capital. They, generally speaking, would either buy land in some eligible situation where they could live, or they would go and live in a neighbouring village of some adjacent estate.

6742. Colonel *Thompson*.] Do you consider the desire of the negro for luxuries to be favourable to his being employed in industry, or the contrary?—I think it is the most favourable symptom that there is.

6743. Then do you think that it is an answer to the objection which has been made, that the propensity of the negro is to sit down on a small patch of land and do no more than is necessary for bare existence?—I think it is. I think that in the position of the negroes in our colonies they were not content with that state of existence, and I think that there is that degree of imitation in the African race that those who are imported will imitate the negroes whom they find settled there; they will imitate them in their habits, and in their working for certain luxuries.

6744. Then would you expect that there will be always a strong desire for comforts and luxuries among the whole of the African population?—I think the African population are very promising indeed; I think that they can be made anything of almost by wise and judicious superintendence on the part of the British Government.

6745. Can you tell us the rate at which the population of the Africans is going on, either in the colonies generally, or in those which you are acquainted with?—There are no statistical returns.

6746. Have you any surmise upon the point; is it visibly increasing, do you think, or the contrary?—I think surprise is generally expressed that it is not increasing more rapidly than it may be conceived to do, from facts which come under individual attention.

6747. Can you give any explanation of that; did you ever hear any explanation of it?—I think that one circumstance which explains it is, that people who have been brought up in a condition of slavery when they are left to act for themselves are in some degree like children. I think that the negroes first of all were

were always accustomed to be provided with medical attendance by their masters; and that many of them, when it was withdrawn, had not the slightest idea of employing it or paying money to procure it for themselves when they were sick; and I think that a good many of the old people died really from want of medical attendance; I think also, that very often in these settlements they have been placed at a distance from all medical advice. On the settlement above my estate, I think I found that it was nearly eight miles from the residence of any doctor, which is a long way in that country, considering the nature of the roads, and the climate, and all that. They depended upon the casual visits of one or two Portuguese quacks, we might almost call them, who doctored them very cheaply, and I dare say, killed a good many of them. Then again, with regard to children, I believe that from some cause or another the African children require very great care, especially at the moment of their birth, and that a great many are lost during the first few days of their existence from the want of that care; I believe that that has been very much the case among the free negroes in the British colonies; that it had become almost a system in the colonies to take care of these people and raise their children; and that that being suddenly discontinued, less attention is paid to the subject, and that many of them have died in consequence.

6748. Do the imported negroes amalgamate with the Creoles?—All of them do except the Kroomen, who are totally distinct in appearance and race and in every way; I think all the other negroes amalgamate very readily and become fused in the general population, so that you can hardly discover them after a short time, unless they happen to have peculiar marks about their persons.

6749. According to your knowledge, are the imported negroes satisfied with their condition in general after their arrival?—I think they are highly satisfied; they are exceedingly apt in acquiring everything that is taught them. In respect to education they make very rapid progress; I was present at a school where there were a hundred grown-up Africans, who had been most of them quite recently imported; they were all exceedingly well clothed, and many of them could read their Bible already, although they had not been very long in the colony; they were all of them candidates for baptism, but the clergyman who was superintending them refused to baptize them unless they had been under his care for at least a year. During that time they learned to read exceedingly well; having had no knowledge at all of letters before, they could most of them read the Church Service and the Bible before the end of the year, and then they were baptized, and many of them married at the same time.

6750. Do the imported Africans live amongst the Creole negroes, or do they live separately in establishments of their own?—In the first instance they live separately, because generally there are a number of people taken out of the same ship. The people taken to the West Indies are mostly liberated from the hold of a slaver, and those who have come in the same ship, 20 or 30 of them, sent to the same estate, keep together for some considerable time, and do not amalgamate so very readily with the population; perhaps their language may not be precisely the same as that of any of those already on the estate, but gradually that is broken up; they form connexions and marriages with other people, and the society is broken up by degrees.

6751. Do they find no difficulty in forming connexions in the way of marriage among the Creole negroes?—None at all; I do not think that there is any sense of superiority on the part of the Creoles, although, generally speaking, they are more civilized. I do not think that that prevents any marriages from taking place.

6752. Do you know what is the average proportion of females who arrive with them?—It is very small in that way, because the Brazilian slave dealers are not in the habit of taking many; and therefore, generally speaking, the number of women is very small in proportion.

6753. What should you estimate it at from hearsay?—I do not think it amounts to 10 per cent. certainly, those imported in that way; there are others who have come voluntarily from Sierra Leone, in which cases a larger number of women have come.

6754. *Chairman.*] Are you aware that there has been a considerable loss of life on board the ships which have brought the Africans to the West Indies?—I was very sorry to see that recently that had occurred; until lately the loss of life has not been at all large, and I can only account for it now by the circumstance

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

of most of those people having been recently liberated from the hold of a slaver, where their constitutions had become very much debilitated, and having been transferred very quickly from the African yard at Sierra Leone to undertake another voyage; I think it very possible that that may have led to it.

6755. Was not that certainly the case with regard to a number of Africans who were carried from Sierra Leone by the "Growler"?—I believe there is no doubt of it.

6756. The statement of all parties was, that those Africans were afflicted with dysentery at the time they were received on board, and that the deaths occurring were in consequence of that dysentery. Are you disposed to explain in that manner the loss of life which has lately taken place in regard to the number conveyed; are you of opinion that that will afford an explanation of the fact?—I think that that is the explanation really of the fact, because in other instances of emigration from other points of the coast of Africa, there has been no loss of life. I see with regard to the Kroomen, of whom I was speaking, who came in the "Prince Regent," the account given of them is, "the 'Prince Regent' arrived here" (that is Berbice), "on the 13th, direct from the Kroo coast, with 108 passengers of the Kroo and Fish tribes, a very fine looking lot of people, all in excellent health, and without a single casualty having occurred to them on the passage." I believe that that generally was the case before the emigration was made to consist entirely of liberated Africans.

6757. You think that if the emigration consisted of parties who embarked from the coast of Africa of their own free will, those casualties would not occur to the same extent?—I do not think that there is anything in the passage itself which should lead to those casualties, if proper precautions were taken.

6758. At all events, you do not think that it would be a sufficient objection to the proposed plan of supplying the West Indies with labour, that a certain number of Africans have perished under the circumstances in which they have been embarked on board the emigrant ships which are now permitted to ply?—I think it would be just as reasonable to say that no more emigration should take place from Ireland to the North American plantations, because great mortality occurred last year. The thing is, I think, to guard against the recurrence of a misfortune of that kind, if it is to be guarded against, but not to stop the emigration.

6759. You do not think that it is a necessary incident to the emigration?—Not at all. I feel convinced, on the contrary, that it must have arisen from some of those causes which I have mentioned.

6760. We were speaking of the circumstances under which the West Indian planters might be enabled to continue the cultivation of their property. Do you think if full time were allowed to the planters to conform to the change of circumstances in which they will be placed before they are brought into equal competition with Cuba and Brazil, and if the channels of emigration were freely thrown open to the West Indies, that under such circumstances the West Indies would be enabled to compete with those countries in the production of sugar?—I myself entertain no doubt of it, especially as regards the colony with which I am best acquainted, that is, British Guiana, and also the colony of Trinidad; I cannot speak with so much certainty as to Jamaica, for I have not been there for eight or nine years, and I think that the state of that island is worse even than of others.

6761. Do you think that any fiscal arrangements would enable the West Indies to enter into such a competition, if the channels for emigration were not freely thrown open to them?—No, I think that all protection would be utterly useless unless the time during which it is afforded is usefully occupied in placing the West Indies in a better position with regard to the demand for labour.

6762. You think that that is an essential element to the restoration of the prosperity of the West Indies?—I think it is.

6763. A Committee of the House of Commons appear to have recommended the imposition of a differential duty of 10s. on British plantation sugar, and the sugar of other countries. Would not such a differential duty stimulate production in the East Indies?—It would, no doubt, have the effect of sustaining the production of the East Indies, which otherwise would greatly fall off. I do not think it would stimulate fresh production if it were only for a limited period.

6764. There

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1843.

6764. There is no deficiency of labour, I believe, in the East Indies?—No, I have never heard any complaint on that score.

6765. Are you of opinion, that with any ordinary precautions, or indeed under any circumstances whatever, a free emigration of Africans to the West Indies could, what has been called, degenerate into a slave trade?—I think that very simple precautions indeed would be necessary to prevent any risk of that. I think that the presence of a Government officer at every point where emigration was carried on would be all that was necessary.

6766. Do you think that it would be possible for a negro imported into the West Indies, to be imported into a state of slavery?—It is quite clear that he cannot be a slave when he comes there; I can understand that objections are made as to the mode in which labourers would be obtained; that they might be purchased in some way, and that that would be giving encouragement to the chiefs to continue to carry on the slave trade.

6767. The internal slave trade of Africa?—The internal slave trade of Africa. In the West Indies, there is no possibility whatever that they can be anything but perfectly free.

6768. In the West Indies, the negro cannot be made a slave; should you consider it a stage of slavery, if a sum of money were paid to the headman for permission to embark an African labourer, provided the African labourer came with his own free will?—I think it would depend upon the degree of authority which was exercised by that headman; I think if it were merely a present to the chief for the purpose of inducing him to allow his subjects to go, those subjects being otherwise masters of their own actions, there would be no objection to it at all.

6769. Do you think that if the African came of his own free will, he being so far free as to choose whether he would go, or whether he would stay, that could, with any sort of justice or propriety, be called a species of slave trade?—Certainly not, if he had the option of going or staying; I think that is essential to freedom.

6770. Mr. M. Milnes.] Would not, on the contrary, the present difficulty which the native of Africa might have in emigrating, on account of the demand of this head money by the chief, constitute rather an impediment to his liberty than otherwise?—That is very much my view of it. I think that the people on the coast of Africa are at the present moment much more willing to emigrate than their chiefs are to allow them.

6771. Therefore, in fact, by our refusing to make any money payment whatever to any chief as a condition for embarking any native of Africa, we are rather opposing and thwarting the free will of that people than in any degree assisting in their freedom?—I must speak with some hesitation as to anything connected with the coast of Africa, because I have no further knowledge of that coast than any Member of the Committee; but from all the inquiries which I have made, it appears to me that that is very much the case, and that negotiations with the chiefs might be very easily carried out to permit the people to emigrate if they were so disposed.

6772. Chairman.] Then the only question which remains is, the internal slave trade of Africa?—That is the objection which is started to such a mode of proceeding.

6773. Would not the best way of stopping that species of slave trade be, to render it unprofitable?—I think that that is the real cure.

6774. Sir E. Buxton.] How would you render it unprofitable?—I suppose that the only way of rendering the slave trade unprofitable is, to undersell the productions of slave labour; but I do not wish to express any very sanguine opinion as to the possibility of doing that for some time to come.

6775. Chairman.] But if labourers could be freely embarked without any payment at all, or with a very small payment, from the coast of Africa, would parties under those circumstances, being enabled to get free labour for little more than nothing, pay even the sums which are now required to be paid for the purchase of slaves? The question relates to the internal slave trade of Africa in connexion with the importation of labour into the West Indies; supposing free labour could be obtained for little or for nothing, would parties obtain labour by giving a higher price for it?—Most decidedly not; I do not think that there would be any danger of their purchasing people; certainly not if they could obtain

H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

obtain them without any payment of money; if they could obtain them by means merely of a small payment to the chief.

6776. Consequently so long as the labourers were obtained by a small payment to the chief, so long as the supply of labour was conducted through those channels, do you think there would be any kind of stimulus given to the internal slave trade of Africa?—No; I really do not think so; but I have no very intimate knowledge as to the internal slave trade of Africa: I do not know the causes which stimulate it.

6777. But it is not necessary to go to Africa in order to obtain information of that kind?—No; I think that, reasoning upon general grounds, it seems quite clear that there would not.

6778. Sir E. Buxton.] What evidence have you that the natives of Africa are more willing to emigrate than their chiefs are to send them?—I think there is some evidence of that to be found in the reports of the different gentlemen who visited the Kroo coast especially; and I think also as regards the disposition of the people to come into the British settlements, that there is very considerable evidence (there was evidence before the Committee of 1842) that there were a great many people in the neighbourhood of the British settlements on the coast of Africa, who would be willing to come, if they could in any way get away from the authority of their chiefs.

6779. Do you think that it would be possible to buy those men of their chiefs without encouraging an internal slave trade in Africa?—I think anything like buying men from their chiefs would be decidedly reprehensible: I do not contemplate anything of that kind.

6780. What is the difference between paying a sum of money to their chief for them, and buying them?—I would not pay it for the men; I think, supposing a chief expressed his willingness, upon the receipt of a certain annual pension from the British Government, to put down slave trading in his dominions, and to allow his subjects, if they were willing, to emigrate, that that could not be called buying the men from him.

6781. Chairman.] Did you ever take out a passport in a foreign country for leave to quit that country?—Very frequently.

6782. Did you every pay any money for it?—I paid a fee for it.

6783. Did you consider that an act of self-emancipation, that you were carrying on a species of slave-trade by that process?—No, I cannot say that I did.

6784. Would not the circumstance of paying a small sum of money to the headman on the coast of Africa be in its nature similar to that process to which I have referred?—I should think it would; it strikes me that the claim which those chiefs have to retain their people arises from some kind of feudal service, perhaps a few days of actual labour in the course of the year, and that they are unwilling to part with those tenants whom they hold by some kind of military service, it may be, or some other service, unless they get some compensation for that loss.

6785. Sir E. Buxton.] But do you think that your condition in a foreign country is at all similar to the condition of those people in their own land?—No, I do not know that it is, but I think that the comparison is true, to a certain extent, that the nature of the payment is something similar.

6786. Is it not the fact that there is a sort of slavery existing in almost every country in Africa except in British colonies?—I think that it is a question whether it is a sort of slavery, or whether it is a feudal system; I think from all the inquiries which I have made that it seems rather to be some kind of feudal system, not very dissimilar to that which existed in our Highlands 100 years ago.

6787. Can you direct us to where we can find such information?—I think that a great deal of the information which was given before the Committee in 1842 tends to show that. There has been a great deal of correspondence; I hold in my hand four or five very long despatches from the Governor of British Guiana, detailing an account of the visits of persons who had gone to the Kroo coast for the purpose of getting emigrants; I think it results from that that the authority of the chiefs, or headmen, which they talk of, seems to be something of that nature. I think also that I can corroborate the statement that I have made, by the evidence which I have myself obtained from Kroomen in the West Indies. I put several questions to the Krooman of whom I have

have spoken before, and who was very intelligent, as to the nature of the power which he possessed over his own actions in the Kroo country. He had married a wife and I said, "If you take back that wife to the Kroo country will you be allowed to leave it again?" He said, "I shall certainly leave it when I like." I said, "Have not you got a king who would prevent your doing so?"—He said, "I should have to give a piece of cloth to my king for permission to go again, but that would be all; he would have no power to prevent my going." There were several other questions which I put to him, as regards their women leaving that country. I said, "Would there be any power in the women to come away?" He said, "The man would have to give the king a piece of cloth before he took away a woman, but that would be all." He did not seem to consider in the slightest degree that the king had any more property in him than I had, but that there were certain things which he could not do without paying certain fees to his feudal superior.

6788. With respect to the mortality which has taken place, I think it is with British Guiana alone that you are acquainted?—My personal knowledge is with the settlements in British Guiana alone, but I have resided in most of the other colonies.

6789. Have you been in Demerara?—Demerara is in British Guiana.

6790. Were you in British Guiana on the arrival of the several vessels the "Growler," the "Amity Hall," the "Morayshire," and the "Arabian"?—I left the colony before those vessels arrived.

6791. You are not therefore aware of the deaths which occurred during the voyage?—I am no further aware of them than that I have seen the statement in the Blue Book which has been recently published.

6792. Out of those five voyages you are probably, if you have seen that statement, aware that a very large mortality took place in four. Are you aware that the total number of deaths in the "Growler" on the first voyage was 20, on the second voyage, 46; in the "Amity Hall" 37; the "Morayshire" 5; and the "Arabian" 22; and that the total mortality was 8 per cent.?—I have no reason to doubt the truth of that statement.

6793. *Chairman.*] Do you happen to know the fact whether those ships had all of them liberated Africans embarked on board?—The whole of them were entirely loaded with liberated Africans.

6794. *Sir E. Buxton.*] And probably in any future emigration of that sort a considerable mortality is to be expected?—I hope not; I think that precautions may be taken; I see that Lord Harris has written home making suggestions to the Home Government, and making, I think, what may be called complaints of the conduct of the authorities at Sierra Leone on the occasion, and that those complaints ought to be investigated.

6795. Lord Harris recommends that under present circumstances immigration should cease into the colonies?—That is my own view under present circumstances.

6796. You agree with him in that opinion. He also recommends that in case immigration is conducted at all, it should be conducted by the planters who wish for immigrants themselves at their own expense, and that they should be located on their plantations. Do you agree with him in that opinion?—Yes; I think that that would be the natural course of immigration. If I find myself unable to carry on the cultivation of my estate from want of labour, I think the natural course seems to be that I should be permitted to enter into such arrangements as may be mutually advantageous with free labourers in any part of the world, and take them to my estate under engagement to carry on the cultivation. I think that the principle upon which immigration has hitherto been conducted in the colonies is a departure from the natural course of things; it is throwing the supply of labour upon the Government, who are not the best judges either of the demand or of the mode of procuring or managing the people.

6797. Are you aware how much has been spent in British Guiana for immigration?—A very large sum has been spent, especially for Coolie immigration. I should think that altogether between 200,000 *l.* and 300,000 *l.* have certainly been spent.

6798. And probably the Government is still likely to incur a much larger expense to return the Coolies to their own country?—The expense will not be so large, but there will be a considerable expense incurred in carrying back those people to their own country. I think, however, that immigration hitherto

H. Barkly, Esq.
M.P.

20 June 1848.

has been unnecessarily expensive from the restrictions with which it has been accompanied.

6799. Has not the effect in British Guiana been that the resources of the Government have been almost swallowed up in providing for the expenses of immigration?—Hardly so, because the greater part of that money has been raised by loan in this country, and all that the colonies have had to pay has been the interest of the money, and a provision for a sinking fund.

6800. Lord Harris states, that the money required for that purpose has been so great, that many other improvements, which were very necessary in the colony, have been necessarily put off or given up; do you agree with him that that is the case?—I do not think that the amount of money spent for immigration purposes in British Guiana has borne so large a proportion to the available resources of the colony as it has in Trinidad. Of course Lord Harris is a better judge as to Trinidad, than I can pretend to be, but I do not think that in Guiana the effect of the money spent for immigration has been to prevent capital from being applied to any other object; I think that the first object really was to get labour.

6801. *Chairman.*] With respect to the rate of wages, you have stated that the rate of wages which were given when you were in the West Indies was about 1 s. 4 d. per task?—It was so.

6802. Supposing that a sufficiency of labour could be obtained at that rate of wages, would the West Indian planter be able to compete successfully with Cuba and Brazil under existing circumstances?—I think perhaps he might with the existing rate of protection. I think that the wages must come still lower before he can compete on perfectly equal terms with Cuba and Brazil. I beg to observe, that the rate of wages has not been reduced.

6803. The rate of wages remains now what it was when you were in the West Indies?—A trifling reduction has been effected in British Guiana; in other colonies, I believe a certain reduction has been effected, but in British Guiana the attempt which I was mainly instrumental in originating, and I must say against the feeling of most of the planters, has certainly not been successful. I have before me the two latest letters which I have received on the subject from the managers of my own two estates, and I will read to the Committee what they say. One of them says on the 16th of April 1848, "I have not any more cheering accounts to give you concerning our present position or prospects, than I communicated in my last. The reduction to 1 s. has been abandoned, and even at a guilder," that is, 1 s. 4 d., the old rate, "labour is difficult to be procured. Little has been done on Highbury since your departure, in the way of field labour." That is the statement of one of my managers.

6804. From what estate is that?—That is from Highbury.

6805. Is that the one near the coast?—No; that is the one up the river, but in the vicinity of the settlement which I spoke of, Light's Town. The other manager, writing on the 3d of May 1848, goes more at length into it; he says, "Having in reality done so very little work on the estate since you left Berbice, it scarcely affords me matter to form a letter to you. You are aware of the position we were in when you left here, and which continued until the middle of February, the gangs obstinately refusing to work at reduced wages or increased tasks, the grass in the meantime getting the better of the young canes, and the ripe canes in front being spoiled from remaining uncut, and over-ripe, so I thought it far better to cut those off and save them; even although we did not carry out the proposed reduction, still we got a slight increase on the original task at cane-cutting, viz., a 16 feet cord instead of 15 feet, as before." They cut canes much in the same way that wood is cut in this country, in cords of a certain length, and piled a certain height: "We made from the canes in front of the works about 70 hhds. of sugar (but of an inferior quality from the canes being over-ripe), and from one of the fields I planted last, No. 37, nine acres, which yielded about 14 hhds., and this was nearly all the work we had done since the 1st of January 1848. We have made no sugar in April, as I saw it was tantamount to abandoning the property to go on making sugar and not attending to the young canes, we have therefore devoted this month to weeding; but I am sorry that we have not been able to get as much of this work done as was necessary, arising from the unwillingness of the people to perform their full tasks from the grass being so heavy, combined with the irregular payment of their wages." I beg to state that that

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H. Barkly, Esq.
M. P.

20 June 1848.

arose from the fact of the bank not being willing to part with its money, owing to the state of the colony; he goes on to say, after speaking of the irregular payment of their wages: "But the indifference of the people to the welfare of the estate is distressing to behold. I fear we have very much suffered in our cultivation from the absence of all shovel labour to the fields, and also from the young canes having been so long under grass; there are some of the fields that I have not yet been able to weed since they were cut last year, and I believe if I were to abstain from grinding another month I should scarcely get it done; so you may imagine the state we are in; the Creole labourers seem to me to be worse and worse, indeed I seldom see any of them that used formerly to work here; I believe they must be sleeping by day and prowling about stealing at night." That is his idea.

6806. That description of the state of cultivation on your property does not correspond with the state in which you appear to have found it last year?—I think the whole of the deterioration has taken place within the last five months; the colony was in first rate order when I was there; the consequence of the attempt to reduce wages has been almost a total cessation of work on the part of the Creoles, and the canes have suffered exceedingly, because in that climate the progress of weeds is very rapid, and there is no doubt that the colony has suffered very great injury.

6807. Do you attribute that injury simply to the circumstance of an attempt being made to reduce the rate of wages?—Partly to that; I think also in some degree to the pressure upon the money market out there, the difficulty of obtaining money; but almost entirely I would say to the want of labour, the difficulty of getting labour at the reduced rate.

6808. Would there have been any difficulty in obtaining labour at the former rate of wages?—One of my informants states that labour is difficult to be procured even at the old rate of wages; that the people having become disinclined to work, they would hardly return even when the old rate was offered them.

6809. The weeds having grown up in the manner in which your correspondent describes them among the canes, must involve a very considerable outlay to get the ground in good order again?—It will require a very considerable outlay, and will materially reduce the production of sugar next year. Among the old canes, which are fit for making sugar, the weeds do not signify, but among the young canes which are just sprouting the sprouts are checked by the weeds.

6810. Does it deteriorate the quality of the sugar?—I do not know that the weeds deteriorate the quality; the fact of the canes being over ripe, and standing too long, very much deteriorates the quality.

6811. Is the quality of the sugar now produced in British Guiana equal to what it was previously to the emancipation?—No; it is very much lower in quality, except in those cases where vacuum pans are employed, and where machinery has been introduced for the purpose of improving it.

6812. Where the same machinery has been applied is the quality of the sugar equal to what it was?—No; it certainly is 3s. or 4s. a cwt. lower in quality than it was when the labour was more carefully given.

6813. Is it equal now to the sugar of Cuba?—Certainly not equal to the sugar of Cuba, which is prepared by the process of claying. It is as good, I think, nearly as a great deal of the sugar which has recently been raised in Cuba.

6814. Has the sugar recently raised in Cuba been of an inferior quality then to what was raised formerly?—All sugar that is obtained from canes planted in virgin soil is for some time of an inferior quality; the canes are more luxuriant, the juice is not so rich, therefore for several years the sugar will be inferior to what it becomes afterwards, and I think that that has been the case with a great deal of the new soil which has been taken into cultivation in Cuba.

6815. The plant becomes rank?—Yes, and does not yield the same quality of sugar. In fact the juices are so much more plentiful that they require more evaporation of the watery particles by boiling, and the influence of the fire acts disadvantageously upon the quality of the sugar.

6816. Have you any observations to add?—No; I think there is nothing that I need add.

Captain *Michael Rimington*, called in; and Examined.

Capt.
M. Rimington.
20 June 1848.

6817. *Chairman.*] YOU have, I believe, been concerned in conveying emigrants from the coast of Africa to the West Indies?—Yes.

6818. On what occasions?—From British Guiana; I chartered my ship to Sierra Leone for the purpose of conveying emigrants to Berbice in the early part of the year 1846; two voyages which occupied me the 12 months.

6819. *Mr. Barkly.*] You did not go from this country then; you were taken up in the West Indies to go to Africa and back?—Yes.

6820. *Chairman.*] You chartered your ship for that purpose?—I chartered my ship with some four merchants in Berbice.

6821. Merchants or planters?—Merchants and planters both.

6822. Did you, in accordance with that charter, proceed to the coast of Africa?—Immediately.

6823. To what part?—To Sierra Leone.

6824. Did you obtain sufficient emigrants to load your ship?—I completed the quantity which I was allowed to take by Government.

6825. What was the size of your ship?—Four hundred and thirteen tons.

6826. What amount of negroes were you permitted to take in that ship?—Two hundred and fifty-nine, including adults and children; about half of them were adults.

6827. Were there any women?—Yes.

6828. How many women?—About 15 per cent.

6829. Was any proportion of females to males required by the Government?—No.

6830. That was left entirely to your own discretion?—Not to my own discretion; to the Commissioners in the port: there were not more females in the Queen's yard that were eligible to go.

6831. Were all those parties what are called liberated Africans?—The whole of them.

6832. They were taken from what is called the yard?—The Queen's yard; a sort of barrack.

6833. How long had they been there?—About two months.

6834. In what condition were they in respect of health when you embarked them?—Very good indeed.

6835. Did you meet with any casualties in the course of that voyage?—None of any moment.

6836. In the first voyage, how many casualties did you meet with?—Nothing worth naming; we had rather a long passage, from light winds and calms, and getting off the coast in squally weather, which detained us about 15 days on the coast.

6837. How many deaths had you?—Only three.

6838. What was the length of the voyage?—Thirty-five days.

6839. And you landed all your emigrants, with the exception of three, in Berbice?—Yes.

6840. Had you occasion to see anything of those people after they were landed?—Yes.

6841. Did they express any dissatisfaction at their change of condition?—None whatever.

6842. On the contrary, did they express satisfaction?—They were perfectly satisfied.

6843. Were they immediately engaged as labourers?—Immediately.

6844. Had you any opportunity of seeing them after they had been engaged?—I saw them about a fortnight after they were engaged; I saw several of them who came into town.

6845. Did you understand that they had conducted themselves with attention to their duties, and that they had given satisfaction to their employers?—I heard nothing to the contrary.

6846. Have you any reason to suppose that they had given dissatisfaction?—None whatever; on the contrary; they were in the store of Messrs. Laing, two brothers, and they appeared to be so well satisfied, that they made the remark to me, that they should be very glad indeed to get their matties, as they called them, to the colony; their friends and relatives from Africa down to the colony.

6847. They

6847. They considered, in fact, that the change in life had been highly advantageous to themselves?—Very much so.

6848. Did they look forward to returning to Africa?—That I did not ascertain from them.

6849. From what part of the coast had the greater proportion of those people been taken?—Some of them had been taken from the Mozambique coast, brought down from the Mozambique channel.

6850. And carried to Sierra Leone?—Yes.

6851. And the others?—There were some brought from the Bight of Benin, near the Equator.

6852. There was a general cargo, in fact?—Yes; between the Kroo Coast and the Equator.

6853. With respect to the second voyage, did you return from Berbice a second time to the coast of Africa during that year?—Yes.

6854. Did you return to Sierra Leone?—Direct to Sierra Leone, by the same party who chartered me for the first voyage.

6855. Were you enabled to fill your ship with the same facility?—Not quite so; we were detained longer than I expected we should be.

6856. How long were you detained?—We were detained a month.

6857. From what cause were you detained?—There were very few in the yard, and those that were in the yard were in a very sickly state.

6858. Were there a sufficient number in the yard?—Not a sufficient number.

6859. And the number that were there were in a state of bad health?—Not in a good state of health.

6860. Were the emigrants which you ultimately took on board in a good state of health?—Very good.

6861. What was the result of that voyage?—We lost four.

6862. How many had you?—Two hundred and twenty-three; not quite so many as on the first voyage.

6863. And you landed all except four?—All except four.

6864. Of the 223 how many were females?—Eleven per cent., the second voyage.

6865. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Is it not very unusual for a slave ship to have such a proportion of females on board?—Sometimes; it entirely depends on circumstances, whether there are many females in the barracoons; if there are, they send them off; it is chance entirely.

6866. In conveying the number of females was it your object to take as many females as you could procure?—There were not more in a proper state of health to embark.

6867. *Chairman*.] You would have taken more if you could?—We would have taken more; there was no objection on the part of the Government to allow the ship to take 20 per cent.

6868. Earl of *Lincoln*.] Would it have been the desire of the Government that you should have a greater proportion of females than 15 or 20 per cent., if possible?—Not more than 20 per cent.

6869. *Chairman*.] Not on the part of the Government?—I think we were obliged to take 20 per cent., if they could be procured, without any reference to taking more or not; it was very seldom that we could get so many. For instance, from Bengal I took Coolies, and from Berbice, and there the Governor of India compelled me to take 15 per cent. of females.

6870. Mr. *Barkly*.] But you had no instructions from your employer in Berbice as to obtaining any limited proportion of women?—None.

6871. *Chairman*.] Were those emigrants well conducted on board?—Exceedingly well indeed.

6872. Had you any trouble or difficulty?—None whatever.

6873. Were they under the direction of a head-man?—None.

6874. You consider that 300 would have been the proper number which your ship could carry?—Yes.

6875. Why did not you complete the number on the second occasion?—Because there were not more to take.

6876. Where?—From the Queen's yard, we could not procure more.

6877. Were you not permitted to obtain them from the resident black population of Sierra Leone?—Yes.

6878. Did you attempt to procure any?—We did; you get a certain number upon

Capt.
M. Rimington.

20 June 1848.

upon your list for leaving the colony, and when the time arrives for them to leave, if they get a little advance from the merchant to whom the ship is consigned, they generally like to play tricks, and get away just before the ship is starting.

6879. Viscount *Brackley*.] The females, as well as the males, had all been taken from captured vessels?—Yes, they were all captured negroes.

6880. *Chairman*.] What was the result of that cargo; did you see them landed at Berbice?—Yes.

6881. And immediately engaged?—Immediately.

6882. Did you observe the same satisfaction on the part of the emigrants in regard to their change of condition?—Yes; I saw several more of them, because I was detained much longer in Berbice.

6883. And you saw no circumstance which led you to doubt that they were much better off, and that they were aware they were much better off than if they had been left in Africa?—They all appeared to me to be perfectly satisfied that their condition was very much improved.

6884. Was the contrast which they instituted a contrast between their then position and the condition they had been in in Sierra Leone, or between their condition in the West Indies and in their native country?—They were very much better, I should say.

6885. But did you understand that they made the comparison between their state in those two cases?—They remarked that they were much better fed, and they got money to buy them good clothes, that appeared to be the great object that they were looking at, getting money to buy them nice clothes; they bought them in my presence at two or three of the stores in the town, and they appeared to be quite satisfied to think that they were enabled to do so from their little earnings.

6886. You did not learn that they had wandered about the country and fixed themselves as independent settlers?—No, I heard nothing of that; my stay in the colony was not sufficient to allow me to ascertain that.

6887. On your return the second time, you must have seen something of what had taken place with regard to those whom you had first conveyed?—I saw several the second time, and they all appeared perfectly satisfied; not one of them wished to return.

6888. From your experience of introducing emigrants from the coast of Africa, do you think favourably of that means of supplying the West Indies with labour?—Yes.

6889. Do you think favourably of it with regard to the owners of property in the West Indies, and with regard to the men whom they employ?—Decidedly.

6890. Some information has been laid before Parliament relative to the great loss of life which has attended the introduction of emigrants to the West Indies from the coast of Africa; are you acquainted with any of those facts?—None whatever.

6891. Did you ever hear of the great loss of life in the "Growler"?—No, only by public papers; occasionally I have seen it in our own papers. I never ascertained what has been the cause assigned for it.

6892. You met with very few losses?—No losses whatever, comparatively speaking, there were but six in the two passages; our last passage down was an extraordinary passage; we ran down in 19 days from Sierra Leone to Berbice; in fact we had scarcely a sick man on board the ship.

6893. Do you think that if those cargoes of emigrants who suffered so severely in the voyages referred to, had been embarked in a good state of health, and had been properly cared for on board, they would have been exposed to those casualties?—I think that if they had departed in good health, certainly they would have arrived in much the same state; on board the ship it is so well managed; there is a medical man, and every comfort on board the ship; they are taken care of much better than in the Queen's Yard.

6894. You do not think that it is a reasonable or legitimate objection to the supply of the West Indies with labour from the coast of Africa, that those accidents have occurred?—No.

6895. You state that you only lost six in all?—That is all.

6896. Was there any illness?—There was some trifling disease that Africans are subject to, such as dysentery, two or three days; but I had a very skilful medical man on board the ship; in fact, we were very well equipped altogether
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with our crew, and I myself attended very strictly to the comforts of those people, because I felt deeply interested in the colony.

6897. You would have no hesitation, after the experience which you have had in conveying Africans to the West Indies, in taking any number on board without any great fear of loss of life arising on the voyage?—None whatever. I see no difficulty in carrying emigrants from the coast of Africa to the West Indies, with scarcely losing a life, if the ship is properly managed.

6898. Do you apprehend no difficulty from the disorderly habits of the Africans themselves?—None whatever.

6899. From whatever part of the coast they came?—It matters not. The second quantity of people that we took down had been landed only a month previously to their embarkation on board of my ship; many of the people were in rather a bad state of health, but from the great care of my doctor we only lost four.

6900. Were those the men who had been carried from the eastern coast of Africa?—Yes.

6901. Mr. *Barkly*.] Did you find that there were any obstacles in Sierra Leone to getting the people out of the Queen's yard?—There was some little objection on the part of the Governor; the second voyage, the Governor's secretary being the *pro tempore* Governor, there was some little objection to myself and my medical man going into the yard to make a selection of those people.

6902. Did the system of apprenticing the people out of the Queen's yard to Africans already settled in Sierra Leone, exist at the time you were there?—Yes.

6903. Was any fee or payment received for that apprenticeship, do you know, by the authorities?—Not that I am aware of; there was a decided preference given by the Governor to the merchants and the inhabitants of the town, which was the object, as we found out, of their being prevented going by the Governor.

6904. *Chairman*.] The authorities in the colony preferred that those liberated Africans should be apprenticed to persons resident in Sierra Leone to sending them to the West Indies?—Decidedly so.

6905. Do you know the state of the population of Sierra Leone; do you know the general condition in which they are?—They are in a very good condition.

6906. Do you think that the liberated Africans who are apprenticed to the inhabitants of Sierra Leone are better off than they would be in the West Indies?—Decidedly not.

6907. Are they so well off?—Not so well off.

6908. Do they get as good wages?—No.

6909. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do they get any wages at all when apprenticed?—Yes.

6910. *Chairman*.] Should you say that they were in circumstances as favourable for their general improvement in civilization in Sierra Leone as in the West Indies?—Decidedly not.

6911. Do you think that in every respect their going to the West Indies is a change for the better?—Certainly it is; from that of being a slave in the yard their situation is decidedly better, being an apprentice of the merchants or any of the inhabitants of the colony at Sierra Leone.

6912. Sir *E. Burton*.] You think that they are better if they are apprenticed to the inhabitants of Sierra Leone, than if they are kept in the yard?—Much better.

6913. And do you think that they are better after they are taken to the West Indies than if they are apprenticed to the merchants in Sierra Leone?—Much better off.

6914. *Chairman*.] Is their condition very miserable in the yard?—Not so much so; they get a sufficient quantity of food, but not so plentifully as they do when they are in town employed as labourers there or apprentices.

6915. Mr. *Barkly*.] I suppose the way in which you happened to see those people on your return to the colony was that they came down to the store kept by the Messrs. Laing, who were the consignees of the vessel which you commanded?—Yes.

6916. You were in the habit of going to their counting-house, and those people were in the habit of coming to make their purchases?—Frequently; I saw several of them.

Capt.
M. Rimington.

20 June 1848.

6917. Did they seem to be in possession of money?—Yes, they apparently were quite delighted in seeing their masters, the two brothers.

6918. You saw a great difference in the description of clothing that they wore?—Yes, it was very inferior on board ship; they do not require much clothing on board ship.

6919. In what were they clothed when they came down to the town to make their purchases?—They were very well clothed.

6920. *Chairman.*] Are they rather fond of smart clothes?—Very.

6921. Do they lay out a larger proportion of their money in clothes than an English labourer would do?—Yes, more so, certainly.

6922. With respect to their physical condition and their apparent well being, did you think that they were improved after having been in the colony?—Very much improved; they were very different people altogether; they were cleanly and well dressed, and apparently always with a smile upon their countenances: they seemed quite happy.

6923. Altogether it was a gratifying duty to perform to convey those people from the state in which they were, in Africa, to the state in which they were placed in the West Indies?—Very gratifying; I was particularly gratified in seeing them and knowing that they were so happy and comfortable.

6924. *Viscount Brackley.*] They had acquired a certain degree of civilization in Sierra Leone previously to embarking, had they not?—Certainly, for the short time that they were in the yard; they could speak very little English, merely yes or no.

6925. Can you state to the Committee the rate of wages at which they were hired when they arrived at Berbice?—That I do not know exactly.

6926. Was it the usual rate of wages?—The usual rate of wages; there was no difference between them and the Creoles of the colony.

6927. *Chairman.*] You mentioned that you had been engaged in carrying Coolies?—I brought a cargo of Coolies down to the Mauritius from Calcutta, after conveying the Coolies back from British Guiana to Calcutta.

6928. Did you find them as tractable on board?—Very.

6929. Perfectly tractable?—Very much so indeed.

6930. Did they suffer in health from the long voyage?—They did very much. I lost 35 out of 280; it was very easily accounted for.

6931. Did you see any of them located in the colony?—I took them from the colony. I am speaking of those whom I took from British Guiana up to Calcutta, after having performed their apprenticeship in British Guiana.

6932. Had you any opportunity of seeing the Coolies who were allocated in British Guiana?—Yes.

6933. In what condition were they?—Very good.

6934. Did they appear to be satisfied with their change?—Very much so indeed.

6935. Should you say that they were as well satisfied as the Africans were?—Quite as well.

6936. *Mr. Barkly.*] Did not those people take back a large sum of money from British Guiana?—They deposited in my possession 32,000 dollars.

6937. *Chairman.*] How many men?—There were 280 of them.

6938. Do you know any instance of the Africans returning after having been engaged as labourers in the West Indies?—I took back some as delegates.

6939. How many did you take?—Six the first passage, and 15 the second.

6940. You call them delegates?—Yes.

6941. By whom were they delegated?—By the charterers in the colony; they sent them back as a proof of the situation of the colony, and how they were treated, and prepared to state to any persons in the town of Sierra Leone that were disposed to leave it, who understood the English language, that their condition would be very much improved if they came down to the colony.

6942. They did not go as delegates from the labouring population, they went as delegates from the employers of labour?—The employers of labour; two or three from each estate were selected for that purpose.

6943. *Mr. Barkly.*] I suppose they required to receive wages during the time that they were on that errand?—Yes.

6944. Therefore it would be hardly possible for the labourers to send delegates unless they were prepared also to pay them wages during the period of their absence?—No; they were sent back by Messrs. Laing, and two other gentlemen.

6945. *Chairman.*]

6945. *Chairman.*] Did you understand that they went with the goodwill, and the wish of the labouring immigrants?—It was with their concurrence also, as well as the proprietors of the different properties.

6946. You understood that the labourers themselves took an interest in the mission of their countrymen to the coast of Africa?—Yes, very great.

6947. They deem it very desirable for the benefit of their countrymen that they should be made aware of the favourable circumstances in which they could be placed in the West Indies?—That was the impression which they had.

6948. You entertain no doubt about that?—Not the slightest doubt whatever.

6949. *Mr. Barkly.*] Do you know whether any of the people were desirous of sending to their own country, to that part of Africa from which they had been originally taken as slaves, to let their fellow-countrymen know the advantages which would result to them from coming to the West Indies?—I do not; I do not recollect an instance of that kind.

6950. *Chairman.*] To what part of the coast of Africa were those men sent?—To Sierra Leone; there were some three or four Kroomen among them.

6951. Then they were sent as delegates to the liberated Africans?—The liberated Africans that were located in and about Sierra Leone.

6952. To that general population of Sierra Leone?—Yes.

6953. Do you know anything of the result of that mission?—It did not succeed certainly; we carried our people from the Queen's yard; those delegates had no permission whatever to go into the Queen's yard; they were prohibited going into the Queen's yard.

6954. By whom?—By the authorities.

6955. And they produced no effect upon the free Africans in Sierra Leone?—To a very small degree; they looked upon them with rather a jealous eye; they thought that they came for the purpose of inducing them to go to a colony which they knew nothing at all about, and that they had some interest in getting them to the colony; that was the impression which they had.

6956. Was that a spontaneous feeling on the part of the Africans, or was it promoted, do you think, by any representations made to them on the part of others?—I think, in a great measure, it emanated from various sources; the missionaries as well as the merchants themselves; they have a great objection to emigration from Sierra Leone.

6957. Do you think that they are aware of the improved circumstances in which those Africans are placed in the West Indies?—They are so far aware of them that if they encouraged it they would lose all their population in and about Sierra Leone, who do all their manual work and cultivate their estates. You are aware that with those people in Sierra Leone it takes some time before they become naturalized and can speak the English language; and when they understand the language, and become labourers of the soil there, it is a very hard case, on the part of the planters and the merchants, that they should lose those people; therefore they hold out every inducement to them to remain, and not to leave the colony.

6958. After having trained them, and taught them the English language, and instructed them in some of the arts of civilized life, they look upon it as a hardship to be deprived of the benefit of their services?—Certainly; there is a very great objection to our getting the liberated Africans after they have been settled for some two or three years; very few of them are inclined to leave. The people that we do get from the coast of Africa are principally captured Africans that come from the Queen's yard.

6959. The Africans living in Sierra Leone looked upon the statements made by those delegates as a design to entrap them?—Yes, quite so.

6960. And therefore they refused to go?—Yes.

6961. They did not believe the representations made to them?—The missionaries and the merchants were generally very hostile to their leaving; they looked upon us with a very jealous eye indeed, both upon me and my doctor, as trying to induce those people to leave the colony, which was not the case. Certainly we would rather get people who could speak our own language, and people who had been brought up upon land, and who understood the cultivation of land though to a very small degree in Sierra Leone, to go to the West Indies, than captured Africans.

6962. You would have given a decided preference to the Africans settled in
Sierra

Capt.
M. Rimington.

20 June 1848.

Sierra Leone?—Most certainly; that was our object; but there were very few instances of their leaving.

6963. Mr. *Barkly*.] What became of the Kroomen whom you mentioned that you took back, did they remain at Sierra Leone?—They did; they had made some considerable money in the colony; but I understood from them that there would be no difficulty in getting Kroomen from the coast, if I would run the ship down to the coast.

6964. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] What number of Kroomen did they tell you that you might obtain if you took your ship down to their coast?—A complete cargo.

6965. By “a complete cargo,” do you mean as many as 300?—As many as the ship was allowed to carry, 300.

6966. From your observation of the state of the colony of Sierra Leone, do you believe the persons there to be in such a state of actual comfort as to justify their unwillingness to exchange their certain enjoyment for the uncertainty of an expedition across the Atlantic?—Decidedly so; that was their feeling.

6967. The question was not as to their feeling, but as to your impression of the actual benefits of their existing condition, compared with any benefit which they might derive from the removal?—Certainly I think that they would derive much greater benefit by emigrating to the West Indies.

6968. Have you attended public worship in Sierra Leone at the time when those Africans were present?—Yes.

6969. Will you state to the Committee what was your impression in respect to the attendance, as to the number and decorum of the black population?—They attended very largely, and apparently, I thought them a very devout race of people.

6970. Would they receive any corresponding advantage in those parts of the West Indies to which you desired to remove them?—Equally so.

6971. But they formed part of a congregation, or of different congregations in Sierra Leone, and you would consider that the disruption of such a tie might be one of the considerations which would make them unwilling to quit Sierra Leone and to go to a strange country?—I think that certainly that would operate very much in favour of it, that they would rather remain where they were.

6972. When you say that the missionaries were opposed to their removal, is it or is it not your opinion that the missionaries in such opposition exercised a discretion which the pastor of any congregation would fairly exercise, whether his people were in Sierra Leone or elsewhere?—Certainly.

6973. You do not therefore blame the exercise of the discretion, though you regret the direction which it took?—I certainly do not blame it; a clergyman wishes to keep his flock as much as he possibly can near him and about him, and I believe that his subsistence exists in a great measure from those people remaining in the colony. I have been given to understand that they contribute very largely indeed to support the church, and therefore he would feel it his duty to recommend them to remain.

6974. Do you speak of that from your own knowledge and inquiry upon the spot, or from a general impression of what was likely to be the case?—It is my own opinion while on that spot, from what I saw of them there, and from the information that I collected from two or three clergymen in the colony.

6975. Is it in your power to compare the state of Sierra Leone in the present year with its state 10 years or 20 years ago, or at any preceding period?—I should say it is very much improved.

6976. Have you had an opportunity of seeing it?—Yes.

6977. The persons whom you describe as attending in such numbers, and behaving so devoutly, were slaves liberated from the holds of slave ships and placed in Sierra Leone in periods varying from the past year to perhaps 10 years back, is that so?—Yes.

6978. When liberated from the holds of slave ships they were probably among the most degraded and the most unhappy of the human race?—No doubt whatever of it.

6979. So far, at least, as degradation is unconnected with guilt on their part?—Yes.

6980. And you now represent them as a peaceable and happy community, living decently and orderly, and attending Divine worship regularly?—Quite so; a more satisfied race of people I never saw in the West Indies than what they

they are in Sierra Leone, with this exception, that they are not rewarded according to their labour; they are paid very poorly indeed; and I remonstrated with two or three clergymen there, and stated that if they were to change their situation and go down to the West Indies, how very much better off they would be in making more of their daily labour than they do in Sierra Leone. They immediately replied, "We do not agree with you there; we think and we know, for we have ascertained it, that they are not so well treated in the West Indies as they are in Sierra Leone." I said, "From what cause?" "We have read of several instances which occurred some years back." I said, "No, it is not the case now; their condition in the West Indies is just as good as it is here, and, in fact, better with regard to their work, for they are paid better for their daily labour; and with regard to their religious duties, I must say, and I tell you candidly, that they are equally as well off there as at Sierra Leone."

6981. Whatever be the relative amount of wages which may be earned in Sierra Leone or in the West Indies respectively, do you wish the Committee to understand that with the wages received at Sierra Leone the labourers are themselves satisfied?—They are satisfied so far, that they do not know the difference between Sierra Leone and the West Indies.

6982. And their wages, whatever they may be, are sufficient to provide them with the decent necessaries of life?—So far that they get about 3 *d.* a day.

6983. Are they in point of fact all of them clothed?—They are badly clothed, I should say.

6984. On Sundays, would you represent them as badly clothed?—No; on Sundays they are pretty well clothed, but not so well as they are in the West Indies.

6985. Is there such a difference between the week day clothing and the Sunday clothing of the liberated Africans in Sierra Leone, as prevails amongst the labourers of an agricultural village in this country?—I should say they are not dressed so well.

6986. Is there such a proportionate difference?—I think there is a certain proportionate difference.

6987. Do you wish the Committee to understand that the labourer in England is better dressed on the Sunday, as compared with his week day dress, than the labourer of Sierra Leone is on the Sunday, as compared with his week day dress?—I think he is.

6988. The gaudy dress which is represented as prevailing in the West Indies amongst the liberated population there, does not find a parallel in the dress of the liberated African in Sierra Leone itself?—No.

6989. Nevertheless, the parties in Sierra Leone are dressed better on the Sunday, and are dressed decently on the Sunday?—Yes, they are dressed decently; but on the week days I certainly must say that they are very badly clothed.

6990. When you state 3 *d.* as the price of day labour in Sierra Leone, do you wish the Committee to understand, that that is the price paid by Her Majesty's Government, for Government labour?—I think they pay them something more; about 4 *d.* or 5 *d.* a day.

6991. Is this rate of wages limited to agricultural labour, or do you find that it prevails even in what may be called mechanical labour?—There is no mechanical labour of any amount; it is principally agricultural labour, but in a very different way to what it is in the West Indies; the produce in Sierra Leone is so trifling; it is only ginger and provisions, and those kind of things, and therefore their labour is very trifling, compared to what it is in the West Indies.

6992. Had you an opportunity of knowing what was paid to the wood-cutters for cutting timber for the use of the navy?—No. The African teak is a very fine wood indeed; but that is all done by the Kroomen. There are no people in Africa employed in felling of that timber but Kroomen; and they load the ships with it.

6993. Can you state what wages the Kroomen receive?—I think for that work they receive at the rate of 3 *s.* a day.

6994. Mr. *Barkly*.] The Kroomen, I suppose, even in Free Town, obtain much higher wages, when employed by the merchants there, than the liberated Africans?—They are employed for all the heavy work, such as carrying water on board ship; and all our ships of war employ them to save the white people.

Capt.
M. Rimington.
20 June 1848.

6995. Admiral *Bowles*.] There are a certain number on board?—Yes.
6996. Mr. *Barkly*.] Did any part of your crew consist of Kroomen?—No.
6997. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Do you find the Kroomen apt for agricultural labour as well as for ship service?—Not so much so; they are a very strong, hale, hearty, athletic people, more adapted for heavy work, such as pulling boats and sailing schooners, and things of that kind; they would be very good for trenching, or anything of that sort, but they do not like any trifling work. They are very like the navigators.
6998. Have you had any experience of the Fishmen?—None.
6999. Do you conceive that any adequate number can be removed, either of Kroomen or of Fishmen, or of any persons having free liberty of action, from the coast of Africa to the West Indies, so as to compensate the deficiency of agricultural labour now experienced in the West Indies?—As far as I have heard and know the Kroo Coast, I think that they might be supplied to a very great extent from there.
7000. Will you state what extent is in your mind, in the answer which you have just given?—I merely draw my inference from some of my own people that I had on board, who arrived with me, after having been detained in Sierra Leone for some four or five weeks. They said to me and my doctor, “If you go down to the Kroo Coast, I will engage to fill your ship in three or four days.”
7001. The question had reference to the aggregate number whom you might be able by yourself, and by other gentlemen similarly engaged, to induce to go to the West Indies in the course of a given year?—I cannot say the quantity; I have no idea.
7002. Are you aware of the number of slaves imported into Brazil in the course of the last year?—No, I am not; I do not recollect; I have read that there were a great number.
7003. If it be assumed that the culture of sugar in Brazil exhausts 60,000 lives every year, or at least requires the employment of 60,000 fresh slaves every year, is there any reasonable hope that a commensurate number for the wants of the British West Indies can be introduced of persons *bonâ fide* free?—I rather doubt an attempt at that quantity.
7004. Do you wish the Committee to draw a conclusion, that if the supply of free labour, admitting the term in its largest sense to apply to the Kroomen, can be only a certain proportion of the amount of slave labour introduced into the rival countries of Brazil and Cuba, there can be any fair competition between British free labour in the West Indies, and slave labour in the countries designated?—I think there can be no doubt that if we could get sufficient numbers of people from the coast of Africa into the West Indies, we should be able to compete with them.
7005. The question assumed, as a conclusion from your former answers, that we could not get an adequate supply of free labour; upon that conclusion the question was addressed to you; do you wish the Committee to draw another conclusion, namely, that, with the imperfect supply of free labour, the British colonies cannot compete with the sugar produce of slave labour?—That is a question which I am scarcely able to answer, not having sufficient knowledge of the position exactly.
7006. Mr. *Barkly*.] Never having been permitted to go to the Kroo Coast for emigrants, you have no knowledge, yourself, of the extent of emigration which could be obtained?—No, I merely speak from hearsay.
7007. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Do you know at all the population of the Kroo Coast?—I do not.
7008. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do you know any country in the world (and you have visited a great many) which enjoys such advantages for sugar cultivation as British Guiana?—None.
7009. *Chairman*.] Have you ever been in Cuba?—Yes.
7010. Do you consider that British Guiana is as much favoured by natural circumstances for the production of sugar as Cuba?—Quite so.
7011. Admiral *Bowles*.] With regard to the comparative sort of labour in the West Indies and Sierra Leone, there is no sugar cultivation in Sierra Leone at all, is there?—None.
7012. Then of course they work much harder in the West Indies?—Yes, and they are better paid for it; and I should y that their situation altogether is much

much more comfortable than it is in Sierra Leone, inasmuch as after a few years they make a sufficient sum of money to enable them to buy a little land, and settle on it themselves.

7013. How long have you known Sierra Leone?—I have known it for some 14 or 15 years.

7014. Is it improving?—The town is very much improved, but not the colony.

7015. Is there any increase in the population?—Very little increase.

7016. *Chairman.*] Do you think Sierra Leone a highly moral place?—Quite the contrary.

7017. Notwithstanding the devotion of the people in the churches?—It is a very extraordinary thing, but I think quite to the contrary.

7018. Do they frequent the churches very much?—Two or three times my curiosity led me to go into them; they all appeared to be very devout; but I ascertained quite to the contrary, that it is more show than anything else.

7019. They like to go and exhibit themselves in church?—That is it; and the heavy contributions which are laid upon them from time to time absorb nearly all their little earnings.

7020. *Admiral Bowles.*] Are the parties chiefly dissenting missionaries?—Dissenting missionaries. The Church of England, I am sorry to say, is very badly supplied indeed. I went into it twice; the first time there were only 27 persons, and the last 32 in our own church,—in a church which cost something like 10,000 *l.* or 12,000 *l.* Such was the state of Sierra Leone. If you go into any of the chapels they are crowded to excess.

7021. *Chairman.*] They are dissenters from the Church of England?—Yes.

7022. *Admiral Bowles.*] Is there only one principal church in Sierra Leone?—One principal church; there are a great many chapels of ease. The principal church, I should say, would certainly hold all the white population if they felt disposed to go, and the greater part of the black population in the town. Sierra Leone is a very small town; it has very few inhabitants, comparatively speaking. From the time it has been settled you would suppose that there would be fifty times as many as there are.

7023. Is the country well cultivated?—Quite to the contrary.

7024. *Chairman.*] I understand you that you think their moral condition would be much improved by going to the West Indies?—I am sure of that.

7025. You do not think them very moral in Sierra Leone?—I should say not so much so as they are in the West Indies.

7026. *Mr. Barkly.*] Are they not most of them recently converted heathens?—Yes.

7027. Therefore, their imaginations, perhaps, are a little more touched than their hearts?—Perhaps so.

Jovis, 22^o die Junii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Admiral Bowles.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.

Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. *Edward Jones*, called in; and Examined.

7028. *Chairman.*] ARE you a clergyman of the Church of England?—Of the American Episcopal Church.

7029. Are you acquainted with any part of the coast of Africa?—I have been in Sierra Leone since 1831.

7030. Have you an acquaintance with any other part?—I have a little with the Rivers Nunez and Pongus; I have been up those rivers.

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7031. When

Capt.
M. Rimington.

20 June 1848.

Rev. *E. Jones.*

22 June 1848.

Rev. E. Jones.

22 June 1848.

7031. When did you leave the coast of Africa?—In March 1847.

7032. You are consequently very well acquainted with the state of society in Sierra Leone?—I have 17 years' acquaintance.

7033. What is the moral and religious condition of the population of Sierra Leone?—I should say, taking into consideration the character of the population and the circumstances under which they were brought, most remarkably good.

7034. As compared with similar communities?—Yes.

7035. Are you acquainted with the people of this country?—I have some acquaintance with this country, with the villages; I have travelled in England somewhat; I have a large acquaintance with the slave states of America.

7036. As compared with the slave states of America, what should you say was the condition of the people of Sierra Leone?—There is no comparison as to the character and conduct.

7037. With respect to the orderly conduct of the people, what is their general demeanor?—I think all the public officers there must say it is the most orderly and quietly governed colony in Her Majesty's dominions.

7038. Are there many schools in Sierra Leone?—There are 17 day-schools, connected with the Church Missionary Society, and about 26 Sunday-schools.

7039. Are they well attended?—Uncommonly so.

7040. Are the churches well attended?—They are quite filled on the Lord's day.

7041. By whom?—By the liberated African population; there is very little other besides them.

7042. What may be the numbers of the liberated African population?—I should say a little under 50,000, not beyond; a very little under 50,000 at the present time.

7043. Do you consider that the larger portion of that population are Christians?—I would not say Christians exactly. In the sense in which the term is loosely used I would say quite so; more than that.

7044. They are professing Christians?—Yes.

7045. Are any large proportion of them well acquainted with the nature of the Christian religion?—There are 2,047 in full communion with the Church of England in Sierra Leone.

7046. Should you describe their social condition as one of prosperity?—I should say that there every man can get something; there need be no suffering, and no poverty there; and there is very little of it indeed, the means of livelihood are so comeatable to every one of the community.

7047. Do you think that their social condition could be justly described as one in a low scale of civilization?—I cannot say so at all. I have a knowledge of a governor who has been there, and who afterwards went to the West Indies, and he tells me that he looks upon them as much better off than the same class of people in the West Indies.

7048. When did you get that information?—About a year ago.

7049. Had the gentleman who gave it to you been recently in the West Indies?—He had been recently in the West Indies.

7050. Do you know what part of the West Indies?—I think it was St. Vincent, if I mistake not.

7051. Perhaps you would have no objection to give us his name?—I do not know that I have a right to use it; it is Colonel Sir Richard Doherty. *

7052. Is there employment for the whole of that population in Sierra Leone?—I think that we are too full; that new importations, certainly, of liberated Africans, without extending our territory, are not to be desired.

7053. Has it ever happened to you to become acquainted with parties who have been to the West Indies, as labourers, and who have returned to Sierra Leone?—I have with many; with numbers.

7054. What description have they given?—They say that they can make more money in the West Indies; but that counting all things, they are rather better off in Sierra Leone.

7055. In what respect better?—That the means of living are so much cheaper.

7056. Although they received more money in the West Indies, it did not go so far as in Sierra Leone?—No.

7057. And therefore they considered that their economical condition was not better?—That it was not at all better, and many of them thought that their moral condition was rather injured.

7058. Then,

7058. Then, on the whole, they considered that the West Indies did not offer any inducement to them to return, or to their friends to go there?—Quite so; I am speaking of those who have been settled in Sierra Leone; not the newly arrived Africans, who do not know the state of the case.

7059. I am speaking of those who have been to the West Indies, and have returned to Sierra Leone?—Exactly so.

7060. From all that you have heard on the subject, do you concur in that opinion?—I only can judge from those that I have seen; they have come back with money, many of them; I cannot say that the morals of those who have gone there have been improved to any extent.

7061. Have they been deteriorated, do you think?—I think so, although they come back apparently with more outward civilization.

7062. If you concur in opinion with the statements which they made, that although they obtained more money, the money did not go so far, how do you account for the fact of their bringing back sums of money with them?—Many of them hold various responsible situations; they come over as agents to get emigrants, and those very men, when questioned, will speak the truth, and tell us that, though their situation is better, the majority of those who go over do not bring that money back with them. A large number of persons constantly come over as agents, sent by different persons.

7063. Sir *E. Buxton*.] A sort of deputies?—Yes.

7064. *Chairman*.] You consider that the money brought back by them is not the earnings of their own labour?—By no means; it is given to them in their situations.

7065. Is there any disposition amongst the liberated Africans of Sierra Leone to leave that colony for the West Indies as labourers?—I cannot say for the West Indies.

7066. For any other part?—I think they would like to leave for other parts of the coast of Africa.

7067. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Is the desire prevalent among them to return to their own native countries?—Quite so; it is so much the case that were they sure of personal protection and security, I think we should have very few of the older ones left in Sierra Leone.

7068. *Chairman*.] If they were secure of being protected when they settled in their own country, you think that they would more generally return to their own country?—Yes; that they would emigrate.

7069. How does the proportion of females to males stand in the colony?—It is much better now than it used to be. Free Town has a population 15,000 odd, and 7,000 of those are females, but in the villages the proportion is much less than that.

7070. Does that lead to immoral habits?—It has heretofore done so; the proportions are very much altered of late years.

7071. Viscount *Brackley*.] What is the population of the villages?—The whole population of the colony, I suppose, is a little under 50,000.

7072. And Free Town is the only town?—It is the only large town; in the villages, there are in some 3,000, some 2,000, and some as low as 200.

7073. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] How many villages altogether constitute, with Free Town, the colony of Sierra Leone?—There are so many little hamlets that it would be difficult to say; I know of 26 that we have intercourse with.

7074. There are 26 distinct places in which there are schools connected with the Church Missionary Society?—Quite so.

7075. What is your observation with respect to the attendance of the liberated African population at public worship?—I should say, if you take into consideration the other societies besides our own, the Wesleyans and the native teachers, there are rather more than one-third of that population in church on the Lord's day.

7076. Male and female?—Male and female, and children; in fact, you may go into one or two villages and hardly find a single person at home; mothers, infants and all are gone.

7077. But even in Free Town, as a considerable city, would you state that as large a proportion as one-third would be found in the different places of worship on the Lord's day?—I should say more than one-third even in Free Town; the streets are quite deserted during the hours of public worship.

7078. Are you prepared to state to this Committee, from your own experience and

Rev. E. Jones.

22 June 1848.

and observation as a minister of religion, that the conduct of the people forming, for example, a portion of your own flock, may be considered consistent with their attendance on such public worship?—I am quite prepared to say that.

7079. As compared, first, with the standard of the Gospel, and, secondly, with the example of other people similarly circumstanced?—I am fully prepared to say that, after 17 years' acquaintance with that colony.

7080. And you pledge your character as a minister of the Gospel, to this Committee, that so far as you can read the hearts of men, and judge of their conduct, the every-day conduct of the persons attending divine worship is consistent with their apparent devoutness when so attending?—I should say so, especially the communicants, with whom we have personal knowledge and constant intercourse.

7081. And the number of communicants exceeds 2,000?—Two thousand and forty-seven is the whole number at the present time.

7082. Is that as large a proportion as you would ordinarily find in congregations of the same form of worship in other places?—Much larger than I find here.

7083. You have no reason from your experience, extending now 17 years, to suspect that those who attend worship on the Lord's-day in Sierra Leone are making a mere profession of such worship?—I have no reason whatever.

7084. And if it were stated by any one that the behaviour of the people, though apparently very devout on the Lord's-day, is quite the contrary when they are not in public worship, that "it is more show than anything else," would you or would you not wish this Committee to regard that as an accurate representation of the fact?—I should use a stronger term than that.

7085. You have no reason to think that the object of the parties in going to church is merely to "exhibit themselves in church"?—I cannot fancy such a thing as that.

7086. Are you aware of any "heavy contributions" which are laid upon the members of the Church Missionary congregations?—There is no contribution at all laid upon them; all is voluntary.

7087. Then if it be stated that "heavy contributions" are laid upon those who attend church from time to time, which "absorb nearly all their little earnings," you would wish this Committee to understand that that is not, according to your view of things, an accurate representation of the fact?—It is perfectly untrue.

7088. Sir *E. Buxton.*] They do contribute towards the support of their ministers, do not they?—They contribute to the funds of the Church Missionary Society in various ways, but it is altogether voluntary; constraint would be out of question with those people.

7089. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] Does any proportion of what they contribute go to the individual income of the minister whom they attend?—No part or proportion.

7090. Sir *E. Buxton.*] It all belongs to the general funds of the Church Missionary Society?—Yes, and is fully accounted for in their Report.

7091. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] What proportion of the community of liberated Africans in Sierra Leone may be regarded as belonging to dissenting congregations, including, if it be necessary, even the Wesleyan missionaries in that term; in other words, what number of professing Christians are there in Sierra Leone not belonging to the Church Missionary congregations?—I should say, about one half.

7092. Can you subdivide that half amongst the different communions in Sierra Leone?—There are so many offshoots from the Wesleyan missions that it would be difficult to subdivide it.

7093. Does the Wesleyan mission represent more than half of the half to which you have now adverted?—It does so; the majority of those smaller sects are confined principally to Free Town, the capital.

7094. What number are there who attend the worship of the church of Rome?—There are no worshippers there; not professed worshippers.

7095. Then in point of fact, all are members of one or other of the Protestant congregations?—Yes.

7096. Can you state to this Committee what is the general area of the principal church in Sierra Leone; and secondly, what is the number of persons ordinarily attending it. How many, in fact, would it contain, and how many did it contain on the last occasion of your being present at public worship there?—The principal church is the government church; the colonial church; that is very large, but it is not well attended. By the black population it is pretty well attended;

attended; but the body of the church divided into pews has scarcely anybody in it; the galleries are generally filled, and the troops occupy a part of the church.

7097. When you say it is generally not well filled, can you give any reason to this Committee why that church is an exception to what you have described to be the state of other places of worship?—Because they have not got the care and attention of a resident minister so constantly as the Church Missionary chapels have; the colonial chaplain, being a government officer, occupies a position with regard to the people that we do not.

7098. In other words, do you wish the Committee to understand that he has not what is called the cure of souls?—He is looked upon rather as the chaplain to the Government.

7099. And without having necessarily the superintendence of any portion of the liberated population?—Exactly so.

7100. If then it be said that on a given day there were no more than 32 persons at one time, and 27 at another, the paucity so represented would be the consequence of the particular character of that church as connected with the government, and would not be a fair representation of the attendance of the people generally at public places of worship?—Quite so.

7101. Can you give to this Committee any information as to the numbers who may have attended, for example, that particular church in which you yourself ministered?—I should say that the average is between 500 and 600.

7102. Will you state at what hour in the morning the service first commences, and how long it lasts, and how many attend the morning service?—It begins at 11 in the morning; first, there is the morning prayer from half-past five to six o'clock; we do not call that a regular service.

7103. How many ordinarily attend that morning prayer?—It varies very much.

7104. What is the smallest number?—Thirty to forty.

7105. What is the largest number?—I should say 100.

7106. Then you come to the regular morning service at 11 o'clock; in your own church, without pledging yourself to numerical accuracy, about what is the smallest number that you recollect ever to have seen of your fellow worshippers?—It depends upon the season, whether it is the rainy season or the dry season.

7107. Take the smallest number?—I have never seen less than 200 at any time.

7108. What is the name of the church to which you are now calling our attention?—It is called the Kissy Road Chapel.

7109. Does it belong to the village of Kissy?—It belongs to Free Town.

7110. But on the Kissy road?—Yes.

7111. What is the distance from Kissy to Free Town?—Three miles.

7112. Does that congregation belong by habitation to Free Town?—To Free Town.

7113. The second public service is in the evening?—In the evening, at half-past six or seven.

7114. What is the smallest number whom you ever saw as your fellow worshippers, at that period of the day?—I do not think I have ever seen less than 150.

7115. Can you state at all what is the largest number whom you have ever seen?—About 400.

7116. Without supposing anything like perfection in the conduct of any one of them, was their general appearance devout and decorous?—Most creditable.

7117. And you again state your conviction, as a responsible minister watching over the souls of these people, that you have reason to believe that their general conduct is consistent with their public profession?—I can state that on my responsibility as a minister; of course men are the same there as elsewhere.

7118. How many chapels of ease are there, or churches, in Free Town, other than that principal church which you have described as the Colonial Church?—We have one finished and one building; in Free Town we have only one.

7119. Where do the white population generally go?—To the Colonial Church, when they do go.

7120. The expression which you have used in your last answer, "when they do go," implies that their attendance is not so habitual as you describe the attendance of the liberated African population; would you wish the Committee to draw the conclusion to which your attention has just been called?—I have held the

situation

Rev. E. Jones.

22 June 1848.

situation of acting colonial chaplain for six months, on two several occasions, and I have sometimes seen not a single European in the church.

7121. Is there any town called Sierra Leone, as distinct from Free Town?—No; that is the name of the colony.

7122. If it be said then, "Sierra Leone is a very small town; it has very few inhabitants, comparatively speaking," do you consider that that is an accurate representation of Free Town?—Any thing but that.

7123. How long has Free Town been settled?—It was settled, I think, at the latter part of the last century.

7124. That is a period of about 57 or 58 years. Would you consider that this is an accurate representation of the state of things: "From the time it has been settled, you would suppose that there would be 50 times as many." Do you conceive that that represents a correct view of the probabilities of the case; namely, that Free Town ought to be 50 times as populous as it is now, considering the period during which it has existed?—I think hardly so; when I arrived in the colony, Free Town had about 9,000 inhabitants, and it has now 15,000.

7125. Therefore it has nearly doubled during the 17 years in which you have known it?—Yes.

7126. Have you ever been in the West Indies?—Never in the West Indies.

7127. Your opinion, if you have formed any opinion, with respect to the moral condition of the liberated Africans who have been removed to the West Indies, and who have returned, and of the moral condition of their brethren whom they found there, would be founded, so far as relates to their condition in the West Indies, rather upon report than observation?—Quite so.

7128. Have you any reason to believe that the parties who have gone to the West Indies were more moral in the West Indies than they have been in Sierra Leone, before or after such immigration?—From my knowledge of many, they were more moral before.

7129. Would you say as a general observation, in reference to the state of mind, and state of heart of the liberated Africans who have been placed under your care, or who have been under your observation, that "their imaginations are more touched than their hearts," in respect to religion?—I cannot say that with our own people.

7130. On the contrary, you would state that, judging imperfectly, as all men must judge of the state of their neighbours, you believe that their hearts are justly affected?—I quite believe that, or there would be no truth in our work if I did not believe it.

7131. You have had no pecuniary interest in the instruction of the liberated Africans other than that which you derived from the salary allowed by the Church Missionary Society?—None whatever.

7132. And you have not been, in short, in any way dependent on the congregation which you have instructed for any portion of your maintenance?—In no way whatever.

7133. Your opinion, therefore, has been given to this Committee as the opinion of an ordained minister of our Episcopal Church, working for 17 years in Sierra Leone, and that opinion is distinctly, that the people are as devout, as decorous, as attentive in church, even more so, than many in our own country at home, and that their conduct in the week-day is not inconsistent with their conduct on the Lord's-day?—That is my deliberate conviction.

7134. In addressing these questions to you, though they may be considered as placing the phrases almost in your mouth, you wish the Committee to understand that you formally and deliberately adopt them?—I do.

7135. Sir E. Buxton.] There are, you say, 17 day-schools connected with the Church Missionary Society?—Yes.

7136. How many schools are there connected with other institutions?—It is hard to say.

7137. About the same number, perhaps?—I should say so, taking them altogether, in all the denominations.

7138. How many day-scholars have you in your school?—About 3000.

7139. How many Sunday scholars?—The day and Sunday schools make up very nearly 6,000; between 5,000 and 6,000.

7140. On the whole, there are under instruction in the schools between 5,000 and 6,000 persons?—Yes, youths and adults.

7141. Your business is, that you are superintendent of the institution at Foulah Bay?—That is my present business.

7142. You

7142. You have under your care there a considerable number of young men who are preparing to be teachers or ministers?—I have.

7143. How many are there at present?—I left 10 in March last year; I have had as many as 30.

7144. In what branches of education are they instructed?—They are instructed in all the usual branches of education of young men preparing for that work.

7145. Will you state generally and shortly what those branches are?—Arithmetic and mathematics, with Greek; they are able to read the Greek Testament.

7146. And do you find that those young men are intelligent?—I see no difference; but I am one of them myself.

7147. *Chairman.*] You observe no mental disqualification in the black race?—None whatever. I have observed, though, a marked difference between the children born in the colony and the children brought in as little slaves; there is a very marked difference in the capacity of those born in the colony; they are quicker and apter to learn than the others; that is my impression.

7148. Have you come to that conclusion upon the observation of a number of cases?—Yes; I have had them brought to me from the ship.

7149. And you think that there is a clear and marked distinction?—As a general thing; of course there are exceptions.

7150. As a general condition, you think there is a marked distinction in the mental capacity of those who are born in the colony, as compared with that of those who are born out of it?—I think so; and those brought in as little slaves come in so depressed and so bowed down and crushed, as it were, that it is a long time before they recover from that condition.

7151. There has been in those cases a good deal of physical suffering?—A great deal in every case, almost, that I have had to do with. I am speaking of my own personal knowledge.

7152. *Admiral Bowles.*] Those born in the colony are born of civilized and educated parents, comparatively?—Comparatively so.

7153. *Chairman.*] Do you really make that distinction; do you think that it is the circumstance of their being born of African parents who have undergone some training in the arts of civilization, or is it equally true of those who have been recently imported and have not had those advantages?—I think it is owing to the circumstances in which they are born in Sierra Leone; the influences by which they are surrounded.

7154. Then you do not refer it to the physical condition of the children?—Partly to the results of a state of slavery on board the slave ship.

7155. Do you refer the distinction which you have observed, to the physical suffering of the children before they were introduced into the colony, or do you refer it to the influential circumstances by which they are surrounded in the colony?—I refer it to the circumstances by which they are surrounded.

7156. And not to the physical suffering which the children may have undergone before they were introduced?—That has certainly been an ingredient in it.

7157. But not the whole explanation?—No.

7158. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Have some of those young men whom you have taught been ordained ministers of the Church of England?—Two are about to be ordained.

7159. And they are young men of good education and intelligence?—I have the report of the principal of the college, at Islington, the Rev. Mr. Child, where they now are, that they are quite equal to the majority of young men there.

7160. Can you tell us what is the amount of wages received for a day's labour in the colony?—It varies very much; the ordinary day labourers get from 4 *d.* to 6 *d.*

7161. Do you find the people industrious and willing to work?—Yes.

7162. For wages?—For wages.

7163. Provided they can get 4 *d.* or 6 *d.* are they willing to come and work continuously?—The case is this; that most of the day-labourers are persons holding little allotments of land; they will work part of the time, and part of the time be at home upon their land; they would not work continuously for any lengthened period.

7164. A large proportion of the people raise sufficient food on their own little bits of land to support them?—Quite so.

7165. Are the people well dressed?—I think too well dressed.

7166. The same complaint then is made which is made in the West Indies, that they

Rev. E. Jones.

22 June 1848.

they are too fond of dress?—That is my own view of the matter, that they are getting now too fond of finery.

7167. And on Sunday do they come to church gaily dressed?—The women have shoes and stockings, which is quite a change since I first went there.

7168. And smart bonnets?—They wear black beaver hats, many of them, bonnets are quite a novelty; they wear beaver hats, and handkerchiefs.

7169. And smart gowns?—As far as colour is concerned.

7170. What is the soil in Sierra Leone?—It is rather a poor soil.

7171. And if the numbers in the colony of Sierra Leone are extended you would recommend that the limits of the colony should also be extended?—I should say it is imperative upon the Government to do so.

7172. Are you aware whether any such productions as coffee or cotton are grown in the Government colony?—Coffee grows there; coffee is indigenous.

7173. Are you aware whether it has ever been cultivated with success?—Not to any extent; what is wanted in Sierra Leone is capital, and skill for its direction.

7174. If the colony were extended to some of the rivers in the neighbourhood, land might be found there which would be suitable for the cultivation of any tropical productions?—I have had acquaintance with the Brazilian commissioner some years ago. He tells me that the land opposite on the Boolom shore is thoroughly adapted to sugar; that it is fine sugar land.

7175. Have you been up any of the neighbouring rivers?—I have been up the rivers Nunez and Pongus.

7176. Are there British merchants situated on those rivers?—There are several, and French merchants.

7177. Are those merchants anxious for the protection of the British squadron?—Quite so; in fact they generally complain that they do not get the protection from the squadron which they ought to have.

7178. They are not sufficiently protected, in their own opinion?—Not sufficiently protected.

7179. They want the presence of a man-of-war to afford them that countenance which a man-of-war always does afford to merchants on the coast. Out of the colony they are in a lawless state of things.

7180. Have you seen anything of the slave trade in the neighbourhood of the colony?—I have seen a little of it.

7181. Is it carried on to any extent now near Sierra Leone?—Not near Sierra Leone; there is some little trade from the River Pongus; not much; none nearer to us than the Gallinas.

7182. *Chairman.*] The Sherboro?—That is the same thing; the Gallinas and the Sherboro; 150 miles.

7183. *Sir E. Buxton.*] You say that deputies have come from the West Indies to induce the people to emigrate from Sierra Leone to Jamaica, and other colonies?—They have.

7184. Has the effect of their representations been such, that the people have been inclined to go?—They are not at all inclined to go to the West Indies.

7185. The result of the evidence which they have received is, that they would be practically not better off?—Not better off than they are at home.

7186. That is the opinion in the colony?—That is the general opinion in the colony.

7187. Have those deputies generally returned, themselves, to the West Indies?—Some of them have; they were obliged to go back, being deputies; I do not mean that they were constrained.

7188. And they had superior situations?—They had.

7189. Have you seen anything of the liberated Africans who have arrived from the slave ships?—I have often been a witness of that sight; I was a Government officer for many years; the manager of a village to receive them on landing.

7190. And you found them depressed and in a very low state, both physically and mentally?—Both physically and mentally.

7191. Depressed in mind and body from the sufferings which they had undergone?—Yes.

7192. Did you find, that by kindness and good food and so on, they rapidly improved?—Very rapidly.

7193. That they were apt in learning the cultivation of the soil, and civilization in various ways?—It very much depends upon the character of the tribe to which

which they belong; there are one or two of the tribes that are in a very low scale.

7194. Are there many liberated Africans in the colony of Sierra Leone who have amassed property?—They own now the best houses in the best streets in Sierra Leone.

7195. Do many of them possess property?—There are three that I met with a week ago, who had come from Africa to import their own goods; I think in a few years they will have the whole trade of the colony in their own hands.

7196. They have come to England, with money in their hands, to buy goods?—Yes, three men who were formerly landed there as slaves.

7197. How long ago was it that they were landed there as slaves?—One of them, the eldest, I should say about 25 years; and the others somewhat less. The two youngest were landed as boys.

7198. Is it your opinion that the various stations in Africa, if they are to be continued in prosperity, require the defence of the squadron?—I think they do, indirectly; I would not say directly, but the indirect influence of the squadron is very great; the mere presence of a man-of-war, coming into this river or that river.

7199. Do you think that there would be a fear, if the squadron were withdrawn from the coast, that they would be liable to the ravages of the natives?—I should be afraid of it, especially if they gave up the colony of Sierra Leone; I should be really afraid of the consequences. I mean if the British Government gave it up, which I have heard talk of.

7200. Do you think it likely that a large number of emigrants can be obtained, to go from the coast of Africa to the West Indies, either from Sierra Leone or other parts?—From my knowledge of the way in which large bodies of men can be procured, I should say that it cannot be a voluntary emigration to any extent.

7201. Do you think that a certain number of Kroomen might be found to go?—They might, but they would not cultivate the ground.

7202. What is their occupation?—They do everything but cultivate the ground; they are very hard working men indeed; I never knew a Krooman cultivate the ground in Sierra Leone.

7203. They are watermen?—On board of a man-of-war they are very useful; they are cooks and servants in Free Town; they do everything but cultivate the ground.

7204. Are there many of them in Sierra Leone?—I believe we generally have about 700 in and about Sierra Leone, in the rivers and timber factories.

7205. When they come to Sierra Leone, do they settle there for life?—No; they come there principally to get money enough to go home and buy a wife, who cultivates the ground for them.

7206. They are all heathens?—They are in almost every case in Sierra Leone; I never met with but one or two who were converted. There is an American mission amongst them at Cape Palmas, which has been established for several years now; with what results I am hardly prepared to say; I have seen several Kroomen who could read and write.

7207. Have you such a knowledge of the Kroomen that you can state to the Committee whether they are freemen or not, in their own country?—They are free, as much as any African nation can be free of the chief; they are a very independent people in Sierra Leone, the most so of any we have.

7208. When they first come to Sierra Leone, are they entirely free, or under the management of a headman?—They always come under the management of a headman, who gets the better portion of their gains for several years, and then they do the same with the younger ones.

7209. They serve a sort of apprenticeship?—Just so.

7210. It is rather apprenticeship than what can be called slavery?—It is by no means slavery, because they know when they come to Sierra Leone that they can claim English protection; but I never knew a case where they did so.

7210*. After a time they would become the headmen?—After so many years.

7211. And work entirely for themselves?—Yes; and go back with their gains, a part of which goes to the chief for the procuring of a wife.

7212. Do many of the Kroomen marry in the colony?—I never knew but one case.

7213. Are they a well conducted set of people generally?—They are very noisy, very turbulent on shore; they live entirely by themselves.

Rev. E. Jones.

22 June 1848.

7214. They are a resolute people, are not they?—Very resolute.

7215. They live in one quarter of the city, by themselves?—Just so. I should say that the residence of the Kroomen is the most immoral part of Free Town; they are great thieves.

7216. And they bring neither wives nor children with them?—No; they are the people most in contact with Europeans on the coast.

7217. Is the food of different sorts which is used in Sierra Leone chiefly grown there?—All is grown there but the rice; the rice to a very small extent.

7218. Where is the rice grown?—In the rivers round about; much is brought from the Pongus and the Nunez, and much from Sherboro.

7219. The soil of Sierra Leone itself is very little fitted for the growing of rice?—Very little; it is two-thirds mountain land.

7220. Do you think that so far as the soil will permit, the colony has made good progress during the time that you have been there?—I think so, considering the many disadvantageous circumstances, the succession of different Governors, and the little attention really paid to the improvement of the colony heretofore; it is only of late years that anything has been done; the plan of dealing with the African on his arrival is, that after six years he is turned over and left to do as he can.

7221. Mr. E. Denison.] From your knowledge of the state of society in general, through Africa, so far as you know it, do you think that there is not much chance of getting free emigrants to go to the West Indies from any part?—I should think not; not out of British settlements.

7222. Supposing Africans were to return from the West Indies, bringing information, and showing the results in their own persons, and inviting others to go back with them, do you think that they would not be able to procure numbers of volunteers in any part to go?—I will only tell you the effect which it has had on tribes round about Sierra Leone; when the traders come down (and they come down in large numbers) to bring goods to Sierra Leone, many of the persons who bring the goods are slaves; the knowledge of those people coming to Sierra Leone has kept them away, they will not cross the river to come over to Sierra Leone; they keep on the other side. I think this could be done; if the Government allowed free emigration from Sierra Leone, and vessels came down for natives, a large number of domestic slaves would take advantage of the opportunity.

7223. Sir E. Buxton.] And run away?—Yes.

7224. Mr. E. Denison.] Then it would not be with the good will of the chiefs, and of the tribes from whom they came?—No, it would not, because they would not benefit by it.

7225. Do you think any arrangement could be made with chiefs and others, to permit the passing of persons of their tribe as emigrants?—It would be virtually buying them.

7226. Do you think that this state of things prevails through a great portion of the coasts of Africa?—I quite think so, coastwise; we have little knowledge of any extent back in the country.

7227. There is no part of the coast more than another that you think would be likely to afford any number of free emigrants?—The Kroo Coast, I should say, more than any other.

7228. But you have said that the Kroomen are not men suited for field labour?—Not in Sierra Leone; but they are men very fond of money, and very large numbers go together, not knowing what they will do.

7229. Still there are many things connected with the Kroomen; first of all their habits, and next their not taking their women with them, and so on, which would not be likely to make Kroomen go out for any length of time to a foreign country; is it not so?—I think that no African would engage to go away for a very long time.

7230. But for a term of years; three or five years?—For a term of years.

7231. Then, any persons who should hope for a great free emigration from Africa to the West Indies, in your opinion, would be deceived?—I think so, as far as my knowledge of the coast extends; very much deceived.

7232. Do you think if the British fleet were withdrawn from the coast of Africa, that in those parts of the coast where the palm-oil trade and other trades now prevail, slave trade would be likely to spring up again?—I think almost immediately.

7233. And

7233. And if slave trade were to spring up again, it is still a favourite trade in the hearts of the people, is it not?—It is with the chiefs.

7234. Would it be likely, do you think, to injure and stop the legitimate trade?—I do not see how legitimate trade could flourish under such circumstances on the coast of Africa.

7235. Then you think that it is the forced suppression of the slave trade that has set the legitimate trade first of all on foot?—That is my opinion.

7236. And that it is not the legitimate trade which has put an end to the slave trade?—It is the combination; legitimate trade has indirectly a very great influence; it requires nursing.

7237. Then you do not think that the legitimate trade has taken such root in any part, that if the fleet for the suppression of slavery were removed, the slave trade would not again revive, and perhaps hurt the legitimate trade?—As long as the profits are so immense to those engaged in the slave trade, I do not see any chance for legitimate trade to flourish.

7238. *Chairman.*] You have stated in answer to a question just put to you by the Honourable Member who examined you last, that any arrangement which could be made with the chiefs for the purpose of permitting the people of Africa to proceed to the West Indies as emigrants, would be in the nature of the slave trade?—That is my opinion.

7239. That it would be virtually purchasing them as slaves?—Quite so.

7240. Would you make that observation, if you supposed that these parties proceeded with their own free will?—No, certainly not.

7241. Then you assumed, when you gave that answer, that the parties would proceed against their will?—There is no other way of their coming away in fact; it would operate thus, that a large number of the domestic slaves would be made use of and sent away upon that occasion.

7242. But that observation would only apply to those who went against their will?—Yes.

7243. If they went with their free consent, you would not consider it a species of slave trade?—Certainly not, with their free consent, if it could be had.

7244. *Colonel Thompson.*] How many do you think would ever go with their free consent; do you see a probability of any considerable number going with their free consent or not?—I see none but runaway domestic slaves.

7245. If there were any opening for the emigration of Africans, with their own consent, to the West Indies, what do you think would be the effect of, at the same time, removing the squadron; if a voluntary emigration were begun in any degree to the West Indies, what would be the effect of then removing the squadron on the coast of Africa?—I should think it would require to be kept with still greater attention under those circumstances.

7246. Why would you wish the squadron to be kept?—Because the very fact of a voluntary emigration would be such a temptation to parties to get men, that it would lead to the slave trade unless closely watched and superintended.

7247. Then do you think that one of the first steps towards effecting a voluntary emigration from the coast of Africa would be to continue the operations of the squadron against the slave trade?—I think so.

7248. Do you think that it would be a reason for increasing the operativeness of the squadron on the coast of Africa, supposing you were starting a plan for emigration?—I quite think so.

7249. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] You have referred to the contributions by the liberated Africans in their congregations, and you have stated that the individual minister derives no personal advantage; can you state to what purposes those contributions are destined?—They go to the general purposes of the Church Missionary Society.

7250. Can you state any particular instance in which a contribution was raised for the relief of parties, whom the individuals contributing had never seen?—The Kissy Road Church, which I had charge of for four years, in the year 1847 raised for different purposes the sum of 139*l.* by voluntary subscriptions.

7251. Do you know anything of a contribution raised for a church at Abbeokuta?—There were 19*l.* of that sum raised for the church in Abbeokuta, and 15*l.* for a church now being built in another part of Free Town.

7252. The church in Abbeokuta is a church in a place at which none of the parties contributing had ever been?—Just so; in fact, that settlement is quite an era in Africa; it is the effect of the Niger expedition.

Rev. E. Jones.

22 June 1848.

7253. You have referred to the Niger expedition; you were in Africa at the time the Niger expedition was sent forth?—I was.

7254. What effect did it produce upon the minds of the persons in Sierra Leone; and, secondly, upon the minds of any other natives in any other parts of Africa with which you are acquainted?—One striking effect was wonder that the English people should take so much trouble to go up there for the purposes of trade and commerce.

7255. Was it supposed that the English had any other motives than those of trade and commerce?—Motives of benevolence; that was what struck them most.

7256. That it was an expedition even more of benevolence than of trade?—Yes.

7257. You have referred to the settlement at Abbeokuta as one of the consequences of that expedition; can you state to this Committee what are the links by which that settlement at Abbeokuta is connected with the Niger expedition?—In this way: when that expedition came out, the feeling was very vivid in every one's bosom; they desired that they might go back to their own country.

7258. In Sierra Leone?—The liberated slaves many of them applied to the Government for a passage down there; the Government discountenanced it for fear of their being recaptured and made slaves of again; they went down themselves to Badagry, and then inland; and I may say they, unknown to themselves, found themselves in their own country, amongst people speaking their own language; numerous parties went. This went on for several years; parties came back; the news spread, and others went. There are many cases where persons have gone back after 25 years, and one has found his father, another his mother, and several relations.

7259. In the number so going back, the Rev. Samuel Crowther was included?—Yes; but he was sent by our society on application.

7260. But he was one who found his mother after an interval of 20 years?—Yes; and two sisters.

7261. He himself having been a liberated African from the hold of a slave ship?—Quite so.

7262. He was also engaged in the Niger expedition?—He was; and there he manifested such character and conduct as to lead to his being sent to England for ordination; but for that expedition he never would have been as he is; he would not have been known here as he showed himself there.

7263. Can you proceed to state to the Committee any other results of the Niger expedition, favourable to the developement of African character?—Yes; it led to the committees of the different societies; the Wesleyan and Church Missionary societies, seeing that they must make most strenuous efforts to bring forward native missionaries by proper education; and since that expedition a great impetus has been given to the African mind in the increased qualifications of schoolmasters, and the instruction given; it has been a very great benefit of late years, since the year 1840.

7264. Is it consistent with your own knowledge to state to this Committee what was the mortality in connexion with the Niger expedition?—I have no personal knowledge, not having been on board; 45 I have heard was the number.

7265. Have you reason to think that that was a larger or a smaller proportion of mortality than occurs in the West Indian regiments?—I have no reason to think that it is larger.

7266. In point of fact it is an incident of the African climate that the life of a white man, generally speaking, is exposed to more risk than the life of an original native?—Quite so.

7267. You have no reason to think that any circumstance was neglected by which the health of the white men employed in that expedition could have been sustained?—I know of none.

7268. The result of your own experience and observation on the coast of Africa would probably be in favour of native agency?—To a far greater extent than it has been hitherto attended to.

7269. Can you state whether the colony of Sierra Leone be or be not a competent instrument for the diffusion, by means of native agency, of the blessings of Christianity and civilization?—It is my opinion that it is so, and has been made much more so since the year 1840 than it ever was before.

7270. You consider that the stimulus given by that expedition to the African mind, and the stimulus given to the European mind also, in reference to the African

African mind, have together produced a beneficial result upon the state of society in Africa?—That is quite my opinion.

7271. You would consider that any measure which weakened the influence of the colony of Sierra Leone, would in proportion diminish the good likely to arise to Africa?—Quite so; I think Sierra Leone is an important element in the civilizing and Christianizing of Africa.

7272. Whatever may have been the condition of Sierra Leone at a period previous to your own arrival, do you or do you not wish the Committee to consider, that since your experience commenced, namely, 17 years ago, the colony of Sierra Leone has been advancing in general prosperity and civilization?—It has been one of great and constant progress.

7273. Mr. *E. Denison*.] You have spoken of the great profits of the slave trade; those profits are large at present, are they not?—So I am informed.

7274. You are aware that very great numbers of slaves, amounting to 60,000 or 70,000 annually, are carried from the coast of Africa now, in spite of the squadron for the suppression of that trade?—So they say.

7275. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You have no reason to doubt it?—No, I have no reason to doubt it; but I have no personal knowledge about it.

7276. Mr. *E. Denison*.] Have you any doubt, that if the demand for slaves in Cuba and Brazil should continue as it is, or should increase, there would be power of obtaining that number of slaves which is required from the coast?—I think you can get almost any number of slaves that you want from the chiefs; if they want slaves, they can easily make up some offence against their neighbours, and burn the town, and capture all the inhabitants, which is the usual way in such cases.

7277. Then, although you think that keeping the fleet on the coast is advantageous in many ways, yet so long as you hear that 60,000 or 70,000 slaves are carried away from the coast every year, you cannot say that the fleet is effectual at all in stopping the slave trade?—No; I should say this: that if 60,000 are carried away now, there would be treble that number if the squadron were taken away.

7278. Sir *E. Burton*.] I imagine that you have not had much personal experience whether the squadron is or is not effective in checking, though it does not put down the slave trade?—No personal experience, but from my acquaintance on the coast.

7279. Upon that subject you have not had much personal experience, I think:—Except one year when Captain Denman was on the coast; that year, all of us were witnesses of the effect produced by his operations.

7280. In the Gallinas?—In the Gallinas.

7281. Were you at the Gallinas, or in the neighbourhood of it?—In the neighbourhood of it.

7282. What was the effect of his operations?—We scarcely heard of a slaver going away from the Gallinas for a long time.

7283. *Chairman*.] And you attribute that to Captain Denman's operations?—To the going on shore and destroying the barracoons.

7284. You attribute the cessation of the slave trade to Captain Denman's operations?—I do.

7285. Sir *E. Burton*.] Can you tell us why it is that the females are now in Sierra Leone more equal in numbers to the males than they were some years ago?—I can hardly say what is the real cause of it, because I have no data as to the proportions of their arrivals of late years, but I have seen cargoes.

7286. Have females come from other parts of the coast to marry the men that are there?—No; they have only been brought in as slaves; but in some cargoes of late years the majority have been females and children; it varies; sometimes they are all boys; some all men; sometimes mostly women.

7287. Viscount *Brackley*.] Can you tell us how far the increase of population of which you have spoken in Sierra Leone is attributable to the importation of liberated slaves, or to the usual causes of the increase of population?—I am not able to tell that, but the Africans in Sierra Leone are very prolific.

7288. Do you suppose that there is a great excess of births over deaths?—I think a very great excess, and many go away and you do not know where they go; they go away into the interior for the purposes of trade. There are hundreds settled all around Sierra Leone, north and south in the country.

7289. There is no restraint upon their movements?—No restraint whatever.

Rev. E. Jones.

22 June 1848.

7290. Have any of those liberated Africans ever shown any desire to return to their own country?—There is a very strong feeling in all of them to go back to their own country; the difficulty is personal security. I have known many persons who have gone out from Sierra Leone trading, and they happened to be in a village where a war party would come, and they themselves have been taken and all their property, and it has been difficult to get a ransom; that has occurred within 150 miles of Sierra Leone.

7291. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have referred to the mode of capture of slaves, when in point of fact they had been previously liberated; have you any personal knowledge, or any knowledge founded upon information which you have received in the colony, of the mode by which parties are made slaves in the first instance?—From frequent intercourse with captured slaves, in every case where I have conversed with them, they have been persons captured in war; the town has been surprised and burnt down, and they have been taken.

7292. Do you wish the Committee to understand that the war so made has been made for the purpose of taking slaves, as you have led the Committee to suppose by a previous answer?—So far as my knowledge goes, from great intercourse with them.

7293. In a previous answer you stated, in substance, that if there were an increased demand for slaves the chiefs would procure such slaves by seizing and stealing their neighbours, or by burning their neighbours' town in order to obtain its inhabitants as slaves; was that the construction which you desired the Committee to apply to your previous answer?—It was.

7294. War made specifically for the purpose of seizing and selling the opposite party?—Just so, to obtain slaves.

7295. Can you state any instance to the Committee in which any native, now liberated, has described his own individual sufferings, and the mode in which he himself had become a slave, in the hold of a ship?—We have an ordained missionary, Mr. Crowther, who was so.

7296. Did he to yourself describe the way in which he had been originally taken?—He did.

7297. Can you, from recollection, state it to this Committee?—It is many years ago since I had it from his own mouth; but the fact of it was, that the place was set on fire, and he taken; he was separated from his father and mother; it is many years ago since I heard him make the statement.

7298. But his statement left you no doubt that the town in which he and his family were dwelling peaceably was surprised, that is, was taken without previous notice of hostility, and that its inhabitants, so far as they could be, were carried away and sold as slaves by the victorious party?—That is my impression.

7299. The Rev. Samuel Crowther distinctly gave you to understand that such was the fact in reference to his own case?—Yes.

7300. Have you reason to believe, from your intercourse with other liberated Africans, that a similar catastrophe had brought them into the condition of slaves?—I could not number the cases in which I have heard the same statements related to me by individuals.

7301. In all which cases the war was begun and carried on, not on the ordinary principles of hostility prevailing in Europe, but distinctly for the purpose of making and selling slaves?—Distinctly for that latter purpose.

7302. Admiral Bowles.] The danger of being one's self taken and sold as a slave prevents much intercourse between the colony of Sierra Leone and the interior, as I understand you?—It does so; it prevents, you may say, all intercourse almost; there is very little intercourse, it is so frequently interrupted. There would be an immense trade from the back countries could there be security for the paths and roads being opened, and kept open.

7303. Could we extend our frontier there, without engaging in wars with the actual possessors?—In Sierra Leone you could, and round Sierra Leone. The native chiefs are getting very jealous now, through the slave trade, of our getting land. Years ago we could have had the whole coast.

7304. Sir R. H. Inglis.] In the journal of the Rev. Henry Townsend, which arrived in this country on the 12th of the present month, and is dated Abbeakuta, for the quarter ending 25 December 1847, it is stated as follows: "The trade of this country is carried on under various disadvantages, and much personal danger; hundreds are kidnapped, or killed in the roads leading to their various trading marts; but in the face of these dangers their trade is carried on, checked occasionally

occasionally for a time, but the disposition of the people to trade does not allow them to sit down idle." Does this statement accord, or otherwise, with your own view of the native character?—It quite accords with it; they are a money-making people.

7305. You believe then, that the slave trade is thus directly the means of checking lawful commerce in the interior?—It is so; I know of cases where persons have left Sierra Leone, and gone on the road to Timboo, on the north, or to the south, and some of the party have been made slaves of; still they will repeat the same route again.

7306. Therefore, you consider that anything which closed the slave trade, would immediately let loose the energy of the African mind in respect to interior commerce?—I quite think so.

Rev. E. Jones.

22 June 1848.

Jovis, 29^o die Junii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Hutt.
Mr. Simeon.
Viscount Courtenay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Barkly.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Mr. Gladstone.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

The Rev. John Clarke, called in; and Examined.

7307. *Chairman.*] YOU have been for some time resident on the coast of Africa?—Yes.

Rev. J. Clarke.

7308. In what part of the coast?—On the western coast.

29 June 1848.

7309. What part of the western coast?—At Fernando Po and at Bimbia.

7310. Bimbia is almost immediately opposite Fernando Po, in the Bight of Biafra?—Yes.

7311. In what capacity were you residing there?—As a missionary, in connexion with the Baptist Missionary Society.

7312. How long have you been in that part of the world?—I went out first in 1840 and returned in 1842, and sailed again for Africa in 1843; reached it in the beginning of 1844, and remained there till 1847.

7313. When did you leave the coast of Africa?—The 15th of May 1847.

7314. *Sir E. Buxton.*] What parts of the western coast are you personally acquainted with?—In making the voyage we sailed along the Kroo Coast, from Settra Kroo to the river St. Andrew's, to two towns beyond that river; and we visited Cape Palmas, also Cape Coast Castle; spent a few hours at Cape Palmas; about five days at Cape Coast Castle, and then proceeded to Fernando Po. I have been altogether between three and four years on the island of Fernando Po, including the first and second visits.

7315. You were 10 months upon the main land?—Yes; residing at Bimbia; but we visited also the river Bonny in our vessel; and several times visiting the river Old Calabar, and went about 50 miles up the Cameroons River. I have visited Cameroons also many times.

7316. Can you give the Committee any information as to the power that there is of obtaining free emigrants from the coast of Africa?—I do not know any place where free emigrants can be obtained except perhaps a few at Sierra Leone, and perhaps a very few at Cape Coast Castle.

7317. Do you think that a large supply of Kroomen could be obtained?—It is probable that a considerable number might be obtained, if no evil report has reached that country as to the treatment of Kroomen who have left already; but if any report of that kind reaches, no Kroomen will be obtainable from the place to which the report has gone.

7318. Have you yourself ever employed Kroomen, or seen them employed?—

Rev. J. Clarke.

29 June 1848.

We have hired some ; but we found them at Fernando Po. But in the vessel in which Dr. Prince and myself were passengers, upwards of 80 Kroomen were taken in as we passed along the coast, and those were employed to labour as woodcutters at Fernando Po ; they were engaged by the agent of the West African Company.

7319. Was there an establishment at Fernando Po, in connexion with the Baptist Missionary Society?—Yes, there was.

7320. What is the nature of the establishment at Fernando Po?—It is a missionary establishment intended chiefly for the preaching of the Gospel to the natives, and for the establishment of schools, and imparting instruction wherever we go.

7321. You bought property from the West African Company?—Yes. The property that was first purchased from the British Government, and transferred to the West African Company, was afterwards bought by the Baptist Missionary Society.

7322. Do you consider that the Kroomen would be really free men?—No; they are called free men, and so are the natives of Fernando Po; but neither one nor the other are actually free.

7323. Their state is one that can hardly be called freedom either or slavery?—No, they are very much offended if you call them slaves; they will not bear the name; but at the same time they are not free to act for themselves.

7324. If you wish to obtain Kroomen you must apply to the chiefs?—Yes, and pay two or three months' pay in advance to their chiefs; the chiefs take that away with them; they give no part of it to the man left on board the vessel.

7325. Did the Kroomen employed at Fernando Po receive wages themselves?—They received their wages, but I was informed by them that they had to give it up on reaching home; and that if the chief was a kind man he would give a considerable part back to them, that they might make presents to their parents and friends; or he would give them a wife; a strange way, but such is the fact, I believe.

7326. Did they consider, when they were working at Fernando Po, that they were free to remain there as long as they liked; or were they under compulsion by their head man to go back with him?—There was no regular plan for taking them back. When their time was up, I believe they were allowed to go in any vessel that called. On one occasion the West African Company sent a small vessel up to the coast for rice, which took a considerable number home again.

7327. But if they chose they were practically able to stay there as long as they liked?—Yes; one remained, and married there, and died; but only one that I know of.

7328. What do you mean by saying that they returned home "when their time was up"?—A promise is usually made that they shall return in three years or in five years, and according to that arrangement, they consider that when the three years or the five years is up, they are at liberty to go home; but they could not return before that time without running away, and when they did attempt to run away natives were employed to bring them back, men engaged by the agent of the West African Company to seize upon them if they saw them going through the woods to another settlement, and bring them back, and then they were tied up and flogged just as slaves would have been.

7329. They were apprenticed for three or five years to the West African Company?—Yes; there was no written engagement, but a verbal one.

7330. Did they understand that that was the agreement, before they left their own country?—Yes; I heard one man inquire of the agent, "When will you send these boys back?" He said, "Oh, in three or perhaps in five years." He replied, "Very well; that will do;" threw the cloth overboard into the canoe and left the poor creatures on board in a state of nudity; and we had to collect all the old clothes we could get, and to cut up some canvas to give them covering of the most simple sort.

7331. Did you visit some of the stations on the Kroo Coast?—Only Cape Palmas; I was there only a few hours; but they traded with the natives all the way down; so that we often came to anchor and saw the people from Settra Kroo until we reached Cotrahu.

7332. Had you any opportunity of seeing the American mission established at Cape Palmas?—We spent the three hours we were on shore with the American missionaries.

7333. Did

7333. Did they give you encouraging accounts of their labours among the natives there?—No, they were rather discouraged; the Presbyterian missionaries had 12 converts, as they believed, but they were chiefly from among the number of the children that had been taught in the schools; the American Episcopalian missionaries, who lived at a place called Mount Vaughan, had, I think, six at the time; that was in the end of 1840. I think it was 17 altogether that they supposed were converted to God from among the natives.

7334. That was after several years of labour among them?—J. L. Wilson had been six years labouring among them if my memory serves me right.

7335. Was your attention drawn to the condition of the natives at Cape Palmas?—Yes; we saw a funeral; and we saw what they called their "Devil" house; and we also went into several of their huts and saw the people; they appeared to be in a low degraded state; we visited three native towns.

7336. Did they appear to you to be in a state of freedom or of slavery in their own country?—I suppose it is just as I described before, what they call freedom, but what is not actually freedom.

7337. Are they in the habit of cultivating the soil to any great extent?—They cultivate the soil for the production of rice in many parts.

7338. Is a great quantity of that exported to Fernando Po and other places?—A vast quantity of rice is sent to supply the Kroomen in the rivers with food; they like the food to which they have been accustomed much better than the yams that they obtain in the rivers.

7339. So that they are not only employed as seamen and boatmen, but they are also capable of cultivating the soil?—Yes; several of them cultivate the soil, but I rather think that the cultivation is carried on by females; I have no very correct information on that subject.

7340. Can you inform the Committee whether there is any possibility of obtaining emigrants who would go west from other parts of Africa besides the Kroo Coast?—I am not aware of any place except Sierra Leone and Cape Coast Castle; there are very few at Cape Coast Castle, but as we passed along some of the young men offered to go with us, which leads me to suppose that they were free.

7341. At Bimbia, did you find that the natives were in a state of freedom?—There are very few of them free; it is the slaves who usually come over to Fernando Po and are employed there as sawyers, wood-cutters and labourers.

7342. Are you aware whether any application was ever made to the King of Bimbia, King William, for labourers?—He has sent a great number from Fernando Po, but has been unable to have them returned, and complains very bitterly at the present time of having been deceived by some persons who were at Fernando Po; he would not be disposed to send any more there.

7343. Unless they were bought?—He would not sell them to go to Fernando Po; none are sold away from the place at present.

7344. What is the proportion of slaves and of freemen in that part of the coast of Africa in which you were resident?—From what captains of vessels assert, and which I suppose may be correct, there are nine slaves to one freeman in the Old Calabar River. I suppose at Bimbia there are not quite so many slaves.

7345. But a great proportion of the common people were slaves to the chiefs, or to the most opulent freemen?—Yes; but there are not a great number of those slaves residing in the towns; they live back on the farms, and cultivate the ground, and some of them are employed in going up the rivers to buy palm oil.

7346. You have also been in the West Indies a considerable time?—Yes.

7347. Have you had an opportunity there of observing the condition of the emigrants from Africa or from India?—I have not seen very many emigrants from Africa. I saw, when in Demerara, two Kroo men; one seemed happy, and comfortable, and well dressed, the other seemed cast down and depressed. But I have seen in Jamaica some from Sierra Leone, who had remained there for a few years, and seemed to have gone on pretty well; but it is not so with many of them. The fact undoubtedly is, that almost all the emigrants who have gone to the West Indies have been very soon cut down by disease, and have not been of much use to the colonies.

7348. Are you speaking of Europeans?—I am speaking of Europeans, and people from Madeira, and also the Coolies. I saw more misery among the Coolies than among any other people during my last visit to Jamaica.

Rev. J. Clarke.

29 June 1848.

7349. When were you in Jamaica last year?—I landed in Jamaica on the 6th of July last year, and remained there till the 24th of March this year. I travelled over nearly the whole island, and saw distress and misery wherever the emigrants were.

7350. Do you think that the same distress would result if emigration were to take place from Africa?—Not perhaps to the same extent; but I should be afraid that it would, to a considerable extent.

7351. Mr. Gladstone.] What description of distress was it that you saw among the Coolies in Jamaica; was it apparently arising from poverty, or from immorality, or from neglect?—It arose in the first place from sore feet, generally caused by the chigoes which get into them, and then they are unable to work. Upon most of the estates that I heard of, they allowed them to go away when they were unable to work; they wandered away and begged among the people. They were not very well supplied; they had poor food, and so they got fever, and just laid down. I saw many of them lying under the trees at night, and in evident distress, dying partly from starvation.

7352. Greatly emaciated?—Some of them very much so; all of them distressed with those sores.

7353. What did you understand to be the original cause of those sores; did you understand that it was want of cleanliness?—I think it was rather the change of food, and little of it.

7354. Then did you understand that the wages that the Coolies could get in Jamaica were insufficient to procure them abundant food?—I rather think the distress arose in the cases of those who were unable to work for wages. Very few of them appeared to me to be at work, compared with those going about the city of Kingston, and the different towns, and about the roads.

7355. You were understood to say that you saw many in distress. But what did you understand to be the original cause of that distress; did it originally affect only those unable to work when they came into the colony, or were those who were able to work unable to procure themselves an abundance of food by means of their wages?—I think it was not confined entirely to those who left the estates on which they had laboured; for I passed through several estates where they had hospitals for the sick, and I saw a great many Coolies sitting about the doors with those sore feet, dressing their food, and seeming in very great misery also.

7356. Are you aware whether it is the practice on the estates in Jamaica generally to give the Coolies medical attendance as part of the consideration for their labour, or are they left to find that for themselves?—I believe there is medical attendance. I cannot speak with certainty upon that, but I should suppose there is.

7357. You were understood to say that your impression is that the cause of the attack of those chigoes was an insufficiency of food?—No; the chigoes will attack any person, and if they do not take care and have them taken out immediately they cause this injury after a short time. There is neglect in the first place.

7358. Then how far are you entitled to ascribe the distress that you saw among the Coolies to an insufficiency of food?—I believe they are not accustomed to those things in their own country, and they were among the things that should have been attended to by their employers, as being important to their being able to continue at work in the fields. Those were not, I think, attended to, and when they were found unable to work they were sometimes, by the agents, desired to leave, and certainly allowed to leave when they thought proper; and they preferred going away from the estate and begging upon the roads and at the houses of the natives in Jamaica, rather than remaining on the estates where they had been at first located.

7359. You speak of their having been desired to leave; were those Coolies who were not labouring under contract? If they were labouring under an unexpired contract they could not be desired to leave, could they?—I understood they were quite encouraged to leave; they were not forced to leave, but it was understood that they might go away if they thought proper.

7360. The insufficiency of food to which you refer was an insufficiency of food after they had become incapable of work through the attack of the chigoes, that attack being caused by neglect?—I cannot speak from personal knowledge, but from the description I heard of their condition I believe that the immigrants in Jamaica have an insufficient supply of food on the estates.

7361. Even

7361. Even when they are engaged in labour?—Even when they are engaged in labour, and more especially when they are affected with sores.

7362. The question refers now to the condition of the healthy; did you understand that the wages given to the healthy were not sufficient to procure them an abundance of food?—I do not know what the wages were.

7363. You speak of the sustenance of the sick?—Chiefly.

7364. *Chairman.*] You said that the description given of the immigrants was, that they did not obtain a sufficiency of food; by whom was that description given?—In the newspapers and by friends with whom I conversed on the subject of Coolie emigration. My information was obtained from the Coolies themselves as far as could be, but it was difficult to obtain information from them, so few could communicate in any way.

7365. Are the Committee to understand that this part of your evidence refers exclusively to Coolies?—Yes.

7366. Not to natives of Africa?—No; I do not know of any such cases arising among them.

7367. Will you explain what is the nature of this attack of the chigoes?—It is an insect that gets under the skin and produces a sort of bag there.

7368. *Mr. Simeon.*] Are not the Coolies furnished with provision grounds the same as ordinary labourers on the estates?—I am not aware whether they are or not.

7369. Are the chigoes found on the coast of Africa?—No.

7370. And therefore emigrants going from the coast of Africa would be equally unaware of the attacks which they were exposed to on reaching the colonies with the Coolies?—Yes, they would.

7371. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Are you aware whether complaints have been made by the Coolies, and also by the Creole labourers, of great irregularity in the payment of their wages?—I cannot speak of the Coolies in that matter; but there have been very great complaints made by the labourers, the natives of Jamaica.

7372. Do you know it of your own personal knowledge; have they ever complained to you?—When residing for some time at Mount Hermon I heard of one estate where they had kept them out of their wages about five months, and had rather annoyed them when they went to ask for their money; but perhaps there might be some dispute about the work; I am not sure upon that point.

7373. Is it your opinion that such complaints as those were common in Jamaica?—I believe they were very common; I heard them all over the island.

7374. That was during the latter part of last year?—I was there from July until March this year.

7375. During that time you heard frequent complaints that the wages were irregularly paid?—Yes; that was given as the grand reason why labour was not obtained; that the labourers were not regularly paid.

7376. Was it your opinion, from what you saw in Jamaica, that the original cause of the irregularity of the labour was the irregularity in the payment of the wages?—I think that was the grand cause in almost every part of the island.

7377. Do you believe that provided there was sufficient capital to pay the wages regularly, the black population would be willing to work regularly five days in the week?—I think that they are very industrious, and that if they were paid justly, and kindly treated at the same time, they would work four days at any rate. I do not know whether they would work five, for they have their own grounds to cultivate. At the same time, there are now more than 23,000 black and coloured freeholders. According to the census taken in 1844 the number was upwards of 22,000, and it must have increased considerably since that time. Then those people have land and houses; many of them also have horses and mules to carry their produce to market. They have furniture superior to anything they ever thought of in the days of slavery or of apprenticeship; they have better clothing and better food; they must work and be industrious in order to procure all those things.

7378. They have a great taste for those things?—They have a very great taste, and the gratifying one desire seems just to create another; they go on desiring one thing after another, and seeking to obtain it.

7379. And it is rather for those comforts and luxuries that they labour than for food?—They have much better food than they had in former days. When I went to Jamaica first, in 1829, the slaves were very well satisfied if they had

half

Rev. J. Clarke.

29 June 1848.

half a dollar a week to live upon ; but now, I suppose, very few of them would think of living on that sum.

7380. Is it your opinion that immigration is necessary for Jamaica?—It is not my opinion that it is necessary, but I should have no objection to immigration if there could be free immigration.

7381. You think that some immigration might be advantageous to the general condition of the colony?—Advantageous to those who require labourers, but not perhaps to the present labourers. I do not know whether it might ultimately be to their advantage.

7382. Do you think that without immigration there is sufficient labour in the colony to cultivate the estates in Jamaica that are already in cultivation?—I think if there was money to pay the labourers there is abundance of labourers to cultivate the estates as well as ever they were cultivated in time of slavery.

7383. There are sufficient labourers who are willing to work on the estates?—I think there are; there is no strong objection to working on the estates. In St. Elizabeth the people cannot get work; they were working when I was in St. Elizabeth for what they call a bit and 5*d.* a day, which is 7½*d.* a day. The wages ranged from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a day over the island.

7384. For how many hours of work?—I do not know whether it is eight or nine; it is a very common practice however to take job work.

7385. A man working by job can finish his work in less time?—Yes; or if he works as many hours he will do more work. One very great hardship connected with this subject has been that a man of respectable character has undertaken a job, and hired a number of labourers to perform the work, and at the end has not been able to obtain his money; not he himself only, but all that were employed by him have been disappointed, and the minds of those men who were employed by him have been set against the estate in that way; they have said, "Well, we shall not think of labouring there again when we cannot get our money."

7386. One great reason for the disinclination of the people to work on the estates is the fear that after they have done their work they may not get their wages?—I believe that objection is the only objection that they have; whenever they are fairly paid and kindly treated they are willing to work.

7387. Has the Creole population increased largely in number since emancipation?—I am not aware of that.

7388. *Chairman.*] You said that you considered that some immigration might be advantageous to the general condition of the island of Jamaica; but still you say there are portions of the island in which there is an excess of labour, where the labourers would work, but they cannot get work; is not there some inconsistency in those statements?—In St. Elizabeth there are no sugar plantations, or very few; I am not aware of any. In many parts of St. Elizabeth there are only coffee plantations, so that during a considerable part of the year the people have not employment; they would be glad to get it if they were near to estates; but as to the general benefit that might arise from an increase of labourers, that view I derive from seeing the great quantity of uncultivated land and excellent land still in the island; if that could be brought into cultivation it would be all the better, for Jamaica is capable of maintaining a population two or three times as large as its present population.

7389. Then it would not be for the purpose of maintaining the cultivation of estates now under cultivation, but for the purpose of employing the population upon unbroken lands in Jamaica that you would recommend immigration?—Every estate has much virgin land; it would only be increasing the cultivation on some estates.

7390. It is not for the purpose of maintaining the cultivation of the old estates that you would recommend immigration?—I should think free immigration might increase that cultivation, but I should not recommend it at all under present circumstances.

7391. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Why not; what is your objection to it?—One objection I have to African immigration or to the immigration of persons who are idolaters or savages is, that they produce generally a very bad effect in the country to which they go, by their bad example.

7392. Have you found that to be the case; do you speak from experience?—I believe it is an admitted fact, if I might speak from what I have seen in Clarence, on the island of Fernando Po, with regard to the Kroomen; I cannot say whether that

that would be the case wherever they went; they are very immoral men and very desperate men, on whom teaching, generally speaking, takes very little effect.

7393. *Chairman.*] Do you confine that observation to Kroomen?—No; I should quite extend it to the Coolies; I believe the conduct of the Coolies has, in some instances, been very bad.

7394. Do you think it is applicable to the inhabitants of other portions of Africa besides those on the Kroo Coast?—I think to all savage Africans; it would not be applicable perhaps to the inhabitants of Sierra Leone, but to almost all other slave inhabitants of Africa.

7395. *Mr. Simeon.*] Does not a large portion of the uncultivated land in Jamaica consist of estates which have been abandoned?—I believe some estates have been given up; but there is a very large quantity of uncultivated land belonging to the different estates which has never been cultivated, and might be cultivated with great advantage to the proprietors, if they were able to do it.

7396. Do not you believe that one of the principal causes of the abandonment of those estates has been a deficiency of labour?—I think there has been a want of money to pay the labourers, rather than a deficiency of labour; or it may have arisen from bad management in Jamaica.

7397. Practically speaking, have you seen among the healthy and able-bodied black population in Jamaica an anxiety to get employment, and a want of that employment?—I have seen a great anxiety to obtain employment in many parts of the island of Jamaica; but I have seen a fear to take employment, lest they should not be paid for their work after they have performed it, from knowing what had been done to them before. That is a very common feeling.

7398. When you state that there are portions of Jamaica where there are estates abandoned for want of labourers, and where there are labourers in want of employment, and refusing to take it from a fear that they should not be paid their wages, should you attribute this anomalous condition of Jamaica to a deficiency of capital on the part of the proprietors?—I think so; I think there is a great deficiency of capital.

7399. Do you believe that, supposing all the able-bodied population of Jamaica now to be employed upon the land already in cultivation, there would be no need of immigration for the supply of the labour which would be required?—I think there would be no need for any great immigration, although if persons could be obtained of proper character I should see no objection to their going to Jamaica.

7400. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Is it not the fact that a great number of estates have been thrown out of cultivation in Jamaica in consequence of the proprietors feeling that they could not cultivate them profitably; the speculation has been a losing one, and therefore they have given it up?—I believe the proprietors have thought so; but with the knowledge I have of the way in which the estates are conducted in Jamaica, I should say that it is quite impossible that they can pay the proprietors much.

7401. *Colonel Thompson.*] Did you ever in any instance make a comparison between the expense of a certain quantity of cultivation in slave time and of the same quantity of cultivation now?—I have not made such a calculation as to be able to state it correctly, but it has long been my belief that free labour, if rightly conducted, is as cheap as any slave labour can be, and that it is want of right management that causes free labour to appear more expensive than slave labour.

7402. If you take the simple expense of keeping labourers now and during slave time, can you form any opinion which would be the greatest in amount; putting out of sight all other expenses?—If we go to the mere expense, perhaps it might appear in favour of slave labour, but if we go to the work done by a cheerful labourer, my impression has always been that a free labourer, working cheerfully for hire, would do quite as much work as a slave driven by the lash.

7403. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Do you imagine that the freeman who works eight hours a day, and often less in Jamaica, would do more work than a slave who is made to work 15 or 18?—I think it is impossible that human nature can endure so long as that to do much work.

7404. *Colonel Thompson.*] Do you think that if 100 dollars were laid out in paying labourers at present, you would get as much, or more, or less work in return for it than you would have had by the expenditure of 100 dollars in the old mode of slavery?—It would be difficult to ascertain that fact, there are so many things connected with slavery; the buying and raising of the slaves, the

loss

Rev. J. Clarke.

29 June 1848.

loss of so many slaves during the year, and expenses of different sorts. I could not answer that question in a way that would be satisfactory to myself.

7405. Did you ever know any popular opinion or rumour upon the subject in Jamaica?—I do not recollect having heard any.

7406. Sir *E. Buxton*.] At whose expense was the immigration into Jamaica carried on?—I believe at the expense of the colony in part; and if I mistake not, at the expense of the British Government in part also.

7407. A considerable part of the expense at least was paid by the colony?—I believe there was a considerable sum paid.

7408. Are you aware whether that has been felt by the negro population to be a cause of complaint, that they have been taxed in order to afford the means of introducing labourers to compete with them in the labour market?—They have felt that as a great grievance. Undoubtedly it appears to me to be an unjust thing.

7409. Do they feel it to be a grievance?—I believe they do.

7410. To a large extent?—I think they do; for public meetings have been held in Jamaica at different times at which the matter has been placed before them, and they are well acquainted with it; they know that they are contributing to bringing in immigrants who are no benefit to the island.

7411. Colonel *Thompson*.] Do the Creole negroes in Jamaica do the hard work in the cane fields?—They do. I have seen some of the most respectable men in our churches who have been working constantly in the cane fields, perhaps four days; I am not sure whether four or five days in the week, and they worked cheerfully.

7412. Then it is not true that the hard work in the cane fields would never be done by the negroes in a state of freedom?—No; I do not think it is correct.

7413. You have observed that the negroes make great efforts to obtain what they consider comforts and luxuries?—Yes; certainly they do.

7414. Then it is not true that the negro if liberated will sit in the sun and do no work?—To a certain extent it might be true; some of them will. There are some indolent persons among them as well as among all other races, but a great many of them are certainly industrious people. The great body of the native inhabitants or Creoles of Jamaica, are undoubtedly industrious people.

7415. Do you believe them to be as accessible to the desire of comforts and luxuries in general as the working class in a European country?—I think so decidedly.

7416. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Can you state to the Committee how slaves for exportation are obtained on the coast of Africa?—They are obtained in different ways. There was a war while we were in Fernando Po between the people of Porto Novo and the people of Lagos, and a number of slaves were made in that war from the people living near to the sea; but that does not often happen. Most of the slaves come from the interior. A war has been going on for a number of years in the interior, in a country called the Bayung country.

7417. Is it your opinion that the chief object of those wars is to obtain slaves for exportation?—It appears to me that the Balee people, who seem to be a tribe of the Felatas, live a predatory life. They go on from year to year just living upon the people in the countries around them. They make an irruption into the Bayung country; they go into a town and take all they can obtain in that town. All the slaves they can catch are sent by way of Egypt, it is said; sent through the desert, or perhaps they may be sent through Tripoli; but, however, they are sent in that direction, and those who flee before them and take shelter among the neighbouring tribes are caught by those tribes and brought down to where we are. They say that they are 12 moons on the way very generally, but how long they may stop among the different tribes as they pass along we cannot tell.

7418. You have heard it stated that the slaves that are brought to the coast are frequently 12 moons on their route from their own country to the west coast of Africa?—I have conversed with many of them. I had one of them as my interpreter, and I obtained what information I could from him in reference to his country and the practices there, and this was the account I had from him.

7419. Do you imagine that the slaves exported are chiefly obtained in that way?—I think the greater part are obtained by war; and when they flee to another tribe for shelter, they are seized by that tribe and made slaves of and sent down to the slave market, and so they find their way to the coast.

7420. If

7420. If we were to buy immigrants on the coast of Africa for the purpose of sending them to the West Indies, would the effect be that the chiefs would go to war with one another in order to obtain more?—I have no doubt that that would be the effect.

7421. *Chairman.*] Must not that depend upon the price given for them?—The price given is very small. Colonel Nicholls wanted a number of slaves from Duke Ephraim, who was then King up the Old Calabar River (this might be about the year 1834); Colonel Nicholls wanted those men to clear away the bush near Clarence, and therefore wished to hire them for a time and return them again.

7422. *Sir E. Buxton.*] As free labourers?—No, as slaves; and Duke Ephraim objected to that; he said, “You would spoil them; they will not be fit to come back to my country; but if you will have them and make them free, you can buy them for just about the same as I should charge you for hiring them.”

7423. *Chairman.*] What was the amount?—I do not know the amount, but it was very small; about three pieces of cloth per month for hire is the usual rate; and a slave may be bought for seven or nine pieces. The piece of cloth in England would cost about 7s.; in Africa it is reckoned at 16s.

7424. If the head man, whose permission seems to be requisite in order to enable emigrants from the coast of Africa to leave their country, was willing to grant that permission for a very small payment, a smaller payment than would be necessary for the purchase of the slaves, would that process, in your opinion, put an end to the slave trade carried on as you have described?—If I understand the question rightly, I think the obtaining persons from their chiefs on the coast in any numbers would increase the internal slave trade; they would just have them down as fast from the interior as they required them, and as they found there was a demand for them on the coast.

7425. But they would not, it may be presumed, do that if the bringing them to the coast from the interior was attended with more expense than the sum received as the price of the slaves?—There is not much expense in coming down. They generally load them with ivory or something to bring with them, and they carry their own ground-nuts for food, and get what they can by the way.

7426. Still some expense must attend the bringing them from the interior and taking care of them on the way, and providing them with the necessary food, and retaining them in a state of coercion?—That is obtained, I believe, generally in a very easy way. Before they start each slave is provided with as much as is deemed necessary to support him by the way. I do not think that food is very generally procured unless at favourable places, and when they are transferring them from one slaver to another. One man does not usually bring them the whole way from the interior to the coast; he brings them to a slave market and there disposes of them; so that they are passed on to another slave market. Each of those slave buyers has his own farm where he grows ground-nuts and other things which are deemed necessary for their support; and they are usually supplied in that way, I believe.

7427. Still the passage down to the coast must be attended with expense, and that expense must go on accumulating in the various stages by which they approach the coast?—I suppose it is small, because of the small price at which they are generally sold. They will sell a slave in the Bayung slave-market for five pieces of cloth; the price on the coast will amount only to about 3l. 10s., sometimes to 5l. in some part of the coast; but the price of a slave seldom amounts to more than 5l.

7428. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Is it your opinion that the person sold would cost less if he were sent to be sold to an English colony than if he were to be sold to slavery in the Brazils; would the cost in the two cases be different, or would it be the same?—I think those who have entered into treaties would probably let them go at a smaller sum, as they have given up the slave trade altogether; but wherever the slave trade is carried on they would expect the same from either party.

7429. *Colonel Thompson.*] Do you think that the chief referred to in the question before last would allow the slaves to go from him unless the price was sufficient to replace them from the interior to the extent he might desire?—No, I think he would not; but the price is exceedingly small. I have seen slaves brought from the Itu country to King Eyamba of Old Calabar. The price paid for those slaves was exceedingly small, just some very trifling amount; an iron bar

Rev. J. Clarke.

29 June 1848.

and some few articles of that sort, the value of which could not be more than 20s. altogether.

7430. But whether the price was small or great, would or would not the operation, in your opinion, be like purchasing sheep from a farmer on the coast of England, with full liberty for him to replace them from the interior if he wished it?—There is no doubt that that would be the case. But it must be borne in mind that if the man had 3,000 slaves he could easily spare 100 of those without lessening the number materially, and without feeling the want of them. If he desired to have the things that the ship brought, and they wanted the slaves, he could give them up without any loss of comfort to himself.

7431. *Chairman.*] Do you think that a head man, on the Kroo Coast, never allows a Krooman to leave the coast unless he receives a payment for the permission sufficient to replace him with a slave?—I could not say positively that it is never done; but I believe that it is not at all a general thing; it would be an unusual thing for a man to leave the Kroo Coast without the head man obtaining three or six pieces of cloth, according to the one or two months' pay that he might require. That is the general practice, if I understand the matter right, as followed by men of war vessels, and by all the vessels that go down the coast; they take Kroomen on board at the rivers where they generally do business. The men of war vessels try to obtain their Kroomen at Sierra Leone, if possible, but when they obtain them on the Kroo Coast they have to act in the same way that other vessels act.

7432. *Sir E. Burton.*] You did not mean that when a Kroo chief sends a man away and receives payment for him, he intends to buy a slave with that money; did you mean to apply that general observation to the Kroo country?—No; I am not aware that there is any buying of slaves in the Kroo country; they come from nations behind.

7433. There is no slave trade carried on to your knowledge in the Kroo country?—No, they are sent by their parents to the native traders.

7434. *Mr. Barkly.*] Are you aware of the fact that the Kroomen who have proceeded to the West Indies have been obtained without any payment or advance of any kind to the head man on the Kroo Coast?—I am not aware that the fact is so; I never heard of the fact.

7435. Do you know anything of the several attempts that have been made to obtain Kroomen from the Kroo Coast for the West Indies?—I have heard that Kroomen have been obtained, and I have seen two of them in Demerara; but I quite understood that something was given to the head man.

7436. Do you know anything of the circumstances under which the vessel called the Prince Regent obtained 108 Kroomen without any payment whatever to the chief or head man?—I am not aware.

7437. Your evidence as to the Kroo Coast is not from your personal observation?—It is from my personal observation, as far as those 80 Kroomen that were taken on board our own vessel went; they were paid for. The practice I believe is followed by captains of vessels as they pass along the coast, to give one month's pay or two months' pay in advance to the head man. I believe that is the general practice. I think Mr. M'Gregor Laird also informed me that he did the same when he went out in one of the vessels which ascended the Niger in 1832.

7438. *Chairman.*] It resembles the practice which is followed with respect to seamen in this country, where the shipowner pays what are called advance notes to sailors before sailing?—That is to the sailors themselves; but this is to the head man, who carries it on shore, and the poor creature is left on board in a state of nakedness, and if he appears to be longing to go to his home then he is put below.

7439. You consider that they do not go of their own free will?—I think not, certainly.

7440. *Mr. Barkly.*] Was that the case with regard to the 80 on board the vessel you mentioned?—They said nothing, but they looked very sad, and during the night six of them went overboard.

7441. Is not it very often the practice for seamen to leave the ship the first opportunity after getting their advance?—Yes; but these men do not receive it themselves.

7442. *Colonel Thompson.*] Where did the circumstance to which you have just referred

referred take place?—Opposite to the river St. Andrews, on the coast of Africa, just between the Kroo Coast and the Ivory Coast.

7443. Were the people being embarked for the purpose of going to the West Indies?—No; of going to Fernando Po to cut wood for the West African Company.

7444. Sir *E. Buxton.*] You were driven away from Fernando Po by the Spanish government?—We were commanded to leave, but we have a missionary there still, and a person teaching a school also.

7445. Has the order that was sent out by the Spanish government been revoked by the local agent, who is an Englishman?—He has not revoked the order, but he has allowed it to remain as a dead letter, and given permission in writing to put up another place of worship for the one that was taken down.

7446. Mr. *Simeon.*] You said that you thought that a large emigration of Kroomen might take place if no bad report as to the treatment of those who had already emigrated had reached the coast; does not that seem to imply that the emigration on the part of the Kroomen would be voluntary?—No; I did not wish to imply anything of that sort; but my reason for saying that is this, that when we got to the Fishmen's country, at the first place on that coast, we could not get a single Krooman, because Fernando Po had got an ill name, and we could take no men on board till we got almost at the extreme part of the Kroo Coast; I speak from that fact, and from having heard that a bad report had gone respecting the treatment of Kroomen in the West Indies, especially on account of their not being returned at the time specified.

7447. Then the disinclination on the part of the Kroomen to embark would arise from a humane feeling on the part of the chief, that he would not allow his dependants to go to a country where they would be ill treated?—Yes; and whence they would not be allowed to return; they always wish them to return to their country, and on that account they keep back the females; that has been a great evil connected with the emigration, that the females are not allowed to go with the males.

7448. Is there a strong feeling of caste among the Kroomen?—I think there is; they have a great attachment one to another, generally speaking.

7449. Would a Krooman in general object to marrying a woman who was not of his own tribe?—If he intended to return to his own country he would not marry her, but their conduct is the most immoral possible, with reference to the Fernandian women; nothing can be more fearful than the conduct of the Kroomen in Fernando Po. They had formed two towns in the north west part of the island, but they have been driven from those towns of late; their conduct whilst they remained in those towns was very bad indeed.

7450. Supposing that there were a considerable number of unmarried women in the West India islands, consisting of Creoles or Africans, who had emigrated from some other part of the coast, do not you think that the Kroomen would be inclined to marry them and stay in the island?—I think they would not marry them if they intended to return; I think a Krooman would always intend to return, otherwise he must change all his feelings; the desires they have after home are very strong.

7451. Have you found on the part of the Kroomen the same attachment to European luxuries and comforts which exists on the part of the other negroes?—To a certain extent I think there is.

7452. But not to such an extent as to overbear the desire to return to their own country?—They very seldom change their mode of dressing; they still keep in an uncivilized state in that respect; a very small wrapper round their middle is about all they wear.

7453. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Have you observed the manner in which the head men treat the Kroomen?—I have not seen it myself, but I know that the general practice is that he is severe enough over them; I have seen them punished, but not by one of their head men. I have seen them punished by men employed by the West African Company's agent to do it.

7454. But you have not yourself seen the conduct of the head man towards the men under him?—No, I have not seen that.

7455. Mr. *Barkly.*] You state that you have been in Jamaica?—Yes.

7456. You had not any opportunity of seeing the Kroomen in that island?—Not in Jamaica.

Rev. J. Clarke.

7457. Do you know anything of the habits of the Kroomen in the West Indies from actual observation?—Not in Jamaica.

29 June 1848.

7458. When you say that you think they would not form marriages with the negroes of those colonies, you speak from what you suppose would be the case, not from any actual knowledge upon the subject?—From what I believe is the general character of the men; what would result from their feelings, which are very strong.

7459. Supposing you were told that marriages had actually been formed in Demerara by Kroomen with Creole women, should you disbelieve the fact?—I have mentioned one such case in Fernando Po, where a Krooman married a native of the Eboe country, and remained there till his death; that came to my knowledge.

7460. Sir E. Buxton.] Do you mean that there was in Fernando Po only one case of the sort?—Yes; during the time I was there I have seen many hundreds of Kroomen at Fernando Po, and I only knew of that one case.

7461. Mr. Barkly.] In other cases, however, they formed improper connexions with the native women?—Yes.

7462. That rather arose from the dissolute habits of the country, and from their want of religious principle?—They had no principle. I used to go almost every Sabbath to Kroom Town to instruct them, but I saw very little advantage arise out of it; they would not come to me. Other natives came to receive instruction in our Sabbath schools and our day school, but the Kroomen never came; I went to them, but I found them very unwilling to receive instruction; generally they were about to take their dinner, or they were cooking, or they were going to bathe, or something of the kind. I met with one pleasing case among them, where the man was willing to receive instruction, but only one case.

The Rev. William Garland Barrett, called in; and Examined.

Rev. W. G. Barrett.

7463. Chairman.] HAVE you been in the West Indies?—Yes.

7464. When did you return?—About six weeks ago; I left Demerara on the 12th of March.

7465. With what part of the West Indies are you acquainted?—I was nearly 10 years in Jamaica, and I have been three years in Demerara.

7466. In what capacity have you been in the West Indies?—As a missionary, in connexion with the London Missionary Society.

7467. Have you been in the West Indies during the whole of the period that you have now stated?—With the exception of eight months, when I was obliged to come away from Jamaica on account of ill health.

7468. Were you also some time in Barbadoes?—I went only for a little time in December last, hoping to prevent the necessity of a return to England?—It was six years ago.

7469. You have heard the evidence given by the gentleman last examined by the Committee on the subject of labour in the West Indies; do you concur in his views on the subject?—I have not heard the whole of it; but my impression is, that it is principally the want of capital, and not the want of labour, which is felt in the West Indies. I refer more particularly, when I say the “West Indies,” to the county of Demerara, in the colony of British Guiana.

7470. You think that if the proprietors had the means of hiring the labour which is available in the labour market, they would be able to cultivate their estates without any just complaint of the value of labour?—I really do think so. I have not only formed that opinion myself, but I observe in recent despatches from Governor Light, and from the special magistrates in the county of Demerara, that they state the same thing.

7471. Are you led to suppose that their reluctance to hire this labour arises in any degree from the rate of wages which it is necessary that they should pay for it?—I do not think that the rate of wages could be much lower than it is at present. If it were lower, it would be ruin to the estates altogether, because the people would then abandon sugar cultivation, and cultivate solely their provision grounds. The rate of wages in Demerara averages from three to four bits a day; I am not speaking of task work.

7472. How much is that in English money?—Four bits is 1 s. 4 d. But when I say

I say that, it should be borne in mind that 1 s. 4 d. in Demerara is not equal to more than 10 d. in England, if so much. In fact, a person can get as much bread and cheese in England for 1 d. as he can get for 4 d. in British Guiana, and so in proportion for any other necessary of life.

7473. Mr. *Barkly*.] If he wanted yams he would get them much cheaper in Demerara than in this country?—The negro cannot live only upon yams; he requires salt fish, and beef and pork, and all those things are much dearer there than in this country.

7474. *Chairman*.] Do you think that, comparing the money wages with the price of the necessaries of life in both countries, the rate of wages is lower in Demerara than in England?—I should not like to express that opinion confidently. What I said was, that I do not think that the rate of wages could be much lower; if it were, the people would abandon sugar cultivation entirely, and betake themselves wholly to the cultivation of their provision grounds.

7475. Do you mean the proprietors of the soil or the Creoles?—The Creole population; the labourers.

7476. If the wages of labour were reduced there would be no persons offering themselves for hire?—Just so.

7477. When you say that the rate of wages varied from three to four bits a day, how many hours in the day does that imply?—Six to seven hours.

7478. Mr. *Gladstone*.] May it be taken at 6½ hours on the average?—No; I think more fairly seven hours, because I have known the people work more than seven hours. When I said six to seven hours, I wished to be within the mark.

7479. Mr. *Barkly*.] Did you ever know them take more than seven hours to perform a day's task?—Yes, in weeding.

7480. Sir *E. Buxton*.] In weeding by task work, they sometimes take more than six or seven hours to do a day's work?—Yes: but a day's labour is generally about seven hours. Sometimes it takes more than seven hours to earn four or five bits.

7481. Mr. *Barkly*.] Then in a case where they take more than seven hours, higher rate of wages is paid than that which you first spoke of?—Yes.

7482. Five bits would be about 1 s. 9 d. sterling?—One shilling and eightpence English; fourpenny pieces are current for bits throughout the colony.

7483. *Chairman*.] Are you of opinion that if the labour market were sustained by a large immigration of labour, the wages of labour would be reduced to such a point as would be inconsistent with the comforts of the present labourers, and would prevent their offering themselves for labour?—I think they would.

7484. They would rather depend upon their own exertions than offer themselves for hire?—I think they would.

7485. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You think that the effect of a large reduction in wages in consequence of immigration, would be to withdraw from the estates a large proportion of those persons who are now employed upon them?—Yes.

7486. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do you think that that has been the effect of the immigration which has taken place hitherto in the colony; has it reduced the wages so low as to produce that effect?—No; I do not think so. But immigration has been a vast expense without any profit to the colony.

7487. Then do you think that if immigration were continued upon the same scale upon which it has hitherto gone on, it would lead to those effects?—It would increase those bitter feelings which now exist between the employer and the employed. It would I think leave the cultivation of the estates wholly to the unskilled labour of imported emigrants.

7488. Your acquaintance with Demerara is principally with the east coast of Demerara?—Yes.

7489. You resided upon that coast?—Yes; but I am acquainted with other parts of the colony.

7490. Are you aware whether the east coast of Demerara is better supplied with labour in every respect than any other part of the colony?—Yes, I am.

7491. Therefore the difficulties with which the planters have had to contend have been far less upon that coast than in other parts of the colony?—Yes. I do not know whether I may be permitted to read the opinion of one or two gentlemen. Previously to my coming home to this country I was anxious to know the state the colony was in; and wishing not to rely upon my own opinion, I wrote to one or two gentlemen requesting their opinion upon certain matters. One was a gentleman who had been in the colony a great many years, and who lives in another part of the district.

Rev. W. G. Barrett.

29 June 1848.

7492. Is that gentleman a planter?—No; he has been 16 years amongst the labouring population as a missionary. I have no objection to mention his name. His name is the Rev. John Scott.

7493. Is he also a missionary of the London Missionary Society?—He is. Speaking of labour, he says, "Any attempt to reduce wages much below what they have been will drive the people from the cultivation of sugar altogether." That was in answer to the question, "To what mainly do you attribute the fact that so many estates are involved, and unable to make sugar at a remunerative profit?"

7494. You have stated your opinion that it is the want of capital, and not the want of labour, that is the impediment to the estates being properly conducted in Demerara. You are aware of the fact that the proprietor of one estate on the coast, Plantation Annandale, is a man of very large capital; how do you reconcile the fact of Plantation Annandale not being remunerative, carried on by the owner, being a man of very large capital, and having expended that capital very liberally in supplying that estate with machinery and everything necessary?—I live too far from Annandale to be able to speak positively upon that subject. I know that there was a serious disagreement some time since between the manager of Annandale and the people. I cannot speak with confidence upon it, but I know that in the neighbourhood in which I lived the managers have often employed the people, and when the task has been fulfilled they have been unable to pay, and the people have therefore refused to go back again to work.

7495. Has that occurred previously to the attempt to reduce the wages which was made in September last?—It was subsequent to that.

7496. Then it occurred subsequently to the great distress which has occurred in the colony of Demerara?—Not only subsequently, but frequently. On one estate which I have in my recollection at the present moment, in a particular conversation which I had with the manager just before I came away, he said to me, "I am thankful, Mr. Barrett, that the people have struck work, for we have not money to pay them."

7497. Do you think that is a correct description of the state of things which existed in the colony a year ago, or has it only happened as the result of the commercial distress which has recently existed in Demerara?—I have no doubt that the commercial distress has hastened on the crisis which would ultimately have come.

7498. At this time last year were not wages punctually paid by a majority of the estates upon the east coast of Demerara?—I should think at this time last year the payment of wages was the rule, and non-payment the exception; but what I refer to is this: upon many estates where disagreements occurred between managers and the people, the managers would delay the payment of the wages; and then those persons would tell it to their family and their friends; and the consequence would be that an ill feeling would spread among those people, and they would refuse to go back again to work upon the estate.

7499. Did not those disagreements arise out of an attempt to get more work for the money, or to make a reduction in the wages, which was rendered necessary by the circumstances in which the planters found themselves?—Not always so.

7500. Take the case of a resident proprietor; you are acquainted with Mr. Jones, and with Mr. Porter upon the coast?—Not with Mr. Jones.

7501. On their estates wages have been punctually paid, and large sums have been invested in improvements, in vacuum pans, and in other ways. Do you think that in those cases the reason why that cultivation has been unprofitable is the want of capital?—Not upon the Le Resouvenir Estate, which is one of Mr. Porter's finest estates.

7502. Is it probable that the proprietor of that estate would not be anxious to engage labour if the cultivation were profitable to him?—Certainly; but many things are done by managers and by overseers, of which the proprietor is never cognizant, and to which, if he were cognizant of it, he would put a stop. I say this with the utmost confidence, and without any wish to mention particular estates, although I am willing to do so if the Committee wish. Upon one estate belonging to the Honourable Mr. Porter, I know that things were done in the month of January last which drove all the Creole labourers from the estate.

7503. Irrespective of any attempt to reduce wages?—In connexion with the attempt to reduce wages, and the manner in which it was done.

7504. Sir E. Buxton.] You think that the attempt to reduce wages lower than they

they are at present is almost certain to fail?—I am sure it is. I was more or less in contact with nearly 1,000 labourers every week, and I have heard one and all of them say, “If wages are lowered we shall not go to work again; we may as well go and cultivate our yams and cassiva, and sell them in the market.”

7505. It is your opinion that unless the planters can afford to pay the present wages they cannot expect to continue the cultivation of sugar?—The present rate of wages is required by the people, in consequence of the high price of provisions, and the high price of provisions arises almost solely from the excessive import duties, those import duties having been used for the purposes of immigration; so that the people complain, and I think with great justice, that whilst provisions have been made dearer their wages have been reduced. At several large meetings that I attended, not meetings of a political character, but meetings for religious worship upon the estates, when the worship has been over the people have come to me and said, “Minister, what are we to do? We cannot support our family upon this, but if they will make provisions cheaper we will work for less wages.”

7506. You think that if the import duties were taken off a large reduction would take place in the price of provisions, and that then a large reduction might also take place in the price of wages?—I am sure of that.

7507. You believe that the high import duties have a very detrimental effect upon the colony?—Very indeed. May I be allowed to read the testimony of a special magistrate in one of the recent despatches to the Government upon that subject; this is from Stipendiary Justice Brittain, June 1846: “In connexion with the rate of wages it may not be inopportune to notice the high price of all the prime necessaries of life in this colony; wages are high, but the expense of living is still higher; I think it may be asserted that in no British colony is the cost of living so great as in British Guiana. The public are dependent on importation, and it might be expected that every possible encouragement would be given to it, so as to make it the interest of the labourer to cultivate sugar in preference to provisions. The reverse however is the case; flour, Indian meal, corn meal, rice, &c. all pay a heavy import duty in proportion to their prime cost. This system of taxing heavily the articles of prime necessity will, if allowed to be pursued, prove as impolitic as it is unjust.” That exactly expresses the opinion which I have long entertained.

7508. Mr. *Barkly*.] You complain of the high duties upon the import of provisions; are you aware what the tax is upon a barrel of flour, for instance?—It is a dollar and a half in the first place, and then four per cent. *ad valorem* duty, and then after that there is a 10 dollars licence before the party taking it out can make it into bread and sell it.

7509. That is for carrying on the trade of a baker?—Yes.

7510. You think that that tax very much increases the cost of bread to the people?—I think so, very much indeed; I am sure that the loaves are very much smaller than they used to be.

7511. Sir *E. Buxton*.] What is the value of a cask of flour upon which there is this duty?—Two hundred and sixty pounds of flour; the price varies according to the amount of the import price and the import duty; for instance, during the famine in Ireland flour was very dear; it was as high as 16, 20, and 24 dollars the barrel; that immediately found its level, and then the market was glutted, and flour was down at 12 dollars a barrel, but the average price is 10 dollars a barrel.

7512. Mr. *Barkly*.] Was not it the fact that the price of provisions during the last year or two in British Guiana has been very much enhanced owing to the diversion of the usual shipments of bread-stuffs from the United States to this country?—Flour and other things, all bread-stuffs, were much dearer during the year of famine than at any previous period.

7513. If bread-stuffs were to return to their former price, then the difficulties in the way of a reduction of the wages would be obviated?—They had returned before I left the colony.

7514. *Chairman*.] Do you know what they were paying for a barrel of flour at that time?—Yes; superfine flour was 12 dollars a barrel; but what they call hard packed flour, nine and ten dollars.

7515. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Can you state what reduction in wages might take place if those duties were all repealed?—It would be very difficult for me to do that.

7516. Do you think that the people would then be willing to work for wages at a reduction of 25 per cent.; that is 1s. instead of 1s. 4d. a day?—Without that

Rev. W. G. Barrett.

29 June 1848.

that reduction in the cost of provisions they have generally accepted of 25 per cent. reduction; that is stated in the last despatches of Governor Light, and also of all the special magistrates.

7517. Mr. *Barkly*.] Are you aware that the Combined Court, when they met, told his Excellency in their reply to his address, that the negroes generally had not returned to work, and that where they had it was not at a reduced rate of wages?—Yes, I saw that statement; but I do not know how to reconcile that with the statement of so many special magistrates, which is in their report to his Excellency, that all was peaceable and quiet, and that the people had generally returned to work, having accepted of a reduction of wages.

7518. Are not those who pay wages most likely to know what they pay?—The special magistrates receive their information from the managers, and the gentlemen composing the Court of Policy receive their information also from the managers. I do not think that I ought to be called upon to explain the discrepancy.

7519. When you state that the wages have been reduced, and that the negro population were willing to accept a reduction of 25 per cent., you at the same time admit that that statement has been contradicted by the Legislature of the colony at their first meeting?—I believe it has; but I know it is a fact that when I left the east coast of Demerara, on the 12th of March, the people were then working upon the estates.

7520. Sir *E. Buxton*.] You consider that under the circumstances 1 s. a day is the minimum of wages at which the black population can be expected to work in Demerara?—The adult population.

7521. And it is your opinion, therefore, that if Demerara is to compete with such colonies as Cuba, they must have such a price for sugar as will enable them to pay at least 1 s. a day for wages to the adult population?—I confess that as a minister of religion I cannot speak very decidedly as to these fiscal questions.

7522. Is not that a necessary result, that if 1 s. a day is the lowest rate of wages that the people can accept, it is necessary that the cultivation at that price should be profitable, or else it will be abandoned?—Certainly; I admit that, of course; but I do not wish to lose sight of the fact that there are many improvements that could be introduced into the modes both of agriculture and of manufacture, and that much economy might be practised upon estates which is not practised now, which would enable the proprietors to give 1 s. a day for skilled labour.

7523. It has been stated in Parliament that the effect of admitting foreign sugar on equal terms will be to reduce wages in the West Indies to such a degree that, in spite of the reduced price of sugar, the cultivation of sugar in our West Indian colonies will still be profitable; is it your opinion that that assertion is well founded?—I do not think that the admission of slave-grown sugar can reduce wages in our own colonies.

7524. You think that the effect of a very great reduction of wages will be, that people will refuse to cultivate sugar; not that they will work at reduced wages?—I think so, most decidedly.

7525. Colonel *Thompson*.] For how much less than 1 s. a day do you think it is possible to keep a labouring man in working order in those colonies?—For nothing less than that. I believe it takes a labouring man 1 s. a day to live. I do not mean to say that he eats a shilling's worth of food in a day, but I am speaking of the whole expense of his living.

7526. Supposing a contractor of any kind had to keep a labouring man on the condition of his being in working order, for how much less than 1 s. a day do you think that would be practicable?—I do not know.

7527. Could you, for instance, keep a man for less than 1 s. a day, keeping him in health and in working order?—I think it would be very difficult indeed, to keep a man in working condition for less than 1 s. a day.

7528. Mr. *Barkly*.] Did you hear what the rate of wages was when you were in Barbadoes?—No; I was in such ill-health when I was there, that I was unable to go about much.

7529. Were they not reduced to 7½ d. a day?—I know they were.

7530. Was it not the fact, that there was a considerable exportation of provisions from British Guiana to Barbadoes?—Yes; but the price of provisions is very low in Barbadoes. A magistrate in Barbadoes told me himself, that 1 s. a day in Demerara is not equal to 7 d. a day in Barbadoes; the people can get more to eat and more to wear for one-third less money in Barbadoes.

7531. How

7531. How do you reconcile that with the fact that many scores of loads of plantains were exported from British Guiana to Barbadoes, at a time when wages were as low as $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day?—That was in a particular time of drought in Barbadoes.

7532. But still the Barbadoes labourer did contrive to subsist upon those wages with dearer provisions?—I think not. Many of the Barbadoes labourers scarcely existed during that time of drought, when they were dependent upon the rice and provisions imported from British Guiana.

7533. Did you hear of any deaths from famine?—I did not hear of any.

7534. Do you think that such a thing ever occurred?—I would not like to express an opinion upon that.

7535. *Chairman.*] Were you there at the time?—No, I went there in December last.

7536. But you understood that they suffered extremely from the high price of provisions?—During a short time.

7537. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Is it your opinion that the low rate of wages is rather produced in Barbadoes by the great supply of labour and the great number of the population?—I have no doubt of that, to a great extent, and from the extreme economy practised with regard to everything. On one occasion a merchant in Barbadoes was driving me into the country, and we saw a waggon coming into the town in which there were three hogsheads of sugar, and a respectable looking man was driving the waggon. I said to the merchant who was driving me, one of the magistrates of Bridge Town, "Who is that respectable looking man driving that waggon?" He said, "That is the proprietor driving his own sugar to market in Bridge Town." I said, "Is he making his little estate or his farm pay?" He said, "Certainly he is; making it pay very well."

7538. Do you think that such small estates might be carried on with advantage in British Guiana?—I am not prepared to answer that question positively, but I do not think the present system can hold out much longer.

7539. *Chairman.*] What system?—The present system in Demerara and throughout the West Indies generally.

7540. Will you describe that system?—Many of the proprietors are deeply involved; their estates are mortgaged, and when once mortgaged I believe they are always mortgaged; they are thus bound to the mortgagee. The mortgager, the proprietor, very likely has an attorney abroad, and the mortgagee has his attorney; and these attorneys have no personal interest in the estate further than securing their own income. Then under the attorney is the manager, and under the manager the overseers, and thus the whole business of the cultivation of the cane-plant and the making of sugar is entrusted to a delegated authority.

7541. Do you attribute, to a great extent, to those circumstances the present depression of the affairs of the West India proprietors in Demerara?—I do indeed.

7542. Are you acquainted with any case of a party who is in possession of an estate which is not burdened with all those debts and incumbrances?—No, I am not personally, but I believe nine-tenths of the estates in British Guiana are in that condition. There may be one-tenth free from those incumbrances; I cannot say, because I had not an opportunity of moving about from place to place in the colony. The discharge of my duties confined me to one place.

7543. Supposing one-tenth of the estates to be free from those incumbrances, would it not be the inference that that tenth part was prospering?—I think it would. I was speaking to an old planter, about a week before I came away, who has been about 20 years in the colony, and he said, "I tell you what, if I had capital to buy an estate, just to work it, and economise in every way, it would pay me handsomely." At the same time the estate he was managing was not paying.

7544. *Mr. Barkly.*] Are there not many resident proprietors who live upon their estates, and manage them well, and yet find it unprofitable?—I think they were in difficulties long before the emancipation.

7545. Are not there instances of men who do not owe one sixpence in the world, who are in possession of properties, even on the east coast, and yet find their cultivation unprofitable?—I am unable to answer that question.

7546. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Is it your opinion that if the present price of sugar in England continues, by careful and economical management the cultivation of sugar may still be profitable in British Guiana?—I would rather decline answer-

Rev. W. G. Barrett.

29 June 1848.

ing that question, as I am not practically acquainted with the processes of agriculture and manufacture.

7547. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do the people within your own knowledge work continuously every day in the week?—Five days in the week.

7548. If they worked the sixth day would not that enable them to subsist in the same degree of comfort with a lower rate of wages?—I do not think they could subsist if they had not their provision grounds to depend upon. I think they would be reduced to starvation, and therefore they are obliged to take Saturday to cultivate their grounds.

7549. Sir *E. Buxton*.] That is usually done?—That is always done.

7550. It is done during crop time?—Not so much during crop time, because then they send their wives and children to do it. I have a little garden, and I have frequently tried to hire people upon the Saturday, and the invariable answer is, “No, massa, I cannot come upon Saturday; I am sorry to disoblige you, but we must keep up our ground; all the money we earn is spent in clothes, and salt fish, and rice.”

7551. It is your opinion that the people in Demerara do work, either in their own grounds or in the grounds of their masters, every working day in the week?—I think the bulk of the population may be spoken of as industrious people. As for squatting, as it is familiarly termed, I do not think such a thing exists in Demerara.

7552. Mr. *Barkly*.] You say you think that the bulk of the population work five days in the week. Is that consistent with the reports of the stipendiary magistrates, as to the working of the population?—It is with the most recent reports. I have some in my hand received by the last packet, and those reports from all the special magistrates represent the population throughout the various districts as being in the condition I have described.

7553. As working five days in the week?—They do not mention the number of days, but as being most industrious, quiet, orderly, and so on; here are the reports of the special magistrates (*producing the same*).

7554. In the last half yearly reports from the stipendiary magistrates to the Governor, do not they state that the number of the population at work was equal, taking men, women, and children, to about 32,000, there being a population of about 120,000 in the colony?—Yes.

7555. Then it does not seem that the whole population are working five days in the week?—They may be working continuously upon other things besides working for the sugar estates; a vast number are employed in the town about the shipping.

7556. Do you think that the people would not have time enough to attend to their grounds now, as they used to do during slavery, after they had done their task for the day, which you say takes them 67 hours?—During slavery the grounds were cultivated upon compulsion, and even then they were imperfectly cultivated, inasmuch as the labourers depended partly upon the provisions served out weekly upon the estates, salt fish, corn, and other things, and there was no inducement to cultivate their provision grounds; when they did cultivate them it was upon the Sunday, and then they had to do it under the eye of the overseer; and I have heard it stated by overseers repeatedly, “When we did go with the people on Sunday to see the provision grounds we were very well tired with the week’s work, and we never troubled our heads about it, nor the people either.”

7557. Were you in Demerara during the apprenticeship?—No, I was in Jamaica; I have heard that stated in Demerara by persons who were there during the time, overseers of estates.

7558. Do you think that during the apprenticeship the people cultivated their grounds solely upon the Sundays?—No, certainly not; they found time at other periods; but then a vast number of people, immediately the apprenticeship commenced, manumitted themselves, and so obtained time to work their grounds.

7559. Do you think that the six or seven hours a day is as much labour as you can expect from them in that country?—No, I do not think that.

7560. You think they might do a better day’s work?—Yes, I do; I think if you take the bulk of the population, there is not that inducement to hard continuous labour in a tropical climate that there is in such a climate as this; it produces a considerable amount of indolence on the part of every one; it is impossible to use that amount of exertion there that one can employ at home; the climate forbids it.

7561. *Chairman*.]

7561. *Chairman.*] You are speaking with reference to European constitutions?—With reference to negroes also; it requires a very strong stimulus, either of the whip or of very high wages, to make a man thoroughly industrious there.

7562. Do you think it requires a stronger impelling motive to industrious labour in the West Indies than in this country?—It requires a stronger motive than 1s. a day, which is the price of a bare subsistence.

7563. *Mr. Barkly.*] Have not many of the negro population in British Guiana amassed large sums of money in the last few years?—I think not, lately.

7564. Have not you heard of large sums of money being given by them for the purchase of estates?—Yes, that was money which they saved up during slavery.

7565. Have not large sums been given for the erection of chapels?—Yes, there have, but that was principally money that had been earned at former periods.

7566. You do not think that under the state of things which has existed since the emancipation, the negroes have saved money?—In some cases they have, but not to the same extent as they were able to do formerly, when their wants, few as they were, were supplied by the estates, and their desires were not so many as they are now; because no man, woman, or child would dress now as they used to do in the time of slavery, or even at the commencement of apprenticeship. Their dress is much better in every respect. The congregation that I had upon the Sabbath day was composed wholly of black people; I had not one white person, except Mrs. Barrett, amongst the 800 to 900 people generally assembled in the chapel, and they would have equalled any English congregation, composed as they were, exclusively of agricultural labourers.

7567. *Chairman.*] You mean that they would have been equal in respect of dress?—Yes; I do not mean equal to a fashionable congregation in England, but an ordinary rural congregation.

7568. Those articles not being articles of necessity or even articles that can be considered as contributing materially to the comfort of the people; if they lay out a portion of their wages in fresh dresses, one would suppose that they must be earning wages which might be considered rather high wages?—No, there is no desire for fine dress now; that is, no desire compared with what there was six or eight years ago. It was just in the transition from a state of nakedness to one of clothing, that the negroes thought that the best thing they could do was to adorn themselves as highly as possible. That cured itself, and the people have returned to a decent and moderate style of dress. You see no feathers, no parasols, no silk dresses.

7569. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Then it is not true that the ladies walk with silk parasols over their heads?—I do not think such a thing ever occurred.

7570. *Chairman.*] You said that your congregation was very well dressed?—Very nicely dressed in printed muslin gowns.

7571. Were they better dressed than a rural congregation in this country?—No; just about the same as our own country labourers are dressed upon a Sunday here.

7572. Should you say that the labouring population in Demerara are in circumstances of great comfort?—I think they are, taken upon the whole, in a state of comparative comfort, far greater comfort than they were formerly. The only thing that I dread is the extensive introduction of those labourers from the East Indies and also labourers from the coast of Africa, throwing back that growing state of civilization which has been so delightful to every friend of humanity.

7573. *Sir E. Buxton.*] It has been stated that many of those people have possessed horses, and that in some cases they ride to their work on horses. When you were in Jamaica, did you observe that the labourers went to work on horses?—I never saw such a thing.

7574. Did you ever hear of such a thing?—I never heard of it, except that I have sometimes heard such a thing stated with a good laugh, as if it was a caricature.

7575. *Mr. Barkly.*] Did you never know of the fact of labourers keeping horses upon their masters' estates?—Yes, with permission; the headmen upon the estates, who have from time immemorial been indulged with extraordinary privileges. But that is a very different thing from keeping horses upon an estate at home; because upon every estate in Jamaica there are some hundreds of acres totally unemployed.

Rev. *W. G. Barrett.*

29 June 1848.

7576. But it was the fact that men in the position of agricultural labourers did keep horses upon the estate, and did ride them when they had occasion to do so?—In my congregation, I think the average number of horses in my chapel-yard was three.

7577. *Sir E. Buxton.*] What was the number that came on horses to your chapel in Jamaica?—I should think sometimes 20 or 30; but then I had a large number of respectable free settlers who had never been slaves.

7578. Do not the people who keep horses keep them as matters of trade, to convey provisions to market?—Not only so, but for purposes of riding too. Many of those that were formerly slaves were men endowed with great natural energy of character. They overcame the difficulties of their position and saved up money during slavery, partly by their wives and children taking care of a little stock, and when they became free they possessed a considerable amount of money. But those cases are individual cases.

7579. Does that description apply to the general condition of the labouring population?—Certainly not.

7580. Can you state the number of emigrants who have been imported into British Guiana since the emancipation?—Forty-one thousand, seven hundred and forty-one.

7581. *Mr. Barkly.*] That includes those who have left the colony as well as those who remain in it?—Yes.

7582. *Sir E. Buxton.*] And it includes a considerable amount of labourers who have come of their own accord from other colonies?—It includes all foreign labour that has been brought into the labour market of British Guiana.

7583. Can you state the proportion of the sexes which have been brought?—Only with regard to the East Indian emigration. I should think that the proportion of the sexes has been pretty equal in the emigrants from the islands, and the emigrants from Madeira; but the proportion of the sexes has been very unequal in the East Indian emigrants, and the consequence is that many vices, before unknown to the colony, have been brought into British Guiana by the Coolies from Calcutta and Madras.

7584. *Mr. Barkly.*] Those vices are confined to the Coolies?—Yes.

7585. Have you any reason to know that they did not exist among the Coolies while they remained at Madras or Calcutta?—Perhaps so; our fear is lest they should introduce these things among the Creole population.

7586. Have you any reason to apprehend that?—The people have sometimes come to me, and told me “I am going to leave the estate.” I have said, “What for?” “I do not like to tell you, minister.” I have said, “You had better tell me.” “The Coolies do things so bad.” I have said, “What do you mean?” “I cannot tell you, minister; very bad; Coolie man do things very bad.” That is a species of moral evidence which I think cannot be refused belief.

7587. The Coolie emigration is at an end, as far as British Guiana is concerned, is it not, after the present year?—Yes.

7588. Have you seen anything of immigration from the coast of Africa?—I know very few that have come; there were a few Kroomen in my neighbourhood; they were the worst characters among the black people; they are a peculiar sort of people; they refuse to associate with other negroes; they keep to themselves; they never send their children to school, nor do I know a single case of any of them coming under any kind of religious instruction. There may have been such cases, but I have made frequent inquiries and I never could hear of any. Clergymen and Methodist ministers, and Presbyterian ministers have been asked, “Do the Kroomen in your neighbourhood come to your place of worship?” and “No” is the invariable answer. They have introduced, beyond doubt, the practice of Obeahism, which was fast dying out of the colony; it is a wild African superstition.

7589. It has been revived in consequence of the importation of labourers from Africa?—Yes; it has been revived upon all those estates where Kroomen have been introduced.

7590. *Mr. Barkly.*] With reference to Jamaica, during the time you were there was not it found that Obeahism revived very considerably in the island, and that there were many trials in the criminal court arising out of it?—No, it was Myalism, a supposed counter charm to Obeahism.

7591. It was an African superstition?—Yes, introduced by the Africans themselves.

7592. That

7592. That was before immigration had commenced?—It was immediately after the formation of the native West India regiments.

7593. There had been no immigration then?—Not to any extent.

7594. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Were those West India regiments formed of natives from Jamaica?—No, native Africans.

7595. *Chairman*.] What would be the state of mind, with reference to a belief in Christianity, of those who became re-converted to Obeahism?—I can hardly describe the negroes' state of mind with regard to Obeahism. It is a belief that certain persons have power to inflict diseases upon them. But during the last 14 years there has been a most powerful advancement of the truth among them.

7596. Mr. *M. Milnes*.] Was not the same thing found all through Europe in the form of witchcraft?—It is a sort of witchcraft; they think that certain persons are possessed of supernatural intelligence and power.

7597. *Chairman*.] How is it consistent with their belief in Christianity?—That is a point of considerable difficulty; but I have known persons of undoubted religious character shake their head, and say, "That man know too much, and I am afraid of him; he can do too much."

7598. Is Obeahism confined to a kind of witchcraft?—Yes. I have seen and heard of cases of able-bodied men pining away and dying under the supposed influence of Obeahism.

7599. Mr. *Barkly*.] Does not Myalism prevail more among the Baptists and other religious denominations?—Principally among the Methodists; it was supposed to be a counter-charm to Obeahism.

7600. Do you think that arose at the time of the formation of the black West India regiment?—No; I mean to say that the introduction of an ignorant and partially civilized population would have the effect of driving back the onward progress of civilization and Christianity. That is all that I mean to say.

7601. Has the onward progress of the negroes in civilization been satisfactory to your own mind the last few years; do you think that they have advanced as rapidly during the last four or five years as they did during the previous four or five years?—Taking all things into consideration, I think beyond our most sanguine expectations; and I am rather surprised to find the manner in which a special magistrate who cannot be charged with favouritism towards the negro population writes in a despatch which has not been published here. It is a despatch dated the 30th of April 1848, from Edward Carbery, special magistrate: he says, "I think it is undeniable that the progress of the emancipated peasantry since 1848 has been sufficiently satisfactory" (he must mean 1838): "it could not reasonably be expected that the characteristic vices of a servile condition should suddenly disappear from among a people who were so long exposed to the degrading influences of slavery." "The emancipated peasantry have failed in none of the important duties which individuals owe to society; they have been loyal and peaceable subjects. If their industry did not answer the expectations or the wishes of their former masters, it has at least been sufficient to maintain them in comfort, and to enable thousands of them to become owners of the soil which they formerly tilled as slaves. On all occasions they evince a becoming deference to persons in authority, and, generally speaking, are submissive to the laws. They treat their spiritual teachers with great respect, and the liberal contributions they have made towards the erection of various religious edifices are evidences of their piety and zeal. It would be unjust to deny them the possession of many social virtues; they are charitable and hospitable; scores of idle Coolies are maintained among the rural districts, chiefly by the contributions they receive at the cottages of the labourers; and whenever called upon to subscribe for the relief of the distressed, their donations have been always sufficiently liberal." Now this gentleman cannot be accused of any undue partiality towards the negroes.

7602. Do not some of the stipendiary magistrates, in their series of reports, give a rather less satisfactory account of the progress of the population, especially among the freeholders?—I think not; I have copied the substance of them. One says, "Everything quiet and orderly." Another says, "Nothing to excite apprehension in the conduct of the people." Another says, "No insubordination. Another says, "Population peaceably disposed." Another says, "Orderly and peaceful." Another says, "Everything quiet and peaceable."

7603. That is in answer to direct inquiries in a circular addressed from Governor Light?—In answer to a circular addressed by the Government Secretary,

Mr.

Rev. W. G. Barrett. Mr. Walker, requesting them to afford him some information with regard to the conduct of the peasantry, of the freeholders in particular.

29 June 1848.

7604. Do not the special magistrates in their reports state that the freeholders are not advancing satisfactorily in civilization?—I am not aware that they say so; it may be so; I have been travelling, and have not had time to read them very carefully.

7605. Sir E. Buxton.] Can you state to the Committee the total amount which the colony has spent in immigration during the last eight years?—632,316 dollars; that is the amount of bounty paid for the introduction of immigrants into British Guiana down to June the 30th, 1846; there is no authentic information since that.

7606. Can you state whether that large importation of immigrants has had the effect of lowering wages to any great degree?—Taking all the circumstances into consideration, I should think not; taking everything that is paid for, and everything paid to the immigrants, I think there has been a keeping up in the rate of wages, rather than a lowering; I mean taking into consideration all the expenses, and not merely the money paid to them for their weekly work, because the Coolies went about the country and did very little work.

7607. Mr. Barkly.] Does not that rather lessen your apprehensions as to the effect of a large introduction of immigrants, if the effect of their introduction, so far as it has gone, has been rather to raise wages than to lower them?—I do not mean to say that it has increased the rate of wages to the labouring population, but it has occasioned the planters to pay more upon the whole, in keeping up a large and expensive police establishment. The hospital expenses alone in George Town, which has never had less than 400 patients in it, cost the colony 500 dollars a day. Taking those things into consideration, I think the scheme has been exceedingly costly.

7608. Sir E. Buxton.] You believe that, upon the whole, it has been a losing speculation to the colony to import labourers from foreign places?—I believe it is generally admitted on all hands, that the Coolie immigration is a total failure.

7609. Do you think it likely that immigration from the coast of Africa would fail in the same way?—I do not know, because the Africans are a more able kind of people, and would fall more readily into the labour.

7610. Chairman.] The expense would be less?—Yes, and they would not be subject to the same diseases.

7611. Mr. Barkly.] Are not the Madeira people valuable immigrants?—The mortality has been very great among them.

7612. Is it not a fact that they are the principal shopkeepers and hucksters in the colony?—Yes; I do not deny that they are most industrious people.

7613. Setting aside the mortality, that immigration has been more successful?—Yes: but out of 15,000, 7,600 had died at the end of three years.

7614. Upon what authority do you state that?—Dr. Bonyon.

7615. Are you aware that that authority has been very much questioned by the report of a committee appointed by the Court of Policy; Dr. Bonyon, it is stated, having supposed that all were dead who could not be found?—I saw some statement of that kind; but I think the same result would be arrived at only by a consideration of the hospital returns, published every half-year by Dr. Blair, which it is perfectly appalling to read: "Death," "Death," "Death," "Death," "Johannez" this name, and "Fernandez" the other name who have been admitted into the hospital after four or six months of residence in the colony.

7616. Chairman.] Were they dissipated in their habits?—No; they were generally attacked with dysentery.

7617. Sir E. Buxton.] Are those immigrants paid the same wages as the Creoles?—I think so.

7618. Mr. Barkly.] Were not many of those Madeira people voluntary immigrants?—Yes.

7619. They actually took up vessels and paid for their own passage?—Yes; but the mortality has been about the same in each case.

7620. They came after suffering extreme famine in the island of Madeira?—Latterly.

7621. Chairman.] What are your impressions, looking at the question of immigration in an economical point of view only; if you were a proprietor in Demerara you would not desire it?—Certainly not.

7622. Are

7622. Are you acquainted with any individuals of intelligence, who understand the social condition of Demerara, owners of property, who hold that opinion with reference to African immigration?—No, I am not.

7623. You are not acquainted with any among them who think that African immigration would not promote the welfare of their condition?—I am scarcely able to answer that question.

7624. Mr. *Barkly*.] The Africans have been valuable labourers to the planters?—Yes, I have no doubt of it.

7625. Your objections to their introduction arise upon religious and moral grounds?—Yes.

7626. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Is there employment for the labourers during the whole of the year?—Not in all cases.

7627. Generally there is?—Yes.

7628. There were several fires in the beginning of this year that were supposed to be incendiary; is it your opinion that those fires were generally incendiary fires?—I will state what I know about those fires; I was living upon an estate on which one of those fires occurred, on Montrose estate, the 15th of January in this year. About the middle of the day I observed that there was a large fire on the estate, and I found that the trash house was on fire; the house was burnt to the ground. My special duties prevented my going back to the estate on that day; it was on a Saturday. Sunday morning the 16th of January another fire broke out on Lusignan estate, about five miles further up the coast. Immediately on those fires taking place a proclamation was issued, I think upon the 18th, three days after the first fire, by his Excellency the Governor, stating that there was every reason to believe that those fires were the work of incendiaries, and offering a reward for their apprehension. I very much regretted the appearance of the proclamation. I think there was no doubt that both of those fires were the work of an incendiary, but that they were not the work of any planned system of incendiarism, such as that to which his Excellency the Governor referred in his proclamation. It was stated in the Royal Gazette that upon Montrose estate, where I lived, the people stood by with the utmost indifference and beheld the property destroyed. When I mentioned this to Mr. Ross, the manager of the estate, he said, "It is a falsehood: if the people could have saved the buildings they would; although there was a disagreement between me and the people at the time, every man, woman, and child turned out, and did what they could to save the property on the estate."

7629. Did you see that yourself?—I saw the fire, but I did not see the turning out of the people; it was in the mid-day on Saturday, and I was preparing for my duties on the Sunday. On the Lusignan estate it was also stated in the Royal Gazette that the people stood by with indifference, and saw the overseers' houses destroyed; that they did not turn out. Mr. M'Crae, the attorney of the property, immediately wrote a letter to the Royal Gazette, contradicting the statement, and saying, that although the house was on fire in the middle of the night (there was no evidence to say how it was fired), and the people had retired to rest, the whole body of labourers turned out, and did everything they could to save the property.

7630. So that in both those cases the agents gave testimony to you that there was no such disaffection at all among the people?—None at all; and this was at the time of a general strike.

7631. Can you give the Committee any account of the laws which regulate the relations between masters and labourers?—I cannot do so with certainty; I have not referred to any of those laws for some months. Some time in the course of last year there was an Ordinance, called No. 30, regulating the relations between masters and servants; conceiving the Ordinance to be of an impolitic as well as of an oppressive character, I drew up a memorial respecting it, which was signed by all the ministers in the colony of our denomination, and sent home through his Excellency Governor Light; to which I have never received any answer, nor even any acknowledgment of its receipt.

7632. *Chairman*.] From whom did you expect that answer?—From the Government: we expected, at least, an acknowledgment that it had been received. The ministers that signed it represented at least 10,000 of the people; and we adopted this mode of memorial to the Government instead of calling public meetings upon the subject. One of the special magistrates says, that in his district the missionary ministers (as we are termed) have created

some

Rev. W. G. Barrett. some political agitation with reference to this very Ordinance. In my own case I can safely say this, that so far from doing so, I carefully abstained from it, and memorialized the Government at home, in order to prevent the excitement that would have attended political meetings there.

29 June 1848.

7633. Was it your opinion that any extensive dissatisfaction existed among the labouring population with respect to any laws that have lately been enacted in the colony?—Yes, one law in particular, a recent tax ordinance; that has done more mischief to the colony than any act of legislation since 1834. The people who had provision-grounds for raising market vegetables were by one clause in this Act forbidden to take those vegetables to market, except they take out a licence, which would cost them 10 dollars.

7634. A licence for what?—A licence for selling yams, or arrow-root, or ginger, or whatever they grow upon their grounds.

7635. Mr. *Barkly*.] A licence for selling them in the market?—For selling them at all anywhere, as Mr. Garnett, the commissary of taxation, explained to me. He said, “If a woman was selling ginger-beer she would be liable to be fined 10 dollars.” I said, “That is a very strange thing; first to complain that people are not industrious, and refuse to work their provision-grounds; and now that the people have been industrious, and have worked their provision-grounds, and have made the country a garden, they are forbidden to take the produce of their grounds to market, except they take out a 10-dollar licence.”

7636. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Is it a fact that if a person grows yams upon his own provision-grounds, he is obliged to take out a 10-dollar licence in order to sell them?—Yes. The consequence was that the people said, “We will not work upon the estates; if we cannot sell what we grow, we will not work.” And for many weeks the people sat down and did not work; I should think for eight or ten weeks.

7637. Mr. *Barkly*.] At what time was this?—It was about the middle of last year.

7638. That had no connexion with the general strike?—No. The Governor saw that the excitement of the people was very great; the merchants in George Town complained that they could get nothing to eat; for the people from the country districts refused to take their provisions to town to sell, and the Act was allowed, after eight or ten weeks operation, to be a dead letter; but it is in the power of the Governor at any time to evoke it.

7639. *Chairman*.] What did you understand was the object of the ordinance?—The Hon. Peter Rose said, in the Court of Policy, “We shall not know where these fellows come from, if we do not make them take out a licence when they come to town to sell their provisions.” The people read that, and they said, “We do not like to be called ‘fellows.’”

7640. Do you believe that the object of that ordinance was to compel the people to labour on the estates of the proprietors, rather than to labour for their provisions?—No; I believe it was intended to raise an additional sum for immigration purposes, because the chest was exhausted.

7641. It was purely a fiscal object?—Yes.

7642. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Are you aware of any laws relating to labour which are felt to be a hardship by the newly imported immigrants?—The Coolies often complain; I cannot say with what reason. I have conversed with numbers of Coolies when they have come begging in the yard; but I never met with one who did not bitterly deplore the day that he left India. Intelligent men, who could speak two or three languages, have said to me, “If there were a foot road to Madras or Calcutta, I would walk back if I died going.”

7643. Many of the Coolies imported were totally unfit for field labour?—Yes; wretched emaciated creatures.

7644. Mr. *Barkly*.] Have not many of them improved very much during their residence in the colony?—Yes; but vast numbers have died from actual starvation.

7645. *Chairman*.] Did not many take money back to India?—Yes; the first corps of emigrants did. That was before my time; none have gone back within my time.

7646. Colonel *Thompson*.] If the British Government were to bring cargoes of Africans from the coast of Africa, and turn them ashore gratuitously in the colony, for how much less than 1s. a day do you think those men could be supported in working order, considering all the expenses which would be consequent

sequent upon their presence?—In British Guiana I think not less than 1 s. a day. *Rev. W. G. Barrett*

29 June 1848.

7647. One shilling a day being the present wages of Creole labourers?—
Yes.

7648. Then you mean to say that you think that if the British Government should bestow the whole expense of immigration upon the planters in the colony, they could not keep those men after they were brought there in working order for less than they can now obtain the work of Creole labourers?—
I do certainly think so.

7649. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Have wages very much decreased since the first years after emancipation?—Very much indeed.

7650. What were the wages during those years?—In 1839–40 in Jamaica the wages were 1 s. 6 d. and 2 s. a day.

7651. *Mr. Barkly.*] Is that currency?—In 1838 I think the currency of Jamaica was assimilated to that of Great Britain; but I am not certain about that; but the wages were considerably higher immediately after the beginning of freedom than at the present time.

7652. Does that remark apply to British Guiana?—I was not there at that time; I can only speak from what the people have told me; I think I have heard the people say that they could sometimes get a dollar a day; but that was for a long hard day's trench work.

7653. What can they make by a good long day's trench work now?—About six bits; half a dollar.

7654. *Chairman.*] You state that a labourer cannot subsist in anything like comfort under 1 s. a day in British Guiana, but he seems to do very well in Barbadoes for about one-third of that money; how will you explain what are the different circumstances in British Guiana, as compared with Barbadoes, which produce that result?—When I was in Barbadoes I went into the market, and I asked the price of provisions and things which I saw in the market, and I found them two-thirds or three-fourths cheaper than provisions of the same kind in Demerara.

7655. *Mr. Barkly.*] Were those native provisions?—Native provisions, corn, meal and flour.

7656. But the soil of Barbadoes is not more fertile?—No, but the utmost economy is practised with regard to everything, in manuring the soil and attention paid to the refuse, which is never thought anything of in British Guiana nor in any parts of Jamaica, and close superintendence of the estates by resident proprietors, or by persons immediately interested in the soil; those things account for living being much cheaper there.

7657. Is the labouring population in a state of social comfort in Barbadoes?—My residence there was only three weeks, and during part of that time I was laid up with sickness.

7658. Is there much more physical suffering?—There is more physical suffering, because there is a much thicker population in Barbadoes.

7659. Should you describe the general condition of the population as being one of a lower degree of welfare than the condition of the population in Jamaica and Demerara?—No, I think not.

7660. Then there is no reason why Demerara should not become eventually as prosperous for the labouring man as Barbadoes?—I see no reason whatever.

7661. *Mr. Barkly.*] With reference to the difference in the value of those native provisions in Barbadoes and in Demerara, do you think that the extra labour expended in raising them tends at all to account for the cheapness of those provisions?—Many circumstances have produced it. It is the result of a long course of things. Barbadoes is an old English colony.

7662. That does not make provisions grow cheaper?—No; but being the oldest English colony, habits of economy and good management have grown up there which are unknown in more recent colonies.

7663. Why should the negroes grow provisions cheaper upon the less fertile soil of Barbadoes than upon the more fertile soil of Demerara?—Other persons besides the negroes turn their attention to the cultivation of provisions in Barbadoes.

7664. Is not it the fact that that arises from labour being cheaper in Barbadoes than in British Guiana, and that therefore the provisions produced by that labour

Rev. W. G. Barrett.

29 June 1848.

labour are cheaper?—Partly from that; but the wages are so high in British Guiana, because the cost of living is so high.

7665. If you reduce the cost of living, then the wages may be reduced?—I do not see how you can reduce the price of wages till you reduce the price of provisions.

7666. If there were a larger population, and they could raise provisions more cheaply in consequence, would not that be the means of enabling the labouring population to exist upon lower wages?—But you require the larger population solely for the cultivation of sugar, not for the cultivation of provisions.

7667. With reference to the immigrants in the colony, do you think that the cultivation of the colony would have been kept up from the month of December 1847 to the month of March 1848, if it had not been for the immigrants?—No, I do not think it would; but I do not think that the strike would have taken place if any pains had been taken to explain to the labourers the reason for the reduction of wages. But I know from personal observation that many of the managers treat the people in a way in which they would not dare to treat Irish and Scotch labourers.

7668. Were there not many cases in which great pains were taken by the proprietors and by the managers to explain the reasons for the reduction?—I think those were the exceptions. I know one estate where the resident proprietor would have explained it with the utmost kindness and fairness, but the manager explained it with great roughness; in fact, he cursed the people; he said he did not care for them.

7669. When you tell a man in Demerara to go about his business, does not he immediately say that you curse him? Is not that an expression constantly used without reference to an oath?—It is used without any reference to profanity.

7670. Sir E. Buxton.] You think that if greater pains had been used, and the people had been fairly reasoned with, that strike would not have taken place?—I think not; because the people came to me in numbers to ask my advice. When I went to the village of Better-ver-wagting, where I held a meeting and had a daily school, the people were sitting down upon the estate doing nothing, and I said, “How is it you are not working?” They said, “The manager has driven us away.” I called them together, and I said, “The fact is this, sugar is not selling for the price it used to sell for, and the planters cannot afford to give you such wages now as when sugar was selling at a higher price; before you sit down idle you had much better take the reduced wages, because now you are losing time and losing money too.” They said, “Why did not the manager tell us that?” I said, “Did not he do so?” They said, “If the manager had spoken to us like that, we would have taken the rate of wages; but after the way we were driven off the property we will not go back till we are sent for.”

7671. Mr. Barkly.] Did not the Rev. Mr. Wallbridge address large meetings of people, and tell the people that it was for their own interest that the wages should be reduced in the circumstances of the colony, and use his influence to induce them to accept a lower rate of wages?—He gave them the same advice that I gave.

7672. Did the people act upon that advice?—If the people had been told those things by the managers in a proper way, they would have listened to them.

7673. When they were told them, did they listen to them?—They did; and they said, “We will not go back till we are sent for.” The fact is, that between the employers and the employed there is a very bitter feeling, which is much to be deplored.

7674. Are you acquainted with the circumstances of the attempt to make a railway upon that coast?—Partly so.

7675. Have not you heard that Mr. Catherwood has stated the difficulty of getting labour?—Yes; and I can explain the circumstances. The operations in constructing the railway at one part were suddenly suspended, and I inquired how it was. The work had been given out by Mr. Catherwood to a person. The contractor farmed a certain length of it; Mr. Catherwood gave this gentleman the money, and he got the work done, and when it was done he left the work and did not pay one of the labourers. There were sums of 18, 20, and 50 dollars due to the persons who had worked upon it; and they said, “We will not work.”

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They said, "When we work upon the sugar estates we cannot get paid, and if we work upon the railway we cannot get paid; we will not work at all." That just arises from middlemen being continually employed. Mr. Catherwood himself would have paid those people punctually.

Rev. W. G. Barrett.

29 June 1848.

7676. Are you not aware that the negroes struck for a higher rate of wages upon the railway, when they were receiving at the rate of about 2 s. a day?—I believe they did. In their haste to have their works commenced the company offered a higher rate of wages than the circumstances of the country justified.

7677. But even at that high rate of wages they struck work?—There was an immense amount of work done most expeditiously upon the railway immediately after the commencement.

7678. Is not it a fact that the works upon the railway are nearly suspended?—Yes, they have been suspended for some time.

7679. *Chairman.*] Do you think there is any want of labour in Demerara for the cultivation of sugar estates?—I am afraid after the statements to the contrary that have been made, I shall be thought very paradoxical, but I do not think there is.

7680. If a proprietor told you that he should be very glad to get labour at 1 s. a day, should you think he was an exception to the general rule?—I think he would get as many labourers as he wanted.

7681. *Sir E. Buxton.*] If they were paid weekly?—If they were paid weekly.

7682. *Mr. M. Milnes.*] It never occurred to you to witness a case in which the necessary agricultural processes were stopped from an absolute want of hands to perform the work?—Never; I have seen agricultural processes stopped from other circumstances, such as a disagreement between the manager and the people; disagreements which in most cases might have been avoided, had there been a little consideration upon both sides.

7683. Have you never seen crops of sugar cane undergoing material injury from the inability of finding labourers to cut the canes?—Never.

7684. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Probably you have seen it from other causes; from an indisposition from one cause or another on the part of the labourers to work?—I was upon a large estate just previously to my coming away (not the estate which I mentioned before, but another), upon which the manager said to me, "There are 100 hogsheads of sugar behind this house now, and I cannot take them off because the merchant in town has not money to pay the wages."

7685. That has been the case during this year; but has it been the case in the colony generally till this year?—I only mentioned that in answer to the question whether I had seen agricultural processes stopped from want of hands.

7686. You do not think it has ever been the case that canes have been left to rot upon the ground from there being an insufficiency of labour in the colony to take them off?—I have heard of that.

7687. *Mr. Barkly.*] The case did not occur within your own knowledge, even in Jamaica when you were there?—Not at all in Jamaica; there was no general complaint of a scarcity of labour when I left Jamaica, four years ago.

7688. *Chairman.*] You know Mr. Porter?—Yes.

7689. He is a very intelligent man?—Very.

7690. Possessing great energy of character?—I should suppose he does.

7691. You know some of the anterior circumstances of his life; of his having been in the army, and afterwards applying himself to the study of the manufacture of sugar in this country, and then going out to look after his own estate with his own eyes?—Yes.

7692. He is a man of capital, is he not?—I believe he is.

7693. If such a man, who treats his labouring population with kindness, was in want of labourers, offering them the price of 1 s. a day for their labour, would you not infer from that circumstance that there must be a deficiency, at least in his neighbourhood, in the labour market?—No, I should not; Mr. Porter is a member of the Court of Policy, and is obliged to be in George Town every day whilst the Court is sitting; and whilst he is absent from his estates the management of the estates is left solely to his subordinates.

7694. *Mr. Barkly.*] How long has he been a member of the Court of Policy?—I do not know.

Rev. *W. G. Barrett.*

29 June 1848.

7695. Is it, or is it not the fact, that he was elected a member of the Court of Policy only at Christmas last?—I do not know.

7696. That state of things could only have existed since he became a member of the Court of Policy?—That particular circumstance could only have arisen since that; but it is not possible for Mr. Porter to be at his two estates, so far apart as they are, at the same time; and I know, that upon Le Resouvenir estate the management has been most injudicious.

7697. *Mr. Barkly.*] Do you think that you could conduct a sugar estate profitably under present circumstances in British Guiana?—I should like to have an opportunity of trying it.

7698. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Is there a strong disposition among the natives, and also the Europeans, in British Guiana, to have more influence in the management of their own affairs?—One half of the evils of the colony of British Guiana, I am of opinion, arise from our want of representation there. We have no representative assembly.

7699. You are anxious that there should be a representative assembly?—I think that is the wish of every intelligent person, white, black, and brown, agricultural and mercantile, throughout the colony.

7700. *Chairman.*] Did you observe a marked difference between the social and political circumstances of British Guiana and Jamaica?—Very great. When I first went to British Guiana, I was very much impressed with the vast difference in the circumstances of the people generally; but I would not attribute too much to that, because British Guiana is a recent possession.

7701. *Sir E. Buxton.*] Are there a great number of black freeholders in British Guiana?—A great many. But supposing the franchise were extended to those black freeholders, they are not so many but that there would be a counterbalancing voice among the respectable classes.

7702. Have not they votes at present in the election of financial representatives, even for the Combined Court?—Not in the country; I do not know of any.

7703. Is there any other subject you wish to mention to the Committee?—One thing that would tend very much to tranquillize British Guiana is, if a power of appeal were given from the inferior courts held in the country to some superior court. In Jamaica that is the case. In a country district, if a person is not satisfied with the decision of the magistrate, he can appeal to the quarter sessions, where he has an opportunity of employing counsel; but there is no such power of appeal in British Guiana, and I have seen cases very sad in some of those courts.

7704. *Mr. Barkly.*] Are you aware that representations have been made upon this subject to the Colonial Office, both from the colony and by those connected with the colony in this country?—No; but I am glad to hear it.

7705. Are you aware of any difficulty as to the law officers called sheriffs in those counties, that they are not qualified by legal education to preside over such courts as those?—I was not aware that such a representation as that had been made, but it is felt as a great grievance by the people. There is a hurried, slovenly, dictatorial manner of doing the business, which would not bear to be reported even in the colonial papers.

7706. Is there a stipendiary magistrate in every court?—One stipendiary magistrate and two or three local.

7707. From the decisions of those courts there is at present no appeal?—None whatever.

7708. *Mr. Simeon.*] Practically speaking, is not the law administered with very great leniency in British Guiana?—Yes: I do not think there is any frequent oppressive administration of the law. The greatest burden is the amazing taxation on the necessaries of life.

7709. Is not there a disposition on the part of the magistrates rather to lean to the side of the negroes in case of any dispute arising?—I can scarcely answer that question. I do not know that there is anything of that kind of feeling. There seems a desire to carry out to the very letter of the law; but it is sometimes done in that hurried, undignified way, which does not consist with our ideas of a court of justice, such as “Hold your tongue; we have had enough of your tongue;” and when the negroes find a decision passed upon them in that manner, they then say, “We cannot go to any higher court.” If that grievance were redressed it would tranquillize the colony to a great extent,
and

and it would assure the people that if they had not justice in the first place they would get it in the second.

7710. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do not the planters complain very loudly of having no appeal from the magistrates?—Yes; it would be more satisfactory to every one to have a court of appeal, and there is more respectability about a court of quarter sessions than about a miserable court held in a shattered tumbling down building, with three or four people present.

7711. Viscount *Courtenay*.] Is the presence of a stipendiary magistrate necessary in those local courts?—Yes. There are some cases that can be decided by a single magistrate.

7712. Mr. *Barkly*.] But no question about wages?—I think not.

7713. Mr. *Simeon*.] Is not the amount of punishment awarded for offences generally very slight?—It is about the same as at home.

7714. We have had evidence of a fine of 10 dollars being inflicted upon a woman for setting fire to a cane-piece, which strikes us in England as being a very insufficient amount of punishment for so serious an offence; is that the general rate of punishment?—I never heard of it. I should think it a very insufficient punishment for such a grievous offence as that. But I should like to mention a case that occurred the other day, and I mention it as one of the circumstances which tend to keep up that irritation in the colony which I deeply deplore, because the colony can never be happy or prosperous as long as it exists. This is a circumstance that has just come to my knowledge; the names are mentioned. A man came to town March 15th, with a boat load of charcoal, which he had made up the river in his small settlement; the man had taken out his licences, one for his boat, four dollars, and a huckster's licence, ten dollars, neither of which expire till the 1st of July. He came to George Town; the policeman asked him for his licences. He said, "I have not them with me; they are at my wife's house, about 10 minutes walk. Will you take possession of the boat, and allow me to go for the licences, because if I carried them about they would be lost or destroyed." The policeman refused to allow the man leave to go home to his house; he seized the boat, sold the charcoal, which was worth 50 to 60 dollars, giving the man back his empty boat. The hardship of this case was stated to Mr. M'Nulty, the police magistrate, who replied, that he refused to discuss the legality or illegality of his decision. The Governor was then appealed to, and after a fortnight's loss of time, the man, an honest, license-paying man, had 18 dollars returned to him. Thus he was robbed of at least 30 to 40 dollars.

7715. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Was there no redress for that?—A gentleman, a friend of the man, appealed to the Governor. The Governor said "it was quite legal; that the man ought to have carried his licences with him."

7716. Are such cases as that common?—No; I never heard of such an outrageous case before. But that man will go up the river and tell his companions there; and those people will all have the impression, that if they come to the town they will be treated in the same manner, and there being no newspapers they will talk instead of reading as we do. News goes from one part of the colony to another with almost as much rapidity as if there were newspapers, and it does not lose any of its effect in being passed from mouth to mouth. I should not be surprised if up the country the people were told that 20 boat-loads were seized, and that the men were put in prison.

7717. *Chairman*.] Are you of opinion that the present system of administering the law leads to much practical injustice?—Very much indeed; and abundant proof of that, I think, might be easily obtained.

29 June 1848.

Martis, 4° die Julii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Mr. Barkly.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Hutt.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

The Reverend *Henry Townsend*, called in; and Examined.

Rev. *H. Townsend*.
4 July 1848.

7718. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] YOU have been for some time in Africa?—I have, in charge of a mission, instituted by the Church Missionary Society, at Abbeokuta.

7719. Will you state to the Committee when you first arrived at that station, and when you quitted it?—I first went to Abbeokuta at the latter part of the year 1842, or rather the commencement of 1843; it was on the 2d or 3d of January 1843 that I first arrived there; I was then sent on a mission of inquiry into the state of the country, to see if there was any possibility of our forming an establishment there.

7720. When did you leave that country?—I left Abbeokuta in March of the present year, and I arrived in England yesterday week.

7721. Did you proceed to Abbeokuta in the first instance with the Reverend Samuel Crowther, or did you follow him there?—I went alone in the first case; I reported all my proceedings to the Church Missionary Society, and they were pleased to send for me to England; they subsequently sent myself and the Reverend Mr. Gollmer and Mr. Crowther to occupy the station at Abbeokuta.

7722. Will you state to the Committee what is the relative position of Abbeokuta, as compared with the coast and with Sierra Leone?—The situation of Abbeokuta is very far superior to those in Badagry; I am not acquainted with the coast near to Badagry, except that of Badagry itself.

7723. What is the linear distance from Badagry to Abbeokuta?—It is about 60 miles, taking a straight line.

7724. What is the linear distance between Sierra Leone and Abbeokuta?—I suppose it to be about 1,200 miles.

7725. In proceeding from Sierra Leone to Abbeokuta, did you go direct overland, or did you land at Badagry, and thence proceed to Abbeokuta?—I landed at Badagry first, and then proceeded to Abbeokuta.

7726. Are you prepared to state to the Committee anything with respect to the condition of the intermediate country extending 1,200 miles between Sierra Leone and Abbeokuta?—No, I am not.

7727. The information which you are prepared to give to the Committee refers principally to Sierra Leone as the great point of departure, to Badagry as an intermediate point, and to Abbeokuta as the ultimate object?—Just so.

7728. Did you not from Abbeokuta make certain tours of inquiry still further into the interior?—No, I never went further than Abbeokuta.

7729. Then when you say that you were sent on a mission to make inquiry, you wish the Committee to understand that that inquiry was limited to the opportunities which you might find for a mission in Abbeokuta itself?—Just so.

7730. What is the population of Abbeokuta?—The estimate of it is 50,000.

7731. Is it in a state of general civilization, as relates to buildings and markets and to civil government?—They have a government; their state of civilization is superior to what I anticipated meeting with there, and perhaps better than what people in general are led to think the state of Africa to be.

7732. In what way is the peace and security of the locality of Abbeokuta itself maintained?—The government itself is rather difficult to define, inas-
much

much as the people are not now under a settled government; formerly it was a monarchical government, but now, in consequence of the slave trade, the people who formerly lived in large towns, covering a large extent of country, are now concentrated in one town.

Rev. H. Townsend.

4 July 1848.

7733. Will you explain the means by which the scattered population, previously existing in the country, became concentrated in the town?—A quarrel arose amongst the people, and some fighting took place, and ultimately one of the towns was destroyed and the people carried into slavery, as many as they could take, and those that escaped joined those that had besieged them, and made an attack upon others; and so they went from town to town, an army of people of the worst class of society attacked the towns, each town in succession, until the whole country was in a state of disorder. Some of the people finding this spot, Abbeokuta, likely to prove a safe place, resorted to it; and then the people scattered abroad in the country one by one took refuge in it, until now the town has become extremely large.

7734. Have you such knowledge or ground of belief as to the origin of the war to which you have now called the attention of the Committee, as to enable you to state whether it arose as wars may arise in Europe, and as they may arise in Africa also, from the ordinary passions of men, or whether it arose specifically with a view to obtain slaves as an article of commerce?—I will state what the natives have told me as to the cause of that war. The people of two or three different towns were assembled together at one town for the purposes of trade. The Africans are accustomed to have certain market-towns to which they resort when they wish to exchange their commodities; they were there assembled, and some quarrel took place, the people say for the sake of one cowrie's worth of pepper, and in this quarrel two or three persons were killed, and in revenge, this war was declared against the offending party; this was the origin, they say, of the war that desolated the country.

7735. At what period of time did this war commence, as far as you know the history of it?—They have supposed it to be in the year 1817.

7736. A "cowrie's worth of pepper" is a value almost unimaginable in an European mind?—It is about the thirtieth part of a penny.

7737. Was that matter of fact or a figure of speech?—They stated it to me as a matter of fact.

7738. Do you understand that that war beginning with a quarrel about this fractional part of a penny was pursued from ordinary principles of revenge and general irritation, or was it pursued with a view to the ultimate object of obtaining the defeated party as the slaves, at the disposal of the conquerors?—I believe that the war first took place through revenge, and was then carried on through the slave trade giving them the means of carrying on that war, because they found then the profit of selling slaves, which before they did not so well understand; because I am informed that previously to that time very few people were sold into foreign slavery from that country, but their finding what the profits of the slave trade were, was an inducement for carrying it on, which would not have existed had there been no slave trade.

7739. Do you conceive that that country is now in a state of peace, that war having been practically closed, or do you conceive that the disorganization to which you have adverted is at this moment breaking out in petty wars, or in raids with a view to the capture of persons who may be sold as slaves?—At the present time the country is very much disorganised; the most sensible amongst the chiefs are desirous of peace, but they cannot always command the people, and there are a number of people in Abbeokuta thirsting for war on account of the slave trade; that is the only reason for the wars at the present time.

7740. Will you explain the phrase you have just used, "on account of the slave trade"?—That is as a consequence of the slave trade, because by the slave trade they are enabled to sell their captives, and gain a profit upon them.

7741. Then you wish the Committee to understand that it is within your knowledge (because you must distinguish between what you know and what you believe, and tell the Committee the grounds of your belief when it is not within your knowledge), it is within your knowledge, from information that you received from the parties themselves, or from credible witnesses, that they desire to revive war for the purpose of making slaves?—I will state it just as it came to me. They frequently wish to make war, but they themselves never like to tell us that it is for the slave trade, because they know full well that we are opposed to

Rev. H. Townsend. to the slave trade, but they tell us it is on account of some injury done; but the people themselves, who have no concern with those wars, tell us it is for the slave trade.

4 July 1848.

7742. When you say that the people themselves who have no concern with those wars, tell you so and so, do you wish the Committee to understand that such people are members of your Christian congregation, of whose personal veracity and general character you have, as their minister, sufficient evidence to justify you in relying upon that statement?—In some instances I derive information from the people generally, I mean from those in my neighbourhood with whom I have much acquaintance; at other times from those who are members of the Christian church there.

7743. Has the information which you so received, whether from strangers and persons whom you knew in general society, or from members of your own congregation, been tested to you extrinsically by credible evidence of the truth?—I believe it to be true myself. I believe that many wars are entirely on account of the slave trade, and that if the slave were to cease the country would be at peace.

7744. At all events you wish the Committee distinctly to understand that, whether or not the war to which you referred as commencing in the year 1817 arose from a dispute about the fractional part of a penny, it was carried on and devastated and disorganized the territory of Abbeokuta in consequence of the slave trade?—Yes; but I should explain that Abbeokuta is not the name of the country. The name of the country is Egba; the name of the kingdom is Yoruba, of which Egba is a sort of province. The Egba country used to have a king who was tributary to the Yoruba kingdom. Abbeokuta is the capital of the Egba country.

7745. Abbeokuta then is a capital formed from the population of different towns and villages, which in succession have been devastated by the war which originated in 1817?—Yes.

7746. Then perhaps 50 years ago Abbeokuta, instead of being, as it is now, a city of 50,000 inhabitants, was a far less considerable place than it is now?—Thirty years ago there was not an inhabitant there.

7747. Then has its natural position for strength, irrespective of any former nucleus of civilization and population, attracted to it the flying inhabitants of other villages?—Yes; it is on account of its natural strength that the people fled to it. There were no inhabitants there at the time previous to the first occupants, who came to it subsequently to those wars.

7748. *Chairman.*] Is there any meaning attached to the name Abbeokuta?—Yes, it means “under stone,” or “under rock”; “Abbe” means under, and “okuta,” a stone.

7749. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Is that a description which accords with the fact?—Yes; there is a high gap forming the top of a hill, under which is a cave; and it is from this cave, being a house underneath a rock, that the name is taken of Abbeokuta.

7750. Was this settlement formed for mutual protection?—For mutual protection; it was done more accidentally than designedly, because a few people first fled to it, and then others hearing of their being there, joined them, until the town became as extensive as it is at present.

7751. You referred to it as formerly a monarchical country. Do you wish the Committee to understand that it existed under one head at the period immediately subsequent to the first formation of this settlement for mutual protection?—There has been no king there since that time.

7752. Then you wish the Committee to understand that that settlement, though not formed under a king, was a portion of the Yoruba kingdom, and though the king might not have resided at the present town, he still had some central place of residence from which he governed the rest of his dominions?—Previously to those wars of which I have spoken, the town called Ake, in the Egba country, was the seat of that kingdom.

7753. Has such kingdom ceased to exist?—There is no king now, although there are representatives of his family. This town Ake was destroyed amongst others, but on account of the war they have never made a successor to him; he was tributary to the Yoruba king.

7754. Where does the Yoruba king reside?—At Agoja.

7755. Then your knowledge of the existing state of things in the Yoruba kingdom

kingdom is chiefly confined to the state of the settlement of Abbeokuta?—*Rev. H. Townsend.*

Yes.

7756. You have stated to this Committee that Abbeokuta was formed by a concourse of inhabitants whom the slave trade wars had driven from other places?—Just so.

7757. The wars beginning for a trifle were nevertheless carried on for the substantial object of gaining a valuable article of commerce, namely, slaves?—

Yes.

7758. In counteraction of those objects you were sent to establish a mission of Christian instruction in Abbeokuta?—Yes.

7759. Can you state to the Committee any success which has been vouchsafed to you in the formation of that missionary settlement?—Yes; when I first went to Abbeokuta I met the chief, Shodeke, there; he was not the king, but he had virtually all the power of a king; but he had not the title of honour bestowed upon him; he wished me to return to his country, saying that he would afford all the protection it was possible for him to do; stating that he would help us to build a residence, and even a church, and would give us children to teach, more than it was possible for us to teach. On my return the wars of the country prevented our proceeding to Abbeokuta immediately on landing at Badagry; we remained at Badagry about 18 months, and myself and Mr. Crowther proceeded at that time to Abbeokuta.

7760. Did not the chief write you a letter, inviting you to return?—Yes, we had several communications from him; but a few days after our arrival at Badagry, before we could communicate with him, Shodeke died; but the chief that was in his room received us very favourably, gave us ground to build on, and assisted us in every way that he could, and the people were most attentive to our instructions. They assembled together in large numbers, in fact so much so, that we are now in the course of erecting a fifth place of worship in the course of 18 months.

7761. What is the smallest congregation which you had in the smallest of those places of worship?—I think 50 people was the smallest congregation we ever had.

7762. What is the largest congregation you had in a place of worship?—We have had congregations of many hundreds, perhaps five, six, seven, or eight hundred occasionally, but not in a place of worship.

7763. What is the number of those whom you regard first as communicants, and secondly as devout hearers?—I am not sure to one or two; I think we had 36 communicants, but those are not natives of the country, those were people from Sierra Leone; but I baptized five natives of the country, that is, persons who had never been out of the country, who had never been to Sierra Leone, who were heathens when I reached the country, and I left in one class for particular instruction for baptism, 65 individuals, so that altogether there have been 70 persons who have come forward to join the Christian church, professing to have cast aside idolatry.

7764. Have their lives been in conformity with their professed principles?—As far as we know.

7765. Has the chief taken any interest in the progress of your labours?—He has taken great interest in it.

7766. Has he himself evidenced that interest by any approach to conformity to your principles?—He has never himself attended our place of worship.

7767. Does he regard the spread of Christianity rather as a means of spreading civilization than as spreading the truth of God's word?—He scarcely understands the truth of God's word; he scarcely can feel its power; but he supposes it to convey a blessing to his country, and therefore he wishes to forward it by every means.

7768. *Chairman.*] Is he a Mahometan?—No, he is a Pagan.

7769. *Sir R. H. Inglis.*] Does he seem to consider that Christianity and civilization are either identical, or that they are cause and effect; or does he appear to think that power belongs to white men, and that if he can give to his people that which distinguishes white men as to their instruction, he will give them power also?—I can scarcely tell you what his purpose may be; he regards Christianity as a good thing on account of what he has seen; he says that white people are good people; he cannot distinguish between white men and white men's religion, but he says, "The white people are good, because they send cruisers

Rev. H. Townsend. on the coast and liberate our people, and have let them return free without money and without price."

4 July 1848.

7770. Have you seen in Abbeokuta any of those so sent back or liberated by the cruisers of the Queen of England?—I have seen many.

7771. Welcomed in Abbeokuta, their own country?—Welcomed there, as lost children returned.

7772. It is scarcely necessary after that answer to proceed to ask you whether you regard the presence of a squadron upon that coast is a benefit to the people of Africa themselves?—I conceive it a great benefit.

7773. Do you conceive it to be a benefit adequate to its cost in preventing the slave trade?—I think so.

7774. If it do not prevent the slave trade, does it check the slave trade to such a degree as to justify you in wishing its continuance?—We wish it, most undoubtedly, to continue.

7775. Do you regard it as instrumental in protecting legitimate commerce?—I think so.

7776. Will you explain to the Committee in what way the presence of the squadron may or may not assist legitimate commerce?—On one occasion we were living in Badagry, it was after Lagos was troubled by internal warfare; one chief fighting against another; and a chief got the upper hand at Lagos who was much in favour of the slave trade, and very much against the English. Then the people of Badagry in consequence wished him to send some slave traders to Badagry; they wished to have the slave trade renewed in Badagry; but knowing that they could not do it while the English were present in Badagry, they sent to us, wishing us either to move out of the country, or not to speak of anything that we might see; but we were given to understand by persons in the town, natives friendly to us, that it was their intention to get rid of us out of the country. We sent to the commanding officer on the station, Captain Yorke, of the "Albatross," an account of these proceedings, and he immediately came to our assistance, and through his instrumentality we were enabled to maintain our ground there.

7777. So far at that time the efforts of the slave dealers to make use of Badagry as an entrepôt for slaves failed in consequence of the presence of the squadron?—Quite so.

7778. Do you know anything of the coast between Badagry and Sierra Leone, particularly with respect to the Gallinas and the Sherboro?—Nothing.

7779. The Committee understood from an earlier answer which you gave, that you know nothing personally of the intermediate country between Sierra Leone and Abbeokuta, except having recently proceeded to Abbeokuta by the line of Badagry?—I know nothing of the country between Abbeokuta and Sierra Leone.

7780. In what way were slaves brought from Abbeokuta to the coast? From what point of the coast did the slave dealers export their living cargoes?—Chiefly at Lagos; they were partly carried to Badagry, but not many, to be sold at Badagry to persons who may be there waiting to carry them to Porto-Novo.

7781. Lagos is under the Portuguese?—Under a native chief.

7782. It was a Portuguese settlement, was not it?—I am not aware whether that is the case; it is entirely under native government at the present time.

7783. Do you wish the Committee to understand that the slave trade is encouraged in Lagos by native chiefs without the presence of any European slave dealers?—There are European slave dealers there.

7784. Does the native chief at Lagos resist the efforts which the English are making?—I am given to understand that he does; that he considers the English to be his enemies.

7785. Because the chief is a trader in slaves?—Yes.

7786. He has not then been made to understand that any direct benefit would accrue to himself by the introduction of lawful commerce?—I think not; we have had no intercourse with him whatever; but I may inform the Committee that the former King of Lagos is in Badagry; he was deposed by the present one, and he was fully sensible of the advantages of lawful trade, and he frequently suggested that the British cruisers should aid him in regaining his lost possessions in Lagos, offering to abolish the slave trade if they would do so.

7787. Who

7787. Who was the first chief of Lagos when you first came on the coast?—

Aketoye.

7788. Who was the first chief of Abbeokuta when you arrived there?—

Shodeke.

7789. Who did you leave in Abbeokuta as the chief?—Sagbua.

7790. Is there any Christian mission at Badagry?—There is a station of our society, and one of the Wesleyan society.

7791. What is the number of persons first received into the congregation by baptism, and secondly of catechumens and persons desirous of being baptized in Badagry?—I am not acquainted with that exactly, that is not my province.

7792. Do you wish to add anything to the answers that you have already given, as far as the subject-matter of those answers may suggest to you any further information?—I will only say, that my opinion of the native chiefs is this, that they are well disposed to us, and that the presence of the British cruisers on the coast is of great value for the suppression of the slave trade, and that the chiefs are themselves wishful for the entire suppression of the slave trade. Those chiefs in the country who are well disposed to us, and who have perhaps the greatest right to power in the country, are the most respected amongst them.

7793. With reference, in the first instance, to the benefits which the native chiefs fancy they derive from the slave trade in obtaining articles valuable to themselves in exchange for slaves, do you consider that they could obtain such articles by lawful trade without the sacrifice of their people?—They could if lawful trade were introduced.

7794. Do you consider that the slave trade has prevented that lawful trade?—I think so.

7795. Do you think that lawful trade would be one of the best means of checking the slave trade?—I think in conjunction with the cruisers on the coast, but I think if there were no cruisers, there could be no lawful trade.

7796. Have you ever formed an opinion upon the subject of the formation of forts on the line of coast?—I have frequently thought that it would be of great advantage if it could be done with the consent of the native chiefs.

7797. Have you paid sufficient attention to the subject to justify your forming an opinion with respect to the desirableness of forming an increased number of treaties with different native chiefs?—I think treaties should be made with them.

7798. Do you conceive that the power of entering the territories of the native chiefs, and of seizing and destroying any depôts of slaves, under an authority vested in the Crown of England by such treaties, would likewise be an important mode of checking and of suppressing the slave trade?—I think so; especially if it were with special reference to the Portuguese; at least, I mean foreign slave traders at large, including Spaniards and any nation that may be engaged in the slave trade.

7799. Colonel *Thompson*.] What is the state of health of Europeans at Abbeokuta; is it a healthy place, or the contrary?—I can scarcely answer the question; I, myself, and my wife alone were in Abbeokuta; we had not experience enough of the country to answer that.

7800. Was your health as good or better as at other similar periods; in Sierra Leone for instance?—My health was better than at Sierra Leone; my wife's health was ruined, I think, by the exposure that we had to undergo on our first settlement in Abbeokuta; we had a great deal of exposure from the want of a dwelling.

7801. Have you any knowledge of the country called in the maps the mountains of Kong?—Whether the hills on which Abbeokuta is built form part of that range, I cannot tell.

7802. It is built on hills?—It is built on granite hills.

7803. Are you aware that in tropical climates a mountainous country is frequently as healthy as Europe?—Yes; but this is not properly mountainous; it is between the hills; there is a river and hills on the one side and the other, but they are not of very great height, perhaps 500 feet, or something of that sort.

7804. Is there a healthy and an unhealthy season at Abbeokuta?—I think so; I think the season between the rains and the dry season is very unhealthy.

Rev. H. Townsend.

4 July 1848.

7805. Can you name the months?—I think in March and April, and again in September and October; somewhere about that time I think is the most unhealthy part of the year.

7806. Would not the health of Europeans be likely to be improved by avoiding the unhealthy season?—I do not know how that is to be accomplished.

7807. Would it not be easy, in these days, especially of steam boats, to remove Europeans holding responsible situations, from the coast of Africa, and to convey them, for instance, to Madeira?—It is quite possible if steam boats were at hand to do it.

7808. What do you think is the average term of life of a European upon that part of the coast of Africa?—I have no data to form a judgment upon. It is difficult for me to say. I have lived nearly 12 years in Africa. This is my third visit to England in the interval.

7809. Do you think that the average term of life of a European would be increased by removing him during the unhealthy season?—It would take two removals in the year, because this unhealthy season takes place twice a year. In case of ill-health a removal would be beneficial. That is the best time to remove, when there is anything like sickness prevailing in the country. Persons can tell for themselves the time when is best for them to leave the country. We cannot say that this or that season would be good for them to leave positively.

7810. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] Were you present when Mr. Crowther met his mother?—Yes.

7811. He had been separated from her, it is understood, by one of those wars to which you have referred?—His country is the Yoruba country; the wars there I think took place previously to those which I have mentioned.

7812. But he was separated from her in a midnight attack on their town?—Yes, a similar war to that of which I have spoken.

7813. When you say a similar war, do you mean a war undertaken for the purpose of making them slaves?—Just so.

7814. You witnessed their recognition of each other?—I did; she was baptized by myself, and she is now a member of our Christian Church in Abbeokuta.

7815. Did he recover any others of his family?—A brother by the same father, but by another mother; and two sisters by the same mother and their four children; altogether eight persons I think.

7816. Are they members of your congregation?—The mother alone. The children have been baptized also, being young.

7817. He was one of those carried off as a slave?—Yes.

7818. He was sold as a slave on the coast?—Yes, and re-captured and brought to Sierra Leone, and there received into the Church Missionary Schools and educated, and thence received into our Fourah Bay Institution and made a schoolmaster; and after many years' trial he was sent to England for ordination previously to our going to Abbeokuta.

7819. Sir *E. Buxton.*] You spoke of the climate of Abbeokuta. Is it the general impression that the climate of Abbeokuta is better than the climate of Sierra Leone?—It is amongst the natives, and it is my own impression as well.

7820. Is it not the fact that the fevers that occur there are of a different character from those which occur at Sierra Leone?—Those that I have seen at Badagry are of a different character, certainly.

7821. Is it not the fact that the diseases of Abbeokuta resemble the diseases of India?—I am rather inclined to think that dysentery is the disease that is likely to be troublesome to Europeans, rather than fever.

7822. *Chairman.*] Does not that prevail in Sierra Leone?—Dysentery is very seldom prevalent in Sierra Leone.

7823. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Is the soil cultivated to any great extent in Abbeokuta?—To the extent of the wants of the population; the people are well supplied with provisions of every kind.

7824. What provisions do they live upon?—Yams, Indian corn, and beans of various kinds.

7825. Is the soil capable of growing cotton and other tropical productions?—They grow a great deal of cotton for their own consumption, and sugar cane also for their own consumption, and ginger they cultivate for their own consumption

sumption as medicine, and indigo in large quantities for their own consumption. *Rev. H. Townsend.*

4 July 1848.

7826. Do you imagine that if they had the security of a market for their productions they could grow any large quantity of productions for exportation?—To any amount equal to the demand made upon them.

7827. Do you know whether the soil is a rich soil?—I think it is a good soil; I am not acquainted with the nature of soils; it is sufficiently good at least for the production of yams, which we conceive to require a very good soil; their yams are the best description of yams, superior to anything of the sort in Sierra Leone.

7828. You think that if they had capital and security their attention might be turned to the cultivation of the soil with great profit to themselves, instead of to the slave trade, as it is now?—I think if a demand were made upon those living out over the country for tons of cotton annually, they would produce it, or indigo, or anything that their country produces; they are a trading people, and they are very fond of trade, and also fond of cultivating the ground.

7829. Do you find that the people in Abbeokuta are willing to work for wages?—They are willing to work for wages.

7830. What wages do you pay them for a day's work?—We pay them what we call four strings of cowries, that is rather more than 4*d.* a day.

7831. And for that sum of about 4*d.* to 5*d.* a day you can obtain a good day's work?—Yes, we can.

7832. How many hours do they work?—We commence work between six and seven in the morning; we work until twelve, and then we rest for two hours; and then at two we return to work, and work till between four and five. It is about seven or eight hours a day.

7833. Do you find that they are willing to work continuously for you?—Many of them do. We have employed them continuously. They work six days in the week.

7834. Are they earnest to obtain work?—They are. When the slave wars had not drawn their attention away to kidnapping, we could generally get a sufficient quantity of labourers; but their own farms engage their attention to a great extent. At the time when they are cultivating their farms it may be difficult to get them to work for us.

7835. They are working in other ways for themselves at that time?—Yes.

7836. *Chairman.*] What do you call a farm?—A piece of ground cultivated by a native for his own use and benefit.

7837. Would it be five or six acres of ground?—No, 10 or 20 acres. I would not state any quantity of ground; but a man goes into the country, and builds a house, and cultivates the ground, and perhaps every week or fortnight he comes to Abbeokuta, and brings with him whatever he wishes to sell.

7838. *Sir E. Buxton.*] There are some people in Abbeokuta who carry on the business of growing productions which they sell in the town?—Just so; they cultivate their farms, and then they bring the produce to market.

7839. And you find that they are a people who are anxious for gain?—Very anxious. The whole population are very anxious for gain.

7840. And if it were not for the insecurity which the slave trade occasions, they would turn their attention much more to the productions of their own soil?—There is no question upon that point. One of the chiefs himself pledged himself to me that he would never engage in war; that he would cultivate his ground; in fact he planted ginger the year before last; unfortunately it failed, but he told me on my leaving that he should replant it, and sell the whole of it, and see whether he could not make more profit by it than by the slave trade. They only want merchants to come and purchase from them.

7841. *Chairman.*] Did you observe the thermometer in Abbeokuta?—Yes.

7842. What is the highest point at which you have seen the thermometer? 92° or 93°.

7843. What should you say is the average in hot weather?—I should think the average in my own house was about 85° or 86°.

7844. *Mr. Barkly.*] Do the natives find any difficulty in doing seven or eight hours' labour while the heat is so great as that?—Not at all.

7845. It does not affect their constitution?—Not at all.

Rev. H. Townsend.

4 July 1848.

7846. *Chairman.*] Should you say generally that they are an industrious race of people?—I should say so.

7847. More so than the Africans generally?—As far as I have seen them at Sierra Leone; there is a mixture at Sierra Leone of various peoples.

7848. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Are the people anxious to improve in the way of education and religious instruction?—Very anxious.

7849. You found no indisposition to receive that instruction?—Not the slightest; I found great readiness indeed; I sold to the natives in Abbeokuta books to the amount of 26 dollars in 15 months.

7850. *Chairman.*] In the English language?—In the English language; and a few Bibles in the Arabic language.

7851. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Is the English language understood by many of the natives?—No, it is not; but we have not published anything in their language; previously to our doing so we teach them the English alphabet, and to read a little English, in order to give them a better opportunity of learning their own afterwards; and they are most eager to learn the English language.

7852. *Chairman.*] Is their vernacular language a kind of dialect of the Arabic?—I think not.

7853. You mentioned having sold a few Bibles in Arabic?—Mahomedans in the country have purchased three or four Bibles; they are acquainted with the Arabic language.

7854. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Are there many Mahomedans in the country?—There are a few; not many in Abbeokuta.

7855. Do you imagine that the people in that country would be more inclined to go to war again in order to procure slaves if our cruisers were withdrawn from the coast?—I think if the cruisers were withdrawn, the evil-disposed among the people would gain the ascendancy, and that they would actually have sufficient power to carry all before them. I think a great number of people, perhaps the majority of the peaceably disposed people, are desirous for the extirpation of all slave trade; but in that country, as in every other country where there has been considerable disturbance, the rascality among them have the chief power.

7856. Do you think that the people of the country would be disposed to emigrate to the West Indies?—I think not.

7857. Do you think they would be disposed to emigrate to any such foreign country as you know the West Indies to be, to be employed there as labourers?—I think not as labourers; I think they are too much afraid of the slave trade; they are mistrustful.

7858. *Chairman.*] But if they understood that they were going to a free country, where they would be well paid for their labour, a country congenial to their habits; do you think that under those circumstances they would object to go to the West Indies?—I think not as labourers; if it were for the purposes of trade, and they themselves were masters of their own actions, they would go there readily.

7859. You think they would go there for purposes of traffic, but not for purposes of labour?—For purposes of traffic; those who knew the country and were aware of the state of the West Indies might be induced to do so.

7860. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Is there any great degree of poverty among the people?—I think not.

7861. The people have no inducement to go to the West Indies in order to obtain the necessaries of life?—Not the slightest.

7862. There is an abundance of soil, a much greater amount of soil than can be cultivated?—A much larger amount than they can cultivate.

7863. And any man who is willing to work can raise an abundance of provisions to supply all the wants of a person in that country?—Yes; they would have no inducement whatever to go to the West Indies for labour; I do not think it would have any weight with them whatever.

7864. You think therefore that the promise that they should obtain a shilling a day or two shillings a day wages in the West Indies, would not draw a large amount of that population to go there?—I think not; but it is merely my opinion; I have no knowledge of the subject; it is my opinion that they would not go.

7865. Mr. *Barkly.*] When you say that the chiefs said that they would cultivate their grounds instead of selling slaves, you did not mean that they would

would do it themselves, but that they would employ their labourers for the purpose?—Just so; that they would employ their domestics.

7866. Are those domestics in a servile condition?—They are slaves, of course; but they are not treated as slaves are treated by Europeans; we do not know a slave from a free man, unless we are told that he is a slave.

7867. That is the condition which exists generally in that part of Africa?—Yes.

7868. A system of domestic vassalage rather than of slavery?—Yes, rather so.

7869. *Chairman.*] You stated that you considered that the expense of the British squadron on that coast was amply compensated for by the good which it occasioned in Africa?—I think so.

7870. And that the continuance of the squadron on the coast was very desirable?—I think so.

7871. Are you aware that the operations of the squadron occasion a great deal of misery to the Africans who are the subjects and victims of the slave trade?—I have heard of the passage from Africa to the West Indies, and of their being in a sadly wretched condition, but I am not acquainted with any of those things. I have never seen the ships myself, neither have I been in any of Her Majesty's cruisers when any of those vessels were taken.

7872. Then when you made that statement to the Committee, you did not take into account the great suffering and mortality which attends the slave trade as it is now carried on?—I merely stated as a fact, that if the slave trade must be suppressed, it cannot be suppressed if the cruisers are taken away.

7873. Is it suppressed now?—It is not suppressed now; I think it can only be done by force of arms as well as the use of means such as we are using in Abbeokuta.

7874. The slave trade is now carried on to a considerable extent?—Yes.

7875. Do you think that if no squadron was employed the slave trade would be carried on to a much greater extent than it is at present?—I think so.

7876. Do you think it would double the present amount?—I think it would more than double it.

7877. Do you make that statement upon a full consideration of the question whether there would be any such demand for the employment of the slaves in the countries to which they were imported as to re-pay the expense of importing them?—I suppose, of course, that the demand for slaves would increase, because of course they would not sell slaves unless persons purchased them.

7878. And, therefore, in order to estimate the extent to which the slave trade can be carried on you must have some knowledge, or be able to make some estimate of the demand that would arise for slaves in America?—I suppose that at the present time the demand for slaves is greater than the supply, and in case of the cruisers being taken away and free liberty given to the slave trade, which would be the result of it, then slaves would be procured equal to the demand.

7879. But what may be the extent of the demand, of course you are not in a position to offer an opinion upon?—I am not.

7880. A vast number of slaves now perish on the middle passage?—I have heard so.

7881. If slaves were carried across the ocean under circumstances more favourable for their health, in all probability a larger number would be landed alive on the coast of America?—It is likely to be so; but there would be more slaves carried across.

7882. There would be more slaves carried across if a smaller portion of those died on the voyage?—Yes; if the cruisers were removed, a larger number of slaves would be embarked, a greater premium would be given to kidnapping, and the horrors of the slave trade would be increased, and the country would become a wilderness in a short time.

7883. That would depend upon the demand for slaves?—Quite so.

7884. *Colonel Thompson.*] Can you form any judgment of the extent to which the slave trade in the part of Africa you are acquainted with is repressed by the presence of the squadron; is it greatly repressed, or only a little repressed?—My acquaintance with that part of Africa has only been for the space of three years; of course I cannot tell what it was previous to that; I only know that people tell me that there were a great number some years since taken for slaves, and that they could sell them readily; but that at the present time they are very dear, and that the number of slaves is not at all equal

Rev. H. Townsend.

4 July 1848.

equal to what it was formerly. I have heard from the people also, because I have not seen the slave barracoons myself, neither do I know anything personally of the Portuguese who purchase the slaves; but the natives tell me that the Portuguese are much harassed and troubled on account of the cruisers; that they are much confined in their business in purchasing slaves on account of the cruisers. I have heard of instances of their refusing to purchase more slaves in consequence of the presence of the cruisers on the coast.

7885. Have you any doubt yourself, although a landsman, that a trade which now has a fleet cruising against it would be greatly increased if that fleet was taken away?—I think it would.

7886. Have you any opinion respecting the relative healthiness of Badagry and of Abbeokuta?—I think Abbeokuta is the more healthy.

7887. Has it ever come within your knowledge in other parts of Africa, that settlements in the interior were more healthy than upon the coast?—I am not prepared to answer that question. I scarcely have information enough to enable me to do it.

7888. Do you ever see Moors from North Africa at Abbeokuta?—No, I am not quite sure of Moors being in Abbeokuta. I have heard of strangers coming from the interior, but I am not certain what nation.

7889. Were they Mahomedans?—Yes.

7890. *Chairman.*] Did they come for the purposes of the slave trade?—I am not aware; I was not myself present. I remember seeing a camel when I first went to Abbeokuta, which they said was a present from a chief in the interior brought by some messengers; the nature of their business I am not acquainted with.

7891. *Colonel Thompson.*] Have they communications with Ashantee in Abbeokuta?—None whatever; they are not known to each other, I believe.

7892. Have they any communications with Dahomey?—Certainly; but latterly some war has arisen between them which has produced enmity between them, and the road is closed. Formerly when the chief Shodeke was alive, he used to communicate with the King of Dahomey by message.

7893. *Mr. Barkly.*] Do you think that the chiefs would allow those domestic slaves of whom you have spoken, to enfranchise themselves by any payment of money on their part?—Certainly they would.

7894. It is the custom of the country that a slave in that position can make himself a free man by paying a certain sum of money to his chief?—Certainly, at any time he pleases.

7895. On the other hand, do the chiefs possess the power of selling their domestics into slavery without the commission of any crime?—The general usage of the country is that the domestics are not sold; I dare say many breaches may take place.

7896. Then it would be considered a tyrannical exercise of power on the part of a chief if he were to sell his domestics as slaves without their becoming criminal in any way?—It would.

7897. Have you any idea what the price of the enfranchisement of one of those domestics would be?—It depends upon his age and strength; the value of a slave in Abbeokuta at the time of my leaving was from 40 to 70 dollars.

7898. But do you suppose that a chief would require a payment as large as that from one of his slaves if he wished to enfranchise himself?—If he was a valuable slave no doubt he would; I mean a domestic slave; I am not aware of any difference between domestic slaves and others.

7899. Those domestic slaves are employed upon occasions as agricultural labourers?—Or in any other way that the masters think fit.

7900. What means have the inhabitants of Abbeokuta of conveying the produce of their country to the coast, or of disposing of it in any other way than in the market of Abbeokuta?—There is water communication with Lagos, and to Badagry it is carried by labourers; they carry on their heads.

7901. That would be a very long and expensive mode?—It is an expensive mode; but by way of Lagos, within perhaps two or three hours' journey of Badagry, there is a communication by the river by canoes.

7902. You stated that the country about Abbeokuta was generally hilly?—Yes.

7903. It is not therefore very well calculated for the production of sugar or cotton, is it?—I understand that it is well calculated for the production of
cotton

4 July 1848.

cotton or sugar; the specimens that I have seen of the sugar-cane I suppose to be good.

7903*. But the cultivation would be laborious from the hilly nature of the country, would not it?—I am not acquainted with the nature of the cultivation of sugar.

7904. Sir E. Buxton.] Are human sacrifices allowed in Abbeokuta?—No.

7905. Do they ever take place?—Not to my knowledge; the people seem to detest it as a great crime.

7906. In that respect they are very different from the people of Ashantee?—Very different.

7907. This state of domestic slavery, though it is mild, does not prevent the labourers from being employed in agriculture by their masters?—No; by no means.

7908. If a chief orders his slaves to go, they are forced to go to work in the fields?—Of course they are; but there seems to be great mildness in all their government; there is no force; it is very seldom you see anything like punishment inflicted upon a slave; in fact you are not aware that any one is a slave in the country. No doubt when we ourselves were building our houses, many labourers we hired were domestic slaves, but we were not acquainted with the fact; they received every week their wages from us, and we never were acquainted with their masters: what they did with their money we know nothing about.

7909. Is it your opinion that the internal slave trade of Africa is attended with great cruelty?—Certainly it is; the cruelty is simply in the capture.

7910. And you think that any withdrawal of our cruisers which might increase that internal slave-trade would produce great additional misery in Africa?—I think so.

7911. Is it your opinion that that increased internal slave trade would on the whole produce more misery than the increased sufferings which are now endured by the slaves in their passage across the Atlantic in consequence of the presence of the cruisers?—I think so.

7912. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You have stated, in reference to your employment of domestic slaves in the erection of your own dwelling, that you had no reason to suppose that their masters received any portion of their wages; you knew not, in fact, what became of them?—We knew not what became of them; but I had reason to suppose that a portion of their wages was paid to their masters; but what portion I know not.

7913. Did you engage the services of A. B. from C. D., his nominal master, or did you make your bargain with A. B. himself?—With A. B. himself.

7914. And you paid A. B. his wages?—Yes, we hired them as if they were freemen.

7915. Then nothing passed between you and him on the one hand, or between him and any third person on the other, which led you to know that you were employing the services of a domestic slave?—Not at all.

7916. You had a suspicion, nevertheless, that it was so?—Yes; I did suspect that some of those that we employed were slaves, because the people afterwards said, "So and so is a slave;" but he himself received his wages.

7917. As far as you were concerned he was a freeman?—Just so.

7918. Chairman.] When you speak of "slaves," do you mean serfs and vassals?—There is but one name to them all; the domestic slaves are treated with great humanity; in fact no slave is treated badly in the country; except in their being sold away there is nothing harsh in the treatment of their slaves.

7919. Not even those they have purchased?—Not even those they have purchased.

7920. Mr. Barkly.] When you say that there is but one name for slaves, is it not the fact that in the African language there is no name for a slave?—There is a word in the language which denotes a slave.

7921. Sir R. H. Inglis.] What is the word?—"Eru."

7922. Does that mean servant as well as slave?—No; the word for servant is the same as the word for child, which is "ommo;" that name may be frequently applied to a domestic slave; but still the word "eru" may be applied again to all slaves, whether domestic or not. But frequently the term "ommo" may be applied to a slave or a domestic in the house, whether he be a slave or not.

Rev. H. Townsend.

4 July 1848.

7923. Mr. *Barkly*.] Was that applied to the labourers generally that you hired for the building of your houses?—Never the word “*eru*.” For instance, the name by which I was known among the *peuple* frequently was that of “*ommo oloru*,” which means the “servant of God.” I say that the word “*ommo*” may be applied to a child or a servant, or it may be applied to a domestic slave; but the proper meaning of it is a child of a parent; but I might call my servant “*ommo*.” Frequently people call their slaves whom they treat as servants, and whom they respect, by the word “*ommo*.”

7924. *Chairman*.] It is a kind designation?—Yes.

7925. Mr. *Simeon*.] You draw a distinction, then, between a servant and a slave in that country?—All their servants, properly speaking, are slaves. I can scarcely define the distinction they have, because I myself am not sufficiently acquainted with their minds. I only speak of what I have heard and seen. I know that they have servants, and that they have slaves; at least some of them are not slaves. There is another distinction; there is a pawn; that means that a man is in pawn; the term “*pawn*” is used at Cape Coast frequently; that is, a man wishes to borrow some money, and he puts himself in pawn for that sum of money; but they have a name for it, which we translate by the word “*pawn*.”

7926. *Chairman*.] It is a native custom and we have applied the English term “*pawn*” to it?—Yes.

7927. Mr. *Simeon*.] Is there any such thing in Abbeokuta as a person serving another for wages?—Not amongst themselves, I think.

7928. Is the distinction between the chiefs and the class of domestic servants or vassals, a distinction of caste?—I am not aware that it is.

7929. Would the son of a chief be a chief?—Certainly, if he is next in succession.

7930. Would the younger sons of a chief be chiefs?—Each in his turn, if he is called upon in his turn to become a chief; I can scarcely tell you how they succeed; I believe if a chief dies his brother takes his place rather than his son.

7931. Have you any idea of the proportion of chiefs to servants in the population of Abbeokuta?—No, I have not.

7932. Is there a great variation among the number of slaves possessed by different chiefs?—I should suppose so; some are much more wealthy in slaves than others.

7933. Is there any possibility of a slave becoming a chief in his turn, except by purchasing his freedom?—A slave would not become a chief, although there is one instance of it in Abbeokuta; but certainly not with the free consent of the people, no slave would become a chief.

7934. What is the one instance you speak of?—In that one instance he was a slave born, I believe in the house; I think he was a domestic slave; I think his mother was a slave and consequently the child became a slave, (his mother was a slave because she was a captive, a foreigner), and he became a warrior and obtained power, and being a bad character he used his power until he has obtained perhaps greater power in the town of Abbeokuta than any other man in it; in fact, he is the leader of all the slave wars in the country.

7935. Is that a sort of club law, depending upon his personal prowess and strength?—He is made the chief of the town in which he was born; he was elected to the chieftainship by the people of the town in which he lived.

7936. Sir *R. Inglis*.] In what town?—Kemuta was the name of his own town; there are about 130 towns in Abbeokuta.

7937. You mean that Abbeokuta, which you described in the commencement of your examination as consisting of an aggregate of population of different towns driven together by the result of the war, in fact contains refugees from 130 towns?—They tell me so; I am not sure that the number is correct.

7938. Is Abbeokuta a collection of small towns, each division of the town being inhabited by a distinct race, or at least by refugees from one village or town, or are there refugees from 130 towns interfused with each other through the whole extent of the settlement?—For the most part they have each a part of the town; for example, there is a part which may be called Kemuta Town; then there is Ake, that is the place in which I lived; and so throughout the whole town. Each of those small towns retains its original chief and magistrate, if we may apply the name to him.

7939. Mr.

7939. Mr. *Simeon*.] Can the domestic servants marry without the consent of the chiefs?—I do not know at all; I should think if they possess means they may marry. Rev. H. Townsend.
4 July 1848.

7940. What is the general moral condition of the native population of Abbeokuta?—I think at the present time it is very low, I think brought about in a great measure by the slave trade.

7941. In what way do you mean that it is "low"?—With regard to the female sex; the chiefs have a large number of wives, which wives they have attained by war or by other means; they have kept them as their wives instead of sending them away, in consequence of which a great deal of immorality exists.

7942. That has produced a general laxity of morals?—Yes.

7943. Supposing that a number of those people could be induced to emigrate, is their moral condition such that you should dread the effect of their example upon any people among whom they might come?—I think not.

7944. You do not believe that they are worse than the ordinary class of uneducated and unconverted people?—I think they are not worse in morality than the average number.

7945. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do you think that if a chief were disposed to leave that country and settle, for instance, in the British settlement at Sierra Leone, if there were sufficient inducements for him to do so, he would take his domestics with him and settle there?—I cannot conceive it possible to induce a chief to do so, and consequently I scarcely could speak of his people following him, his own country is so large.

7946. You think that his love of independence would prevent his becoming a subject of the British Crown?—I think so; I think an African must be free, or otherwise a slave. There is no intermediate step between them. They will be free, and they have a great love for freedom.

7947. But he would be free to all intents and purposes, perhaps more free in a British settlement, for instance at Sierra Leone, than in Abbeokuta?—I do not think you could induce any of the chiefs to do so. That is my opinion.

7948. Sir *E. Buxton*.] They have not the inducement of want to make them leave their own country?—Just so; there is no want among them. There is nothing that afflicts them but the slave trade. If we could only remove the slave trade, the people would become industrious and rich.

7949. Are they anxious for European manufactures?—Very anxious, and also for intercourse.

7950. Are they fond of European dress and so on?—Very fond if they can obtain it; in fact they wish for everything that would minister to their comfort, or to their show. They wish to make a great show amongst themselves.

7951. *Chairman*.] Is there anything further that you wish to state to the Committee?—I should wish to add that it is the earnest desire of the Chief of Abbeokuta that the slave trade should be destroyed; that he has frequently spoken to me and expressed an earnest desire that the British would destroy the slave trade at Lagos, and that the English would send to him an individual or individuals to instruct his people in the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, or anything else, by which a trade may be opened with England. I will state the answer which the Chief gave to me. I asked the Chief this question; "What would you do in case any one were to send out an individual to teach you to prepare the tobacco after the most approved fashion?" He said, "We would not sell our people to purchase tobacco."

7952. Sir *R. Inglis*.] You did not state to the Committee, when you described Abbeokuta, what was its length and breadth. You stated simply that it contained an infusion of the population of 130 different towns or villages. Can you state from recollection the length and breadth of the settlement?—I suppose about two miles long, but not quite so broad; but the town is very closely built.

The Reverend *Charles Andrew Gollmer*, called in; and Examined.

7953. Sir *R. Inglis*.] YOU also are a missionary in the employment of the Church Missionary Society, and have been employed as such on the coast of Africa?—Yes. Rev. C.A. Gollmer.

Rev. C. A. Gollmer.

4 July 1848

7954. Will you state to the Committee when you arrived on the coast, and where you have been principally employed, and when you left your station, and when you arrived in England?—I arrived in Sierra Leone in December 1841; and in December 1844 I left Sierra Leone for the Abbeokuta mission.

7955. Having passed the intervening time in Sierra Leone?—Yes. On the 19th of January 1845 we arrived at Badagry, and on the 26th of June last I arrived in this country.

7956. Had you a congregation at Badagry?—A small congregation.

7957. How many?—The average attendance is between 60 and 70.

7958. Are they principally those who accompanied you from Sierra Leone, or are they converts whom you found, or are they converts whom you were permitted to make since your residence there?—About two-thirds are Sierra Leone emigrants and one-third are natives.

7959. Who have been converted under your ministry?—Not converted exactly; but who are beginning to inquire.

7960. The question addressed to you did not apply to any direct work on their hearts, but to their being admitted members of your congregation from their external decency and devoutness; in that sense of the word they have been converted under your ministry?—Yes.

7961. Have you had much opportunity of examining the native character in other parts of Africa than Sierra Leone and Badagry?—No.

7962. Have you been at Abbeokuta?—I have visited Abbeokuta.

7963. But not for such a time as to enable you to form any conclusions?—Only for a fortnight.

7964. You wish to describe yourself before this Committee as able to furnish information rather as to Sierra Leone and as to Badagry, than as to any other portions of Africa?—Quite so.

7965. With respect to Sierra Leone, you resided there three years?—Yes.

7966. Had you a congregation there?—I had.

7967. Did you find the external state of Sierra Leone, as far as relates to public decorum in the observance of the Lord's Day, for example, such as you consider satisfactory?—Decidedly so.

7968. Would you consider that if it were stated by any witness that persons attend public worship there rather to exhibit themselves in church than for devotion, that was a correct description of the general character of those who attend public worship?—I should say that but few are of that description; they dress well in general, but the majority of them come to church for better purposes than that.

7969. What was the name of the church in which you presided over the worship of the people?—At Regent, where I was six months, I had a congregation of from 800 to 900, or 1,000, every Sunday.

7970. Without presuming to speak well of all those, can you state to the Committee whether their demeanor in church was, or was not, devout?—It was very devout.

7971. From your experience of those people in the week had you reason to believe that it was mere appearance, or had you reason to believe, on the contrary, that their lives were in some degree consistent with their profession?—Their lives were in a great degree consistent with their profession.

7972. Are you aware of any heavy contributions which are laid upon the natives in Sierra Leone?—I am aware of none.

7973. Then of course *ex vi termini* you do not concur in the statement that such contributions absorbed nearly the little earnings of those people?—To my knowledge they have to pay nothing.

7974. Have you heard, however, of any voluntary contributions which from time to time they raise?—There are voluntary contributions to aid the Church Missionary Society.

7975. Does any portion of such contributions go to the individual profit of the missionary or the minister who may act as their clergyman?—No, no part of it; all goes towards the public fund.

7976. Are there any contributions raised by them for those whom they have never seen, at a distance, for Christian objects?—We have received upwards of 30*l.* sterling from Sierra Leone a short time ago in order to erect a church at Abbeokuta, to be called Free Town Church.

7977. Should

7977. Should you say that Sierra Leone was generally speaking improving or not?—Decidedly so. Rev. C. A. Gollmer.

7978. Sierra Leone is a port and has, of course, a port population, as other ports have; do you wish the Committee to understand that in the port at least of Sierra Leone the conduct of the people is not such as you could recommend and approve?—On the whole, considering how neglected and degraded they were in their former days, I think their general conduct is exemplary. 4 July 1848.

7979. Will you state from what period you date this improvement in the moral character of the people of Sierra Leone?—I have noticed an improvement during the three years of my residence.

7980. Can you, from recollection of any census, state to the Committee what is the general population of Sierra Leone, including its dependencies?—I understood when I was in Sierra Leone, that it was upwards of 42,000. No doubt it has greatly increased since that time.

7981. The town itself, Free Town, containing a population of about 14,000 or 15,000?—So I understand.

7982. Have you had an opportunity of seeing any liberated Africans who went from Sierra Leone to the West Indies, and have since returned to Sierra Leone?—I have seen several while I was stationed at Bathurst.

7983. Do you consider that their conduct and their deportment furnish a just ground of encouragement to their countrymen, alike liberated in Sierra Leone, to go and follow their example in the West Indies?—Yes; I have seen there members of our church, and as far as I understood they were well situated in the West Indies; they earned good wages, were treated handsomely, and were sent over as delegates to invite others to come over. More I do not know.

7984. Their own conduct was good?—Yes.

7985. They appeared to be content with their position in the West Indies?—Yes, but at the same time one of them said, "In two years I shall return home;" that is, he meant that he should return to Sierra Leone.

7986. One of those whom you represent as delegates from the West Indies arriving in Sierra Leone in order to induce his fellows, the liberated Africans, to go back with him to the West Indies, said, nevertheless, that he proposed himself to return home (meaning that Sierra Leone was his home) in two years?—So he meant.

7987. Do you conceive that that would be the feeling of any large number of the liberated Africans in Sierra Leone, that they would consider Sierra Leone as their home?—I believe so.

7988. Do you consider that they retain any feeling of partiality for the countries from which they have been stolen, and would be anxious to return there, or do you conceive that they are permanently settled in Sierra Leone itself?—Many of them are comfortably settled in Sierra Leone; they have accumulated a great deal of wealth, comparatively speaking, and they do not desire to return; but there are many who are really anxious to return to their own country.

7989. What prevents their returning to their own country from Sierra Leone, itself a free town, where they are free?—There are many obstacles; for instance, in 1840 and 1841, when the emigrants, the Yorubas, returned to their country, they landed at Lagos, a slave port, and there they were exposed to the rapacity of the chief and the people, and were nearly robbed of all their property; however they continued. Another vessel came and brought emigrants, and another vessel was added; there was a company in Sierra Leone who had several vessels. After that they went to land at Badagry: some of the people there, knowing that the Lagos people had robbed them, wished to do the same; however, the chief determined that they should be allowed to pass into the interior without molestation; and since that time several vessels have come with emigrants, who landed at Badagry, stayed there for a short time, and then proceeded into the interior.

7990. Will you explain to the Committee what you mean by a company at Sierra Leone chartering ships to take emigrants from Sierra Leone, either to Lagos or to Badagry?—As one instance, they have paid an English merchant in Sierra Leone 1,000 dollars to charter a vessel for several hundred emigrants to come to their own country. What I mean by "a company" is this, that a number of liberated Africans, principally Yorubas, have joined themselves together, who have by shares raised a sum of money in order to purchase one, two, or three vessels.

Rev. C. A. Gollmer.

4 July 1848.

7991. Their object being to return as a nation to their own country, the Yoruba country, from which they had been stolen as slaves?—Yes.

7992. Are the Committee to understand that the parties who in Sierra Leone chartered a vessel to remove their countrymen of the Yoruba nation from Sierra Leone to Badagry or to Lagos, as the case might be, with the intention of their being settled again once more in the Yoruba country, mean themselves to follow such emigrants, or have they in any instances accompanied or preceded them?—The company is altogether separate. What I meant is this: those persons who paid the 1,000 dollars to the English merchant in order to convey them to Badagry, had nothing to do with the company. That company's vessels had proceeded to Badagry with emigrants, and they were anxious to follow, and there was no vessel at hand, so that they chartered that ship.

7993. Then the Committee are to understand that the parties who chartered the vessel, paying a certain sum, of 1,000 dollars for instance, to an English merchant for the purpose, were themselves the parties who desired to return to their own, the Yoruba country?—Yes, the parties who desired to return paid the money.

7994. Is it within your knowledge or your belief that those parties proceeded to Abbeokuta, and formed there a portion of the mixed population constituting that settlement?—A few stayed at Badagry; but the greater part proceeded to Abbeokuta.

7995. Did you understand them to form an agricultural or a commercial settlement in Abbeokuta?—They are entirely mixed up with their own families. Some cultivate the ground, others trade.

7996. And they desire to return, as the Committee collect from an expression in your last answer, to rejoin their own families, from whom they have been separated by war and slavery?—Yes.—(Mr. Townsend.) Upon this subject I beg to say, that when I myself left Sierra Leone or Badagry upon the first occasion, I went in one of those emigrant vessels. The owner of the ship went with me, and returned at the same time with me to Sierra Leone, but subsequently he has settled at Abbeokuta, and I left him there when I returned to Europe.

7997-8. Sir R. H. Inglis.] He conceived that his return to Abbeokuta would be secure?—He is there now.

7999. Have you reason to hope that the natives of any other country, except the Yoruba country, could return in equal safety to their respective original settlements?—Not yet. By-and-by perhaps the Haussa people will return when the passage through the Yoruba country is secure. I would remark that the Yorubas and the Egbas are rather distinct, and would war against each other, consequently the Yorubas in Sierra Leone have not returned in great numbers, but the Egbas have returned in great numbers, and at the present time there is a disposition among the Yorubas to return when the passage through Abbeokuta shall be opened.

8000. Chairman.] You stated that Yoruba was a kingdom of which Egba was a province. What is it that constitutes the nationality of those two countries?—It is difficult for me to explain exactly the position of those two countries; in fact, it is difficult for me to understand it myself. I know that the Yorubas and the Egbas have been at war with each other, and they are now in not very good feeling towards each other, but they were originally one nation; they speak one language. The Egbas were tributary to the Yorubas.

8001. They are united by a common language as a common race?—Yes.

8002. Did you see any of those parties in Abbeokuta who proceeded from Sierra Leone by those vessels?—I saw numbers.

8003. What is their position in Abbeokuta?—They are comfortably situated with their families and friends; they are welcomed by their relatives, and it is the earnest desire of the people in Abbeokuta to receive all their country people from Sierra Leone, if possible.

8004. Were they in the class of chieftains, or of slaves?—They would be freemen.

8005. Would the circumstance of their having quitted the country emancipate them?—They were not slaves originally in their own country.

8006. They invariably are not in the slave class when they return to Abbeokuta?—Certainly not. May I state that this colony have said among the people that if they can liberate any of their people whom they know to be in slavery,

slavery, they will do it at any cost. Throughout Abbeokuta if there be a family that know that any native of theirs is in slavery, they will use every means they can to recover that person again.

8007. *Chairman.*] When you say, "slavery," do you mean in slavery in any part of Africa, or in America?—In Africa; if they are in America they are not acquainted with the place where they may be, but if they are in Sierra Leone they endeavour to communicate with them and to persuade them to return to their own country.

8008. But they cannot be in slavery in Sierra Leone?—Certainly not; but supposing there is a person in Lagos in slavery, they will use every means to recover the freedom of that person.

8009. And pay a considerable sum for the purpose?—Yes. In case of their being in Sierra Leone they will send for them to return to their own country.

8010. (To Mr. *Gollmer.*) You regard the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone to be secure with respect to the transit of commerce or of people?—I should think it is pretty much secure. The squadron on the coast contributes a great deal towards the security of transit.

8011. Have you any personal experience, the result of which you can state to the Committee, relative to the increased security which the squadron gives to the lawful commerce, or is supposed to give, by the knowledge of its being in the neighbourhood?—I have once heard that a liberated African trading to Badagry was insulted by De Souza at Whydah, and that the ships of war got redress.

8012. When you say "insulted," will you specify what you mean; do you mean by being seized, or in what way was he so injured as to call for the intervention of any of Her Majesty's ships?—I was given to understand, that whilst he was travelling along the shore to the town, Dahomian soldiers seized him, and carried him off to Whydah, where he was detained as a prisoner till the ships of war interfered, and he was delivered up to them.

8013. Practically, are you aware of the egress of any liberated Africans from Sierra Leone being prevented by those who would lie in wait to kidnap the parties, and reduce them to a state of slavery?—I am not aware.

8014. Have you reason to believe that they are frequently, when they stray from Sierra Leone, so kidnapped and reduced again to slavery?—There are a few instances of liberated Africans coming to Badagry that have on their way to Abbeokuta been kidnapped; one has been sold in the country; another was purchased by the Portuguese at Lagos, but he was recaptured by Her Majesty's cruisers, and carried to Sierra Leone a second time.

8015. He was twice liberated?—Twice liberated.

8016. In Sierra Leone itself, both in the town and in the 17 or 23 villages, as they may be variously reckoned, belonging to Sierra Leone, there is perfect security?—Quite so.

8017. Has that given encouragement in the country, as distinct from the town itself, forming the colony of Sierra Leone, to industrious and orderly habits?—I should think it has.

8018. You have described the state of Free Town as being improved since you first knew it, and being still in a state of progress?—I believe the whole colony is progressing and improving.

8019. What is the lowest rate of wages at which you have found persons willing to work in Sierra Leone?—We used to pay 6 *d.*, but we could obtain labour for 5 *d.* per diem.

8020. You have answered the question as to those whom you yourself, and it may be presumed the other missionaries, employed; will you state to the Committee whether a much higher rate of wages were or were not paid by Her Majesty's officers in public works?—I am not aware. I believe that wages as low as 4 *d.* have been paid in Free Town on certain works.

8021. Do you or do you not include in that answer those who cut timber for the use of Her Majesty's navy?—No.

8022. Nor those who exercise mechanical labour?—I am not aware what wages they earn.

8023. Are you aware what wages are obtained in Sierra Leone, by carpenters and bricklayers for example?—A good carpenter charges 1 *s.* 6 *d.*, and he will work for no less.

8024. Does the price of provisions at Sierra Leone, enable persons to live with decent

Rev. C. A. Gollmer.

4 July 1848.

decent comfort upon the wages which they obtain?—I think the wages are quite adequate.

8025. The soil is abundantly fertile for the production of the prime necessaries of consumption?—I think it is very fertile in some places.

8026. Under such circumstances, with wages sufficient to procure an adequate supply of the prime necessaries of life, and a soil capable of producing them on the spot, is there or is there not any adequate motive on which you can rely for the voluntary removal of free labourers from Sierra Leone to the West Indies?—I think they can easily obtain a livelihood if they are any way inclined to labour; so that none need to emigrate for want of provisions or means of life; he may obtain them comfortably in the colony.

8027. In point of fact, what you yourself heard from those who have returned from the West Indies (though describing their condition there to be favourable) is not such as would authorize you to state to this Committee that there is much hope of a supply of labour being voluntarily furnished from Sierra Leone to the West Indies?—I believe that the liberated Africans are very much attached to Sierra Leone. The Africans in general do not like to leave their country. They may be induced to leave it for a short time, in order to gain some property, but always with a view to return.

8028. Does that answer apply to Badagry as well as to Sierra Leone?—Yes.

8029. Do you know anything of the Kroo Coast?—We do not know much; but what we know is from the Kroomen, whom we happen to see now and then.

8030. In point of fact, you can give no evidence with respect to them?—No.

8031. Have you had any such intercourse with liberated Africans as to enable this Committee, upon your authority and information, to learn in what way they were themselves originally captured as slaves, and in what way their fellows are at this moment likely to be captured as slaves?—I have personal knowledge of some cases. Some during my residence at Badagry were captured or kidnapped by being enticed into houses, when one or two fell upon the person, gagged him, and fastened him up and carried him off, and sold him to one of the nearest slave ports; others, and the greater number of them, I believe, are made captives in war.

8032. Can you state to this Committee anything either from your own knowledge, or from inquiries which you have made from liberated Africans, as to the cause of the wars in which they have been made captives?—I believe (as other persons do) that many a small war, as African wars are in general, is undertaken simply for the purpose of making slaves.

8033. Irrespectively then of those ordinary passions in the indulgence of which war may arise in Europe, there is superadded in Africa one special cause of war, namely, a war for the purpose of making slaves; is that the construction which you wish the Committee to put upon your last answer?—I mean to say that the natives are very desirous for gain and for accumulating property; at the same time, to speak of the neighbourhood of Badagry, they are not an industrious people, having depended upon the slave trade for years past; and therefore they try to obtain slaves in any way in order to accumulate property.

8034. A former answer from you led the Committee to suppose that wars, small wars as you call them, were undertaken for the purpose of making slaves. The Committee wish you to state whether, in addition to the ordinary causes of war in other parts of the world, for example, the indulgence of evil passions, there be or be not superadded in the case of Africa, wars which arise for the single purpose of making slaves?—They have generally an excuse when they make war; but I believe in many instances it is simply for the purpose of making slaves.

8035. It has been stated that the presence of a great slave dealer, desiring to obtain slaves, would frequently induce a chief to obtain such slaves either by open war or by what is called a "raid," midnight assault upon his neighbours; does that accord with your knowledge and belief?—It does.

8036. Have you ever received from liberated Africans any account of their having been carried off by surprise from a town assaulted with no other object, so far as they knew, than that of making themselves and their fellows captives?—I have not heard of any liberated Africans being carried off in that manner; but a short time ago a large party of Badagrians and people of that neighbourhood

hood attacked a small establishment near Lagos, and carried off canoemen, and even a European, who was brought to Badagry. Rev. C. A. Gollmer.

8037. Did they sell, or attempt to sell, such captives at Badagry?—They were delivered to the ex-king of Lagos; he sent them to Domingo, a slave dealer in our neighbourhood. Domingo is the man that went to Bahia, and came back to Lagos; when he came back he found that another person was established as king, and then he established himself near Porto Novo, 20 miles west of Badagry.—(Mr. Townsend.) With regard to the motives from which they enter into war, I would state that they enter into many wars with no other desire but to make slaves; though they may make an excuse of another nature, their desire is to make slaves. I will relate one instance that occurred in Abbeokuta: there was a town called Abaka, in which the family of Mr. Crowther was then residing; the people of Abbeokuta, at the request of another chief, went to war with this town of Abaka, and after a siege of four or five months, they destroyed the town, and the whole of the captives they made were sold into slavery. Subsequently to the taking of this town, there was a meeting of the chiefs in Abbeokuta, to settle some matters relative to this war, in which one of the chief warriors who had engaged in this war stated publicly in the face of the other chiefs that this war which they had undertaken, and by which they had destroyed Abaka, was nothing more than a slave-trade war. He stated it publicly, that there was no other reason and no other motive that had influenced him and the other chiefs who had conducted that war than the desire of making slaves. 4 July 1848.

8038. (To Mr. Gollmer.) Have you ever heard the Reverend Samuel Crowther relate the narrative of his own capture?—I have.

8039. Does or does not the fact of his capture bring to your recollection an instance of a war undertaken for the purpose of making slaves, or at least of a war unprovoked terminating in the capture of slaves, and their exportation from Africa to the West Indies?—I have heard it stated that such was the case.

8040. And though you do not know it from personal experience or observation you know it historically, and believe it?—Yes, I do.

8041. Do you wish the Committee to understand that your hesitation as to personal knowledge does not apply to your knowledge historically?—No, I believe it was the fact.

8042. Can you state to the Committee any other cases connected with the presence of the British squadron on the coast, in addition to that which you have mentioned in a former part of your evidence, as tending to check the progress of the slave trade, and to give security to lawful commerce?—It is my belief that hardly any merchant or missionary could reside in Africa, either on the coast or in the interior, without the protection of Her Majesty's cruisers.

8043. When you say in the "interior," by the interior you probably mean a distance, somewhat similar to that of Abbeokuta, from the coast; do you include Abbeokuta specifically?—Perhaps a European may be safe in Abbeokuta, because it is a powerful town, and the people are strong enough to defend themselves, but how to pass the seaport would be the great difficulty. With respect to Badagry, Badagry is governed in some degree by Abbeokuta, and the people at Badagry will not commit any outrage upon us, because they know we are friends of the Abbeokuta people.

8044. By "us" you mean yourself and other missionaries, and your Christian congregation?—I include all the English people.

8045. Have you any reason to infer that any Englishman is at all connected with the proceedings of the slave trade?—I am not aware of any.

8046. Have you reason to infer that any Englishman at Badagry, is in any degree in collusion or compact of any kind to sustain the slave trade?—I have no reason to believe that there is any one.

8047. Have you reason to believe the contrary?—I have reason to believe that they are not connected with the slave trade.

8048. Though a great slave dealer is within 20 miles?—Yes.

8049. You believe that every Englishman in the neighbourhood is animated by a sincere desire to suppress the slave trade?—I believe so.

8050. As far as the operations of the squadron are concerned, have you, or have you not, reason to believe that the squadron has checked, though it has failed to prevent the slave trade?—I believe it is impossible to say how far the squadron has

Rev. C. A. Gollmer.

4 July 1848.

has checked the slave trade; but that it would be plainly seen that the squadron has greatly checked the slave trade, if the squadron were removed.

8051. The object of The House in appointing this Committee has been to consider the best means of suppressing the slave trade; will you state to the Committee any suggestions that occur to your own mind, from your residence on the coast of Africa, of any means that are likely to facilitate that object?—We have often been reflecting on the subject, and we thought that something ought to be done in addition to the squadron, namely, something on shore.

8052. By “something on shore,” do you mean the establishment of a force, or do you mean entering into treaties, or do you mean making settlements of white men, and forming missions, or is there any other mode which you would suggest, as having occurred to your own mind, with a view to the suppression of the slave trade on the coast of Africa?—We have sometimes thought that it would be well if the same law which applies to the slaver on the high seas were to be applied to the slave dealer on shore. I think, on the other hand, that lawful trade ought to be encouraged, and treaties made with the chiefs, many of whom are quite willing to give up the slave trade, if they only have a substitute for the slave trade. Many depend upon the slave trade, and not having anything besides, they carry it on.

8053. Would you wish the Committee to understand that it would be part of the suggestions that occur to your own mind, that power should be given to the commanders of Her Majesty’s cruisers on the coast to land; and if, for example, they found in the possession of Domingo any slaves in confinement in a barracoon for exportation, to hang Domingo on land as a pirate might be hanged at sea?—I did not exactly mean to go to that extreme; but he might be told to leave the country, and his establishment might be broken up, and the slaves set at liberty.

8054. Do you conceive that Domingo is guilty of any other offence than that of theft, robbery, and often murder combined?—Not that I am aware of. I am aware that he furnishes the warriors at Badagry frequently with ammunition, and encourages them to go on expeditions, and bring the slaves to him.

8055. Does he not receive the goods, knowing the goods to have been stolen?—Decidedly.

8056. Do you consider that the receiver is less guilty than the thief?—For my part I consider Domingo more guilty than the man who is the kidnapper.

8057. If in any case you would permit the last punishment of death to be inflicted upon a man guilty of murder, is there any extenuating circumstance in the case of a man who commits that which leads to murder for his own cold-blooded gain?—I have simply stated my opinion; I can hardly answer that question.

8058. Would you or would you not, if you found a slaver with his cargo below the hatches on the high seas, feel that you were at liberty to put the offender himself to death as a pirate?—As far as my own feeling goes I think they are the greatest offenders that exist.

8059. Are you aware that the House of Commons of England passed a unanimous address to the Crown some years ago, praying the Crown to take measures that all nations might declare the slave trade to be piracy?—I have heard of it.

8060. Your own conviction is that the slave trade is piracy?—I believe so.

8061. Though you are not prepared to enact the punishment of death upon a pirate who is on shore, do you or do you not think that the infliction of the last penalty upon a pirate caught on the high seas would tend materially to check the slave trade?—I think it would decidedly.

8062. Superadded then to the modes of preventing the slave trade, to which you have already called the attention of the Committee, by proceedings on shore, by the establishment of ports, and by entering into treaties for the encouragement of lawful commerce, and by enabling the commanders of Her Majesty’s cruisers to land and seize the slaves in the barracoons, in conformity with treaties entered into with the native powers, you consider that the punishment of the slaver on the high seas would materially check the slave trade?—Certainly.

Stephen Bourne, Esq., called in; and Examined.

S. Bourne, Esq.

4 July 1848.

8063. *Chairman.*] YOU have resided some years in the West Indies?—
I have.

8064. In what part of the West Indies?—From December 1834 to July 1841,
I resided in Jamaica, and since that time until last January in British Guiana.

8065. Did you hold any official situation in either of those colonies?—I did
in both.

8066. Will you state what situation you held in the island of Jamaica?—
I went out as a special justice.

8067. In what year?—In the year 1834.

8068. How long did you remain there?—I remained six years and a half in that
capacity in the same parish.

8069. What was that parish?—St. Andrew's, within about 12 miles of
Kingston.

8070. You afterwards went to Berbice?—I did.

8071. In what capacity were you there?—Registrar of the Supreme Court.

8072. Are you connected by property with any part of the West Indies?—
I have an estate in Berbice that I bought for the purpose of endeavouring to re-
establish the cultivation of cotton; it was an abandoned cotton estate; I bought
it as a cattle farm.

8073. You are not engaged in the cultivation of sugar?—I am not.

8074. Have your efforts to restore the cultivation of cotton in Berbice been
satisfactory?—They have not; the fact is that I out-lined a plan to re-establish
cotton cultivation, and it was sent home to England by Mr. George Lang, who
died soon after he left. Since that the circumstances of the colony have been
such that I have not thought it expedient to revive the subject; but I have no
reason to doubt that cotton might be cultivated to great advantage in Berbice.

8075. What do you refer to when you speak of the circumstances of the
colony?—I mean the extremely adverse circumstances in which the colony is
now placed; the difficulty of obtaining money, even for the purposes of carrying
on the sugar cultivation, or any purpose whatever.

8076. Are there any other difficulties which the proprietors encounter in the
colony of Demerara, besides the difficulty of obtaining money?—I think there
are very many.

8077. What are they?—That, perhaps, would lead into a wider field than the
subject of slavery.

8078. Is there any difficulty in obtaining labour?—I do not think by any
means to the extent that has been generally supposed and represented; I think
at this moment there may be abundance of labour in the colony; more, perhaps,
than there is money to pay for.

8079. When you say "abundance of labour," do you mean that there are
wages that will command any amount of labour, or do you mean that the wages
which the proprietors can afford to give would be sufficient to command the
requisite labour?—I think in the present state of the sugar market it may be
impossible for the sugar grower to pay the rate of wages which he has been in
the habit of paying; and I think it is perhaps difficult to prevail upon old
labourers to work at less wages than they have been accustomed to receive.

8080. What wages have they been accustomed to receive?—I think from 16 *d.*
a day to 2 *s.*

8081. When did you leave Demerara?—I left Berbice on the 5th of January
last.

8082. At that time was the rate of wages given to creoles 1 *s.* 4 *d.* a day?—
I believe so.

8083. How many hours did the day comprise?—What is called a day is gene-
rally a task; that is the same amount of labour which was settled by Sir James
Smith, and by the Court of Policy, with the consent of the people: a given quan-
tity of work to be done in a day. The same day's work now that was done
during apprenticeship could be obtained for 1 *s.* 4 *d.*; supposing a person goes
into a field and does a task and a quarter, or a task and a half, or two tasks, he
is paid in proportion to it. I have known instances of women going into the
field and doing two tasks, for which of course at that rate they would get 2 *s.* 8 *d.*
a day each. A female servant of our own has gone into the field; she has wanted
to earn more money than we paid her, and she said, "Mistress, I would rather

S. Bourne, Esq.

4 July 1848.

go to work in the field, because I can earn more money in the field." We have ascertained that she could easily earn 2s. 8d. a day by doing two tasks; but she was an exceedingly strong woman. I think there have been instances in which for particular purposes, such as making up money to subscribe to a chapel, or to pay for the education of their children, or to buy land, they have done three tasks in the course of a day, so as to be able to earn a dollar a day.

8084. Is it a circumstance of common occurrence that labourers will do two tasks in the course of a day?—I do not think it is; I think a task and a half is common.

8085. How many hours would that require?—I should say from eight to 10 hours; depending, of course, upon the strength and skill of the man who does the work.

8086. Though you have no experience in the cultivation of sugar yourself, you must have seen a good deal occasionally of sugar cultivation?—I have.

8087. Do you think that the rate of wages which now prevails in Demerara is such as to render it difficult to the proprietor to cultivate sugar with profit?—I think at least one half of the estates in Berbice that have been kept in cultivation, have been cultivated at a loss; but I think that there are some of the estates still cultivated at a profit.

8088. To what circumstance do you attribute that loss in the cultivation of estates?—To the low price of sugar.

8089. Are the estates economically administered?—Some of them are.

8090. Some of the estates cultivated at a loss, are cultivated under circumstances which you think would justify an expectation of profit, if there were a remunerating price for sugar?—I think so.

8091. You do not comprehend in that answer the estates which are encumbered with debts, or with intermediate payments of any description?—I am afraid there are very few estates in British Guiana that are not encumbered with debts; Mr. Barkly's estates, however, are not in debt, and there are some others. There is an estate called Everton, that I suppose is still profitable; if estates are well managed, and the people are attached to the estate, and well inclined to the manager, and there is good machinery, and plenty of capital, I think there are those which may still be carried on so as to yield a moderate profit at the present prices.

8092. Then in your answer to the question just now, you contemplated only those cases in which there was an undue expenditure in the cultivation of sugar?—I calculate the ordinary expenditure, and I have no knowledge that would enable me to say that an estate expends more money than it ought to do. I ought to presume that every man carries on his business on terms that he thinks will be advantageous to him; and that if he thought he could save money in one way without losing it in another way, he would do so.

8093. But if he were compelled from circumstances to employ unduly expensive agencies, of course the estate would be cultivated under economical disadvantages?—Just so.

8094. Are the estates we have been speaking of so circumstanced?—Some of them are, but some are not; I think that where there is plenty of capital, where there has been a good understanding between the managers and the people, where there is good machinery, and where the land is adapted to the cultivation of sugar, in those instances, though the instances are few, those estates are still cultivated at a small profit, but not such a profit as has been heretofore received from the West Indies, and not such as it is reasonable for people to expect who embark their money in those countries.

8095. At what rate per cwt. can sugar be produced in Demerara?—I think it depends very much upon circumstances; I am told that some people cannot produce it at less than 20s. per cwt., and I have heard of others who produce it at 8s. to 10s. per cwt.

8096. Would that 8s. to 10s. include interest upon capital, or would it be the actual outgoings?—The actual outgoings; I know one estate, but it is perhaps the only estate in Berbice that is cultivated at so small an expense, and is so productive; an estate in the neighbourhood of New Amsterdam, called Everton; it belongs to Mr. Fullarton, in Scotland; and I believe in 1845 that estate produced 780 hogsheads of sugar, and proportionate quantities, say one-third of rum and molasses. I know the exact amount which was paid for labour upon that estate; also for the management; and my impression is, that that estate

S. Bourne, Esq.

4 July 1848.

estate would pay perhaps from 8 to 10 per cent. upon the capital employed, even at present prices; but that is an exception to the general rule. I believe that one-half or two-thirds of the estates in Berbice, though still cultivated, are cultivated at a loss of capital; and I do not see how that can go on, because the people have not money themselves to go on at a loss, and the proprietors and merchants in London are not disposed to go on at a loss, therefore I suppose the estates must go out of cultivation. I have in my possession a statement of the produce and costs of cultivation of the three best sugar estates in the county of Berbice in 1845 :

Everton produced sugar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	780 Hhds. 15 cwt. each.
Canefields	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	497 —
Lochaber	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	460 —

And rum and molasses equal in value to one-fourth of the value of the sugars.

Paid Money Wages for Labour.

Everton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,820 dollars.
Canefields	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18,242 ”
Lochaber	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18,352 ”

Paid for Salaries, Supplies, Engineers' Contracts, &c. &c.

Everton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20,361 dollars.
Canefields	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19,225 ”
Lochaber	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,000 ”

8097. You think, then, that though the alleged paucity of labour has been exaggerated, still it exists to some extent?—I have no doubt it did so to a great extent, but perhaps not now, because there are so many estates, the proprietors of which cannot afford to hire labourers, that I should think since I have left Berbice there must be rather a superabundance of labour than a scarcity.

8098. You consider that a large portion of the cultivated land at Berbice will be abandoned?—I apprehend so. I am sorry I did not bring with me a chart of Berbice, which would have shown every estate in cultivation, and all the estates that have been cultivated, but are now abandoned. I think that a vast extent of country, which was formerly cultivated with cotton, I should say nine-tenths of the estates that were cultivated some years ago, when the Dutch had the colony, are now abandoned, and it was upon those estates that I supposed cotton might be cultivated again with advantage.

8099. Was no lower rate of wages prevalent in the country than you have stated?—Mr. Barkly was in the colony when I left it, and he recommended, by a letter addressed to the proprietors, which was published in the newspapers, a reduction in the price of labour as the only means by which it was likely that cultivation could be kept up; and that was under agitation when I left the colony. Whether it succeeded or not I cannot tell, except from some private letters which I have had from friends there, who stated that as to the old creole labourers there were very few of them at work; that they stood out for the old rate of wages.

8100. The opinion which you expressed that there would be abundance of labour in the colony rests upon the assumption that a large portion of the soil of Berbice is thrown out of cultivation?—Just so.

8101. During the time you were in Berbice, had you an opportunity of seeing the arrival of any captured Africans from Sierra Leone?—I have seen them at Berbice; I went on board the African ships.

8102. In what condition did you find them?—One vessel was full of a very nice cargo of youths; they seemed to be in high spirits; fine boys they were; I think they came from St. Helena.

8103. What do you mean by “boys”?—I mean lads of from 10 to 17 years of age; there were a few girls amongst them, but very few.

8104. What year was this in?—In 1842.

8105. Did you see any of those Africans located in the colony?—I did. I went to see another vessel with Africans of different ages, which came afterwards; they were in a very different state; they appeared to be sick and emaciated; many of them had sores about them.

8106. Was that on board the “Growler”?—I think not; it was about three years ago.

8107. Do

S. Bourne, Esq.

4 July 1848.

8107. Do you know under what circumstances they became in the state of health you describe?—They had been recently taken out of a slave ship.

8108. Did you see any captured Africans, after they were landed in the colony, employed?—I did; I saw some at Plantation Marra, which belonged to the Messrs. Lang; I saw some also at Everton; I have seen them also in some excellent schools, conducted by the archdeacon, Mr. Fothergill, and in a school conducted by Mr. Dalgeish, one of the missionaries; they worked during the day, and attended school at night and on Sundays. On both those occasions there were public examinations, when they were allowed to leave their work to attend the schools.

8109. How should you describe the conduct of those Africans, as far as came under your observation?—I never saw so great an improvement in any human beings as in those persons, both in cleanliness and in appearance with regard to health and intelligence. In the school conducted under the superintendence of the archdeacon, Mr. Fothergill, and again in that of Mr. Dalgeish, in an almost incredibly short space of time, many of those youths had been taught to read the New Testament, and to answer questions as well as children in England.

8110. Had you any conversation with any of those Africans?—Not privately; not excepting when their masters were present.

8111. Do you know whether they were satisfied with the change in their position?—I think very much so; I am persuaded that they were very much improved in their condition, that they were much benefitted by the change. That was the strong impression made upon my mind at the time.

8112. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] Does that answer apply to the old Africans?—I am not sure that they were part of the same cargo. I saw Africans that I knew had been captured in slave ships on different occasions, and I was always struck with the extraordinary improvement, both physical and intellectual, that I observed in them.

8113. You were not able to trace the parties after they were landed in the colony?—No. I had some conversation with the missionary clergyman with regard to those Africans at Mara, and he told me that he had taken a great deal of pains with them.

8114. What was the name of the clergyman?—Mr. M'Kelloch; he told me that he was in the habit of attending every night to instruct them; that they came most eagerly to him, and also on the Sundays, and that he found them the most docile scholars he ever had. He told me that he thought they would get on much better if they had more books. I mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Lang, the proprietor of the estate, and he requested me to buy whatever books I thought necessary, and that he would pay for them, which he did. Mr. Lang told me, also, that he would be at any expense the minister might think necessary for the erection of a school-house on his property, and that he was at perfect liberty to come at any time he chose, and to take the boys and men on the estate for the purpose of instruction. I think it only just to state this with regard to a person, who has since died, who was very anxious for emigration.

8115. He had a great number of those young boys employed at one time upon his estate?—I think more than 50.

8116. Do you know whether he was satisfied with their conduct?—I believe he was; he was very anxious to get more.

8117. Did they work steadily?—The impression upon my mind is that they did. I have heard several planters say that they could not have gone on with the estates if it had not been for those young Africans.

8118. Had you any opportunity of seeing those newly imported Africans in the island of Jamaica?—I had one opportunity only; that must have been in the year 1838, I think. They were not placed in a very good situation. I do not think they were very well treated. I mentioned the matter to the Governor, and also wrote to the late Lord Holland, who was a very kind friend of mine, upon the subject, and he wrote to me that he had spoken to Lord Glenelg, and that some arrangements had been made to secure their better treatment in future.

8119. From what you saw of the condition of the Africans after they were imported into Demerara, and the state of their own minds with regard to their change of circumstances, do you think that it was a benevolent act towards them to bring them from Africa, and to place them as labourers on the soil of Demerara?—I think that the object of it was to extend the cultivation, but that the effect of it was beneficial to the Africans.

8120. In what way?—By putting them within the reach of Christian influence, and getting them kept clean and well attended to by the medical men of the estates; by getting them well clothed; by inducing a desire into them to work for money; and particularly in this way, by bringing them within the reach of good ministers of religion, and schoolmasters who taught them to read the Scriptures, and to attend regularly to the worship of the Almighty.

8121. And by obtaining general instruction in the arts of civilization?—I think so.

8122. Do they obtain wages sufficient to maintain them in comfort?—I apprehend so; I have no doubt about it.

8123. Did you ever hear them complain that they could not obtain sufficiency of food for the wages which they earned?—I never did.

8124. Do you think that any such complaint, as far as your observation extended, would have been well founded?—I do not think it would. I think it was very much the interest of the proprietors to extend their cultivation, and to get the Africans to carry on the work, and so easy would it have been for any of those young persons to have gone from one employer to another if they had been ill-treated, it is very unlikely that any person with whom they were placed would treat them ill. I have never heard of any being ill-treated in Berbice.

8125. In general they remained pretty steadily on the same estate?—I think the young people did; with respect to some old people, who were brought as emigrants, I am not sure about those; my attention was particularly drawn to the children and young people.

8126. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You have referred to the improvement which has taken place in the state of the liberated Africans when placed in Berbice; that improvement is contrasted with your own observation of their original state when they were landed, as you have not stated that you ever saw them in their own country?—I never did.

8127. When, therefore, you stated that they are now placed in a situation where cleanliness can be attended to, and religious instruction conveyed to them, and means of public worship afforded, you rather refer to their condition on board ship than to the condition which they occupied in Sierra Leone, where you yourself have not been?—Just so.

8128. You did not mean, therefore, to state to this Committee that the parties in question were neglected as to cleanliness, or as to religious instruction, or as to the means of public worship, when they were in Sierra Leone?—I by no means intend either to express or to insinuate that; on the contrary, I presume that they had not been for any considerable time, if at all, at Sierra Leone; for it does often happen that a slaver is brought in, and there chances to be an emigrant vessel waiting for emigrants, and they are taken immediately from one ship to another.

8129. *Chairman*.] You think that extensive emigration from Africa will be beneficial to the African race, as well as advantageous to the West India proprietors?—I judge so from what I have seen on board the emigrant ships, and also from what I have read with regard to the state of Africa. In Jamaica, and in Berbice, I know that the ministers of religion of all denominations, are extremely anxious to give them religious instruction, and that they have facilities for attending places of religious worship, which, I suppose, they cannot have in Africa. I do not believe they are over worked; I believe that their wages are more than sufficient to provide them with the necessary comforts of life, and many of its luxuries; and, therefore, I conceive that it must be a beneficial change for them.

8130. In the answer to the previous question, you did not mean to give any opinion as to the comparative advantage of their state, but only to say that within your own knowledge they were in a positive state of comfort and enjoyment in Jamaica, and in Berbice?—That is what I have stated with respect to such as I have seen, and I have seen a great many.

8131. Mr. *Barkly*.] From your own knowledge of the colony of British Guiana, do you think that the planters do experience any difficulty in getting the labour they desire for the cultivation of their estates?—I do not know what may be the case now. I have stated that on many estates the proprietors or the managers are unable to employ the people, and that the people may therefore be now pressing into the market for labour, in consequence of the want of employment; but I think the cultivation of the country might be extended most advantageously for everybody, if there were a greater number of people there.

S. Bourne, Esq.

4 July 1848.

8132. Are you acquainted with Mr. Richard Egg, of Berbice?—Yes.

8133. Do you think that he is a gentleman, who would state what he knew to be untrue?—I do not think he would; I knew him as manager of Highbury Estate; I have since seen him as manager of an estate on the Canje; he has the reputation of being a very respectable straight-forward man.

8134. Do you think that if Mr. Egg, in a letter received from Berbice this morning, makes a statement with regard to the difficulty of obtaining labour, his remarks are worthy of attention?—I am so far acquainted with him that I do not believe he would state anything that is not strictly true.

8135. You think that his remarks would be worthy of attention as those of a person practically engaged in the cultivation of sugar in the colony?—I think so. If I myself wrote to make any inquiry whatever of Mr. Egg, I should give credence to his answer.

8136. He states: "We have not ground this month from a desire to relieve Reliance Property of some of its grass; but from its being so very heavy, and the unwillingness of the labourers to perform full tasks, we have not been able to get as much of this work done as we could have desired. Eight working days have been lost this month by the Easter holidays. The limited amounts of wages monthly since the 1st of January do not arise from any great reduction in the original rate of wages, but from the scarcity of labour to be obtained for any description of work. Also, from the small quantity of work performed by those who do work, and which prevents us from doing justice to the soil and to the growing crops. The creole labourers on the rural settlements do little or no work." Do you think that a statement of that kind from Mr. Egg is deserving of credence?—I should think so, because Mr. Egg states it. I should have supposed that at this moment the creole labourers would have been very anxious to get employment, and that there would be no difficulty in getting labourers to any extent; but if that is stated in a letter from Mr. Egg, received by this packet, of course his experience goes to correct the impressions upon my own mind.

8137. Do you think, from your knowledge of the circumstances of Berbice, that the labourers in that country are in the habit of working regularly every day in the week?—I know they are not.

8138. Have you formed any idea of the number of days in a week that the population, upon an average, work?—I have not. But I heard your examination before the Committee on Sugar and Coffee Planting, in which you stated what I know to be perfectly true, that 360 persons would give you the result of the labour of 90 persons; but that did not make any difference with regard to the calculation of what was the cost of producing sugar, because I would reckon the irregular labour of a certain number of persons made up by a larger number employed occasionally.

8139. Then you would assent to the opinion that the present Creole population do not work more than one-fourth of their time?—I would not say one-fourth; I think at some periods they work a great deal more than at other periods; for instance, most of those who are good for anything have lands of their own, and when their own lands require to be drained, or their dams to be made up, or their corn to be put in, or there is anything to be reaped, and they can realize money from it, they will not work for the master; but when that is not the case, and they are in want of money, they will go and work a week, or a fortnight, or a month to obtain money; but having lands of their own to cultivate, they will be turned away by a regard for their own interest, and they will not work in the continuous manner that they did under slavery.

8140. It is very desirable in the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, that the labour should be continuous?—No doubt of it.

8141. *Chairman.*] Supposing the colony were reduced to the circumstances which you contemplate, of a large portion of the soil being thrown out of cultivation, and consequently the demand for labour to a great degree ceasing, what would be the condition of the Creole and African population?—That is difficult to say. A great many of them would no doubt be reduced to very great distress. They would be driven to the cultivation of land as a means of providing for the immediate wants of themselves and their families; and they would be reduced to some distress for want of the means of purchasing those luxuries which they have been accustomed to use. They would not be able to pay for the education of their children. In that respect they have gone to a most unparalleled extent, as well as in subscribing money for the erection of places of worship,

ship, and to support their own ministers. I think that their means of doing that depends upon the cultivation of some exportable and valuable production, and if you take away that, they must necessarily be reduced to distress as the result.

8142. Would they by the cultivation of their provision grounds be able to sustain themselves without enduring any privation from want of food?—I am inclined to think they would.

8143. But although they would be so far raised above privation, do you think that the circumstances in which they would be placed would necessarily lead to barbarism?—I would not go so far as that, because many of them have been very well instructed; they are very skilful labourers, and they have ministers of religion and schoolmasters to improve their condition, and some of them have created capitals for themselves as well as having productive lands, therefore I would not say that they would be reduced to barbarism, but they would not progress in the scale of civilization.

8144. Mr. *Barkly*.] Do you think that their condition under those supposed circumstances would be worse in British Guiana or in the West Indies than it is now in Africa?—I think not so bad.

8145. Are you at all aware of the extent of the contributions of the negroes in Berbice for religious purposes, particularly for building churches?—I do not know the aggregate, but I can mention one fact. There is one building in New Amsterdam, a missionary chapel, of which Mr. Davies is the minister; I do not know any finer buildings as places of worship in the neighbourhood of London; I do not know a more substantial, comfortable place of worship, seating, I should say, from 1,000 to 1,200 or 1,300 people, and I am told that it is constantly filled every Sunday morning. It has cost about 9,000 *l.*, and more than 6,000 *l.* has been raised by the congregation, consisting almost entirely of black and a few coloured people; that has been erected since I have been in Berbice, so that in the course of the last six years that one congregation must have raised 1,000 *l.* a year besides maintaining their minister and their schools. That is one reason why I think they must work, because I do not see how they could have obtained this money without having laboured. I think that in order to continue those engagements habitually, the creole population will work that they may maintain themselves in the stations in which they are now. They may perhaps hang off for a few weeks, or a few months, for the purpose of driving their master to a better bargain, or of seeing whether another master will not spring up who will pay them better, but I think ultimately the whole creole population must cultivate the soil.

8146. *Chairman*.] Some of the contributors to the chapel probably would not be labourers; they would be small shopkeepers?—A few; but the great bulk of the people have been labourers upon the estates in the vicinity. There is one man might give 20 *l.*, and I gave something, and Mr. Lang and many of the merchants in the town gave; but 6,000 *l.* has been contributed, I believe, by the congregation, 99 out of 100 of whom are labourers.

8147. Is the building you speak of in connexion with the Church of England?—It is not; but I believe they have been found equally liberal in contributing wherever there is a minister, such as Mr. Fothergill, or any person that interests himself in their improvement. There are many chapels not so expensive, and not so nicely fitted up as that in the principal town; but they have erected a great many places of worship all over the country.

8148. Are there many ministers of colour?—I have heard of only one; I believe that the missionaries endeavour to educate some young people belonging to their own congregations to go out occasionally to the villages and instruct the people; but I only once heard of any minister of colour preaching in the churches in the towns.

8149. What was the social condition of the creole population at the time you left Berbice; were they living in a state of comfort with respect to the other classes?—I never heard anything to the contrary up to the time I left.

8150. As a body, there was no bad feeling between them and the whites?—I think not.

8151. Do you think that the introduction of emigrants from the coast of Africa would lead to such a feeling?—Not from Africa; I think the creoles were always well pleased when Africans were brought; I never heard of any objection to bringing in Africans. There have been very great objections to the persons who came in from Madeira, and to the Coolies, especially to their being brought in at the public expense; but I think that if the immigration had been confined to

S. Bourne, Esq.

4 July 1848.

Africa, and some arrangements, which might have been made at the time, had been made, there would have been no objection on the part of the majority of the creole population to the introduction of a large body of African labourers.

8152. They do not look upon it as a scheme for reducing the value of their own labour?—They might imagine that that would be the immediate effect; but still they would feel themselves so secure of provisions, from the extent of the country, and from the lands that they have in their own possession, and it is so easy for a man who is industrious to get his living in that country, that I think if they had any such fears they would be chimerical.

8153. The worst that could befall an industrious man in that country would never place him in the position of a man thrown entirely out of employment in this?—I think not; I will give a proof of it; I was asked whether I had any property in Berbice, and I stated, that with a view to the introduction of the cultivation of cotton, I had bought a cattle farm and sold off the cattle, and that it had formerly been a very profitable cotton estate; now I happen to know that this estate, consisting of a thousand acres, produced one year a net profit to the proprietor (when it was cultivated as cotton), after defraying all his expenses, of 8,000*l.* Half of the estate, consisting of 500 acres, has been sold since I have been in this country (on the 8th of May), and in consequence of my not being at home. I certainly should not have allowed it if I had been there; but that estate of 500 acres of fine land in a very good part of the country, having a public road passing through it, freehold land, the best possible title to it, sold for 118 dollars. For 500 acres of land, that is less than 1*s.* an acre; and I am persuaded that the two estates, containing together 1,000 acres of land, in the original purchase, in making up the roads, in repairing the house, in draining the estate, and in making some experiments in ploughing, and so on, cost me 8,000 dollars; and one half of that sold for 118 dollars; that is about 24*l.* sterling. Now such estates being continually brought to sale, there is hardly a negro who has been industrious in that country, who could not raise in an hour, either from sale of stock or from some friend, 20*l.* or 25*l.* to buy such an estate; and 100 negro families could live off that estate by expending a little labour upon it.

8154. Mr. Barkly.] Do you think that if the rate of wages were considerably reduced, the labourers would give as large an amount of labour as they now do for a higher rate of wages?—I think not.

8155. You think there would be less disposition to work on their part, if a great reduction of wages were carried into effect?—I am afraid the effect of it would be to drive them to the cultivation of their own lands in preference to working for hire.

8156. But there must be a limit to the demand for the products of their lands?—Up to the time of my leaving Berbice, everything raised on their lands sold at a high price, yams and other things.

8157. But is not the purchase of those articles confined to the white population who are dependant for their means of purchasing upon the cultivation of sugar?—There are the new emigrants that come in that have not lands of their own. All the emigrants that have come in, the Coolies and those people, obtain their provisions from those lands. In former times the estate owners used to cultivate large quantities of provisions which they do not now, so that many of them have to depend upon the product of the lands of the negroes.

8158. But the means which the emigrants have of purchasing provisions are derived from the wages received from the sugar cultivation?—Just so.

8159. Is there anything else that you wish to state to the Committee?—I have said elsewhere, and I would wish to repeat it here, that I am afraid that although emigration may do good to the people themselves, and though it will do good to the country and lead to the cultivation of a vast and fertile country which is now lying waste, yet I do not think it will be of immediate service to the proprietors of the soil. I think that in the present state of feeling of the old Creole labourers, with their indisposition to take a less rate of wages, their objection to the Coolie immigration, and their annoyance at its being charged to them as a public expense, and the complaints they make against the Government and so forth, the result will be, that for every immigrant that is brought into the country, you will lose two, perhaps more, of the old people from the estates. That will be the immediate effect of it. But the ultimate effect no doubt will be to benefit every body if the right means are taken with respect to emigration, and a proper provision

provision be made for their support in the event of the abandonment of the estates.

8160. Do you think that they will cease to work altogether upon the sugar estates, and depend for their existence upon their provisions?—No; but at present the labourers can realize such a return for the application of their industry to their own lands, that they will not be disposed to work at low wages.

8161. But that cannot continue after the abandonment of the sugar cultivation, because there will not be the same demand for the provisions?—No; but I am referring to the immediate effect. If the Government, or if the West India proprietors conceive that they are to be relieved from their distresses by any one measure, especially the measure of immigration, I believe that will be found to be a mistake.

8162. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Do you think that unless protection is granted to the planters, all the other efforts now being made must be ineffectual?—I have always thought that protection in the way it was asked for, could not be given because of its connexion with other matters here; but I think there are other means by which the country might be advantaged. I think that capital is required for the country. I think that many improvements might be carried on to diminish the cost of cultivation. I think if the estates were thoroughly drained it would be of great advantage. There are many ways in which it is possible for the people of Great Britain to help the people in the West Indies, besides protection, and besides immigration.

8163. Do you think it likely that capital will go to any country unless cultivation is made more profitable than it is at present?—I do not think that under any circumstances at present private capital will go to that country. I think that anything that is done in the way of capital must be done now by the Government.

8164. Do you suppose it possible that the Government of this country can supply capital to carry on cultivation in any colony?—That I do not know; I think the circumstances of the West Indians are so extreme at this moment that it might be justifiable in the Government to strain to the utmost point to render them some assistance, and that assistance would be better rendered by capital than by any other means; especially as I think the estates might afford a good security if a preferent claim were given for a Government loan. I understand that an investment of additional capital, to the extent of 4,000 *l.* on each of 25 estates in the colony of Berbice, would be likely to render those estates really profitable, even in competition with slave-holding estates, and the free labour of the East Indies. (*The Witness handed in a paper relating to Berbice.*)

Vide Appendix,
No. 5.

Mr. *William Henry Pratt*, and Mr. *James Will*, called in; and Examined.

8165. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] (To Mr. *Pratt*). ARE you a native of Africa?—Yes.

8166. You yourself were taken in a slave ship?—Yes, both of us, and brought to Sierra Leone.

8167. You were taken as a slave, in a slave ship, and liberated in Sierra Leone?—Yes.

8168. How many years ago were you liberated?—In 1822.

8169. Since that time have you resided in Sierra Leone?—I have.

8170. Do you practise any profession, or carry on any business there?—Yes; when I was landed from the slave vessel I was sent to school, under the care of the Church Missionary Society, and there I remained seven years; in 1827 I was discharged from the school; then I strived to get my own living; I was hired by merchants and others, until 1837, when I was able to strive for myself; from thence I was connected with a missionary. In 1835 I was converted, and since then I do what I can to assist the missionaries in my country.

8171. Are you in connexion with the Church Missionary Society?—With the Wesleyan missionaries. Since 1838 and 1839 I have carried on correspondence with England as a merchant. In the present year I am visiting England myself.

8172. Have you a house belonging to yourself in Sierra Leone?—Yes, a very great corner house.

8173. Is your house of business known in commerce by your name?—Yes.

8174. What is the name of the firm?—My own name, *William Henry Pratt*.

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Both

Mr. *W. H. Pratt*,
and Mr. *J. Will*.

S. Bourne, Esq.

4 July 1848.

Mr. W. H. Pratt,
and Mr. J. Will.

4 July 1848.

Both me and my friend here endeavour as a committee to help our father and mother in England to put down the slave trade.

8175. Do you employ many liberated Africans yourself?—Yes.

8176. How many?—I have four allocated to me by the Government under indentures.

8177. You take care of them as your apprentices?—Yes, send them to school, and bring them up as myself.

8178. Mr. *Barkly*.] For how many years?—According to the age.

8179. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] You stated that you have received four under indentures?—Yes, and I have three hired.

8180. Will you state for how many years you undertake to provide for each of the four?—Those above 12 years are apprenticed for three years; those that are under nine are apprenticed for five years, and those that are beyond 10 are apprenticed for four years.

8181. If you have no objection will you state what brings you to England now?—I have come to England because I have sufficient money to pay my way. I wished to bring my children, and give them a thorough education, as I could afford it.

8182. *Chairman*.] What is your son's age who is with you?—Eleven.

8183. Sir *R. H. Inglis*.] Do you propose to leave him in England to be educated?—Yes; and by coming to England and disbursing my money myself, I would better understand things.

8184. You propose to return to Sierra Leone?—Yes, in October next.

8185. You propose to take back with you articles of commerce?—Quantities.

8186. You came here then in part to make mercantile and commercial engagements?—Yes, I came to deal in merchandize.

8187. Are there other gentlemen like yourself engaged in commerce in Sierra Leone?—Yes, I know gentlemen, under 14, or between 14 and 15, that have opened correspondence with England.

8188. Are they all Africans?—Yes.

8189. Were they all slaves at one time?—Yes; we all came at different times.

8190. And all have been liberated?—Yes.

8191. And all placed in Sierra Leone?—Yes.

8192. Originally under the protection of the Church Missionary Society?—No, various; under the government.

8193. You yourself were originally placed in the Church Missionary school?—Yes.

8194. How many form the congregation of Wesleyans in Sierra Leone?—I think we have 27 chapels.

8195. What is the smallest number attending any one of those chapels?—I think one chapel in the West End has no less in attendance on morning service on the Sabbath, than from 700 to 800.

8196. Is that the largest or the smallest number?—That is where the population is great.

8197. How many liberated Africans are there altogether in the Wesleyan community in Sierra Leone?—All the congregation in Free Town is almost composed of liberated Africans, but the Wesleyans altogether I think are about four thousand.

8198. Do the remaining Christians in Sierra Leone of African blood belong to the Church Missionary Institution?—No; there is another connexion called the African Methodists, under the care and control of a liberated African, 1,800 members; and there is another connexion, the Baptist chapel, under a Nova Scotian, from America; one large stone building, 80 feet in length, belongs to liberated Africans, under the control of a liberated preacher; and there is another connexion, Lady Huntingdon's, in two parts, one under a Nova Scotian, and one consisting of four or five hundred liberated Africans, controlled by a liberated African preacher.

8199. Are they united, generally speaking, or are there unhappily dissensions between those different bodies of Christians?—If the African Methodist Society undertake to build a new chapel, there is an invitation for liberated Africans in general.

8200. Then you wish the Committee to understand that they not only do not quarrel, but agree with each other?—Yes, the liberated Africans are all one in every thing.

Mr. W. H. Pratt,
and Mr. J. Will.

4 July 1848.

8201. Do you, since you first landed from Sierra Leone, perceive great improvement in the society of Sierra Leone, as well as a great increase in the size of Free Town?—The society has vastly increased, the educational branches are larger; there is a Wesleyan mission, and a Church mission, and another school that has opened for every man that is able to put his children to school, and they are instructed in theology, Hebrew, and Greek, and the study of arithmetic; everything that is useful to children.

8202. Have you any week-day services in your chapel?—In all our chapels we have week-day services: on Monday our Church friends have a service, and the Wesleyans go to it. We are all striving to get to one Heaven; we go to Church as well as go to the Wesleyan chapel in week-day service. Our Church friends have service again on Thursday, and the Wesleyans have service on other days in so many chapels that we have service in one chapel or another every day in the week.

8203. What is the population of liberated Africans, and of Africans generally, as compared with the population of white men in the colony of Sierra Leone?—All business almost lies in the hands of the liberated Africans; they are all striving; the contractors are liberated Africans; in all undertakings there are liberated Africans; everything almost is composed of liberated Africans.

8204. Have you seen any liberated Africans who have gone to the West Indies and have returned?—I dare say many return.

8205. Have you seen them?—I have seen them; but I can only say what I heard from them, because I have not been there to be a witness. As soon as they came into the dock or harbour of Free Town they knelt down, and said, "Thank God that I have come again to the land of liberty:" they repented that they had ever gone to the West Indies.

8206. Have you seen many liberated Africans who have come back for the purpose of inviting and encouraging other liberated Africans to go to the West Indies?—Yes; at first a great many of the people were very willing, among those that could not do better for themselves; they were very eager to emigrate. When the second emigration go forth they bring a very handsome report of the West Indies, till the third and fourth; and then some of the emigrants come and circulate matters in the place that the people were badly treated; and then none of the people who had been landed in Free Town were willing to emigrate.

8207. At what time did those emigrants come in?—When they first come the delegates have those people dressed up and return to Sierra Leone; so they said the place was very good; they went the first and the second time; the emigrants have no power to return; they remain, and then they come back after the second time, and then the people circulate the state of the place.

8208. Did not they obtain larger wages in the West Indies than they would obtain in Sierra Leone itself?—Yes; the wages may be 2 s. a day; but they could live better off the wages in Free Town as labourers, because everything there is uncommonly cheap.

8209. Do the labourers whom you employ at Free Town wear European clothing?—Yes, just the same as here.

8210. On Sundays do they wear clothes much finer, which cost more money?—On Sundays they all go decent as you would go in the Christian world, except that they will put on a frock coat. To tell a man to wear a coat is to tell him he is invited to a feast; as the place is extraordinarily hot, they use a riding or hunting coat made of linen or holland. If I return from England I would try to keep up the same habit that I have seen in England.

8211. Generally speaking are the liberated African population of Sierra Leone a well conducted, orderly people?—Very; and I can say with respect to the African population, that if it was in my power to draw a picture to show the activity of the people, and the way they get on, it would give you hearty satisfaction that your fathers who have been striving for Africa have not laboured in vain.

8212. If such be your opinion of the state of Sierra Leone, and of the comfort of those who labour there for small wages, but wages sufficient to procure the comforts of life, do you wish the Committee to understand that there is any probability of a large or adequate supply of free labourers going from Sierra Leone as emigrants to the West Indies?—As far as I know of the emigration concern, the emigration is chiefly now in taking liberated Africans just landed from the vessel. They are led on to the African department. The gate is closed so that none of the inhabitants can enter out of the street; no one can enter except he

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Mr *W. H. Pratt*,
and Mr. *J. Will*.

4 July 1848.

gets an order from the Governor, and when the emigrants come, the agent, after he has applied to the Governor, enters the yard, and calls the people out, and tells them that the Queen intends to send them to a better country, that everything is pleasant, and that he will make them comfortable and happy if they are willing to go, and he will take good care of them, and so on. Perhaps then an interpreter relates to them the proposition of the agent, when perhaps 20, or 30, or 40 are willing to go; the agent puts them aside, and the next morning he takes a bullock or a pig and kills it for those that are willing, and those that do not consent to go are not to have a share of the bullock or the pig. And he buys tobacco and other things to make presents to those that are willing to go, and he says, "Those not willing to go are not entitled to a share of what the agent brings." Sometimes the agent tries this temptation to them, that they will get more money than they want. Then at six o'clock in the evening, the agent will go to the dock with the contractor, and invite the people out to the vessel, and the next morning the vessel sails. But for some time I have never seen any of those that have been in Free Town a long time emigrate.

8213. Your general conclusion is that the Committee must not hope to succeed in obtaining a large supply of willing emigrants from Sierra Leone to the West Indies?—I candidly say that you cannot get none, except perhaps newly liberated Africans go into the yard, and you get them; but as to getting liberated Africans living at Free Town to emigrate, you cannot get none.

8214. (To Mr. *Will*.) You have heard all the evidence now given?—Yes.

8215. Do you or do you not agree with it; and if you do not agree with it, will you state to this Committee in what points you do not agree with it?—As far as I can bring to my recollection, everything is as he has stated it.

8216. You concur in the general conclusion, that the Committee must not expect to have any large number of willing emigrants from Sierra Leone to the West Indies?—I do think that you will not succeed in getting people to remove over to the West Indies.

8217. Do you or do you not think that the state of the liberated Africans in Sierra Leone is satisfactory to themselves and to this nation?—They are more satisfied with that place than going to Jamaica or Trinidad, or anywhere.

8218. Are they in a state satisfactory to themselves, and which ought to be satisfactory to the nation of England which protects them?—Yes, I think so.

8219. Mr. *Barkly*.] What wages do they receive when they are employed by merchants?—(Mr. *Pratt*.) The salary of the different classes of liberated Africans is very good if one is competent to conduct business; when I was hired I got 36 *l.* a year, and my employer provided my victuals.

8220. Was that when you first came out of the Liberated African Yard?—No; when I came out of the Liberated African Yard I went to the Government School.

8221. Who supported you during that time?—The Government provided me with everything throughout.

8222. For the five years?—For the seven years.

8223. During that time you could not have gained your living?—I could not have trafficked at that time; I was at the Government disposal.

8224. What wages do you pay now if you hire labourers upon the wharfs?—I myself pay a labourer 9 *d.* a day; the Government and the merchants, in general, pay more when they require labourers; we used to pay 6 *d.* a day, but since the emigration we have paid 9 *d.* a day, because the labourers demand more.

8225. You think if they were to go away to the West Indies it would be one objection that you would have to pay higher wages?—Now they will not work under 9 *d.* a day.

8226. That better rate of wages enables the labourers to live more comfortably?—Yes.

8227. The emigration has not done any harm to those that have remained in Sierra Leone?—No; emigration has not done any harm amongst the liberated Africans in general; they are active in everything.

8228. You say that the emigration has made the labourers that have remained ask for higher wages; was not it the fact that there were a great many Africans out of the yard who stayed in the colony of Sierra Leone last year?—The government located them at the different villages, especially from Sierra Leone, to the distance of 23 or 24 miles, for the safety of the people travelling through the night; the government located people on the two sides of the road.

8229. How do those people support themselves?—When they were first located,

located, the Government allowed them 2*d.* or 1½*d.* a day for three months, and built their houses, and gave them land, and then they provided for themselves.

8230. Do they get any wages from the coloured people?—One man takes one, and another takes two, and another takes one till they can provide for themselves; if you have one to work for you, you must pay him wages, but the wages at the beginning are very small, because they are fed, and you have to teach them agriculture.

8231. Do you pay any sum of money when you have those apprentices indentured to you?—Yes, I pay a fee for any printed indenture.

8232. How much is that?—Twenty shillings a head.

8233. Does that go to the Governor or to the expenses of the colony?—I am not ready to answer that question.

8234. You said that provisions were very cheap in Free Town; do you know what is the price of flour in Free Town?—I supplied 60 to 80 barrels to the Government before I left Sierra Leone; the tender was for more than 2*l.* a barrel; but we have qualities of various prices; this must be inspected by the Board of Survey. We get flour according to the state of the market; sometimes we may get flour for 1*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*, at another time we pay sixteen dollars, when it is in great demand.

8235. Are you not aware that those prices for flour are much the same as in the West Indies?—I do not like to say anything about the West Indies for I have never been there.

8236. As to yams, they are sold by the cwt.?—I supply the Navy cruisers with provisions; I sell them yams for 10*s.* a cwt., some for 8*s.* a cwt., and some for 7*s.* a cwt.

8237. That is the usual price of yams?—Yes; but for the carriage from the villages I would almost give it them for half the price, because the carriage to Free Town makes it much dearer.

8238. What means of carriage have they; have they carts?—No carts; some of them take it by canoe, and some of them who live near Free Town bring it upon their heads.

8239. Do you recollect what country you came from before you were brought to Sierra Leone?—Yes, I came from near the Bight of Benin.

8240. Do you often see your countrymen?—Yes, I have seen them.

8241. You have no desire to leave Sierra Leone to return to your country, have you?—I left my friends very young; I can scarcely speak the language now.

8242. You consider Sierra Leone your home?—I make it my home.

8243. Sir *E. Buxton.*] How old were you when you were taken?—I was very small. I was scarcely able to give an account of myself.

8244. Mr. *Barkly.*] Do you recollect how you were taken?—I was kidnapped. I think we took about three weeks to travel towards the sea, when I was embarked in one of the vessels from Brazil. I remained about three nights before the man-of-war came alongside.

8245. Sir *E. Buxton.*] Was the village in which you lived attacked by a hostile party, and the people taken and carried away?—No, I and a friend went out to set traps for rice birds and other birds in the field, and then I was kidnapped.

8246. *Chairman.*] Do you think there is room for all the liberated Africans now brought to Sierra Leone to be settled in that country?—There is enough ground for agriculture except that we have this difficulty to labour under, that the produce cannot pay the agriculture; there is no market for the produce.

8247. The produce is a kind of provisions that cannot be sent to this country or to any other country?—We raise more than 500 tons of ginger and other things; but after the trouble of planting the ginger, and weeding it, and everything, and bringing it to market, we sell it for 1*d.* a pound.

8248. It does not repay you for your trouble?—It cannot pay for the trouble.

8249. You cultivate arrow-root in Sierra Leone?—Yes, in any quantity that you want.

8250. Fine white arrow-root?—Yes; I would be glad to supply as much as you would be willing to receive for 3*d.* a pound at Free Town, and to ship it for you, but the person must pay the freight.

8251. What is the freight per cwt. of arrow-root?—I cannot say.—(Mr. *Will.*)—It is 4*l.* 10*s.* for light freight.

8252. (To Mr. *Will.*) Do you agree generally in what has been stated by Mr. Pratt in reply to the questions which he has been recently asked?—Yes.

Jovis, 6° die Julii, 1848.

MEMBERS PRESENT.

Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Hutt.

Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Milnes.
Colonel Thompson.

WILLIAM HUTT, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

James Macqueen, Esq. called in ; and Examined.

*James Macqueen,
Esq.*

6 July 1848.

8253. Sir *R. H. Inglis.*] WILL you be pleased to state to the Committee what have been your opportunities for supplying them with information respecting the state of the interior of Africa, so far as it has been affected by the slave trade?—My acquaintance with that subject, I think, is very complete; the geography of Africa has been my study nearly 40 years of my life; almost every portion of it. For all that period I have made the geography of Africa my particular study; I have followed every traveller and every person that has written concerning it, from the days of Herodotus downward to the present day. I have had very great and extensive correspondence and communication, of late years, with gentlemen who have been in Africa, and who are in Africa, and who had been through parts which were unknown; and in the course of communications with a gentleman at Lisbon, I have obtained documents from the Portugese offices there that had been lying hid for centuries, giving the most minute details of the geographical features of the interior of Southern Africa; so that I think I can say with confidence, that I know the interior of Africa well, and its inhabitants and their manners and customs in every direction; the nature of the country; the vast capabilities of the country, the immense rivers, and the immense chains of mountains; and, in fact, its whole physical features, I think I may say I understand pretty well.

8254. Is it the fact that your inquiries and suggestions determined the course of the Niger before that course was actually explored and made known by the Landers?—Yes; 20 years before that, in the year 1820, I laid a map exhibiting the course of the Niger before the Government, and urged upon them at the time, and with very considerable success, to take possession of the island of Fernando Po, in order to avoid the unhealthy alluvial Delta of the river, and to open up from thence a communication with the interior of Africa.

8255. Believing that the river, of which the Delta is opposite to Fernando Po, was nothing less than the Niger?—Yes; and I proved it to perfect demonstration.

8256. Under those circumstances, do you feel yourself competent to give information to the Committee with reference to the influence which the slave trade may have had upon the security and the commerce of the interior of Africa?—Yes, I think I can.

8257. Do you believe that there existed slavery in the interior before the introduction of European slavery on the coast?—Slavery and the slave trade has existed in every nation of Africa from the earliest period of time; but it has been vastly aggravated and directed to the west coast, and also to different parts of the east coast, by the communication with Europeans, and their adopting that trade to people and supply with labourers the tropical possessions of European powers in America. It has been prodigiously aggravated and increased by that.

8258. If, therefore, it has been stated that “domestic slavery in Africa has been caused by European slavery, and that slavery did not exist among the tribes on the west coast until they were visited by Europeans three centuries ago,” you have reason to believe from your own researches that such statement is not a correct exhibition of the fact?—Certainly not. Both internal slavery and the slave trade with various nations in the eastern world and the north of Africa existed before ever the west coast of Africa was known to Europeans.

8259. Have

James Macqueen,
Esq.

6 July 1848.

8259. Have you any written evidence to which you can call the attention of the Committee as furnished by earlier travellers; for example, by merchants who have traded on the coast, of slavery existing anterior to the visits of Europeans?—The Greek, Roman, and Arabian histories all show it. The Arabian history especially confirms it; the strongest proof of which is, that wherever the Mahometan religion extended itself slavery and the slave trade existed; and that religion extended over the whole or a large portion of the eastern part of Africa, and through nearly the whole of the northern and the western portion thereof.

8260. In point of fact, you consider it to be so established as scarcely to require proof?—I am astonished that any proof of that description should be sought; because, just allow me to state, that wherever the Mahometan religion has extended and prevailed, there slavery and the slave trade prevail. The Mahometan powers extended at one time their influence down to the very mouths of the Niger, in the Bight of Benin.

8261. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Are there many Mahometans still spread over that part of the coast?—Yes; but the Mahometan authority does not exert any political influence beyond the Kong Mountains to the south. All Ashantee, and that part of the country, is free from their control; but west of that you come in contact with the Mandingoes, and there slavery and the slave trade prevail, wherever the Mahometan religion prevails.

8262. Sir *R. Inglis*.] A statement has been made to this Committee in corroboration of an allegation that slavery and the slave trade did not exist among the tribes on the west coast till they were visited by Europeans, namely, that there is no word in the numerous African languages which is expressive of "slave" or "bondsmen," the words used to signify that state of man being "esclabo" or "catibo," (captive); does your knowledge of the African language enable you to contradict that statement?—Yes, most decidedly; nothing surprised me more than when I saw that statement in the evidence given before the Sugar and Coffee Committee, and before this Committee too; and in consequence of that I addressed a letter to yourself and another to Lord George Bentinck to express my astonishment that any witness could give such evidence. The words he alludes to, "esclabo" and "catibo" are not African words; the one is Spanish and the other Portuguese; they have nothing to do with it. In my letter to Sir Robert Inglis, I gave a list of 12 different languages spoken throughout a large portion of the interior of Africa, with the exact African words in each for "slave," both male and female. There are many others in the vocabularies, if I could get time to search them out.

8263. Would you have any objection to my laying on the table of this Committee, with the permission of the Chairman, the letter which you addressed to me containing the information now in question?—None whatever; I can state further that through the whole interior of Southern Africa from latitude 5° north, through the whole of the Galla nations, through the whole of the Bunda or Congo and Angola nations, there slavery and the slave trade exist, and they have words for slaves in all of the languages, and down to the Zoolu coast; and it is now found out, and I have learned with great satisfaction within these very few days, that the language originally spoken by the Egyptians, the Coptic language, is in fact the language spoken throughout nearly the whole interior of Africa down to the Cape of Good Hope. A very remarkable thing has come to my knowledge within these ten days, that by the Sowehili slaves on the West Coast between the Gaboon and Cameroon Mountains, that language is perfectly understood, and that the slaves brought from the very heart of Africa, 700 miles in the interior, also understand it (the Sowehili) quite well.

8264. *Chairman*.] Have you that information on undoubted authority?—I had that information from the most correct source. One source from which I had it is an American missionary of the name of Wilson, who was stationed on the Gaboon River. A very interesting account came into my hands from the United States, written by a man I know very well; and I had information also from Mr. Krapf, a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, a man intimately acquainted with all those languages, or most of them, on the East Coast, and from whom I had a letter about three weeks ago, giving me an important account of that country and of those languages; and he confirms this in a most extraordinary manner by saying that upon analyzing all those languages he finds that the root of the whole is the Amharic and the old Coptic.

8265. Are you acquainted with the nations that dwell in those parts of Africa?—

James Macqueen,
Esq.

6 July 1848.

Africa?—From the attention I have paid to this subject, I think I know them generally very well; their institutions, their manners, their customs, their habits, and their pursuits. But to go into them very particularly, I would require to refresh my memory in a great number of particulars, not being prepared to appear before the Committee to-day.

8266. But from your knowledge of the coast of Africa, is it your opinion that we could obtain a large quantity of free labourers to go to the West Indies?—It is quite impossible, unless you buy them. I will mention just a fact that I learned only yesterday; I read it in the Trinidad papers. A ship called the “Bangalore” was chartered by the Government to go to the Kroo Coast for labourers, and she arrived in Trinidad with only one boy of 13 years of age. They could get none at Sierra Leone. They went on to the Kroo Coast with the agent, Mr. Hamilton, who had been there before, a very intelligent and respectable man. He landed on every part of the Kroo Coast, and went even into the districts adjoining, and he could not get a single one to go with him. There is another thing to be observed, and that is, that the places where they could be got even by purchase are every day narrowing. The Portuguese government will not allow a single one to be taken from the whole of their extensive territories in Africa. They have given the most specific directions to keep the people at home, not merely to abate the evil of the slave trade, but to abolish slavery itself in the whole of their African possessions, which extend in the west coast from near the mouth of the River Congo to the confines of our territories at the Cape of Good Hope, at least to 18° or 19° south latitude, and on the east from Delagoa Bay in 26° south to Cape Delgado in 9° south. Through the whole of this vast extent of territory they will not allow one to go. Then the Imaum of Muscat, whose territory extends from Cape Delgado nominally up to Cape Gardafui, but certainly up to the mouth of the River Juba, near the Equator, has determined to put an end to the export of slaves or of people from Africa to any part of the eastern world. A letter from Mr. Krapf the other day gives me a very interesting account of the effort which that chief is making to suppress the trade, and the consequences of it. Therefore, there is in reality no place that I know on the southern coasts of Africa where they could even be got by purchase, except from Cape Lopez to the mouth of the Congo. The French possession in the Gaboon commands that river completely, and they will not allow any to be taken from it. One great slaving station, the Gallinas, is now about being purchased by the American Republic of Liberia, which has put an end to the slave trade upon the whole west coast of Africa, along the whole of Liberia, embracing the country from a little to the east of Cape Palmas to Half Cape Mount River, about half way between Cape St. Paul’s River and the Gallinas. That is all purchased up by the Republic of Liberia, which recently has declared its independence, and is now an independent country. The last remaining stronghold of slavery near the Rio Cestos on that part of the coast has been purchased by them, including the whole of the Kroo Coast.

8267. Mr. Gladstone.] How much coast will the Republic of Liberia possess?—About 320 geographical miles. The whole of the documents connected with that subject have been lately in my possession, and are exceedingly interesting, giving an account of the whole population on the coast, which has been sadly misrepresented. I have seen a report in which the population of Kroomen has been estimated at 300,000; the whole, men, women and children, do not exceed 30,000, if so many. The whole population of that coast is about 150,000.

8268. What is the population of Liberia?—The population of the Republic of Liberia, President Roberts now estimates at 150,000, but the Kroomen, he states explicitly, do not exceed from 30,000 to 33,000. I have conversed with gentlemen who have been upon the coast, who do not estimate them at above 10,000.

8269. Sir E. Buxton.] There is an American mission established at Cape Palmas?—There is.

8270. Have you seen the documents which they have sent ...?—I have seen a great many of their documents, but not any that go into the extent of the population; but Governor Roberts has stated it to be the numbers I have mentioned.

8271. It has been stated that in other parts of the coast, lower down the coast.

coast, large numbers of emigrants might be obtained and carried to the West Indies?—I think that is stated very wrongly, and without any foundation; I am quite sure it would prove a complete failure. It has been stated that Ambriz is a point at which immigrants might be obtained. That place is close adjoining the northern frontier of the Portuguese dominions, who are claiming, as I see from the papers which I got from Lisbon the other day, that their territory actually extends to the mouth of the Congo, and that of course embraces Ambriz; but the measure which Portugal is taking to put an end, not only to the slave trade, but to slavery in her African possessions, will completely shut up Ambriz, because most of the slaves that come to Ambriz come from the country far in the interior behind Ambriz. Then with regard to the countries near the mouths of the Niger, I apprehend none whatever could be got there, except you purchase them. It is not at all likely that the people who bring them down from the interior, if they can sell them to the slave traders, will give them to the West Indian emigration agents for nothing. I may mention to the Committee a very important fact; I think it is right that they should know that which I learned from positive authority, that one great cause of the increase of the slave trade, especially on the east coast, was the attempt made by the French government at Bourbon to go to Zanzibar and buy people. The French government disowned the transaction, and it was put an end to; also the attempts from the Mauritius and other parts to get negroes from thence, made the Arabs believe that all European nations, but especially France and England, intended to renew the slave trade again after having renounced it, and they began it afresh with greater vigour than ever; that is four years ago since I had that information.

8272. It was stated by Captain Matson, that the slaves for the slave trade were not obtained by war, but were sold in consequence of crimes or debts; chiefly debts; is it your opinion that that is generally true?—I was certainly surprised to see such evidence as that given, especially as relates to Southern Africa, where nearly the whole of the slaves that are obtained, are obtained from the very interior of Africa, from some of the most powerful and warlike nations, in their wars. Undoubtedly slaves are sold for crimes in every part of Africa; but the greater proportion of them in the northern portion of Africa, connected with the Mahomedan population, are captured by what they call the "razia" system, that is, inroads for the purpose of catching people; but in Southern Africa, almost the whole, I may say, of the slaves carried to the East Coast, and to the West Coast, are entirely the produce of wars by the powerful nations in the interior, in which quarter there are some of the most powerful nations of Africa, both north and south of the Line. They are comparatively civilized people, and they have immense wars among themselves; and in those wars they make the slaves they sell to go to the different coasts, according as they find a market for them. Moreover the population of those countries in the interior are not all blacks; they are nearly all copper coloured; and many of them approaching very nearly to white.

8273. Captain Matson says, "I should say that a quarter of the slaves that are exported from Africa are debtors who have sold themselves, or have been sold by their creditors; another quarter, or nearly so, who have been criminals; others, to a trifling extent, are kidnapped; but war on a large scale very seldom takes place for the purpose of capturing slaves;" is it your opinion that that statement is incorrect?—Very incorrect; all accounts of the interior of Africa, of the manners and customs of those people, and their pursuits and engagements contradict that in the most complete manner. There are criminals sold; there are people kidnapped; but the greater portion of the slaves, especially in Southern Africa, arise from extensive wars. In Northern Africa, also, they are obtained in the same way. Very great contests take place between different sovereigns there without the slightest reference to slavery or the slave trade; and I remember that the King of Ashantee scouted with indignation the statement that was made to him by Mr. Dupuis, and Mr. Bowditch when they were there, that Europeans considered that he made war for the purpose of procuring slaves.

8274. Then you think that they are not incited to make war in consequence of the slave trade?—Not so much as is generally believed; there are some petty sovereigns in all cases who have made war for the purpose of procuring slaves, and that alone; but they have causes of quarrel upon other subjects

James Macqueen,
Esq.

6 July 1848.

which afford them a fair excuse for war. Sometimes, in my opinion, their excuses for it are not at all unreasonable. I have examined particularly their reasons and their declarations against one another, and they seemed sometimes to me to be just as substantial as the reasons for which European nations go to war with one another.

8275. Sir R. H. Inglis.] You mean that the ordinary causes of war, arising from the bad passions of men, or a misunderstanding of their common intentions, may produce in Africa as in Europe, wars; and that in addition to such causes, there is among "the petty sovereigns," at all events, a superadded motive for war, namely, a desire of obtaining slaves who may be sold?—Precisely so.

8276. But whatever may be the cause of the war among the greater states in the interior, do you or do you not wish the Committee to understand that the prisoners taken in such wars, are for the most part sold into slavery?—Yes, generally; I may say I believe almost universally. They are sometimes retained for domestic slaves, but those slaves so captured in that manner, and retained for a while as domestic slaves, may afterwards be sold. There is a distinction in Africa with reference to slaves. What they call domestic slaves or grumettas, never can be sold but for crimes; the master, however, being always the judge of the crime; but still it is the custom of the country, that what they call a grumetta or domestic slave, is not sold. On the other hand, a slave taken in war, may be retained for some time as a domestic slave, and be sold afterwards; but in general they are all sold as slaves to the highest bidder, and sold very cheap. In one letter that I had from Mr. Krapf, he gives an account of an old Galla woman that was bought for an old button, in the interior.

8277. The price of the slave would probably vary according to the prospect which there was of disposing of such slave to some European, if intended for export, or to some native who might require such slave for domestic purposes, in the interior?—Exactly so; the price is to a great extent regulated by the distance they have to travel, and the difficulties they may have to encounter upon the journey. The further a slave goes from his native country, his value increases more and more, till that which is probably at the beginning not worth a dollar, may be sold at 20 dollars, or 25 or 30 dollars, according to the distance he has come from his native country, or the impossibility of his returning. He is considered to be more valuable, as it would be impossible for him to make his escape, and return to his native country.

8278. Mr. Barkly.] You have adduced the instance of the "Bangalore" having left the Kroo Coast for Trinidad, with only one emigrant, as a ground for your belief that it would be impossible to obtain emigration from the Kroo Coast to the West Indies?—Not as a ground of my belief, but I gave that as an instance of the thing having been tried, and having completely failed.

8279. Are you aware of the circumstances connected with the attempt made by the "Bangalore" to obtain emigrants?—I am; through the medium of the Trinidad papers, which seemed to give a very correct account of it. They stated that the agent, Mr. Hamilton, a very intelligent and respectable man, finding that he could get no negroes from Sierra Leone, went and called at every village upon the coast, and especially the Kroo Coast, and landed upon various districts, and could not get one.

8280. Are you aware of the circumstance that the "Bangalore" was limited by her charter-party to 18 days upon the coast of Africa?—I am aware that the charters of all vessels are limited to 21 days; but the account that the captain and the agent of the "Bangalore" give, does not say anything about that being the cause of their not getting people, but that in fact they could not get them at all, none would go; on that point of their being limited by the charter-party, I cannot conceive that anything could be done that would be so exceedingly absurd as to make such a contract as that, because if it is impossible to get the people within 21 days, the man who is guaranteed his price whether he gets them or not, would certainly not trouble his head to remain beyond 21 days.

8281. Are you aware that that is one of the regulations imposed by Government with respect to emigration, with which the West Indians had nothing to do?—Who proposed the regulation I do not know; I only speak of the fact, and it appears to me very absurd, but I do not state the case of the "Bangalore"

galore" as my reason for the impossibility of getting people from the Kroo Coast, I merely mentioned that fact as a proof of the correctness of the opinion which I have long formed, and formed upon very different authority and evidence from anything connected with the "Bangalore," that it is impossible to get negroes; because the fact is this, that the whole of that coast now belongs to the Republic of Liberia, and they will not allow you to take them; in the next place the Kroo people themselves are so few, that if it was possible to get them all (which, however, would be quite impossible) it would be but as a drop in the bucket. There are not above 30,000 altogether, and the whole population of that coast extending over 320 geographical miles does not exceed 150,000.

8282. Upon what data do you form those conclusions?—Upon the data of President Roberts, who is the head of the Republic now, and who, in a document lately transmitted to the United States, gives that as the population under his sway.

8283. Are you aware whether any preparations had been made by the Government, or by the authorities at Sierra Leone, upon the Kroo Coast for collecting immigrants, so as to suit the time of the ship's arrival?—I am not aware whether any preparations had been made or not; but I should conceive that either the West Indians, or the government who expected immigration, would have taken care to make preparations before the ship went, and not have left it to doubt or uncertainty. I do not see that that had anything to do with the failure of the "Bangalore," or the other vessels. It is stated, decidedly, that you cannot get people at Sierra Leone, because the wages have risen from 4 *d.* a day to 8 *d.*, and from 6 *d.* to 1 *s.*, and therefore it is not likely that you will get emigrants there.

8284. Supposing it to be the fact that no preparation whatever for collecting emigrants had been made upon the Kroo Coast, and that the vessel was limited to remaining 18 days upon the coast of Africa, would you draw any inference, either one way or the other, from the failure of that vessel?—I would not say that I would draw any inference from the failure in the event of there having been no preparation to obtain them, but the account gives no such reason as that, it simply states that they could get none.

8285. Have you seen a letter from the captain of the "Bangalore" to the agent in this country?—I have not; I have only seen the agent's account as stated in the Trinidad papers. I heard from good authority that the report of the captain of the "Bangalore" was to the effect that they could get none. I was told that by a gentleman in the city, a West Indian of great eminence.

8286. Are you not aware that he stated that his time was up, and that he was obliged to leave without making any further attempt?—I am aware of that, but he could get none during the time he was there.

8287. Are you aware that the "Prince Regent," during the last year, did obtain emigrants upon the Kroo Coast, and did convey them to the West Indies?—I read such things in the papers; but I always account those things as a delusion, and if the West Indians choose to rely upon them to relieve them from their distress, I am sure they will find it a complete delusion. I have studied Africa thoroughly, and I am sure that a greater delusion was never practised upon the public, nor upon the colonies, than depending in any degree upon free emigration from the coast of Africa.

8288. You have never set foot upon that part of the coast of Africa?—I have never set foot upon that part of the coast of Africa, but in mind, with fingers, and in labours, I have traversed more of Africa than any European has ever done. There is not a man that has travelled in Africa of late years, or has been connected with it, that I have not correspondence with at this moment; and therefore I think I know something of Africa, of every part of it, including all its interior parts; and the Committee will pardon me when I say more especially, that I also do know something of the West Indian colonies as connected with that subject.

8289. Supposing the idea of getting any assistance for the West Indies from African emigration to be a delusion, is it not your opinion that the best way is to give the West Indies every facility to ascertain that fact themselves, and not to throw obstacles as has hitherto been done in the way of their making any attempt to get emigration?—What obstacles the Government may throw in the way of the West Indians I am not prepared to say, because not being aware that

James Macqueen,
Esq.

6 July. 1848.

that I was to be examined before this Committee to-day, I have come here without a vast number of memoranda that might have been of great use to me. That is a question as between the West Indians and the Government; they may settle that matter as they please; but on the question of the practicability of their obtaining emigration from Africa, I think I do not require to go either to the Government or to the West Indians for information on that subject.

8290. Sir *E. Buxton*.] When you speak of emigration, you mean free emigration?—Free emigration, of course. It is my opinion decidedly, and I have stated so for years, that I believe it to be a delusion, and that the West Indians were losing the substance in following after the shadow.

8291. Mr. *Barkly*.] What do you conceive to be the “substance” which the West Indians might be considered to have in view?—I consider the substance which they should have in view to be protection against the foreign slave traders and slave produce.

8292. Do not you conceive that that might be termed the shadow and emigration the substance?—Certainly not; because, if so, why are they now running after it so eagerly? The emigration from Africa is a shadow; you will not be permitted to realize it; people will not allow it. Some of the evidence before this Committee says that you will get a great number from Ambriz, for example. I say that is impossible, because the slaves from the interior have to cross the Portuguese territory, and they will not allow it.

8293. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Do you imagine that if the planters in the West India colonies were permitted to go without any restraint to the coast of Africa, there is any danger that they might obtain emigrants by purchase?—They will get plenty by purchase. All they will get will be by purchase. There are various ways in which you may effect it without actual purchase; but still it is purchase, in fact; you must pay for them. I must decidedly state that I have examined these subjects with great care; I have studied all the Acts of Parliament with reference to our connexion with the coast of Africa, and I venture to say that, under those Acts of Parliament, no British subject can procure negroes on the coast of Africa, even if he does not purchase them directly, without violating existing laws. All those laws must be repealed before he can have liberty to do anything of the kind.

8294. Do you suppose that if the West Indians were allowed to go freely to any part of the coast of Africa, in spite of those Acts of Parliament, they would be inclined directly or indirectly to purchase slaves?—I think it is very likely that the men they would send would indirectly do so.

8295. Mr. *Barkly*.] Is it your opinion, from the acquaintance you have with your West Indian fellow subjects, that they would be inclined, under any possible circumstances that might exist with reference to African emigration, to embark in anything resembling the slave trade?—Yes, I have no hesitation in saying that some of them have said so. I appeal to a memorial from the Chamber of Commerce in Jamaica, in which they avow that object, and call upon the Government to allow them to go to the coast of Africa, and ransom the prisoners of war brought to the coast. When I see one class of people doing that, I should be very apprehensive that others might follow their example.

8296. Do you think that when the Chamber of Commerce of Jamaica adopted a proposal which had been already made by a Member of the House of Commons in his place in Parliament, it was their wish in taking up his plan to encourage the re-establishment of the slave trade?—They state so, decidedly.

8297. They stated that they wished to be allowed to adopt a plan which had been proposed by Mr. Hume for ransoming prisoners of war?—It is not Mr. Hume’s plan. They specifically stated in the memorial to Lord Grey that they desired to be allowed to go to the coast of Africa to ransom the slaves brought from the interior. There was not a word about Mr. Hume’s plan.

8298. Do you consider that to be tantamount to asking leave to re-establish the slave trade?—I consider that it is nearly the same thing. My firm conviction is, and so I have told every West Indian with whom I am acquainted for years, at home and abroad, that it is impossible they can get emigrants from the coast of Africa as freemen. If England had established extensive colonies in Africa 30 or 40 years ago, and if those colonies had increased in population, and had become powerful states, inhabited by hundreds of thousands or millions

of people, instead of being inhabited by only a few people, and our authority not extending beyond the reach of the guns of our fortifications, you might then have got free people. And that was a thing that I myself had in view for the Government in the year 1820, when I laid a plan before them for taking possession of the island of Fernando Po, and extending our dominions and authority in an extensive way over Africa; but as at present situated I hold it to be quite impossible; and I never conversed with a man who had been in Africa who did not decidedly state that it was so.

8299. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Is it your opinion that if, as the Chamber of Commerce of Jamaica proposes, they were to ransom the prisoners on the coast of Africa, such a scheme as that would be liable to the objection of increasing the internal slave trade?—Most unquestionably; you can only procure them by an extension of internal slavery.

8300. Colonel *Thompson*.] Can you state any difference that has occurred to your mind between the new plan and what might have been carried on before the slave trade was abolished?—Admitting that they can be got on the coast in that way, they must be brought from the interior, and they can only be brought in the same way that slaves have always been brought, to be sold to foreigners. I have heard of such dreams entered into of people going into the interior and watching the armies of the Felatahs attacking a town and seizing the people, and when they are running away to persuade the runaways to accompany them to the West Indies. But of all wild schemes I conceive that this is the wildest.

8301. That is no new proposition, it is an old thing revived?—It is an old thing as regards the interior of Africa. To obtain them from the coast of Africa as freemen, I contend to be impossible. To the coast they must come as slaves caught or sold, in whatever way you like to designate it; the greater the demand the more extensive will be the supply.

8302. Mr. *Barkly*.] That is your opinion without having yourself seen those countries?—I think it must be the opinion of every person who has ever studied Africa, its population and its position.

8303. Do you think that we possess any very minute information upon the subject of the habits and feelings of the people of Africa?—A good many people do possess some information, but very imperfect; they only considered the subject without any correct map; some persons have traversed provinces without scarcely knowing where they were. Those who only visit the coast of Africa are quite incapable of forming an opinion or judgment upon what is going on in the interior. Those who have been visiting, either in merchant ships or Government ships, the coast of Africa, have not the slightest conception of the state of things in the interior, where the great slave marts are from which the slaves are supplied. For example, the cruiser watches closely the mouths of the Niger; that renders the trade almost unprofitable and exceedingly dangerous. Then what is the consequence? From the great slave marts in the interior, it is just as easy to send them down to the mouths of the Congo, and they do so; and so they change; you ferret them out in one place and they go to another. Unless you are acquainted with the great slave marts in the interior, and can reach them with influence, you cannot check the slave trade.

8304. Colonel *Thompson*.] Is not that “ferreting” of which you speak always prejudicial to the slave trade?—No doubt about it; anything that tends to check the impulse that carries it on in the interior will always tend to check the slave trade.

8305. Do you think that driving the slave trade from the place that it would choose to a place that it would not choose is a detriment to the slave trade?—It renders the expense a little higher; but they carry their slaves at such little expense that they care very little for that, provided they can ultimately dispose of them. I can give the Committee a striking instance of the effect of the recent slave treaties framed by Lord Palmerston in 1839 or 1840; they were so very strict that for a time they nearly annihilated the slave trade, till they found the means of evading them, which it might easily be seen they would do; but the difficulties thrown in the way of the slave trade were so great from the capture of vessels, both with slaves on board, and before they had any on board, that they had to make up for the loss in this way: previously, they gave a hogshhead of tobacco for four slaves; but the slave trader

James Macqueen,
Esq.

6 July 1848.

James Macqueen,
Esq.

6 July 1848.

said, "Such are the difficulties and dangers we have to encounter in this way that we can only give one hogshead of tobacco for 11 slaves."

8306. Mr. *Barkly*.] Would it not be a natural inference, from a remark that you made a short time back, that the best way of obtaining a knowledge of the internal condition of a country is by abstaining altogether from visiting the country?—Certainly not; I should never suppose anything of the kind; if you want to get acquainted with the interior of a country you must go into the interior; but some of the gentlemen who have given evidence before Committees upon this subject, have never been into the interior, and know nothing about it.

8307. Sir *E. Buxton*.] Has not the fact come to your knowledge, from your studies respecting Africa, that many people go down the coast in vessels and then attempt to give an account of what is going on further up the country?—Yes, and they know nothing about it; and there are people that go into the interior of Africa who scarcely know where they go; for I have had occasion to go over so many of those documents, and I have come in contact with so many of those people, that it has come to my knowledge that many of those who go into the interior of Africa scarcely know where they are going. Not ten days ago I had a visit from two gentlemen who had been into the interior of Africa, beyond the tropic of Capricorn, and they did not correctly know where they had reached till I brought a map and showed it before them.

8308. Mr. *Barkly*.] Is it your opinion that in the West Indies more labour is required?—That is a very wide and a very important question. If the question is with reference to the want of labour, there may be some colonies where that labour is wanted, to an extent, to make up the former cultivation of the colonies. If the question is whether there is a want of labour to extend the cultivation of the colonies, that is a totally different thing. In Jamaica there is no doubt a very considerable want of labour; but I think that arises, in a great measure, from the want of proper regulations in keeping those people at work, and allowing them to come and settle, as was done after emancipation, in a very rash and heedless manner, wherever they chose, as their own masters; and in Demerara and in Trinidad it has been the same to some extent. But if proper laws and regulations were established, even yet, in those colonies, I feel assured they have acquired an additional population fully sufficient to keep up their previous crops. For example, the whole number of slaves in Trinidad previously to emancipation was 22,000; about 8,000 of those were employed as labourers upon the sugar estates; Trinidad has obtained foreign effective labourers to the extent of 22,000, or nearly 23,000, independently of a considerable number that went from other colonies that the colony did not pay for, but who paid their own expenses, and which are not taken into account in the returns of labourers which have been given. Then in Demerara they have got nearly 42,000. That number, I have no hesitation in saying, under proper regulations, was fully adequate to keep up their previous crops, and their previous cultivation. If, on the other hand, they want new labourers to open new lands, that is a different thing.

8309. You are aware that with regard to the emigrants introduced both into Trinidad and into British Guiana, a large number of them cannot be looked upon in the light of a permanent addition to the labouring population; many of them having come from neighbouring islands, and having returned already?—There are some that the island did not pay a bounty to get; for others it paid all the expense.

8310. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Does not the number of 22,000 emigrants into Trinidad, include the inter-colonial immigration?—It includes the inter-colonial immigration, which has been paid for by the colony; but that does not include all the number of people that went from the different colonies at their own expense, and that are not included in the returns furnished to the Government here.

8311. Mr. *Barkly*.] Have not you seen returns, with reference to the colony of Demerara, commencing with a statement of this kind: "Number of emigrants introduced by private enterprise, previously to the establishment of any bounty for immigration"?—But a great number of those are not included in the number that the colonies have paid for. When I was in the West Indies in 1841, one great object in establishing West India mail communication, was to afford communication for people going from one colony to another. I had
occasion

occasion to get accurate returns of the number of emigrants that had gone. In Demerara and Trinidad, I got returns, I believe, of 3,000 or 4,000 for one year; whereas in the Government returns, there were about 1,000 or 1,500; but I accounted for that in this way, that they gave the returns of those who were paid for, but not those that came of their own accord.

8312. But there has in fact been a considerable circulation of labour backwards and forwards between those colonies and the more fully peopled colonies?—It was very considerable, there is not so much now. The island of Grenada was nearly ruined by it.

8313. But your opinion is, that emigration would not be essential to the interests of the West Indian colonies provided proper labour laws existed in the colonies?—Decidedly not. What the colonies now want principally is proper laws and regulations to keep those people at work. Those I think might be framed in a very efficient manner without trenching upon the principle of freedom.

8314. Sir *E. Buxton*.] What law would you make?—It would take me some time to explain that, not having expected to be examined to-day.

8315. Is it not the case that a large number of those people are freeholders?—A great number of them; that has been one great misfortune, both to the colonies and to themselves.

8316. As they are freeholders, can you pass any law to force them to go to work?—Certainly not; it must be done by persuasion.

8317. Not by law?—Not by coercion.

8318. Mr. *Barkly*.] Might it not be possible to pass a law by which the system of labourers establishing themselves upon a certain piece of land, not working at the cultivation of exportable produce, might be checked by means of a tax upon the possession of land?—I think so, checked to the advantage of the labourers themselves, because I conceive that while that system is going on it will be pregnant with the most serious results ultimately to the people themselves, because I do not know anything that they can raise that they can have a profitable market for, I mean any exportable produce; it will be better for them to be working for wages than to be working in that way for themselves.

8319. Colonel *Thompson*.] Can you make anything like a general statement of the wages of a good labourer in the West Indies?—If I had been aware that I was to be examined before this Committee to-day, I could have furnished you with a most complete statement through every colony of the West Indies, both previously to emancipation, and subsequently to it, of the actual wages paid.

8320. Can you state what is about the average amount?—It varies so much in one colony from another, that it is almost impossible to do so from memory.

8321. Take a large colony; take Jamaica, for instance?—To form an average of the wages in Jamaica, you must take the young and old. That is the difficulty with people who are not acquainted with the nature of the negro population in defining what the exact amount of the wages is; for example, you may pay 1 s. 6 d. a day to an efficient field labourer, but to a young person you may not pay above 6 d. or 8 d.

8322. A good average labourer?—I have gone over the whole matter; and made out a scale of the different districts, and I think the money wages in Jamaica average about 1 s. a day.

8323. Can you state for how much you could keep a man in a state of working order in Jamaica; if I sent you a man, and told you to keep him, for how much a day could you keep him in working order?—I could not tell you just now from memory.

8324. Would it cost more or less than 1 s. to keep him in comfort?—Much less than 1 s. a day to feed him and clothe him as well as he was clothed during slavery, even better. I should say about 5 d. to 6 d.; but when I state the wages at 1 s. a day I do not include the houses and grounds in that.

8325. Mr. *Gladstone*.] Would you say that he was very well clothed during slavery?—As far as I know, I managed an estate in Grenada belonging to the late Sir William Pulteney for many years, which produced 500 hogsheads of sugar every year, on which there were 440 negroes; they were both well clothed and well fed.

8326. Was not the clothing very different during slavery from what it now is?—No: the negroes wore nearly the same things.

James Macqueen,
Esq.

6 July 1848.

James Macqueen,
Esq.

6 July 1848.

8327. Do not they wear more clothing, and of better materials now?—I believe they do in some instances, but not much to their profit or advantage. They generally wore common Osnaburghs, which is the best dress they can possibly have; it is so light and cool.

8328. Do they wear the same quantity?—I do not think they wear much more; they were very well supplied with clothing. There were many estates that did not supply them so well as others; but, taking them generally, they were very well supplied. But on these subjects I very much regret that I have not been previously aware of these questions, because there is not one single point on which I could not have gone into a perfectly accurate calculation that I have made with respect to every colony in the West Indies, not only as it at present stands, but as it stood during slavery. There are very grievous errors promulgated as to the cost of the negro during slavery. I think that, including the interest upon the capital expended in purchasing the slave, it was fully equal for an efficient labourer to nearly 9 *d.* a day.

8329. You made it just now about 6 *d.* for food and clothing at present?—Their food and clothing may cost that now.

8330. Then how do you raise it to 9 *d.* during slavery?—If I had been aware of it I could have brought every item. The food and clothing of a slave previously to emancipation, I know from my own practical knowledge, was, including a small expense for their houses and grounds, about 6 *l.* 4 *s.* per annum, exclusive of the interest upon the capital in the purchase of the slave; then that was for every one, young and old, men and women; and if you take into account the number that actually worked, and the number that did not work, that were exempt, the aged and the children, you will find that it raised the value of the effective working labourers to 9 *d.* or 9½ *d.* a day, and that that was the actual equivalent for wages during slavery.

8331. Sir R. Inglis.] With reference to certain expressions on your part with respect to the amount of your information at the moment producible, is it or is it not the fact, that you came here to-day as a stranger to listen to the examination of other witnesses, and not to tender any evidence on your own part?—Certainly not; I had not the slightest idea of being called as a witness to-day.

The following LETTERS were communicated by the Earl of *Auckland*, G. C. B.

Royal Naval College, Portsmouth,
12 July 1848.

My Lord,

I REGRET much not having been able to appear before the Select Committee at the House of Commons, but as your Lordship desires to know my opinions on various points connected with the slave trade, I will endeavour to give them as concisely as possible.

I am most fully of opinion that the system which we are now pursuing on the coast of Africa, without in the least diminishing the traffic in slaves, adds very considerably to its horrors.

I do not think that any blockade, however strict, even if carried on with double the number of vessels composing the present squadron, could, under the existing system, stop the traffic. Possibly, were we able to make it felony universally, and to imprison or transport the persons found on board slave vessels, we might succeed to a great extent; though even then I doubt if we should stop it entirely.

With regard to withdrawing the squadron if the trade were legalized, I do not think we could do so altogether, for we should then have to take care that slaves were not taken by force from those parts of the coast where they were not willing to trade in them; and we should also have to protect those powers who had friendly relations with ourselves. Moreover, we should have to take care that British merchants and capital were not openly engaged in the slave trade, which otherwise, I believe, would soon be the case.

I think if the trade were thrown open, that for the first year the whole of our present force would be required to prevent all kinds of excesses, but that after this time a much smaller force would be sufficient, which might be gradually more and more reduced in proportion as the new system appeared to work well, and as the necessity for retaining them appeared to cease.

I believe that one result of no longer prohibiting the slave trade would be, that less slaves would leave the coast of Africa than at present, as of the great numbers who are now yearly shipped on board slavers a vast number die, and many are captured by our cruisers.

The demand for slaves would not, I imagine, increase, but simply become constant, and thus a regular trade be established.

The profits would then be so very small on the slaves that it would become necessary to treat them with the greatest care to prevent deaths on the passage, as otherwise the speculation would become a losing one. As a set-off to this, however, it might be urged that the slaves being so much less valuable than formerly, less care would be taken of them in the Brazils, and they would be worse treated by their owners, from the fact that their places could be so much more cheaply supplied; which is a point, on the score of humanity, worthy of consideration.

I have not thought it necessary to trouble your Lordship by entering very fully into details, but should your Lordship desire me to write on any points that I have omitted, I shall be most happy to do so.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Henry Chads.*

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Auckland*, G. C. B.
&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

44, Upper Brook-street, London, 22 July 1848.

IN compliance with your desire to know my opinions on the subject of the "African Slave Trade," I have the honour to submit the following to your Lordship:—

During the time I have been on the west coast of Africa I was principally on the southern part of the station, and in the Bight of Benin, the trade was actively carried on to the southward, from the River Nazarette to windward of Cape Lopez, as far down as the Portuguese settlement of St. Paul de Loando, a distance of upwards of 500 miles; very large barracoons have within the last two or three years been erected between Cape Lopez and Mayuinba Bay, at Funan Vas, and the River Cammee, and intermediate smaller places; and from all I have seen and heard, the trade has increased greatly.

I feel convinced that the measures now in force on the coast of Africa add considerably to the misery endured by the slaves in their transit to the Brazils, from the generally wretched as well as crowded state of the vessels.

Two instances have especially come under my notice, in vessels captured by me in Her Majesty's ship "Kingfisher":—One a schooner of 50 tons, carrying 306 slaves, principally boys and girls; the other, a cutter-rigged vessel, measuring only 38 tons, with 214 slaves, likewise chiefly boys and girls. There was no slave deck laid, mats over the casks, with firewood between, scarcely 16 inches in height, where it was utterly impossible for them to move without being lifted. This vessel was built in a small river near Ambrizette, and merely fastened together with wood and a little old iron, drawing little more than three feet water, and perfectly flat bottomed. She had 58 days' water on board, although the average passage is only 25 days. She was immediately destroyed, and the slaves removed into the "Kingfisher." I have little hesitation in saying she could hardly have reached her destination.

I have also to observe that the profits are so enormous that one vessel out of six will probably pay all expenses.

I consider that in the Bight of Benin, from the trade being carried on by a regular company (with the exception of Lagos), that it is much better organized than on the southern part of the coast. In many instances their instructions are in cypher, and as they frequently make the land to windward of Cape St. Paul's, information can be sent of the exact time they will be off their post of destination; several vessels, to my knowledge, have got off clear without remaining more than two or three hours, and it has occurred without anchoring even. I have little doubt of the slaves being marched to any given point for embarkation.

Having frequently conversed with the masters of slavers, I have invariably found them of opinion, "That the withdrawal of the English squadron would injure the traffic more than any other measure, although for a time (possibly for three or four years) it might be materially increased; but the danger of capture being removed, a better class of vessel would be employed, and the deaths on the passage would be very much diminished; at the expiration of that period there would be so many slaves carried over that the demand would not be so great, and consequently the profits very much reduced, and materially decrease the great numbers now embarked.

It might be urged that legalizing the traffic would induce the Brazilians to overwork their slaves, from a certain knowledge of being able to replace them at a given price; but of that view I do not feel myself competent to give any opinion.

In the Bight of Benin, the principal trade connected with the slave trade is carried on under the Sardinian flag; vessels regularly going to and fro from Bahia and other ports; their papers (some of them) bear date of seven or eight years, vized by the Sardinian consul every voyage, and never entering the Mediterranean. On the south coast, the American flag is principally used. I am fully of opinion that the slave dealers consider we cannot succeed in putting a stop to the traffic.

I consider Captain the Honourable Jos. Denman's system of strict blockade to be perfect, but in my opinion would require a great increase to the squadron.

I do not think the brigs are well suited for the Bight of Benin; a smaller class of vessel, from 100 tons and upwards, would be better; there are at least

nine places in the Bight of Benin that require constantly a vessel off, to ensure anything like a strict blockade.

Destroying the barracoons would have a great effect on the south coast ; but I fear that the enormous extent of the coast, from the River Nazarette nearly down to St. Paul de Loando, is of too great an extent to maintain a strict blockade, the beach nearly the whole distance being practicable for embarkation, and, to my knowledge, 16 different places where slaves are embarked, besides many intermediate ones. To the southward of St. Paul de Loando the slave trade has increased the last year, after nearly two years' stagnation. Whilst I was stationed off Benguela, the Portuguese senior officer was very active in its suppression. I have been given to understand that the Portuguese authorities, on any vessel being captured and condemned, invariably sentence the crews to work for four or five years in chains on the roads. This mode of punishment has a most salutary effect on them, and if it could be adopted, would tend very much to discountenance the traffic. At present it frequently occurs that the crews of vessels are captured three times in the course of even one year.

I am decidedly of opinion that the squadron keeping close in shore would not be so healthy as at present, more particularly in the Bight of Benin, the air 40 or 50 miles off the land being much purer.

I have, &c.

(signed)

Fred. William Horton,

Commander, R. N.

The Earl of Auckland, G. C. B.

&c. &c. &c.

LIST OF APPENDIX.

- No. 1.—Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. C. A. Gollmer, dated Badagry, for the Quarter ending 25 December 1847, received at the Church Missionary House, 12 June 1848, p. 201
- Extract from the Journal of the Rev. H. Townsend, dated Abeokouta, for the Quarter ending 25 December 1847, received at the Church Missionary House, 12 June 1848, p. 201
- No. 2.—Copy a Letter from James Macqueen, Esq., to Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart., M.P. - p. 202
- No. 3.—Copies of Despatches from Her Majesty's Consuls at Brazil :
- Copy of a Despatch from Acting-consul Westwood to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with two Enclosures - - - - - p. 203
- Copy of a Despatch from Acting-consul Westwood to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with one Enclosure - - - - - p. 205
- Copy of a Despatch from Acting-consul Westwood to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with two Enclosures - - - - - p. 207
- Copy of a Despatch from Consul Cowper to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with one Enclosure - - - - - p. 208
- Copy of a Despatch from Consul Cowper to Lord Viscount Palmerston - - - - - p. 208
- Copy of a Despatch from Consul Cowper to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with two Enclosures - - - - - p. 209
- Copy of a Despatch from Consul Porter to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with two Enclosures - - - - - p. 210
- Copy of a Despatch from Consul Porter to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with one Enclosure - - - - - p. 213
- Copy of a Despatch from Consul Porter to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with two Enclosures - - - - - p. 213
- Copy of a Despatch from Consul Ryan to Lord Viscount Palmerston - - - - - p. 216
- Copy of a Despatch from Consul Ryan to Lord Viscount Palmerston - - - - - p. 216
- Copy of a Despatch from Pro-consul Krausé to Lord Viscount Palmerston - - - - - p. 216
- No. 4.—1. Memoranda of the Number of Slaves computed to have been Exported and Imported Westward from Africa, from 1788 to 1840 - - - - - p. 217
2. Memoranda of the Number of Slaves computed to have been annually Exported and Imported Westward from Africa from 1840 to 1848 - - - - - p. 217
- No. 5.—Paper handed in by Mr. Bourne, and referred to in his Evidence of 4 July 1848 :
COUNTY OF BERBICE. (From the Receiver-General's Books.)—A Table showing that in proportion as the Cultivation of Sugar has been increased, that of Cotton, Coffee, and Cocoa have declined ; until now Cotton and Cocoa are abandoned altogether, and nearly all the Cotton Estates for Sale at a Nominal Price - - - - - p. 218
- No. 6.—Copy of a Letter from Lord Eddisbury to W. Hutt, Esq., M.P. - - - - - p. 219
- No. 7.—Extract of a Letter from Colonel Farrant to Lord Viscount Palmerston ; with three Enclosures - - - - - p. 221
- Extract of a Letter from Mr. Kennedy, Her Majesty's Commissary Judge, to Lord Viscount Palmerston - - - - - p. 223
- No. 8.—List of Treaties for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, concluded by Great Britain with Native Chiefs of Africa, as far as is known at the Foreign Office - - - - - p. 224
- No. 9.—Letter from Captain Mansel, R. N., to W. Hutt, Esq., Chairman of the Select Committee on Slave Trade - - - - - p. 225
- No. 10.—Return of Slave Vessels condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at St. Helena, between the 1st of January and the 8th of June 1848 (the date of the last Reports) so far as the same have been reported to the Foreign Office - - - - - p. 226
- No. 11.—Paper delivered in by Mr. Cliffe - - - - - p. 230

A P P E N D I X.

Appendix, No. 1.

EXTRACTS from the JOURNAL of the Rev. *Charles Andrew Gollmer*, dated *Badagry*, for the Quarter ending 25 December 1847, received at the Church Missionary House, 12 June 1848. Appendix, No. 1.

October 21, 1847.—To-day I succeeded in concluding the bargain respecting an old woman from Abbeokouta, and a mother of a young man at Sierra Leone, who requested me to redeem his mother on his behalf. The owner of T—— charged first, as is customary when friends wish to redeem domestic slaves, two slaves and ten heads of cowries; *i. e.* 50*s.* currency, and 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* sterling. However, I instructed the people whom I employed to agree about the amount (for if I had gone myself about it, surely they would have made me pay a high per cent.) to drop the matter for a few days, which made the owner think we had given up. After about a fortnight's talking, for nothing can be done in this country in one day and without plenty of talk, the old woman was redeemed for 13½ heads of cowries, *i. e.* 3*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* currency, and 2*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* sterling. She is now in our premises.

Slaves are at present very dear. Two Sierra Leone men lately redeemed a young man from Abbeokouta, who has been owned by the Lagos people, and it was only on account of much begging that the party accepted 55 heads of cowries, *i. e.* 11*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* sterling; they insisted for a long time on 70 heads of cowries. Domingo, the slave-dealer at Porto Novo or Ajashe, pays as much as 70 \$ and upwards in goods for a slave. Slaves seem to be comparatively scarce, and the demand for them in the Brazils, their sugar finding a good market in England, daily increasing, accounts for the high price. It would, however, seem from the fact, that upwards of 2,000 slaves have been emancipated at Sierra Leone during the months of June and July last, and from what we hear of the doings of the ships of war at the slave coast, (Her Majesty's ship the "Grappler," I am happy to state, has taken a slaver with upwards of 600 slaves on board, below Lagos, a few days since), that nevertheless a good many are dragged away from the African shores. Oh that the time may not be far distant when an effectual stop will be put to this inhuman and sinful traffic! It is true, England spends a vast amount of money towards the suppression of the slave trade, with apparently little effect. Could the philanthropic and Christian end of restoring Africa to her true position in human society, and of removing what now distracts her, *viz.*, the slave trade, aimed at by the benevolence of England, not be better attained, suppose that large sum of money were divided into three portions; one to be applied to sending Christian teachers to Africa, who would tell the people that the slave trade is a sin against God and man; another to make treaties to that effect (*viz.* to abolish slavery) with the chiefs, encourage agriculture and lawful trade; and a third towards erecting fortified places along the coast, to keep up English authority, and keeping such a squadron as will be necessary to protect trade and keep off slave-dealers from making new establishments? Such is the opinion of many an European resident in Africa, and in their humble opinion such a system would lead in a more direct way to the desired end.

December 15.—I have had a few people employed about the piece of ground in front of our premises for the last few weeks, and it is now in a fair state of cultivation. I have got besides cabbages and the small onion, French beans, from Mr. Townsend, which thrive well, and a lot of native vegetables. A good piece is occupied by arrow-root, and all the lower part sown on with rice, as last year. I am sorry that I am unable to report favourably as regards the progress of agriculture at Badagry. With a few exceptions, no new farms have been made during the past year, but I am happy to say that the former ones have been kept up in good order. In consequence of this, I have, but in a few cases, given a trifle as a reward, of the kind gift of Lady Buxton to Mr. Crowther for that purpose, and which Mr. Crowther kindly shared with me. The oil trade seems to increase much, by which many people find a livelihood; there are, however, still many others who might cultivate the land if they were not too lazy.

EXTRACT from the JOURNAL of the Rev. *Henry Townsend*, dated *Abbeokouta*, for the Quarter ending 25 December 1847, received at the Church Missionary House, 12 June 1848.

December 8, 1847.—The schoolmasters, long expected from Sierra Leone, have at length arrived, and we are thankful to receive this help in our work. The want of regular means of intercourse with Sierra Leone is much to be lamented, for much good would result from

Appendix, No. 1. from a mutual intercourse between this country and Sierra Leone, and which I think might be established. The slave trade would materially suffer by it; lawful trade and its concomitants which they (the natives) would witness, and the means which a regular trade with Sierra Leone or elsewhere would afford them of a lawful trade, would do much towards its suppression. The trade of this country is carried on under various disadvantages, and much personal danger; hundreds are kidnapped or killed in the roads leading to their various trading marts; but in the face of these dangers their trade is carried on, checked occasionally for a time; but the disposition of the people to trade does not allow them to sit down idle. I have no doubt but that these people would carry on their traffic with Sierra Leone, and afterwards with other countries beyond the sea, if a few are induced to make the attempt, and it succeeds. It must be remembered that all the intercourse that has hitherto taken place has been carried on by natives of this country; the vessel that brought our friends is the property of an Eba, and acquired by his own industry and enterprise. These things may show the friends of Africa in England what means are likely to be most successful to suppress the slave trade. The idea that prevails in England, "that this country is so degraded by the slave trade that no other trade is acceptable to the people," is a mistaken idea; thousands of people never buy or sell slaves; indeed are not able, but trade in the produce of the country, or in European cloths, gums, powder, &c. It should be known that slaves are sold for money here, not goods; for money they sell, and with money they buy. The introduction of lawful commerce would silently and effectually work the downfall of the slave trade, and confer a lasting blessing on the country.

Appendix, No. 2.

Appendix, No. 2. COPY of a LETTER from *James Macqueen*, Esq. to Sir *R. H. Inglis*, Bart., M. P.

My dear Sir,

38, Kensington-square, 29 April 1848.

I TRUST that you will excuse me for troubling you with the accompanying African memorandum and observations.

Commander Matson has, I find, stated before the Sugar and Coffee Committee of the House of Commons as follows: At page 209, Question 7281, "Among the whole of the African languages there is no name for slave;" and at page 197, Question 7099, "South of the Line no such thing as war is heard of," from which, as he infers, slaves are or can be procured.

Such evidence has equally surprised and astonished me, and if adopted to guide legislation, must tend to produce deplorable errors and consequences.

The accompanying paper will furnish you in disproof of the statement with the word for slave in twelve different African languages, spoken by at least 80,000,000 of people in Africa, north of the Line, and there are others, if I had time to search out the various vocabularies.

There is not a nation in Africa that has not multitudes of slaves amongst them, and consequently they have, and must have, words to designate that description of society.

In reference to Africa, south of the Line, it is notorious that it is everywhere inhabited by the most powerful and warlike nations in Africa; that extensive and most destructive wars are frequent amongst them, in which vast numbers of prisoners are taken, and sent to both the east and west coasts for sale to the European and American slave traders, while every one knows, and Commander Matson could scarcely fail to know, that it is from the coasts of Africa, south of the Line, that for many years the greatest number of slaves has been sold and exported.

Every one at all acquainted with Africa and the Portuguese settlements in Africa, must be acquainted with the famous Hinga, queen of Matemba, &c., and the bloody wars that she, assisted by her fierce allies the Jagas, (the word, however, means not a people but a military title and leader of armies,) carried on against the Portuguese and other people. In modern times we hear of the great and warlike nations of Cassange, Cuzembe, the Molonas, and the Gallas, &c. &c., amongst every one of which slaves are numerous, and the wars between which afford the chief sources of supply both for internal use and exportation.

Should our blockading squadron be withdrawn from the coasts of Africa, especially from the west coast of Africa, it will add most frightfully to the extent of the slave trade. The risk of capture being thereby almost removed, it would treble the price on the coast, and consequently be so much the greater inducement to the chiefs to continue it, while it would at the same time prodigiously extend the cultivation of foreign slave countries, and by increasing the quantity lower the price of sugar, and at the same time treble the cost of procuring (could such be procured) immigrants for the West Indies, for, buy under one name or another, they must do all such on the coast of Africa. It is in fact, I know, one secret object of the movers in all these matters to get the coasts of Africa thrown open to the utmost for this West Indian purpose, and which, were it done, would only tend to aggravate their distresses.

The application of African labour in Africa can only improve her condition and extirpate the foreign slave trade. If abstracted from Africa to place it in distant and different quarters of the world, it must infallibly prevent the improvement and civilization of that unfortunate continent, while the result would further be, that it would extend the influence and resources of foreign nations, to the injury, nay the destruction, of those of the United Kingdom.

Appendix, No. 2.

I have, &c.

(signed) *James Macqueen.*

African Languages.		Word for Slave.
I. Mandingo	Slave	Jong (Park).
"	Ditto, male	Yong Kai,
"	Ditto, female	Yong Mouso, } (De Caille).
II. Jaloff	Slave	Dium.
III. Poulu or Foulah	Ditto	Mutiondo.
IV. Timbuctoo	Ditto, male	Bannea.
"	Ditto, female	Kongo.
V. Bagherne	Ditto, male	Baly.
"	Ditto, female	B'llow.
"	Slaves	Bakee.
VI. Mandora	Slave, male	Affee.
"	Ditto, female	Quotama.
"	Handsome ditto, ditto	Quotama Mugray.
VII. Wadey	Slave, male	Borik (singular).
"	Ditto, ditto	Borioto (plural).
"	Ditto, female	Madjeck (singular).
"	Ditto, ditto	Mayto (plural).
VIII. Bornou	Ditto, male	Kalya.
"	Ditto, female	Keyr or keir.
"	Pretty young slave	Keir gana angala.
IX. Dar Runga	Slave	Guiah
"	Ditto, male	Guiah meve.
"	Ditto, female	Guiah mini.
X. Haussa	Slave	Bawa.
"	Slave dealer	Maisaida bai.
XI. Yarribah or Yoruba	Slave	Enouh.
XII. Kaffir	Ditto	Ikokoboko.

The above 12 languages are spoken amongst 80,000,000 of people, and amongst whom slavery and a slave trade is universal; and both are, if possible, still more extensive in the whole of Southern Africa, and especially in the more central portions thereof, the Gallas, Mocloos, Congoese, Cazambrans, Cassanges, &c. &c.

Appendix, No. 3.

COPIES of DESPATCHES from Her Majesty's Consuls in *Brazil*.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Acting Consul *Westwood* to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount *Palmerston*, G. C. B.

Appendix, No. 3.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 1.

My Lord,

British Consulate, Rio de Janeiro, 2 January 1848.

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith a list of the vessels that have arrived at this port, from the Coast of Africa, during the quarter ending 31st ultimo; and also a return of the vessels which have sailed for the African Coast during the same period.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood,*
Acting Consul.

No. 1.
No. 2.

Enclosure 1, in No. 1.

ARRIVALS at *Rio de Janeiro* from the Coast of *Africa* during Quarter ending 31st December 1847.

DATE.	Description.	Name.	Master.	Nation.	Tonnage.	Crew.	Where From.	Passage.	Reported Nature of Cargo.
1847: 6 Oct.	Brig - -	J. W. Huntington	E. Kemp - -	American -	196	12	Zaire - - -	25	Ballast.
15 "	Ditto - -	Don Juan - -	— Morris - -	ditto -	369	12	Ambriz - - -	24	ditto.
21 "	Ditto - -	General Rigo -	M. J. da S. Reis -	Portuguese	300	15	Benguella - - -	26	ditto.
27 "	Ditto - -	Brazil - - -	M. Bevans - -	American -	245	11	Ambriz - - -	17	ditto.
14 Nov.	Ditto - -	Alcyon - - -	J. J. Sims - -	Hamburgh	200	12	ditto - - -	26	ditto.
2 Dec.	Ditto - -	Casket - - -	H. Woodberry -	American -	183	8	Loango - - -	28	ditto.
5 "	Ditto - -	Alfonsine - -	A. Lagoustin -	French -	121	10	Benguella - - -	28	ditto.
25 "	Bark - -	Fanny - - -	— Martin - -	ditto -	245	13	Loando - - -	25	ditto.

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood,*
Acting Consul.

Enclosure 2, in No. 1.

DEPARTURES from *Rio de Janeiro* for the Coast of *Africa* during Quarter ending 31st December 1847.

DATE.	Description.	Name.	Master.	Nation.	Tonnage.	Crew.	Where Bound.	Reported Nature of Cargo.
1847: 1 Oct.	Brig - -	Malaga - - -	Charles Penfield -	American -	210	9	Africa - - -	Sundries.
22 "	Bark - -	Camilla - - -	Charles Ranch - -	ditto -	336	10	ditto - - -	ditto.
30 "	Schooner	Alicia - - -	S. Smith - - -	ditto -	160	6	Ambriz - - -	ditto.
1 "	Smack - -	Amor da Patria -	J. A. Carvalho -	Brazilian -	137	11	Azores & Africa	ditto.
7 Nov.	Bark - -	Antoinette - -	M. Gossien - -	French -	371	12	Africa - - -	ditto.
7 "	ditto - -	Sylphide - - -	— Perindoaque -	ditto -	285	14	ditto - - -	ditto.
11 "	ditto - -	Ceres - - -	C. Higgins - -	American -	249	10	ditto - - -	ditto.
16 "	ditto - -	Cidade de Angra	J. A. Alvareuga -	Brazilian -	340	16	Azores & Africa	ditto.
18 "	Brig - -	Umbelina - - -	J. J. dos Santos -	ditto -	204	13	- ditto - - -	Ballast.
25 "	Steamer	Providencia - -	F. C. M. Herpin -	ditto -	180	29	- ditto - - -	ditto.
25 "	Brig - -	Indiano - - -	O. V. Marques -	Portuguese	200	15	Benguella - - -	Goods.
27 "	Brigantine	St. Joze - - -	F. da C. Sampaio	Brazilian -	126	15	Azores & Africa	Ballast.
27 "	Brig - -	27 de April - -	I. de Faria - -	Portuguese	313	17	Benguella via Angola	Sundries.
30 "	ditto - -	J. W. Huntington	E. Kemp - - -	American -	247	11	Africa - - -	ditto.
2 Dec.	ditto - -	Trajano - - -	B. A. Bareiroo -	Brazilian -	236	25	Azores & Africa	ditto.
11 "	Bark - -	Felicidade - -	J. H. Kagel - -	ditto -	402	—	- ditto - - -	ditto.*
13 "	Brig - -	General Rigo -	J. da S. Reis -	Portuguese	300	15	Benguella & Angola	ditto.
14 "	ditto - -	Bon Successo -	J. J. Assumpção -	ditto -	220	16	- ditto - - -	ditto.

* Wrecked outside Rio Harbour on same day she sailed.

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood,*
Acting Consul.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Acting Consul *Westwood* to the Right Hon. Lord
Viscount *Palmerston*, G. C. B.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 2.

My Lord,
IN submitting the annual report on the state of the slave trade and slavery within the district of this consulate, during the past year, I much regret that I cannot inform your Lordship of any diminution in this odious traffic.

British Consulate, Rio de Janeiro, 17 February 1848.

ANALYSIS of the TRAFFIC in 1847.

From the Custom House returns it appears that the departures from this port to Africa and arrivals from that coast during the year were as follows:—

Departures :	
Under Brazilian flag	11
„ Portuguese flag	6
„ American flag	15
„ French flag	5
„ Hamburgh flag	3
	40
Arrivals :	
Under Brazilian flag	4
„ Portuguese flag	4
„ American flag	11
„ French flag	4
„ Swedish flag	1
„ Hamburgh flag	3
	27
Total	67

These returns, however, furnish no criterion of the extent of the slave trade between this district and Africa, as a great number of vessels that sail for that coast leave this harbour under clearances for different Brazilian ports, and others depart from the various small out ports in this neighbourhood; while many of the vessels that land slaves along the coast report themselves, on arrival here, as coasters; and such is the protection and assistance granted by all the Brazilian authorities to slave trading transactions that it is impossible, in a place so much frequented by shipping from all parts of the world, to be aware of all the proceedings connected with this nefarious traffic.

Since the British vessels of war have ceased cruising on this coast, all the energies of the slave dealers have been directed to frustrate the plans of Her Majesty's cruisers on the African coast; in which, to judge from the number of vessels that have landed full cargoes of slaves in this neighbourhood, they have been very successful.

This success may be mainly attributed to the great assistance and protection that slave dealers have derived from the use of the American flag, which has so aided them in organizing their plans on the coast of Africa as to facilitate, in a great measure, the embarkation of slaves, and the departure of the vessels. And it is much to be feared that so long as the flag of the United States continues so entirely subservient to all slave trading purposes as it is at present, the suppression of this nefarious traffic, by British cruising, will be greatly retarded. The fact that the flag of the United States affords, in every way, the greatest protection to the slave trade has lately been but too clearly proved by the numerous cases that have occurred of American vessels being sold to well known slave dealers without changing colours; and there are now in this harbour two brigs, the "Brazil," and "Don Juan," wearing American colours, while they are well known to belong to notorious slave traders.

Besides these two vessels the bark "Camilla," bark "Ceres," and brigs "Malaga," "Whig," and "Joseph," have lately been sold, and furnished by Mr. Parks, the American Consul, with sea letters for African voyages.

From the reports already furnished your Lordship must be aware of the impossibility of arriving at any correct estimate of the number of slaves landed, and although I am con-

Appendix, No. 3.

vinced that the importation of Africans within this district during 1847 was much above the average of past years, I have only been able to make the following account:—

At Macahé, Campos, and Cape Frio - - - - -	-	-	-	21,000
At Rio Harbour, and Islands, and Bays, up to Cape Frio - - - - -	-	-	-	19,000
At Iha Grande and different localities to the southward of Rio - - - - -	-	-	-	6,000
				46,000
Total - - - - -	-	-	-	46,000

The landing of slaves along this coast is now carried on in the most undisguised manner.

The slavers generally make the land to the northward of this harbour, landing their living cargoes at all the bays, islands, and small harbours between this and Campos; but the favourite points are Macahé and Cape Frio; and I have heard that one reason for preferring Macahé is that all the authorities have a regular charge of so much per vessel, and that this charge or bribe is more moderate than at most of the other points of disembarkation, and from being fixed renders delay or bargaining unnecessary.

From all these landing-places or depôts slaves are conveyed coastwise, and even brought into this port, by the coasting steamers; and this employment is found to be so lucrative that two or three of these coasters are nearly exclusively engaged in this manner; and although this practice is notorious, the Brazilian authorities take no steps to prevent it.

The present value of newly-imported negroes is much under the average rate, the cash price for a healthy slave being from *Rs.* 450 \$ 000 to *Rs.* 500 \$ 000, or 50*l.* to 56*l.* This decline in the price may be attributed to the immense number that have lately been landed, and to the scarcity which has prevailed in the money market.

As the planters are seldom able to pay ready money, slave dealers supply them with slaves to work their estates at a much higher rate, at one, two, three, and even four years' credit, taking as security for ultimate payment mortgages on the estates, and in this manner the slave traders hold the agricultural proprietary body at their mercy, and under their control.

As no census has been published since the last reports were made, it is not in my power to give any further information respecting the population of this province.

By the enclosed statement of the quantity and value of the staple productions of slave labour exported during the past year, your Lordship will perceive that there continues to be a steady and considerable increase in coffee, very little change in the quantity of sugar, and a very great decrease in the amount of rosewood exported.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood,*
Acting Consul.

Enclosure in No. 2.

STATEMENT of the Amount and Value of EXPORTS of such Staple Productions of *Brazil*, cultivated by Slave Labour at *Rio de Janeiro*, during the Year 1847.

Description of Produce.	Quantity.	Sterling Value.		Total.
		£.	s. d.	£. s. d.
Coffee - - - - -	1,641,560 bags -	2,664,100	- -	
Sugar - - - - -	8,311 cases -	161,000	- -	
Rosewood - - - - -	10,608 planks -	12,200	- -	
				2,837,300 - -
	Duties and shipping expenses - -			482,341 - -
				3,319,641 - -
In addition to the above, other articles of produce, such as hides, rice, horns, tapioca, tobacco and rum, were exported during the last year, the value of which may be estimated at - - - - -				460,000 - -
	Total Value of Produce shipped in 1847 - - - - -	£.		3,779,641 - -

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood,* Acting Consul.

Copy of a DESPATCH from Acting Consul *Westwood* to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount *Palmerston*, G. C. B.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 3.

My Lord,

British Consulate, Rio de Janeiro, 6 April 1848.

I HAVE the honour to enclose a return of the vessels reported as having arrived at this port from the coast of Africa during the quarter ending 31st ultimo, and also a list of the vessels cleared for the African coast during the same period.

Besides the vessels mentioned in these lists, several others have sailed for Africa under clearances for Brazilian ports; and a number of vessels that landed slaves at the out-ports have entered this harbour as coasters, among them the two steamers, "Providencia" and "Thereza," mentioned in my despatch to your Lordship, marked Slave Trade, No. 11, of the 20th December 1847, the former having landed 1,050 slaves and the latter 350.

By the list of departures, your Lordship will perceive that these two steamers are reported to have sailed for the Azores and Africa, but it is well known that both have proceeded direct to the coast.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood*, Acting Consul.

No. 1.

No. 2.

Enclosure 1, in No. 3.

ARRIVALS at *Rio de Janeiro* from the Coast of *Africa* during Quarter ending 31st March 1848.

Date.	Description.	Name.	Master.	Nation.	Tonnage.	Crew.	Where from.	Passage.	Reported Nature of Cargo.
1848:								<i>Dys.</i>	
13 Jan.	Brigantine	St. Jozé	J. A. Garcia	Portuguese	79	18	Angola	28	Ballast.
13 Feb.	Schooner	Alicia	S. Smith	American	137	8	Ambriz	30	ditto.
16 Feb.	Bark	Camilla	Chs. Ranch	ditto	233	10	Africa	32	ditto.
1 Mar.	Brig	Indiano	M. A. Lopes	Portuguese	200	17	Benguella	25	ditto.

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood*, Acting Consul.

Enclosure 2, in No. 3.

DEPARTURES from *Rio de Janeiro* to the Coast of *Africa* during Quarter ending 31st March 1848.

Date.	Description.	Name.	Master.	Nation.	Tonnage.	Crew.	Where Bound.	Reported Nature of Cargo.
1848:								
9 Jan.	Brig	Whig	John A. Forsyth	American	318	11	Africa	Sundries.
9 "	ditto	Zambese	B. P. da Graca	Portuguese	278	25	Mozambique	ditto.
11 "	Brigantine	Flora	G. J. F. Costa	Brazilian	179	15	Azores and Africa	Ballast.
15 "	ditto	Aurora	B. J. de Almeida	ditto	125	13	ditto	ditto.
24 "	ditto	Nova Rosa	J. P. de C. Leite	ditto	153	-	ditto	ditto.
26 "	ditto	Venus	F. P. N. Oliveira	ditto	112	14	ditto	ditto.
27 "	Brig	Brazil	D. C. Bevans	American	281	10	Africa	Sundries.
30 "	Schooner	Guahyba	G. J. Almada	Brazilian	114	19	Azores and Africa	ditto.
30 "	Brig	Gallego	Q. A. Pecheco	ditto	457	24	ditto	ditto.
30 "	Bark	Favorita	J. O. Chambica	Portuguese	338	31	Angola	ditto.
30 "	Schooner	Alphonsine	— Lagoustin	French	200	10	Africa	ditto.
2 Feb.	Brig	Casualidade	J. C. A. Soares	Portuguese	172	14	Azores and Africa	ditto.
7 "	Brigantine	Inveja	C. A. Gomez	Brazilian	89	14	ditto	Ballast.
29 "	Bark	Achilles	— Grenier	French	179	9	Africa	Sundries.
19 Mar.	Schooner	Morris	W. G. Currier	American	126	7	ditto	ditto.
20 "	Brig	Caracas	W. Sellaries	ditto	286	9	ditto	ditto.
25 "	Steamer	Thereza	A. P. C. Cordeiro	Brazilian	93	25	Azores and Africa	Ballast.
25 "	ditto	Providencia	F. M. C. Herpin	ditto	150	29	ditto	ditto.
26 "	Schooner	Martin L. Smith	M. Smith	American	90	5	Africa	Sundries.

(signed) *Jno. J. C. Westwood*, Acting Consul.

Appendix, No. 3.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Consul Cowper to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount
Palmerston, G. C. B.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 1.

My Lord,

British Consulate, Pernambuco, 1 February 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship my quarterly return of the number of vessels which have arrived here from the coast of Africa, or sailed hence with that destination, during the three months ending the 31st December 1847.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. Augustus Cowper,*
Consul.

Enclosure in No. 1.

LIST of ARRIVALS of VESSELS suspected of being employed in Slave Trade, at *Pernambuco* and its vicinity, from the Coasts of *Africa*, during the Quarter ending the 31st December 1847.

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Owner or Consignee.	Rig.	Tonnage.	Nation.	From whence.	Cargo.
1847: 20 Nov. -	União -	- - Domingos Gomes Loares.	- - Gand° A. de Barros.	Pataso -	- 104	Brazilian -	Angola -	ballast.

LIST of DEPARTURES of VESSELS suspected of being employed in Slave Trade, from *Pernambuco* to the Coasts of *Africa*, during the Quarter ending the 31st December 1847.

Date of Departure.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Owner or Consignee.	Rig.	Tonnage.	Nation.	To what part of the Coast cleared for.	Cargo, &c.
1847: 1 Oct. -	Roza -	- Joza Fran ^{co} da Costa.	- - F. S. Rabello and Son.	brig -	125	Portuguese -	Loanda -	- - 84 barrels, 125 tierces, 10½ tons of sugar; 119 pipes 106 barrels of rum.

(signed) *H. Augustus Cowper,* Consul.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Consul Cowper to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount
Palmerston, G. C. B.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 2.

My Lord,

British Consulate, Pernambuco, 19 February 1848.

IN accordance with the instructions conveyed to this consulate in the circular of the 8th of March 1843, I have the honour to forward to your Lordship a report upon the state of slave trade and slavery within this province. I believe that I can once more report that no slave has been landed in Pernambuco from Africa during the whole of 1847, for it is positively

positively denied that even the "Calumnia," which I returned on the 30th September last as having landed 117 slaves, imported any, and if she be excluded there exists no ground for suspecting any vessel.

The reason of the cessation of slave trade is greatly owing to the continuance of the praiero or democratic party in power.

The home or coasting slave trade has also greatly diminished.

The promised census of the population has not appeared.

The export of the produce of slave labour during the past year was as follows, viz.: 25,476 bags of cotton, weighing 1,966 tons 3 1/2 cwt.; sugar, 49,114 tons 3 1/2 cwt.; hides, number, 91,148; rum, 2,198 pipes and 682 barrels; sweetmeats, 95,370 lbs.; the total value, 950,000 £.

No alteration whatever has taken place in the laws of the empire respecting slaves; their general treatment is the same. A general apprehension exists in the province of Bahia that the extension of slave trade is hastening the day when that province will fall into the hands of the blacks, and the prosperity of this province is there attributed to its cessation from that traffic.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. Augustus Cowper,*
Consul.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Consul *Cowper* to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount *Palmerston*, G. C. B.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 3.

My Lord,

British Consulate, Pernambuco, 1 April 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship two tables showing the number of vessels which have arrived here from the coast of Africa, and of those which have departed hence with that destination, during the quarter ended yesterday.

Your Lordship will perceive with satisfaction that slave trade has not revived during that period.

I have, &c.

(signed) *H. Augustus Cowper,*
Consul.

Enclosure 1, in No. 3.

LIST of ARRIVALS of VESSELS suspected of being employed in Slave Trade at *Pernambuco*, from the Coasts of *Africa*, during the Quarter ending 31st March 1848.

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Owner or Consignee.	Rig.	Tonnage.	Number of Crew.	Nation.	From what part of the Coast arrived.	REMARKS.
1848: 21 Jan.	Rosa	- José Fran ^o da Costa.	- F. S. Rabello and Son.	brig	125	15	Portuguese	Angola	- - Cargo, wax, mats, &c.; passengers, six sailors, one Brazilian and one American person.

(signed) *H. Augustus Cowper,* Consul.

Enclosure 2, in No. 3.

LIST of DEPARTURES of VESSELS suspected of being employed in Slave Trade, from *Pernambuco* to the Coasts of *Africa*, during the Quarter ending 31st of March 1848.

Date of Clearance.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Owner or Consignee.	Rig.	Tonnage.	Nation.	To what part of the Coast sailed.	REMARKS.
1848: 19 March	Rosa	- José Francisco da Costa.	- F. S. Rabello and Son.	brig	125	Portuguese	Angola	- - 236 barrels, 256 tierces of sugar; 133 pipes, 20 half pipes of rum; 45 bags rice, 30 boxes of soap, &c.

(signed) *H. Augustus Cowper*, Consul.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Consul *Porter* to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount *Palmerston*, G. C. B.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 13.

My Lord,

British Consulate, Bahia, 31 December 1847.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying lists, Nos. 1 and 2, of the trade between this port and the coast of Africa, for the quarter ending this day.

I have, &c.

(signed) *Edmund Porter*, Consul.

Enclosure 1, in No. 13.

LIST of VESSELS which have entered the Port of Bahia from the Coast of Africa during the Quarter ending 31st December 1847.

Number.	Date of Entry.	Nation.	Class.	Name.	Tons.	Crew.	Master.	Owner.	Cargo.	Whence.	Days out.	Remarks.
1	17 Oct.	Brazilian	Schooner	Adelaide	166	10	Leandro Roiz	Not known	Ballast	Coast of Africa	-	Landed 500 slaves.
2	17 "	ditto	Polacca	Bella Miguelena	263	16	J. A. Goncalvez	ditto	ditto	ditto	-	Landed 800 slaves.
3	17 "	French	Brig	Saphir	251	12	F. Allaz	ditto	ditto	Onim	31	-
4	19 "	Brazilian	Parache	Anegro	-	11	M. M. Vaz de Con ^{co}	ditto	ditto	Ajuda	26	Landed 260 slaves.
5	21 "	ditto	Yacht	Principe d'Onim	118	9	T. Nivelle	Jose J. d'Almeida	Sundries	Sierra Leone	22	- 36 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
6	24 "	ditto	Brigantine	Josephina	174	32	M. F. d'Azevedo	Not known	Ballast	Coast of Africa	-	- Reported from Macahé.
7	29 "	Sardinian	Polacca	Galileo	182	10	E. Solari	ditto	ditto	Onim	29	- 12 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
8	29 "	ditto	Brig	Eridano	271	11	P. Pittaluga	ditto	ditto	ditto	30	- 38 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
9	7 Nov.	ditto	Schooner	Iride	106	10	L. Guastoino	ditto	ditto	Loanda	21	- 34 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
10	12 "	ditto	ditto	Santo Andre	189	10	N. Mangini	ditto	ditto	Ajuda	29	-
11	25 "	Brazilian	Yacht	Diligencia	-	6	M. J. Luiz	J. A. da Cruz	ditto	ditto	18	Landed 320 slaves.
12	7 "	Sardinian	Polacca	Africana	200	12	E. Piaggio	Not known	ditto	Popo	25	- 23 passengers, crews of captured vessels.
13	12 "	Brazilian	Yacht	Andorinha	80	17	M. A. João Pereira	J. P. Marinho	ditto	Coast of Africa	-	Landed 450 slaves.
14	16 "	ditto	Brig	Tentativa	247	14	J. Per ^a dos Santos	Not known	ditto	Onim	53	- Landed 726 slaves; 111 died on passage.
15	16 "	Sardinian	Brig	Empirio	227	12	G. Pittaluga	ditto	ditto	Galinas	18	-
16	19 "	ditto	Brig	Giudetta	184	11	M. Doderó	ditto	ditto	Onim	24	-
17	19 "	Brazilian	Brig	Dous Amigos	141	17	A. C. da C. Biteneanu	ditto	ditto	Coast of Africa	-	Landed 450 slaves.
18	25 "	Sardinian	Polacca	Vencitore	209	10	- Campodonico	ditto	ditto	Onim	25	-
19	28 "	Swedish	Schooner	Tedde	248	10	A. G. Silverstolfe	ditto	ditto	ditto	23	-

(signed)

Edward Porter,
Consul.British Consulate, Bahia,
31 December 1847.

Enclosure 2, in No. 13.

LIST of VESSELS which have Sailed from the Port of Bahia for the Coast of Africa during the Quarter ending 31st December 1847.

Number.	Date of Sailing.	Nation.	Class.	Name.	Tons.	Reg ^d	Master.	Owner.	Cargo.	Whither Bound.	Remarks.
1	1 Oct.	Sardinian	Brig	Empirio	227	12	G. Pittaluga	Not known	General	Coast of Africa	—
2	2 "	Swedish	Schooner	Tedde	246	12	A. G. Silverstolfe	ditto	ditto	ditto	—
3	10 "	Brazilian	Patache	Venus	137	16	M. M. Joze Cardozo	ditto	ditto	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for Princes Isle.
4	17 "	ditto	Yacht	Andainha	80	19	M. A. Joao Pereira	J. P. Marinho	Ballast	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for Azores.
5	18 "	ditto	Brig	Dous Amigos	141	17	A. C. da C. Bitencourt	Not known	ditto	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for St. Thomas.
6	18 "	Sardinian	Schooner	Elisa	138	-	-	Fran ^{co} Godinho	ditto	ditto	—
7	3 Nov.	Brazilian	Patache	Maria	144	19	M. J. B. Goncalvez	Not known	ditto	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for Aracati.
8	6 "	ditto	Yacht	Maria Augusta	135	20	Sour ^{es} D. da Selva	ditto	General	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for Cape de Verdes.
9	9 "	French	Barque	Socrate	178	10	E. J. Poier	ditto	ditto	ditto	—
10	10 "	Spanish	Felucca	Calurnia	34	8	D. Benito Mayol	ditto	Ballast	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for S. Catherina.
11	18 "	French	Brig	Saphir	251	12	M. Alley	ditto	Rum, &c.	ditto	—
12	18 "	Brazilian	Schooner	Julia	62	14	M. S. M. Chamusca	ditto	General	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for Princes Isle.
13	20 "	ditto	ditto	Anagro	82	10	M. J. G. Marinho	ditto	Ballast	ditto	- ditto.
14	22 "	ditto	Brig	Bella Miguelena	263	18	H. J. Viera	ditto	General	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for Azores.
15	24 "	Sardinian	Polacca	Archangelo	182	9	G. Devoto	ditto	ditto	ditto	—
16	29 "	American	Schooner	Bridgeton	144	8	P. Hellester	ditto	ditto	ditto	—
17	29 "	Brazilian	Felucca	Inden Errante	95	12	M. Leandro Roiz	ditto	Ballast	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for S. Catherina.
18	5 Dec.	Sardinian	Schooner	Iride	106	10	L. Guistivino	ditto	General	ditto	—
19	5 "	ditto	ditto	Santo Andre	139	11	L. Raggio	ditto	ditto	ditto	—
20	8 "	French	Barque	Josephine	244	12	E. Dendeville	ditto	ditto	ditto	—
21	24 "	Brazilian	Brig	Adelaide	166	13	Joze Ba da Silva	ditto	ditto	ditto	-- Slaver cleared for S. Catherina.

British Consulate, Bahia,
31 December 1847.

(signed)

Edward Porter,
Consul.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Consul *Porter* to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount
Palmerston, G. C. B.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 14.

My Lord,

British Consulate, Bahia, 31 December 1847.

It appears from the slave returns which I have had the honour to transmit to your Lordship, that 3,500 slaves have been landed in the vicinity of this city during the quarter ending this day, being the largest importation that has taken place during a like period for the last eight years.

The enclosed statement shows the number of slaves annually imported into this province since the year 1840, from which it appears that slave trade is increasing in a great degree, which may be accounted for by the great temptation now held out to individuals to embark in this traffic, as small shares can be obtained in the companies established here for that purpose.

Vessels are frequently arriving from the Mediterranean and the United States, which are bought by the above-mentioned companies, and sent to the coast of Africa under the flag of the nation to which they originally belonged, changing it to that of Brazil when in the act of receiving slaves on board.

A lamentable instance of this practice occurred lately with the American brig "George," which sailed hence for Africa on the 29th August last, returning hither on the 16th instant under Brazilian colours, and the name of "Tentativa," landing a cargo of 726 slaves in a miserable state of starvation, 111 poor creatures having perished on the passage from deficiency of water and provisions.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Porter*, Consul.

Enclosure in No. 14.

STATEMENT of the Number of SLAVES imported into the Province of *Bahia* during the
Years 1840 to 1847.

1840	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,413
1841	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,470
1842	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,520
1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,111
1844	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,501
1845	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,582
1846	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,354
1847	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,064

British Consulate, Bahia, }
31 December 1847. }

(signed) *Edward Porter*, Consul.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Consul *Porter* to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount
Palmerston, G. C. B.

SLAVE TRADE, No. 3.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, Bahia, 31 March 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith returns, Nos. 1 and 2, of the trade between this place and the coast of Africa, for the quarter ending this day.

The return No. 1. furnishes a startling proof of the extreme avidity with which slave traffic is carried on at this place, and the fearful risks individuals engaged therein will subject themselves to, in order to gain their ends.

It appears incredible, but is nevertheless a fact, that a ship's long-boat, manned by three persons and measuring 24 feet extreme length, 7 feet breadth, and only 3 feet 9 inches depth, has arrived here from the coast of Africa, in which 50 miserable children had actually been stowed, and 35 conducted hither, 15 having died on the passage.

It is more than probable that every soul on board would have perished for want of water and provisions, had they not been relieved by a merchant vessel, when reduced to the last extremity.

The authorities here have not taken the slightest notice of this occurrence, although it is generally known and spoken of; numbers having been to see the boat as an object of curiosity.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Edward Porter*, Consul.

APPENDIX TO THIRD REPORT FROM THE

Enclosure 1, in No. 3.

LIST of VESSELS which have entered the Port of Bahia from the Coast of Africa during the Quarter ending 31 March 1848.

No.	Date of Entry.	Nation.	Class.	Name.	Tons.	Master.	Owner.	Cargo.	Whence.	Days out.	REMARKS.
1	1848: 8 Jan.	Brazilian	Patache	Maria	144	M. J. Bat ^a Gonçalves	J. P. Marinho	Ballast	Coast of Africa	-	Landed 650 slaves.
2	16 "	Spanish	Felucca	Calumnia	34	D. Benito Mayol	Not known	ditto	ditto	-	Landed 290 slaves.
3	18 "	Brazilian	Polacca	Bella Miguelena	263	H. José Viera	ditto	ditto	ditto	-	Landed 340 slaves.
4	29 "	Sardinian	ditto	Frederico	287	G. B. Grandona	ditto	General	Ajudá	29	-
5	9 Feb.	Brazilian	Barque	Joven Innocente	320	J. M. dos Santos	ditto	Ballast	Coast of Africa	-	- Landed slaves at Macahé.
6	15 "	ditto	Patache	Julia	62	M. S. N. Chamusea	ditto	ditto	ditto	-	-
7	17 "	ditto	Yacht	Mete Mão	-	- M. L. de M. Guimarães.	ditto	ditto	Ajudá	32	Landed 420 slaves.
8	17 "	French	Barque	Socrate	178	E. P. Potier	ditto	ditto	Onim	32	-
9	25 "	Brazilian	Yacht	Diligencia	88	M. J. Bapa Fer ^a	J. A. da Cruz Rios	ditto	Coast of Africa	-	- Landed 302 slaves, 59 said to have been killed.
10	3 March	Sardinian	Polacca	Archangelo	182	G. Devoto	Not known	ditto	ditto	44	-
11	3 "	Originally an American ship's boat, not exceeding 10 tons; crew three									
12	5 "	French	Schooner	Mesange	102	J. Lallemand	Not known	ditto	Ajudá	32	- Landed 35 slaves; 15 died on passage.
13	11 "	ditto	Barque	Josephine	243	E. C. D'Endeville	ditto	ditto	Popo	30	-
14	21 "	Brazilian	Yacht	Andorinha	80	M. J. P. de Fonseca	J. P. Marinho	ditto	Coast of Africa	-	Landed 430 slaves.
15	28 "	French	Brig	Saphir	251	J. Allay	Not known	ditto	Onim	40	-
16	30 "	Spanish	Felucca	Calumnia	34	D. Benito Mayol	ditto	ditto	Coast of Africa	-	Landed 180 slaves.

British Consulate, Bahia, }
31 March 1848.

(signed)

Edward Porter,
Consul.

Enclosure 2, in No. 3.
LIST of VESSELS which have Sailed from Bahia for the Coast of Africa during the Quarter ending the 31st. March 1848.

No.	Date of Sailing.	Nation.	Class.	Name.	Tons.	Days	Master.	Owner.	Cargo.	Whither Bound.	REMARKS.
1	13 Jan.	Brazilian	Brig	Gentil Africano	321	28	Romão A. da Cruz	Not known	Ballast	Coast of Africa	Slaver, cleared for Macabé.
2	14 "	French	Schooner	François Xavier	103	10	R. G. Moisant	ditto	General Ballast	ditto.	Slaver, cleared for Azores.
3	17 "	Brazilian	Yacht	Andorinha	80	18	"	J. P. Marinho	"	ditto.	"
4	18 "	Sardinian	Polacca	Galileo	182	10	E. Solari	Not known	General	ditto.	"
5	19 "	ditto	Smack	Concordia	103	8	F. Doderò	ditto	ditto	ditto.	"
6	19 "	ditto	Polacca	Guidetta	184	11	M. Doderò	ditto	ditto	ditto.	Slaver, cleared for Canaries.
7	25 "	Brazilian	Brig	Dous Amigos	141	26	A. C. da C. Biscanourt	ditto	Ballast	ditto	"
8	2 Feb.	Sardinian	Polacca	Vincitore	209	10	G. A. Campodonico	ditto	General	ditto.	Slaver, cleared for Canaries.
9	2 "	Spanish	Felucca	Calumnia	34	8	D. Benito Mayol	ditto	Ballast	ditto	"
10	6 "	Brazilian	ditto	Vigilante	57	22	M. J. B. Gonçalves	ditto	ditto	ditto	Slaver, cleared for Ceará.
11	7 "	ditto	Brig-schooner	Pensamento	243	21	J. P. d' A. Vianna	ditto	ditto	ditto	Slaver, cleared for Canaries.
12	11 "	French	Brig	La Circonstance	253	11	J. B. Enet	ditto	General	ditto.	Slaver, cleared for Rio Grande.
13	13 "	Brazilian	ditto	Linda Flor	139	17	J. J. Borges	ditto	Ballast	ditto	"
14	14 "	ditto	ditto	Vareta	248	33	G. R. Germann	ditto	ditto	ditto	Slaver, cleared for Açores.
15	16 "	ditto	Polacca	Dous Amigos	395	23	J. J. Alves Barbozo	F. Godinho	ditto	ditto	Slaver, cleared for Macabé.
16	17 "	ditto	ditto	Bella Miguelina	263	29	M. H. J. Vierada Sa	Not known	ditto	ditto	Slaver, cleared for Açores.
17	19 "	American	Brig	Cadet	294	10	J. Hawson	ditto	General	ditto.	Slaver.
18	1 Mar.	Brazilian	Patache	Maria	144	19	M. J. J. da C. Jiro	J. P. Marinho	Ballast	Gorea	"
19	5 "	French	ditto	Eclipse	150	9	M. A. C. Pöllien	Not known	General	east of Africa.	"
20	16 "	Sardinian	Polacca	Frederico	237	12	J. B. Grandona	ditto	ditto	ditto.	"
21	18 "	Brazilian	Schooner	Mete Mão	101	14	M. J. Palacio	ditto	Ballast	ditto	Slaver, cleared for Canaries.
22	23 "	ditto	Yacht	Second Andinha	125	19	D. da Costa Sage	ditto	ditto	ditto	Slaver, cleared for Pará.
23	28 "	French	Schooner	Mesange	152	10	J. M. Lallemand	ditto	General	ditto.	"
24	29 "	American	Barque	Helena Augusta	232	11	Henry Sinclair	ditto	Rum	ditto.	"
25	31 "	ditto	Yacht	S. W. Kampton	191	7	M. E. P. Stanhope	ditto	General	Ambriz.	"
26	31 "	Brazilian	ditto	Diligencia	88	18	M. J. B. Ferreira	ditto	Ballast	Coast of Africa	Slaver, cleared for Prince's Isle.

(signed) Edward Porter, Consul.

British Consulate, Bahia, }
31 March 1848.

Appendix, No. 4.

No. 1.

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

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

Yearly Average from

Foreign Office Reports, and Bandinel's Abstract.

No. 2.

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

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

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. M'Culloch 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.

Appendix, No. 5.

Appendix, No. 5.

PAPER handed in by Mr. Bourne, and referred to in his Evidence of 4 July 1848

COUNTY OF BERBICE.

(From the Receiver-General's Books.)

A TABLE showing that in proportion as the Cultivation of Sugar has been increased, that of Cotton, Coffee, and Cocoa have declined; until now Cotton and Cocoa are abandoned altogether, and nearly all the Cotton Estates for Sale at a Nominal Price.

YEAR.	SUGAR.	COFFEE.	COTTON.	COCOA.
1811	<i>Hhds.</i> 465	6,555,339	2,774,894	—
	<i>Lbs.</i>			
1812	73,119	3,440,345	3,442,980	—
1813	1,071,388	3,722,082	1,807,507	50,230
1814	925,558	3,169,771	2,742,432	77,681
1815	1,535,453	5,380,824	3,674,065	76,074
1816	1,682,267	7,959,135	3,233,147	28,838
1817	2,377,903	6,736,301	2,641,774	49,936
1818	11,423,069	5,254,421	1,523,333	35,950
1820	5,370,118	4,234,209	2,120,218	13,956
1821	6,281,733	3,290,009	1,879,180	14,707
1822	6,244,370	4,907,900	1,797,263	62,939
1823	7,709,915	3,391,963	1,396,185	32,999
1824	8,843,051	2,699,042	1,222,957	32,714
1825	5,713,025	3,391,245	1,208,009	21,331
1826	7,666,175	1,390,618	974,353	28,050
1827	11,174,059	3,366,661	1,063,774	38,949
1828	10,455,824	2,411,571	1,051,950	9,571
1829	10,680,184	3,638,440	613,660	9,739
1830	12,246,286	4,671,667	373,902	5,596
1831	15,606,245	1,677,329	413,785	—
1832	16,172,733	3,063,624	558,199	—
1833	11,858,006	1,371,852	416,731	—
1834	9,127,300	1,769,452	362,604	—
1835	19,563,993	1,640,299	269,912	—
1836	21,823,493	3,239,991	190,824	—
1837	18,626,656	2,085,052	105,585	—
1838	16,522,403	1,222,565	94,325	—
1839	12,451,690	1,466,916	50,245	—
1840	11,281,347	1,108,800	3,000	—
1841	10,045,417	347,799	3,000	—
1842	10,847,359	957,781	—	—
1843	10,272,060	516,026	—	—
1844	13,157,764	891,294	—	—
1845	13,277,591	179,389	—	—
1846	8,313,565	175,898	—	—

N.B.—The labourers who produced all these crops are still in the country, together with all the emigrants, by whom at least half the crop of Sugar is now produced. How to make this labour productive is the question.

Appendix, No. 6.

COPY of a LETTER from Lord *Eddisbury* to *William Hutt*, Esq., M. P.

Appendix, No. 6.

Sir,

Foreign Office, 20 July 1848.

I AM directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, stating that the Committee of the House of Commons on Slave Trade, of which you are Chairman, had been much impressed by an opinion given by several witnesses examined before them, that nothing would so much tend to the suppression of the slave trade as the infliction of severe punishment on the persons convicted of being engaged in the traffic; and requesting, on the part of the Committee, to be informed by what considerations his Lordship had been withheld from proposing to Parliament the enactment of a law by which the penalties of piracy should be awarded against all persons convicted of slave trading.

You further observe, that considerations of international law might prevent the application of such punishment to Frenchmen, Spaniards, or Americans; but in regard to those by whom the slave trade is chiefly carried on, namely, Portuguese and Brazilians, no such objections attached; as the same treaties which empowered the British Legislature to pass the Acts of 1839 and 1845 would have enabled it to affix, by its own authority, the penalties of piracy to the crime of slave trade when proved against Portuguese and Brazilian subjects; and you request that Lord Palmerston will inform the Committee by what inducements his Lordship has been restrained from recommending such a measure to Parliament.

In reply, I am desired by Lord Palmerston to state to you that slave trade, though a greater moral crime than sea piracy, is not, like sea piracy, a crime which by the general and established law of nations any and every nation may punish, whatever may be the country to which the offenders may belong. Slave trade, in fact, differs in this respect from sea piracy, that it has at different times been allowed and protected by the laws of many nations, while sea piracy has always, and by the common consent of civilized nations, and from a regard to their own interests, been given up by all to the vengeance and punishment of all.

From thence it follows that each nation is entitled to deal as it pleases with the slave trade carried on by its subjects and flag, and, according to its will, either to legalize such trade, as was generally done in former times, or to proscribe and prohibit it, as has now at length been done in a greater or less degree by every civilized nation, in compliance mainly with the long-continued, persevering, and earnest solicitations of the British Government.

But from thence it also follows that no one nation can properly acquire rights, and exercise powers to restrain or put down the slave trade carried on by the subject or flag of another nation, unless such rights and powers are conveyed to it by the stipulations of a treaty; and the assumption of rights and powers not sanctioned by treaty would be an act of aggression which would justify resistance and reprisals.

During the war which ended in 1815, Great Britain was enabled by her naval victories to exercise paramount belligerent rights over all the seas; and she occupied, by conquest, a great portion of the colonies of slave-trading nations, and by these means she possessed great control over the slave trade of other countries; but when peace was concluded in 1815, the belligerent right of search of Great Britain on the high seas came to an end, and by the conditions of peace she restored many colonies to their former owners. But there was a strong desire on the part of the British nation that those events which had restored peace and happiness to Europe, should not be the cause of renewed wars and of increased wretchedness to Africa; and the British Government was urged, by manifestations of public opinion out of doors, and by repeated addresses to the Crown from the two Houses of Parliament, to endeavour to prevent, by negotiation with foreign powers, the evils which were likely to arise from the cessation of those means for repressing the slave trade which the circumstances of the war had afforded.

In compliance with the never varying desires and requests of Parliament and of the country, the British Government has during the last 33 years been almost incessantly engaged in negotiation with foreign powers, with a view to inducing them to consent to, and to co-operate in effecting, the suppression of the slave trade. Those long-continued endeavours have been attended with great success; and whereas when those negotiations began, slave trade was stigmatized by no foreign power, except Denmark, the United States, and France, and was legalized by many, it has now been denounced as an abominable crime by almost every Christian nation; and almost every State by which it could be carried on has either prohibited the crime and attached severe punishment to the commission of it, or has by the engagements of treaty bound itself to do so: and whereas during many years after the return of peace, slave trade was carried on to a great extent under the flags of France, of Spain, of the Netherlands, and of Portugal,—the French and the Dutch have entirely ceased to be slave traders; the Spaniards and Portuguese have very nearly discontinued the practice;

Appendix, No. 6.

practice; while France has gone a step further, and has emancipated her slaves; and Portugal has appointed a commission to prepare a law for abolishing the condition of slavery in all her colonial possessions.

The slave trade at present may be said to be chiefly confined to Brazil; although unfortunately it must be confessed that the capital with which it is there carried on is not wholly and exclusively Brazilian.

The treaties which, during the before mentioned period of 33 years, Great Britain has concluded with foreign powers for the prevention of slave trade, have had two objects in view: first, the confiscation of the slave ship and her cargo, and the liberation of the slaves found on board of her; and secondly, the punishment of the persons concerned in the transaction, as owners, commanders, or crew.

The first purpose is, according to some of the treaties, to be accomplished by mixed tribunals, composed of Commissioners belonging to each of the two countries, and sitting somewhere near the place of capture; and according to other treaties, it is to be attained by the ordinary tribunals of the country to which the captured slave-trading vessel belongs. The second purpose, namely, the punishment of persons, is by most of the treaties to be accomplished by the laws and tribunals of the country of which the offenders are the subjects.

For the treaties concluded with most of those powers whose subjects were in the habit of carrying on the slave trade bind those powers to pass and promulgate laws for the punishment of any of their subjects who may be concerned in that crime.

France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal have all passed laws inflicting penalties more or less severe upon any of their subjects convicted of being concerned in the slave trade. France and the Netherlands did so of their own accord; Spain at length did so in 1845, in fulfilment of an engagement contracted with Great Britain by the treaty of 1835: with Portugal the case was different.

The treaty of 1817 with Portugal, which gave to Great Britain and Portugal a mutual right of search for the suppression of slave trade, and which established mixed commissions for the adjudication of captured vessels, applied only to places north of the Equator; and under that treaty Portuguese slave trade could not be interfered with south of the Equator. But the time had arrived when, in pursuance of the engagements between the two countries, Portugal was bound to extend to seas and places south of the Line the joint arrangements and the repressive means which had till then been in operation only to the north of the Line. The Portuguese government were influenced by slave-trading capitalists, who, cloaking their interested views under specious pretences, appealed to international jealousy, pretended that maritime police would interfere with and impede legitimate commerce, and contended that the suppression of their iniquitous trade would be the ruin of the Portuguese colonies.

The endeavours of these parties prevailed, and the Portuguese government refused to comply with the just demands of Great Britain.

The British Government then laid the case before Parliament, and in 1839 proposed to Parliament a Bill, which was passed into a law, by which British cruisers were authorized to exercise the same rights of search and detention, and British Courts of Admiralty were invested with the same powers of adjudication, which Portugal had engaged to grant by treaty, but which the Portuguese government refused to confer.

The British Government of 1839, not wishing to push a measure unusual in its nature beyond the urgent necessity of the case, confined to Portuguese vessels and their cargoes the powers which it asked Parliament to give; and in the hope and belief that the powers so asked for would, if granted, be effectual for their purpose, abstained from applying for powers to punish Portuguese subjects found on board captured slave ships.

It is evident that any such powers of punishment which might have been asked for must have been confined in their application to Portuguese subjects, and could not properly have been extended to the subjects of other nations, because the unusual proceeding was occasioned by a breach of engagement on the part of the government of Portugal; and although that breach of engagement justified an unusual proceeding towards the subjects of Portugal, it could not afford a reason for a similar proceeding towards the subjects of other governments who were not parties to the breach of faith committed by Portugal.

But the Act of Parliament of 1839 completely answered its purpose; and the pressure of its execution induced the Portuguese government to conclude, in 1842, a treaty which was satisfactory to the British Government, and which enabled the Government to propose to Parliament to repeal that Act. By the 15th article of this treaty the Queen of Portugal declared slave trade to be piracy, and engaged to apply a severe punishment to the crime; and by a decree of 25th July of the same year 1842, the pains and penalties established against slave traders by a decree of 10th December 1836, were made applicable to the crime of slave trading under the treaty of 1842. Therefore the subjects of Spain and Portugal, like those of France and England, are now liable to severe punishment by the laws of their own country, if found guilty of the crime of slave trade.

With regard to Brazil the case stands as follows:—By the first article of the treaty of 23 November 1826, the Emperor of Brazil engaged that from the expiration of three years after the exchange of ratifications of that treaty, which exchange took place on 13 March 1827, it should not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave trade, under any pretext or in any manner whatsoever; and that the carrying on of such trade after that period by any person, subject of his Imperial Majesty, should be deemed and treated as piracy; and this is a permanent and existing engagement. The subsequent articles of that treaty established a mutual right of search and detention, and mixed commissions for adjudication of slave-trading vessels. But those arrangements were

were so established, not directly and by specific enactment, but indirectly by declaring that the contracting parties adopted and renewed, and applied to their purposes the treaties of 1815 and 1817, between Great Britain and Portugal. But the government of Brazil contended that the stipulations thus adopted were temporary in their duration, and expired in the year 1845; and as that government moreover refused to renew those stipulations, it asserted that from and after the 13th of March 1845, the mutual right of search and detention, and the mixed commissions for adjudication, must cease and determine. The British Government acquiesced in this interpretation of the treaty engagements between the two countries, but maintained that the first article of the treaty of 1826 was still in force, and that in virtue of that article both the contracting parties were entitled to deem and treat as piracy the carrying on of the slave trade by any subject of the Emperor of Brazil: and as the Brazilian government declined to continue to the British Government the powers which the treaties of 1815 and 1817 had given for the suppression of Brazilian slave trade, and would not take effectual measures of its own for putting that slave trade down, the British Government applied to Parliament for an Act in regard to Brazilian slave trade similar to that which in 1839 had been passed in regard to Portuguese slave trade, and Parliament in 1845 passed such an Act.

The Act of 1845, like that of 1839, gave powers as to ships and cargoes, but no power as to persons. The reason why the precedent of 1839 was so strictly followed in 1845 is not known to Lord Palmerston; but the cases to which the two Acts were applied differed from each other in important respects. The Act of 1839 was passed in consequence of the refusal of the Portuguese government to grant powers which by former engagements it had bound itself to grant, and the Act gave by legislative authority the powers which the Portuguese government had thus withheld. The Act of 1845 was passed to enable the British Crown to exercise, without a violation of British law, powers in regard to Brazilian slave trade which the Crown of Brazil had by treaty conceded to the Crown of England. The powers so conceded by treaty extended, according to the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, to the subjects of Brazil as well as to their ships and cargoes; and therefore the British Parliament would have been fully justified in extending to the subjects of Brazil, as well as to Brazilian ships and cargoes, the powers which it granted to the Crown. But the Government of 1845 did not deem it expedient to ask for such powers, and Parliament therefore did not grant them. The Government probably thought that the Act of 1845 would, in its operation, be as successful as that of 1839, and would induce the Brazilian government to do what is right on its part; or the Government may have thought that as the government of Brazil did, by its decrees of 1831 and 1832, attach punishment to persons engaged in slave trade, but decreed no confiscation of vessels, it would be enough if the British Act of Parliament supplied the deficiency of those laws, and provided for the confiscation of vessels. But be this as it may, Lord Palmerston found the Act as it is, and under all circumstances he has not hitherto considered it necessary or expedient to ask Parliament to extend the powers granted by that Act; and without going into any other reasons for this course, the Committee may probably think that sufficient ground may be found for it in the circumstance that negotiations have been going on between the two Governments upon the subject of a new treaty for the re-establishment of the arrangements for mutual right of search and mixed commissions, which expired in 1845.

Lord Palmerston, however, entirely agrees with the witnesses to whose evidence you refer, in thinking that punishment of persons would greatly tend to the discouragement of the crime of slave trade; and even if Parliament should not think fit to extend the powers of the Act of 1845 to persons, it will be desirable to endeavour to bring to justice by the existing, though imperfect, law of Brazil, Brazilian subjects who may be caught in the commission of the crime.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Eddisbury.*

Appendix, No. 7.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Colonel *Farrant* to Lord Viscount *Palmerston*.

Appendix, No. 7.

My Lord,

Camp near Tehran, 17 June 1848.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship, that I have at last persuaded his Majesty the Shah to prohibit the importation of African slaves by sea.

On the 20th ultimo, I addressed a letter to the prime minister, calling on his Excellency to fulfil his promise to me of bringing the subject of slavery, which had so often been discussed between us, to a satisfactory conclusion.

Some days having elapsed without my receiving any reply, on the 12th instant I addressed a second letter to his Excellency, requesting him to give me a decisive answer. The following day I received the copy of an autograph of the Shah, addressed to the prime minister, written on the margin of my letter. (Enclosure, No. 1.)

Although the Shah has not explicitly abolished the importation of African slaves into his dominions,

Appendix, No. 7. dominions, he has virtually done so by the prohibition he has issued forbidding their being brought by sea, as the route by land is not practicable.

I have the honour to enclose translations of the firmans which have been issued to the governors of Fars and Persian Arabia. (Enclosures, Nos. 2 and 3.)

I have, &c.
(signed) *V. Farrant.*

Enclosure, No. 1.

TRANSLATION of an Autograph Note from His Majesty the Shah to *Hajee Meerza Aghassee*.
12 June 1848. Rejjeb 10, 1264.

Y. E. THE Hajee. Let them not bring any negroes by sea; let them be brought by land. Purely for the sake of Farrant Sahib (Lieutenant-colonel Farrant), with whom I am much pleased, I have consented to this. On this subject write to the Governors of Fars and Arabia (Persian Arabia).

Sic orig.

Solely on account of the goodness of Farrant* I have consented, otherwise some trifling discussions still exist between us and the English Government.

Translated by
(signed) *Joseph Reed.*

Enclosure, No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Firman issued by His Majesty the Shah to the Governor of Ispahan and Persian Arabia.

To the high in rank, the superior of generals, the esteemed of the Sovereign, Meerza Nebbee Khan, chief of the civil law court, and governor of Ispahan, who has been honoured by the favour of the pure mind of the king of kings:

Be it known, that at this time the high in rank, the noble and exalted, possessed of dignity, the pillar of the Christian nobles, the cream of the great men of Christendom, the undoubted well-wisher of the State, Colonel Farrant, Chargé d'Affaires of the exalted Government of England, who enjoys the unbounded favour of His Majesty the Shah, whose resplendent mind is desirous to gratify him, having made a friendly request on the part of the Ministers of his exalted Government, from the Ministers of His Majesty the Shah, that with a view to preserve the existing friendship between the two exalted States, a decree should be issued from the source of magnificence, the Shah, that hereafter the importation of the negro tribes by sea should be forbidden, and this traffic be abolished.

In consequence of this it is ordered and ordained that that high in rank, after perusing this firman, which is equal to a decree of fate, will feel it incumbent on him to issue positive and strict injunctions to the whole of the dealers in slaves, who trade by sea, that henceforth by sea alone the importation and exportation of negroes into the Persian dominions is entirely forbidden, but not by land; not a single individual will be permitted to bring negroes by sea, without being subjected to severe punishment.

That high in rank must in this matter give peremptory orders throughout his government, and not be remiss.

Written in the month of Rejjeb, 1264. (June 1848.)

Translated by
(signed) *J. Reed.*

Enclosure, No. 3.

TRANSLATION of a Firman issued by His Majesty the Shah to *Hoossein Khan*, Governor of Fars.

To the high in rank, the pillar of nobility, Hossein Khan, the comptroller of State affairs, and governor of Fars, who has been exalted and supported by the distinguished favours of his Majesty the Shah, &c., be it known:

That it is a long time since a request for the abolition of the importation of negroes by sea has been made on the part of the Ministers of the British Government to the Ministers and authorities of this kingdom; but their request during this long period has not met with an answer or our consent.

But

But in consequence of the favour entertained by our august Sovereign towards the high in rank, the sincere well-wisher of the State, the chosen among Christian nobles, &c., &c., Colonel Farrant, Chargé d'Affaires of the English Government, on account of the respectful conduct and manner of proceeding which he has made manifest, and purely for the regard we entertain for him, we have accepted and complied with his request; we have ordained that hereafter that high in rank shall warn all merchants and persons passing to and fro, to discontinue to bring negroes by sea alone, and that they shall not export or import negroes except by land, which is by no means forbidden.

That high in rank will be held responsible for the fulfilment of the orders contained in this communication.

Written the month of Rejjeb, 1264. (June 1848.)

Translated by

(signed) *J. Reed.*

EXTRACT of a LETTER from Mr. *Kennedy*, Her Majesty's Commissary Judge, to Lord Viscount *Palmerston*.

My Lord,

Havana, 27 June 1848.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have heard of only one vessel having sailed hence during the past month to be engaged in slave trade, the circumstances respecting which I am able to detail with some minuteness, as they have been the subject of a correspondence between this Government and the Consul of the United States.

In my despatch, No. 16, of this year, dated the 27th March last, I reported to your Lordship the fact of some parties having gone from this place to New York to purchase vessels for slave trade. As soon as they arrived they bought an old vessel belonging to the state, which had been lately used as a light-vessel at the entrance of the harbour, but had been condemned and ordered to be sold. This vessel, so considered unfit to bear only a light in the harbour of New York, was brought here to Cabañas, under the Santa Martha flag, as the sailors reported when they were put on shore; a Spanish crew was taken on board, with irons and other equipments for slave trade, and the vessel sailed thence immediately for the coast of Africa. The sailors, four in number, came on here in a coaster, and being unable to receive assistance from the person to whom they had been referred, complained to the American consul, on whose interfering, that same person, named Ferrera, paid the sailors' demands, though protesting he had no knowledge of the parties; and the captain of the coaster was put into prison, where he still is, for having brought the destitute sailors without a licence. Here therefore is positive proof of a vessel sailing hence to be engaged in slave trade, though it must be acknowledged, manifestly without the knowledge of the government.

I am credibly informed that there have been altogether six vessels despatched hence for slaves, of which two are said to have been furnished with the means for that purpose by an agent here of Queen Christina.

On the 23d instant, there were reports current in the city of one or two of these vessels having arrived with slaves, as it was said that 700 had been brought, respecting whom an application had been made to the Captain-general for permission to be landed. The report I heard, from good authority, stated that his Excellency refused to entertain the proposition, or to receive the sums as paid to General O'Donnell, adding that if the landing were denounced, he should proceed to seize the negroes.

I immediately made the communication to Mr. Crawford, Her Majesty's Consul-general, and the correspondence thereon will have to form the subject of a subsequent despatch.

These 700 negroes have been brought, according to report, to the neighbourhood of Cape San Antonio, but it is probable they have not all been landed, if any.

I think it only justice to the Captain-general Roncali to say, that his administration so far seems to have been carried on upon the justest and most honourable principles, giving great satisfaction to this community, and to the Creoles especially.

I have, &c.

(signed) *James Kennedy.*

Appendix, No. 8.

LIST of TREATIES for the Suppression of the SLAVE TRADE, concluded by *Great Britain* with Native Chiefs of *Africa*, as far as is known at the Foreign Office.

—	Names of Chiefs, Tribes, or Districts.	Date of Conclusion of Treaties.	Name of Officer who signed Treaty.	Situation of Territory.	Extent of Territory.
1	Cartabar, Nama Comba, King of.	23 April 1841	- - H. V. Huntley, Lieutenant-governor of the Gambia.	-- District about 140 miles up the Gambia.	
2	Passels, Chiefs of - -	1 - 1842	- Lieutenant Lapidge, H.M.S. "Pantaloan."	-- Tribe inhabiting a district north of Bissao about 12 deg. north.	
3	Bolola, Rio Grande, King Soleyman.	27 Feb. 1847	-- Commander Murray, H.M.S. "Favorite."	-- District up Rio Grande, which runs into the sea 11 deg. 35 min. north.	
4	Rio Nunez, Chiefs of -	21 - -	- - ditto - -	-- River running into the sea about 10 deg. 30 min. north.	
5	North Bulloms, King Sherbro.	29 Nov. -	-- Governor of Sierra Leone.	-- District north of Sierra Leone.	
6	Malaghia, Chief of -	23 May 1845	-- Commissioners appointed by the governor of Sierra Leone.	-- District in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.	
7	Fouricaria, King of -	15 Nov. 1847	-- Governor of Sierra Leone.	- - - ditto.	
8	Baieira, Chief of - -	16 - -	- - ditto - -	- - - ditto.	
9	Kaloom Country, including River Soombah, and Dobreakah and Tomba Island.	2 - -	- - ditto - -	- - - ditto.	
10	Marsamma, Chiefs of -	29 - -	- - ditto - -	-- Inland district near Sierra Leone.	
11	Timmanees, Chiefs of -	18 Feb. 1841	- - ditto - -	- - - ditto.	
12	Sherboro, Chiefs of -	12 - 1848	-- Commander Murray, H.M.S. "Favorite."	-- Territory south of Sierra Leone, between that place and Gallinas.	
13	Kittam, Chiefs of - -	3 Dec. 1847	- - ditto - -	- - From Malaloo to a spot eight miles north of Gallinas.	40 miles of coast.
14	Gallinas, Prince Manna, and Chiefs.	21 Nov. 1840	-- Commander Denman, H.M.S. "Wanderer."	About 7 degrees north.	
15	Manna, Chiefs of - -	1 Jan. 1847	-- Commander Murray, H.M.S. "Favorite."	-- From Solymon River to Manna Point.	12 miles of coast.
16	Sugury - ditto - -	18 Feb. 1848	- - ditto - -	-- Between Manna Point and Cape Mount River.	-- 8 ditto, with territory extending about 75 miles inland.
17	Cape Mount, King Fana Toro, and Chiefs.	2 Jan. 1846	-- Commander Brisbane, H.M.S. "Larne."	- - About 6 deg. 45 min. north.	
18	New Costos, King, and Prince Truman.	11 - 1841	- - Lieut. Seagram, H.M.S. "Termagant."	- - About 5 deg. 50 min. north.	
19	Grand Sisters, Chiefs -	28 Mar. 1847	-- Commander Murray, H.M.S. "Favorite."	- - River and district about 5 deg. 30 min. north.	
20	Little Booton - ditto -	25 - 1847	- - ditto - -	About 5 deg. 5 min. north	
21	Garraway, Chiefs - -	30 - -	- - ditto - -	-- River and district about 4 deg. 30 min. north.	
22	Grand Bereby, ditto -	25 Feb. 1848	- - ditto - -	-- Town and district on the Ivory Coast, about 6 deg. 53 min. west.	

	Names of Chiefs, Tribes, or Districts.	Date of Conclusion of Treaties.	Name of Officer who signed Treaty.	Situation of Territory.	Extent of Territory.
23	Drewin, ditto - -	26 Feb. 1848	- Comander Murray, H.M.S. "Favorite."	From longitude 6 deg. 30 min. west to 5 deg. 35 min. west.	-- About 60 miles of coast.
24	St. Andrew, ditto - -	26 - -	- - ditto - -		
25	Grand Lahon, ditto - -	28 - -	- - ditto - -	Territories extending from longitude 5 deg. 20 min. west to 4 deg. west.	-- About 85 miles of coast.
26	Antonio Lehon, ditto - -	28 - -	- - ditto - -		
27	Jack Jaques, ditto - -	29 - -	- - ditto - -		
28	Ivory Bay, ditto - -	2 Mar. - -	- - ditto - -		
29	Aboh, Obi Asai, Chief of	28 Aug. 1841	-- Niger Expedition Commissioners.	-- Town and district near the apex of the Delta of the Niger.	
30	Egarrah, Ochijeh, Chief of.	6 Sept. - -	- - ditto - -	-- District up the Niger, beyond Aboh.	
31	Creek Town, Old Calabar River, Eyo, King of.	6 Dec. - -	- Lieutenant Blount, H.M.S. "Pluto."	-- River in the Bight of Biafra.	
32	Calabar Town, Old Calabar River.	6 - -	- Commander Blount, H.M.S. "Pluto."	- - - ditto.	
33	Bimbia, King William -	7 Feb. 1844	- Commander Earle, H.M.S. "Rapid."	-- Territory near the entrance of the River Camaroons.	
34	Camaroons, King Acqua	7 May 1841	- Commander Blount, H.M.S. "Pluto."	-- River in the Bight of Biafra.	
35	Camaroons, King Bell -	7 - -	- - ditto - -	- - - ditto.	
36	Batanga, King William, and Chiefs.	5 July 1847	-- Commander Hope, H.M.S. "Bittern;" Commander M'Murdo, H.M.S. "Contest."	-- Territory south of River Camaroons, in about 30 deg. north.	
37	Danger or Mooney, Chiefs of.	16 - -	- - ditto - -	-- River to the south of Cape St. John's, in about 1 deg. north.	
38	Malimba, ditto - -	31 Mar. 1848	- - ditto - -	-- River falling into the sea in 3 deg. 38 min. north.	
39	Otondo, Chiefs of - -	4 April - -	-- Commander Murray, H.M.S. "Favorite."	-- From 1 deg. 50 min. north to Point Campo, in 2 deg. 20 min. north.	-- About 35 miles of coast.
40	Batanga Benito, ditto -	7 April - -	- - ditto - -	-- Territory extending northward from Cape St. John to 1 deg. 50 min. north.	- - ditto.

Foreign Office, 24 July 1848.

Appendix, No. 9.

Appendix, No. 9.

LETTER from Captain *Mansel*, R. N., to *William Hutt*, Esq., Chairman of Select Committee on Slave Trade.

My dear Sir,

90, Mount-street, 28 July 1848.

I REGRET to find that I have, inadvertently, conveyed an erroneous impression of Captain Denman's plan for the suppression of the slave trade, in my answer to Question 4611, before the Committee over which you preside. I there have set forth the difficulty of 24 vessels, at anchor, blockading an extent of coast of above 2,000 miles, and submitted to the judgment of the Committee how great an extent of coast that must leave unguarded.

On a more careful perusal of the memorandum given in by Captain Denman, I find his plan to be, a blockade of the known places of embarkation, while the method of keeping the blockading vessels actually at anchor is not contemplated.

I think, in common candour, it is quite due to Captain Denman that I should set this matter in a fair light, as I should be extremely sorry to cause him any annoyance whatever, although we differ so materially in our views.

I remain, &c.
(signed) *George Mansel*.

Appendix, No. 10.

RETURN of SLAVE VESSELS Condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at *St. Helena*, between the 1st of January and

NAME and RIG of VESSEL.	NATION.	NAME of MASTER.	DATE of SEIZURE.	WHERE CAPTURED.		SEIZER.
				Latitude.	Longitude.	
1. Brigantine "Quatorze de Novembro."	Brazilian	A. P. Nunes	19 Oct. 1847.	8° 4' S.	12° 45' E.	- Commander Chads, Her Majesty's steamer "Styx."
2. Schooner "Santa Anna."	ditto	G. J. Pinheiro	11 Dec. 1847.	6° 52' S.	11° 52' E.	- ditto -
3. Barque "Cidade d'Angra."	ditto	J. A. de Alvarenga.	27 Dec. 1847.	6° 30' S.	12° 15' E.	- ditto -
4. Brig "Gaio"	unknown	unknown	16 Dec. 1847.	8° 19' S.	13° 11' E.	- ditto -
5. Brig "Umbelina"	Brazilian	J. J. dos Santos	1 Jan. 1848.	7° 7' S.	12° 43' E.	- ditto -
6. Schooner, name unknown.	unknown	unknown	1 Dec. 1847.	0° 38' S. Off Sangadanga Factory.	9° 7' E.	- Commander Levinge, Her Majesty's steamer "Devastation."
7. Schooner, supposed "Sylphide."	ditto	- ditto	24 Jan. 1848.	7° 2' S.	12° 18' E.	- Commander Chads, Her Majesty's steamer "Styx."
8. Brigantine "Podreira."	Brazilian	J. F. de Mesquita	4 Jan. 1848.	7° 10' S.	12° 40' E.	- ditto -
9. Brigantine "Maria Constança."	ditto	F. A. de Souza	12 Jan. 1848.	7° 10' S.	12° 13' E.	- ditto -
10. Brigantine "Leopoldina."	ditto	J. P. Madureira	14 Jan. 1848.	7° 0' S.	12° 45' E.	- ditto -
11. Brigantine, name unknown.	unknown	unknown	16 Jan. 1848.	6° 50' S.	12° 38' E.	- ditto -
12. Brig, name unknown.	ditto	- ditto	1 Dec. 1847.	0° 38' S. Off Sangadanga Factory.	9° 7' E.	- Commander Levinge, Her Majesty's steamer "Devastation."
13. Schooner, name unknown.	ditto	- ditto	29 Nov. 1847.	Off Bimbia.		- ditto -
14. Brigantine "Importador."	Brazilian	F. J. Monteiro	1 Feb. 1848.	6° 50' S.	12° 7' E.	- Commander Farquhar Her Majesty's ship "Albatross."
15. Schooner, name unknown.	unknown	Antonio	8 Feb. 1848.	Off Cape Lopez.		- Commander Wood, Her Majesty's ship "Hound."
16. Brig "Gentil Africano."	Brazilian	R. A. da Cruz	18 Feb. 1848.	6° 48' S.	11° 9' E.	- Commander Chads, Her Majesty's steamer "Styx."
17. Brigantine "Adelaide."	unknown	- Manoel Seprianno da Costa.	25 Jan. 1848.	6° 24' N. Off Lagos.	4° 18' E.	- Commander Michell, Her Majesty's steamer "Devastation."
18. Schooner, name unknown.	ditto	unknown	26 Jan. 1848.	0° 38' S. Off Sangadanga Factory.	9° 7' E.	- Commander Wood, Her Majesty's ship "Hound."

Appendix, No. 10.

the 8th of June 1848 (the Date of the last Reports), so far as the same have been Reported to the Foreign Office.

DATE of SENTENCE.	Number of Slaves Captured.	Number Died before Adjudication.	Total Number Emancipated.	TONNAGE, BRITISH ADMEASUREMENT.	STATUTE UNDER WHICH SENTENCE WAS PASSED.	REMARKS.
27 Jan. 1848	-	-	-	Length, 65 ft. - Breadth, 19 ft. 4 in. Depth, 9 ft. 7 in.	8 & 9 Vict. c. 122.	
31 Jan. 1848	-	-	-	Length, 56 ft. 6 in. - Breadth, 14 ft. Depth, 9 ft. 3 in.	- - ditto.	
-	-	-	-	276	- - ditto.	
3 Feb. 1848	-	-	-	Length, 106 ft. 4 ½ in. Breadth, 21 ft. 6 in. Depth, 12 ft.	2 & 3 Vict. c. 73	-- Had Brazilian colours on board, but no papers.
14 Feb. 1848	-	-	-	191	8 & 9 Vict. c. 122.	
24 Feb. 1848	-	-	-	49 ½	2 & 3 Vict. c. 73	-- Had Brazilian colours on board, but no papers.
-	-	-	-	132	- - ditto -	- - Displayed Brazilian colours, but had no papers.
28 Feb. 1848	-	-	-	Length, 86 ft. 7 ½ in. Breadth, 19 ft. 6 in. Depth, 10 ft. 3 in.	8 & 9 Vict. c. 122.	
-	-	-	-	Length, 78 ft. - Breadth, 19 ft. 3 in. Depth, 10 ft.	- - ditto.	
-	-	-	-	Length, 89 ft. 6 in. - Breadth, 24 ft. 3 in. Depth, 13 ft.	- - ditto.	
-	-	-	-	Length, 95 ft. - Breadth, 26 ft. Depth, 13 ft.	2 & 3 Vict. c. 73	- Had no colours or papers on board.
-	-	-	-	Length, 125 ft. Breadth, 28 ft. Depth, 14 ft.	- - ditto -	- - ditto.
-	-	-	-	Length, 70 ft. - Breadth, 16 ft. Depth, 6 ft.	- - ditto -	- - ditto.
6 Mar. 1848	-	-	-	117	8 & 9 Vict. c. 122.	
17 Mar. 1848	48	8	40	Length, 40 ft. - Breadth, 8 ft. 10 in. Depth, 3 ft. 9 in. 11 tns.	2 & 3 Vict. c. 73	- - ditto.
20 Mar. 1848	-	-	-	316 ½	8 & 9 Vict. c. 122.	
23 Mar. 1848	-	-	-	140 ½	2 & 3 Vict. c. 73	-- Had Brazilian colours on board, but no papers.
-	-	-	-	Length, 35 ft. - Breadth, 8 ft. Depth, 3 ft. 9 in. 10 ts.	- - ditto -	- - Had no papers or colours on board.

RETURN of Slave Vessels Condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at

NAME and RIG of VESSEL.	NATION.	NAME of MASTER.	DATE of SEIZURE.	WHERE CAPTURED.		SEIZER.
				Latitude.	Longitude.	
19. Brig "Monarcha"	unknown	- Domingo José Marçall.	13 Feb. 1848	5° 58' S.	11° 30' E.	- Commander Farquhar Her Majesty's ship "Albatross."
20. Schooner "Conceição."	ditto	- Manoel Pereira	23 Nov. 1847	4° 7' S.	10° 54' E.	- Commander M'Murdo, Her Majesty's ship "Contest."
21. Brigantine, name unknown.	ditto	- Antonio Dias	9 Feb. 1848	6° 13' S.	10° 49' E.	- ditto - - -
22. Ditto - -	ditto	- unknown - -	24 Feb. 1848	8° S.	13° E.	- Commander Chads, Her Majesty's steamer "Styx."
23. Brig, "Flora."	Brazilian	- João de Souza Ribeiro.	13 Mar. 1848	7° 34' S.	12° 20' E.	- ditto - - -
24. Brigantine, "Constancia."	unknown	- Libernio Nones	28 Feb. 1848	8° 10' S.	12° 40' E.	- - Commander Farquhar, Her Majesty's ship "Contest."
25. Schooner, "Ne-reide."	Brazilian	- Carlos Augusto de Moraes.	20 Mar. 1848	4° 19' S.	0° 28' E.	- Commander Kenyon, Her Majesty's ship "Cygnet."
26. Brig, "Zefiro" -	ditto	- - Bernardino Francisco de Freitas.	31 Mar. 1848	7° 50' S.	13° E.	- - Commander Edmunds, Her Majesty's ship "Heroine."
27. Brigantine "Venus."	ditto	- - Francisco de Paula d'Oliveira.	24 Mar. 1848	8° 29' S.	12° 47' E.	- - ditto - - -
28. Brig "Mercurio."	ditto	- - Bernardino Francisco de Freitas.	7 April 1848	8° 7' S.	12° 55' E.	- Ditto, Her Majesty's steamer "Firefly" in company.
29. Cahique "Vigilante."	ditto	- José João Rodriguez.	25 Mar. 1848	4° 2' N.	2° W.	- - Lieut. Lysaght, Her Majesty's steamer "Grappler."
30. Brig "Prinzeza dona Isabel."	ditto	- Joaquim Luiz de Avila.	3 April 1848	3° 59' S.	10° 9' E.	- Commander Chaloner Her Majesty's ship "Syren."
31. Brigantine, "Temerario."	Brazilian	- José Maria do Valle.	3 May 1848	11° 7' S.	12° 56' E.	- Commander M'Murdo, Her Majesty's ship "Contest."
32. Brigantine, "São João."	ditto	- José dos Santos Mazano.	17 Jan. 1848	4° 31' S.	10° 42' E.	- - Commander Chaloner, Her Majesty's ship "Syren."
33. Brigantine, "São Francisco Boa Fe."	ditto	- José Bernandes Borges.	2 April 1848	3° 37' S.	10° 42' E.	- - ditto - - -

TOTAL Number of Slave Vessels condemned, 33. Total Number of Slaves captured, 1,172.

Foreign Office, 1 August 1848.

St. Helena, between the 1st of January and the 8th of June 1848—*continued*.

DATE of SENTENCE.	Number of Slaves Captured.	Number Died before Adjudica- tion.	Total Number Emanci- pated.	TONNAGE, BRITISH ADMEASUREMENT.	STATUTE UNDER WHICH SENTENCE WAS PASSED.	REMARKS.
- - -	-	-	-	Length, 94 ft. - Breadth, 27 ft. Depth, 15 ft.	2 & 3 Vict. c. 73	-- Had Brazilian colours on board, but no papers.
31 Mar. 1848	-	-	-	Length, 81 ft. - Breadth, 21 ft. 4 in. Depth, 9 ft. 3 in.	- - ditto	-- Had no papers or colours on board.
- - -	-	-	-	Length, 103 ft. - Breadth, 27 ft. 3 in. Depth, 12 ft. 9 in.	- - ditto	-- Had Brazilian colours on board, but no papers.
- - -	-	-	-	Length, 85 ft. 4 ½ in. - Breadth, 21 in. Depth, 12 ft. 2 in.	- - ditto	-- Had no papers or colours on board.
10 April 1848	-	-	-	Length, 86 ft. 2 in. - Breadth, 24 ft. 1 in. Depth, 13 ft. 2 ½ in.	8 & 9 Vict. c. 122.	
- - -	-	-	-	Length, 78 ft. - Breadth, 22 ft. Depth, 14 ft.	2 & 3 Vict. c. 73	-- Had Brazilian colours on board, but no papers.
18 April 1848	354	55	299	101 ¾	8 & 9 Vict. c. 122.	
1 May 1848	-	-	-	180	- - ditto.	
- - -	-	-	-	Length, 84 ft. 3 in. - Breadth, 20 ft. 6 in. Depth, 12 ft. 6 in.	- - ditto.	
4 May 1848	-	-	-	218	- - ditto.	
- - -	-	-	-	74	- - ditto.	
30 May 1848	275	81	194	149	- - ditto.	
30 May 1848	495	19	476	128	- - ditto.	
1 June 1848	-	-	-	Length, 83 ft. 6 in. Breadth, 21 ft. 10 in. Depth, 13 ft. 6 in.	- - ditto.	
1 June 1848	-	-	-	Length, 79 ft. 6 in. - Breadth, 21 ft. 4 in. - Depth, 14 ft. -	- - ditto.	

Number of Slaves who died before adjudication, 163. Total Number of Slaves Emancipated, 1,009.

Appendix, No. 11.

PAPER delivered in by Mr. Cliffe.

Appendix, No. 11.

FROM the earliest records of men's existence, it appears that slavery or bondage has been coeval with his social condition and the rights of property; but in most instances the slave, serf, or bondsman was of his master's colour, and thus was sooner or later lost to view by amalgamation. From the striking dissimilarity of the African race to the people amongst whom they are expatriated, few of them totally disappear in this manner, and they continue to exist in different countries as a distinct people, upon whom neither slavery, forced labour, nor freedom effects those marked and decided changes which they would on any other portion of mankind.

In fact, a large number of the natives of Africa are born slaves. Many, too, are daily made slaves of, under arrest for debt, others as prisoners of war or as criminals; and the facility with which this is done renders the custom so general, that unless some striking change should occur, it will continue to exist for ages.

Among the Africans themselves, it would seem that the foreign slave trade is thought requisite as a compulsory emigration, rendered necessary by the prolific nature of the African race; and this evil is augmented by the equal proportions of the sexes not being more regularly observed among those who are carried away into slavery. The population, for any given period, may not be in excess of the amount of food needed for their subsistence, and which is easily produced; but the slave-owners in Africa preferring women to men for all agricultural pursuits, the births are excessive relative to the population.

From various causes, this people have not improved their social condition in the course of the last 2,000 years, except it may be that by the introduction of the musket their forays have become more bloody, but at the same time of shorter duration, and more quickly decided.

Their fondness, like other savages, for spirituous liquors, their incessant wars, their acknowledged disregard of human life, the cruel treatment of their captives, the way in which these, as slaves, are made to travel down to the coast, the detention of them at pestiferous stations at the mouths of rivers, their horrible sufferings during the middle passage, and the universal knowledge, even of the negroes, that slavery only ends with life, are all notorious facts; yet what have the inhabitants of Africa done to remedy this state of things? In short, if the first steps of the slave traffic did not begin with them, the white man could not succeed in kidnapping them in any considerable numbers. This will show at once the difficulty of effectually putting a stop to that trade in which the Africans are the prime movers. And from the malignity of the climate being such as to deter even the cupidity of the whites from forming settlements in the country, and thus exterminating the natives by the advance of civilization, as has been the case in other places, Africa remains a breeding market for tropical labour. Whilst, however, their own unfettered exertions have done nothing for the real improvement of the country, or the civilization of the people, their forced labour has developed in a very great measure the resources of the new world. There it has rendered the agricultural and mineral productions of the tropics available for the gradual and increased requirements of the advancing commerce of the globe; and thus, through the aid of the coloured race, much has been done towards converting what once were luxuries into necessaries of life. The various tropical products are now regularly demanded, regardless of the circumstances of those employed in raising them.

The history of the world shows us that Infinite Wisdom has intended every country to contribute its particular productions as its contribution to the real or acquired wants of mankind; but has not Africa shown itself hitherto incompetent to fulfil this law? Preserved by its pestilential climate from becoming the scene of colonization or research, it has performed its part only in assisting to develop the resources of tropical and meridional America, at the expense of neglecting the riches of its own soil; and this debt is due from us to Africa, that we ought to endeavour to direct to right ends the energies of that country. Many and zealous have been the schemes of the philanthropist and the visionary to remedy the present unnatural state of things; these attempts have not succeeded in attaining the desired ends. Scarcely one single effort has resulted in anything more than an expenditure of life and money, although the arguments in their favour have been carefully deduced from facts. But springing as they have from such a very different branch of the human family, they have totally failed because of their misapplication to Africa, without leaving a lingering trace behind to show the futility of proceedings conducted on such an unsound basis, or in any way lessening the sum total of Africa's sufferings and misery.

The British Government have tried for a series of years treaties, diplomacy, blockades of lines of coast, both in Africa and South America, and still the slave trade is avowedly on the increase, and attended with horrors such as even the old buccaneers, those fierce avengers of Spanish cruelty, would scarcely have practised. All attempts to suppress it hitherto have only produced an increase of misery and cruelty unparalleled in the annals of crime, and which no language can adequately describe. Until now it has usually been supposed that slavers would give up their vessels to any show of force; but before long a state of things

things will arise very different to this. Frequent contests will take place, adding something more to the loss of black and white life, and to the horrors of a trade which has baffled England's legislation, and defied her boasted supremacy on the ocean. Besides which, it must not be forgotten how much British commercial interests have and must suffer by those harassing legislative crusades in the nominal cause of Africa's freedom. Yet with all this, the West Indian and Mauritius planters are almost entirely ruined, and the merchants connected with them, that once princely class of men, have seen the accumulated wealth of years gradually swept away, and themselves reduced to beggary.

The remedy for this state of things would be to allow the free importation of blacks to those countries which require them, under the strictest Government superintendence. Let them serve, say for eight or ten years, in the performance of such works as those in which they are now usually employed; let the numbers of the sexes be kept as nearly equal as possible; let the Abolition and Anti-Slavery Societies, which are nearly useless as at present constituted, keep a careful watch, by means of their agents, over those indentured blacks, to insure their receiving such treatment as may be declared by some special enactment, under penalty of forfeiture of the indentures, should it not be fully and satisfactorily carried out. At the end of their engagements it should be left optional with the negroes to return to Africa or to remain as free labourers; but the cost of their return might be defrayed out of a fund to be obtained by an annual capitation tax; and it should be made compulsory to furnish those who do return, out of that fund, with useful tools to a certain amount for each family, to be delivered to them on their arrival on the African coast.

By thus acting, the slave trade in its present form would cease. There is little doubt that the Governments of Spain and the Brazils would readily enter into these or similar arrangements; for they well know that a period must arrive when, in their respective countries, through the gradual spread of black blood, the white men will disappear, or a more sudden extinction of the whites will take place from some outburst of violence, produced by real or imaginary grievances, influenced and acted upon by some popular master mind. With this command of free labour the English colonies might be expected soon to resume their more than wonted prosperity; the curse of absenteeism would be got rid of, and although the colonists would be subjected to many disadvantages in the shape of local taxes, wrong cultivated and expensive lands, insular position in regard to supplies of many kinds, &c., yet the superior energies of the Anglo-Saxon race, with all its appliances of ingenuity, improvements, and superior machinery, would overcome these obstacles, and enable them speedily to compete in quantity and quality of production with those more favoured localities where taxes are light, lands of superior description are of small value, and provisions, especially meat, are cheap and plentiful. Sugar in various forms would enter largely as an article of food into the consumption of the European population, with much benefit to their health, and there would be a great increase in the demand for colonial produce throughout Great Britain. Those emancipated blacks who are now wasting their lives in places where estates are out of cultivation and going to ruin, would be compelled to work for reasonable wages, or retire from districts where active operations were carrying on. Many, rather than remove, would be reclaimed from a course of idleness, theft, and debauchery, to become useful workmen, when they found that they could no longer subsist without exerting themselves to work in some form or other; and by having constantly before them the example of well-regulated and well-governed labourers, they would be compelled to apply themselves to a life of activity and industry.

It now remains to be shown the effects which the returned free labourers and their families would have upon Africa. They would revisit their native country before they were de-Africanized, or, in other words, before they had lost their language, or the power of withstanding the climate. They might be located in masses, forming a sort of colonies in or as near to as possible those parts of the country from which they originally came; whilst they mixed freely with their countrymen, their own already acquired habits of labour would not cease at once; they would grow more than sufficient for their own subsistence; and, like so many plants rooted in the African soil, they would be the germs from which commerce, civilization, and religion would spring.

The inhabitants of the interior are less vicious and corrupted, and superior in every way to those on the coast; but through the agency of these new labourers, the limited boundaries of the 50 miles of coast and 70 miles of rivers and creeks frequented by the present traders would soon be enlarged. The introduction of tools would assist labour, and the fondness of the negroes for European fabrics for dress would stimulate them to produce an equivalent for trade or barter. The rivers would be deepened in search of gold, a work for which the African has a strong predilection; and it is well known that, under proper encouragement, the rivers of Africa are capable of producing annually an amount of gold equal, perhaps, to that of Russia. These workings, too, would have a tendency to drain the swamps, rendering many of them dry and fertile soils. The malaria of the interior would be greatly and rapidly diminished when the country was brought under subjection to the hand of man, whilst the general development of its natural resources would foster the desire for the accumulation of wealth, which is said to prevail among the inland population.

The British Government would have an opportunity of looking after and protecting the African trade, which, from various causes, the chiefs in some places would much rather carry on under the French than the English flag. This trade is seldom attended to by the English cruisers, who have as much as they can well do in looking after the slavers. I should regret to see this trade paralysed by the rival efforts of another nation, which founds colonies without being able to keep them; and I think that, in the course of events, under

proper

Appendix, No. 11, proper management, the British flag might soon fly upon every spot worth holding on the whole coast of Africa, and a trade be established most valuable to English commerce.

It seems to be a favourite theory with some persons at the present time (*see* the Hon. Captain Denman's Evidence), that free labourers might, with the consent of their chiefs, be picked up from the coast in considerable numbers. This, however, would be only another name for slave trading, as the chief would receive the entire amount agreed upon for such labourers' hire. The plan would also be, commercially, highly objectionable, as the Kroomen and Fishmen of the coast, to whom particular reference is here made, serve as sailors, canoe-men, oil and butter makers, wood-cutters, &c.; and if they should be taken away, how are their places to be supplied? Besides which, the very paucity of their numbers would very little advantage the planters, and would only tantalize them with the prospect of what might be done if the Legislature dealt fairly with them; whilst the African trade, deprived of those services, would be seriously injured by such a measure.

Now, as the energies of the whites soon acquired for them the possession of the American continent, because it was richer or gave hopes of more easily acquired wealth than the old world, the same views, properly carried out, would produce similar results in a country whose proverbial riches tempted the ancient mistress of the world to plant colonies in its more northern provinces.

There would also be plenty of room for an entire and beneficial display of the several societies, who might do much permanent good, without a corresponding amount of annoyance and evil.

I regret that from the completion of materials which 25 years have furnished me with, relative to the African, his wants, and his wishes, I have only been able partially to throw any light upon a subject worthy of a more able investigation, and upon which the future happiness of so many thousands, if not millions, depends. As Great Britain took the first active steps in the establishment of the slave trade, I trust she will be the first to repair the evils of it, and put a stop to the perpetration of those wholesale murders which are the necessary consequences of that trade as now carried on. Those who are well acquainted with it firmly believe that it cannot be forcibly put down, so long as the price occasioned by the demand for slaves continues so high.

These views may, unfortunately, not be in accordance with those of more influential parties; but the various evils adverted to are beginning to force themselves on the attention of many, and serious changes will be eventually imperiously called for.

I have purposely avoided the recital of any details connected with the trade; of the sufferings of the blacks when captured by the cruisers; of the misfortunes of the planters, the losses of traders, and the ruin of merchants; nor have I attempted to describe the legislative enactments requisite for carrying the plan proposed into effect; the allowance to be given to the indentured negroes, their work, treatment, religious instruction; the capitation tax; their allotments of land; the means to be taken to prevent their leaving Africa, unless with their own consent, or their longer detention in the countries to which they should be taken than might be declared legal, as it is desirable first of all to consider and ascertain whether the plan, the outlines of which are here given, is capable of conferring the much-desired benefit on all parties.

I would only observe that soldiers enlist for about the same period as I propose for the indentured service of the Africans, and yet it is affirmed that 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	- 350 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. Average price of slaves, 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. Appendix, No. 11.

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 1½ to 2 per cent. per month.

